King's College, Nova Scotia: Direct Connections with Slavery

by

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Report prepared for the University of King's College, Halifax, Nova Scotia
King's College and Slavery: A Scholarly Inquiry project

April 2021

King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, ca. 1850
Owen Staples, after Susannah Lucy Anne (Haliburton) Weldon

Karolyn Smardz Frost is an archaeologist, historian and author whose studies focus on African Canadian and African American transnationalism. David W. States is a historian of African Nova Scotia with a multi-generational personal heritage in the province.

Sections of this revised and consolidated report were previously posted on the “University of King’s College and Slavery: A Scholarly Inquiry” project website.

Suggested citation:

Smardz Frost, Karolyn, and David W. States. “King’s College, Nova Scotia: Direct Connections with Slavery.” Report prepared for the University of King's College and Slavery: A Scholarly Inquiry project, Halifax, Nova Scotia, April 2021.

Cover Image

King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, ca. 1850 by Owen Staples (1910), after Susannah Lucy Anne (Haliburton) Weldon’s original.

This painting depicts the main building constructed in 1791, prior to the 1854 addition of a portico and the gable roof. Brown wash over pencil, with water colour & gouache by Owen Staples? ca. 1915. Laid down on cardboard.

JRR 2213 Cab II, John Ross Robertson Collection, Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library. Public domain.

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Preface

Over the past few years, universities in Canada, the United States, Great Britain, and beyond have undertaken studies exploring the connections between slavery and the history of their institutions. In February 2018, the University of King's College in Halifax, Nova Scotia, initiated its own investigations. The purpose was to explore ways in which slavery and the profits derived from trade in the products of enslaved labour contributed to the creation and early operation of King's, Canada's oldest chartered university.

David W. States, a historian of African Nova Scotia with a multi-generational personal heritage in this province, and Karolyn Smardz Frost, an archaeologist, historian and author whose studies focus on African Canadian and African American transnationalism, were chosen as part of a small cadre of scholars charged with the task of bringing different aspects of this long-hidden history to light.

The initial conversations leading to our engagement on behalf of the project were initiated by William Lahey, President of King's College, Halifax, in August, 2017. Conversations to define the scope of work, and to outline the nature, length and character of the planned program of research, culminated in the acceptance of our proposal on December 14 of that same year.

The first formal meeting with the scholarly team took place on June 5, 2018. Organized by Dr. Dorota Glowacka of King's College, who served most ably as chair of the Advisory Committee for the "King's and Slavery: A Scholarly Inquiry" project, proved a productive and enlightening event. So too was the superb presentation by Dr. Harvey Amani Whitfield, of the University of Vermont, author of several seminal works on the history of race and slavery in Maritime Canada, delivered at King's College on January 19, 2019.

We have spent the better part of the past eighteen months delving into into this rich, complex and disturbing history. Our report entitled "King's College, Nova Scotia: Direct Connections with Slavery" is presented here as a series of individual papers. "Section 1: Attitudes Towards Slavery" is intended to provide both an introduction to, and a context for, the results of our research into links between King's College, Nova Scotia, and the institution of slavery. As our findings show, these connections antedate the foundation of King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1788/9, and continued long after Great Britain's passage of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833.

Each subsequent section of our report takes the form of a focused study of relationships between the system of human bondage that prevailed in the Atlantic World, and specific individuals and organizations who were also involved in one way or another with King's College. This study is confined mainly to King's early years, although it is highly recommended that further investigation be undertaken to expand both its depth and breadth of available research.

These investigations represent the first scholarly foray into this painful subject subject. Therefore, while a wide range of secondary materials was consulted, the main sources of new information were historical documents ranging from personal letters, diaries, advertisements placed by slaveholders for the return of freedom-seekers, and bills of sale, to muster and victualing lists, and included maps, art works and a variety of other original materials, some still in private hands. For financial and logistical reasons, we were limited to exploring collections held in Nova Scotian repositories, although David W. States did spend time (while on vacation in Barbados!) tracking down information at the Barbados National Archives, the Library of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, the Library of the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, and the Library of Codrington College, and the latter about the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The SPG was a major financial support not only to King's

College itself, but also to the Anglican clergymen amongst the faculty and some of the less affluent students.

We have read with interest the papers from the larger "King's and Slavery: A Scholarly Inquiry" project written by Dr. Shirley Tillotson and Dr. Henry Roper, as well as the exhaustive literature review submitted by Hannah Barrie and Dr. Jerry Bannister. All of them are now available through the King's College website. Our own submissions have been delayed until now, partly for medical reasons but especially because of the elusive quality of our source material and its wide distribution in archives and other collections spanning the Caribbean, America's eastern seaboard, and the rest of Atlantic Canada. Thankfully, at least some of this we were able to access digitally.

In successive sections of this report, we offer evidence of slaveholding or directly profiting from slavery on the part of those involved in the founding of King's College, Nova Scotia, as well as selected members of faculty, the Board of Governors, and students. However, in no way should our study be considered either definitive or comprehensive. Rather, we have investigated a representative sample from each of several categories of people relevant to the first decades of the college's life. No Prince Edward Island-based slaveholders have yet been identified in direct relation to King's College, and so our sampling has been limited to slave-owning families in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Our report also includes section 6, which discusses relations between King's and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). The SPG received funding from its own West Indian plantations, fees from slave-owning members, and legacies and donations from those whose wealth came, in one way or another, from enslaving and exploiting the unwaged labour of uncounted numbers of African people. The SPG not only directly supported the Anglican ministers it sent to Britain's North American colonies as missionaries, but also underwrote many costs for King's College, Nova Scotia, through its early years.

Along the way we have included information regarding selected individuals who either expressed their personal objections to slavery in ways that have left documentary evidence, or who are known to have been active in helping to end the practice in Britain's Maritime colonies. Among those who opposed slavery were William Cochran who was the first president of King's College, and who taught there for forty-one years. Those who actively worked to end the practice in Nova Scotia included senior government officials who sat on the King's Board of Governors, such as Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange and Sampson Salter Blowers. Strange and Blowers were successively Chief Justices of Nova Scotia, and famously employed judicial means to help end the institution. Each of these men deserves a far fuller analysis than could be offered here, however, and much research remains to be done.

There are eight categories of people associated with King's Academy and King's College before 1834 listed on the spreadsheet kindly provided to us by King's College Archivist Janet Hathaway. This report uses the same criteria, and is divided as follows, although in the interests of time, it is not anticipated that the last two categories will fall within the scope of the current project:

1. Individuals involved in founding King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia;
2. Funding sources, specifically the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;
3. Members of the Board of Governors, including those with ex-officio status only;
4. Officers and faculty members of the college;
5. Students, including individuals who attended the preparatory school in its earliest incarnation, and also listed only as alumni;

6. Honorary degree recipients;
7. Donors of books to the library;
8. Patrons of the college, including those who provided prizes or exhibitions.

In each section of this report, names of those profiled are listed in alphabetical order. People associated with King's in multiple ways, such as the sons of founding clergymen who went on to attend King's College, are described in respect to their first documented relationship with the institution.

Please note that we do not provide a formal conclusion to our work on historical links between slavery and King's College, Nova Scotia, since there is so much research, analysis and interpretation yet to be done.

Acknowledgements

We very much appreciate the ongoing support of the William Lahey, President of the University of King's College, who launched the project on behalf of the College; Chair of the Board of Governors Douglas Ruck QC; Chair of the Advisory Committee Dr. Dorota Glowacka and members of the advisory board Professor Sylvia Hamilton; Superintendent Donald MacLean; Dr. Sarah Clift and Professor Stephen Kimber. Their comments and suggestions in the early stages of this report were most helpful.

We are grateful to board members Dr. Bonnie Huskins of the University of New Brunswick; Dr. Harvey Amani Whitfield of the University of Vermont; and Dr. John Reid, Professor Emeritus at St. Mary's University, Halifax. Their careful reading of each section of this report as it was completed has been simply invaluable. These eminent scholars have offered unstintingly of their time and expertise, and we are indebted to them for their continued interest in what has turned out to be a much longer process than any of us envisioned.

Special mention must be made, too, of Janet Hathaway, the King's College Archivist whose knowledge and assistance have been vital to our research invaluable. We also wish to thank the helpful staff of the Nova Scotia Archives and of the Esther Clark Wright Archives of Acadia University for their excellent assistance.

We would like to thank the scholars on the Review Committee for the King's College Slavery Project for their very helpful commentary on the first sections of this report. Their critiques were both kind and constructive, and contributed to both its content and clarity.

We must mention, too, that Dr. Harvey Amani Whitfield has shared with us his own, as-yet-unpublished manuscript and other papers. This has contributed greatly to the detail and accuracy of our own study. He has answered myriad questions and made many cogent suggestions that have materially contributed to the successful completion of each section of this report.

Dr. Henry Roper's report was foundational to our own, as was that of Dr. Shirley Tillotson who also offered helpful suggestions and additions to a draft version of our report. The comprehensive literature review conducted by Hannah Barrie and Dr. Jerry Bannister guided our own efforts, and we offer a note of thanks to the meticulous assistance provided by King's student Evangeline Freeman, who spent much of the summer of 2018 combing pertinent government records and at least one medical journal.

Also significant to our research was that conducted by the Lord Dalhousie Committee. Chaired by senior

Canadian historian Dr. Afua Cooper, this extraordinarily detailed and complex study both suggested a pattern for our project and contributed crucial data to these pages.

Academic historians all too often neglect to consult documents and other sources compiled by community and family historians, genealogists and local historical societies. As the essays in the following pages demonstrate, we would have missed information essential to our study had we done so here.

Our investigations into slaveholding on the part of the Barclay family of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, have been greatly enhanced by the work of Dr. Rebecca Barclay of Rhode Island. She generously provided her own research into her family's history, particularly in respect to the enslavement of people of African descent over at least three generations. She also gave permission for the inclusion here of family portraits and images and we are especially grateful for being able to consult her unpublished essay on the life of former King's College student Robert Barclay.

The Annapolis Valley Mapping Project has been most helpful. Their kindness in sharing the precious results of their own studies, as well as maps and images, has contributed materially to the completion of our report. The investigations by the late Janetta M. Dexter into the history of families in the Granville area led to major discoveries in respect to the early history of the de St. Croix family and those formerly enslaved by them.

Among those who shared their expertise with us over the course of the project, we must mention Linda Rafuse, Curator, Queen's County Museum; the staff of the Shelburne County Archives and Historical Museum, and particularly Kim Walker who assisted us in multiple ways. Finally we would like to thank Lois C. Jenkins of the Annapolis County Historical Society; Heather LaBlanc of *Mapannapolis*, Granville Ferry Annapolis County, Nova Scotia; and individual genealogists whose images are cited throughout the report for all their assistance and for permission to use their photographs, documents, poems and unpublished research notes in this report. Noted poet and author Dr. George Elliott Clarke gave us permission to republish his lovely piece, "Granville Mountain." Without these contributions, the work presented here would have been much the poorer.

We would very much like to thank Karen Asp, our copyeditor. Her fine attention to detail, excellent suggestions and beautiful use of language have been essential to making this report the best it can be. We appreciate her help and her ideas very much.

Our first editors, though, were Claudia Kingston, David's lovely wife, and Karolyn's husband, Norm Frost. They suffered through our repeated absences at archives and historical societies, read multiple drafts of every one of these chapters, cooked meals, and took care of household emergencies so we could keep working. Both have been incredibly supportive throughout, and we can't thank them enough.

In closing, we must acknowledge the rich and invaluable exchange of historical data that has gone on between the two of us throughout this project. This has been an extraordinary conversation conducted over more than two years of research, analysis and interpretation. We were sailing uncharted waters in a very largely unexplored area of Nova Scotian history. We are most grateful to have had the opportunity both to work together to unearth the fascinating, painful and complicated stories told in the following pages, and to share this knowledge with the wider public.

There remains a great deal of work to be done, and we sincerely hope future scholars, students and members of the public will continue the study begun here, detailing the lives and experiences of the hundreds if not thousands of African people forcibly migrated to Nova Scotia in the early years of its settlement. They and their descendants helped build both King's College, and this province as we know

it today. Their personal histories and the myriad contributions they have made must be remembered, honoured and commemorated.

Karolyn Smardz Frost and David W. States

April 2021

List of Abbreviations

LAC	Library and Archives Canada
NSA	Nova Scotia Archives
PANB	Public Archives of New Brunswick
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

Section 1. Attitudes Towards Slavery

Fig. 1 King's College, Nova Scotia. Postcard, date unknown

Introduction

In his landmark volume, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (2013), professor of American history at Massachusetts Institute of Technology Craig Steven Wilder argues that some of the most hallowed institutions in the American university system—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and famously, the Jesuit university of Georgetown, in Washington, DC—received a substantial amount of their early support from profits earned through slavery and trading in the fruits thereof. With copious research to support his contention, *New York Times* reviewer Jennifer Schuessler was particularly struck by Wilder's statement that "universities were the third pillar of a civilization based on bondage."[1]

Close studies of early financial and other records are currently underway at universities across the United States, as well as in Great Britain.[2] Scholars are exploring exactly what proportion of the revenue at such institutions rested directly on slavery itself, along with the Atlantic and domestic slave trades, and indirectly on merchant capital acquired by donors and the families of fee-paying students through the vastly profitable commerce in slave-produced goods. Most Canadian universities did not directly profit from human bondage and trafficking, largely because they were founded too late for slavery to have been a potent factor in their construction or early histories. How much indirect investment relating to slavery was made in these schools of higher learning remains to be studied. However, it can fairly be said that, without slavery and profits derived in one way or another therefrom, King's College, Nova

[1] Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013). The quotation appears on page 11. See also Jennifer Schuessler, "Dirty Antebellum Secrets in Ivory Towers," *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 2013, accessed August 15, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/19/books/ebony-and-ivy-about-how-slavery-helped-universities-grow.html?smid=em-share.

[2] This is a revised version of section 1 (August 19, 2019).

Scotia, might neither have been built nor have survived the first precarious decades of its existence.[3]

This section of our report is intended to offer both an introduction to, and a context for, the results of our investigations into the direct connections between King's College and the institution of slavery. The first part of section 1 presents evidence on attitudes towards slavery held by people active in the founding of King's College, Nova Scotia. This subsection is followed by a short history of slavery in Nova Scotia, and what today is New Brunswick, prior to the arrival of the Loyalists; those Loyalists' own experience of slavery while still residing in the Thirteen Colonies, including variations in both law and custom as pertained to the specific regions from which they came; a brief overview of the African American experience in bondage prior to their forced migration to the Maritime colonies; the practice of slavery, attendant laws and customs, and conditions under which it operated in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and the role slaveholding Loyalists and the institution of slavery itself played in the founding first of King's Academy, a boys' preparatory school, and then of King's College itself at Windsor, Nova Scotia. Prince Edward Island place little role in this study since no slaveholding families amongst the Anglican Loyalists there seem to have sent sons to King's, at least in its early years.

Next come subsections discussing: the possible influence of the American Revolutionary-era rhetoric and evolving antislavery thought in Great Britain on attitudes toward slavery in the Maritime colonies; the relation between Loyalist slavery and the Anglican Church; and, a comparative chronology of the building of King's College set against the backdrop of moral and ethical change in Great Britain leading, first to the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade in 1807, and ultimately of slavery in much of the British Empire in 1833, made effective August 1, 1834.

A description of the Black Loyalist experience and the emigration to Sierra Leone, as related to King's College, Nova Scotia, follows. Then there is a brief analysis of the role played by two members of King's Board of Governors in eventually making the continued holding of enslaved people in Nova Scotia almost untenable by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century (although the Curator of Archaeology at the Nova Scotia Museums, Catherine Cottreau-Robins, documents evidence of slaveholding in Nova Scotia into the 1830s).[4] A similar process that occurred in New Brunswick, although somewhat more slowly, is described in light of leadership from people associated in one way or another with Kings' College, after which is included notes on the passage by Great Britain of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. The content of this essay concludes with an interesting discovery regarding the employment of free Black Nova Scotians as servants to the students of King's College in the nineteenth century. A short conclusion is provided to sum up the findings presented here, and point the way to future research on the multiple topics covered in this report.

Attitudes towards Slavery, and King's College, Nova Scotia

The establishment of a new King's College in what would remain of British North America after the

[3] For a highly detailed literature review and insights into the broader context of the relationships between King's College and slavery, see Hannah Barrie and Jerry Bannister, "University of King's College and Slavery: A Scholarly Inquiry—Literature Review" (February 2019), https://ukings.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/BarrieBannisterLiteratureReview20190422.pdf; Henry Roper, "King's College, New York, and King's College, Windsor: Their Connection in Fact and Legend"(November 2018)," https://ukings.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/20190527KingsandKingsNYbyHenryRoper20181114.pdf; Shirley Tillotson, "How (and How Much) King's College Benefited from Slavery in the West Indies, 1789 to 1854" (May 2019), https://ukings.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/TillotsonKingsAndSlaveryIndirectConnectionsMay6.pdf.

[4] Catherine Cottreau-Robins, "A Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia, 1784-1800" (unpub. PhD diss., Dalhousie University, 2012), 10n14 and 27.

Revolutionary War was envisioned by a prescient group of Church of England clergymen. They met in British-occupied New York to produce a petition calling for its creation, and for the establishment of the first North American bishopric. The petition was entitled "Plan of Religious and Literary Institution for the Province of Nova Scotia" was dated March 8, 1783, and the plan calling for an "Episcopate in Nova Scotia," March 21, 1783.[5]

Some of those same men had attended or had otherwise been involved with the first North American King's College, which had been founded at New York in 1754 and chartered by King George II.[6] That college would, they knew, be lost to them when the British evacuated their last stronghold at New York. Nearly all of these Church of England ministers were supported by the missionary organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), which itself owned hundreds of enslaved workers at its Barbados plantations. The SPG also included slaveholders amongst its paying members, and received donations from people and organizations who benefited one way or another from human bondage. Indeed, a majority of these eighteen clergymen were slaveholders themselves.[7]

It is an uncomfortable fact that the Reverend Charles Inglis, the future Bishop of Nova Scotia who made part of that august group and who had been approved for membership in the SPG in 1768, also claimed ownership of enslaved people (figure 2). Had it not been for the confiscation of his properties because of his loyalty to King and Crown, he would have inherited more upon the death of his wife.[8] In addition, the funds to build and operate King's College, which would be established at Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1789 and receive royal charter in 1802, came, in part from taxes collected on goods produced by enslaved Africans, as did a proportion of its ongoing operating budget.

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[5] Henry Youle Hind, *The University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1790-1890* (New York: The Church Review Company, 1890), 8. See also Henry Roper, "Aspects of the History of a Loyalist College: King's College, Windsor and Nova Scotian Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century," *Anglican and Ecclesiastical History* 60, no. 4 (Dec. 1991): 443-59, 443-2.

[6] This first Anglican university in British North America is considered an antecedent of Columbia University, which is currently engaged in a major program of research to explore its own heritage relating to slavery. See noted American historian Eric Foner's paper, "Columbia and Slavery: A Preliminary Report," posted on the Columbia University and Slavery website, accessed July 15, 2019, https://columbiaandslavery.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/content/Spreadsheets/PreliminaryReport.pdf. A series of papers written by Columbia students on various related topics are also posted on the Columbia University and Slavery website, accessed July 15, 2019, https://columbiaandslavery.columbia.edu/.

[7] The founding of King's College, Nova Scotia, is discussed in considerably more detail in section 2 of this report.

[8] Charles Inglis received his SPG membership in 1768, as per "A List of Members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," in Samuel Horsely and the SPG, *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: At Their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, February 20, 1795* (London: S. Brooke, 1795), 59-73, 66. His properties were confiscated in October, 1778, by the New York Assembly. Inglis' second wife, Margaret Crooke Inglis, was an heiress who brought considerable wealth to the marriage. Her maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather were both descendants of early Dutch settlers in New Amsterdam and their families were substantial slaveholders. See for example the fugitive slave notice published in the Rivington's *Royal Gazette* of December 12, 1778: "Prymus, Negro, age 15, late the property of the Rev. Mr. Inglis—runaway from John Pollock, N Dock St. New York City."

Fig. 2 *Charles Inglis*, by Robert Field. National Portrait Gallery, London. Image courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London, UK.

Not only did the SPG contribute substantially to the ongoing operation of King's College, Windsor, but the first Board of Governors, faculty and members of the clergy associated with King's College, Nova Scotia, included people who had either been slaveholders in their former homes in the Thirteen Colonies, or had imported enslaved "servants" with them, or both. Furthermore, the families of students who paid fees to fund their sons' education at this new King's College included multiple slave owners in their ranks. Even the government grants from the Nova Scotia Legislature that were used to build and support King's through its first decades were drawn from monies paid as tax on imported sugar. That sugar was cultivated and processed by enslaved workers on West Indian plantations.[9]

To the best of our knowledge, enslaved labourers were not actually engaged in the construction of this first British colonial institution of higher education to be created after the American Revolution. Nor were there people held as property of King's College itself, as has been discovered at other North American institutions. Nonetheless, without funding acquired either directly from slaveholders or slave-owning organizations, or less directly through the profits of trade in, or taxes imposed on, slave-produced goods, neither the building nor the early operation of King's College would have been possible.

Unless individuals left some sort of documentary or other evidence of their sentiments in the matter, it is impossible to assess affective qualities at a distance of more than two hundred and thirty years. One can, however, study the implications of their actions. How can the experiences of African Nova Scotians, enslaved and free, be teased out of this long-repressed heritage of human bondage? How can scholars recognize and commemorate the role that Black men, women, and children played in the early development of this institution? What attitudes were held towards people of African descent by those who founded, supported, or attended King's College in its first, formative years?

A very few figures associated with the early history of King's stand out as working diligently to eradicate human bondage in what remained of British North America. Others may have been uncomfortable with the institution, but continued to hold people in slavery until they could be certain they would be compensated for their loss.[10] Still more were clearly hard-line slaveholders who believed in slave ownership, and continued to practise it as long as the institution remained viable in Nova Scotia and in what became, in 1784, the new province of New Brunswick. These latter were apparently unaffected by the sea change taking place in the English-speaking world regarding the morality, first of the Atlantic Slave Trade, and then of slavery. Yet they were more than aware of this growing antislavery movement over the fifty years between their arrival as Loyalist exiles in the Maritimes in 1783, and the passage by the British Parliament of the *Slavery Abolition Act* in 1833.

To gain an understanding of the direct connections between King's College, Nova Scotia, and slavery, it

[9] 29 Geo. III, c.4, ss.1 and 5d, the Act that created the college, cited in Roper, "King's College," accessed June 12, 2020.

[10] "Petition of John Taylor and others, Negro proprietors," Dec. 1807, RG 5 A, box 14, doc. 49, NSA.

is useful to explore the context in which these connections were forged and nurtured. King's was founded at a time of great change. This had roots in the European Enlightenment, whose thinkers questioned everything from the doctrine of the divine right of kings to the exact date of the creation of the world. A sense that there was a form of "natural law" regarding human individuality and the right of self-determination aroused queries about time-honoured and rigid social hierarchies, governmental structures and patriarchal customs. These dictated everything from duties owed to one's immediate and extended families, to the realms of the monarchy, nobility and religion. King's was founded just at the time when this questioning, perhaps inevitably, had influenced the first violent overthrow of metropolitan rule by its own colonists, as reified in the American Revolution. In fact, it was because of the Revolutionary War and its disastrous aftermath for those Loyalists who had stood against the tide of change, that King's College, Nova Scotia, came into being.

It therefore stands to reason that the Anglicans who created King's were amongst those least likely to be swayed from their adherence to Church, Crown, and the old social, economic, and political order they had sacrificed so very much to protect. A fundamental part of that order was the way in which the Atlantic Slave Trade had evolved starting in the fifteenth century. To put it another way, the very group most inclined to support the establishment of a Church of England college in Nova Scotia was also the one most likely to defend their right to continue to buy, sell, and trade in enslaved Africans. The antislavery proponents amongst them, and there were some important ones including the aforementioned William Cochran who alternately served as president and vice-president, and who was a principal educator at the college over a period of forty years, were the anomalies amongst the Loyalists, not the norm.[11]

People's attitudes, however, evolve over time. In the last decades of the eighteenth century—just at the time of the Loyalist migration and the subsequent establishment of the new King's College—the morality of Great Britain's continued engagement in the Atlantic Slave Trade, and ultimately of the institution of slavery itself, were coming under serious scrutiny. This would by 1807 see an end to Britain's own, phenomenally lucrative role in the former, and by the 1830s, bring about the abolition of the latter.

One of the questions regarding the relationship between King's College, Nova Scotia, and slavery is what influences were brought to bear to effect such change? How did evolving antislavery sentiments on both sides of the Atlantic affect those who governed, taught at, or sent their sons to King's College between the 1780s and the third decade of the nineteenth century? What made the idea of slavery perfectly acceptable to men and women who called themselves Christians and Anglicans in the 1780s, and anathema to so many a short half-century later? What were the trends and events that helped effect so radical a transformation? Finally, what was the impact of this alteration in attitudes towards slavery on those connected with King's College, Nova Scotia, and upon the enslaved themselves?

Such broad questions can only be touched on in the context of this study. But detailing the historical,

[11] The presumed connection between patriotism and the Church of England is discussed at length in Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783–1816* (London: SPCK, 1972), 2, 29-38. Cochran's antislavery sentiments are described in Charles Bruce Fergusson, "Biography of Rev. William Cochran," MG1, F7/one, 7, NSA: "But Nothing secured to him [seemed] so inconsistent & revolting as to read in our declaration of independence & declrn of rights, that "all men are born free and independent" & get to see numbers of men set up to auction in our streets, and sold exactly like horses or oxen: He wrote some essays on this subject which he had printed in the N.Y. newspapers; & these were and only in the way of scoff & ridicule by the repubn. patriots of that city [*sic*]." See also Milton Halsey Thomas, ed., "The Memoirs of William Cochran, Sometime Professor in Columbia College, New York, and in King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia," *New York History Society Quarterly*, 38 (1954): 55–83, 70.

social, moral, and religious milieu in which the founding and early development of King's College, Nova Scotia, took place, helps to set the stage for further historical inquiry. Along the way, this section will discuss some of the individuals who stood on either side of the line between antislavery and proslavery thought. It will name a few of those who took direct action to help end slavery in the Maritime colonies. Also identified will be slave owners who struggled to defend the practice of holding human beings in lifelong bondage in this part of the world. Finally, this section will mention a few, members of the clergy among them, who perhaps ought to have taken a stance against slavery, but apparently did not, at least in a way that left any documentary or other evidence.

Before the Loyalists: Africans in Early Colonial Nova Scotia

When the Loyalists arrived, slavery already had a long history in colonial Canada. Africans and First Nations peoples had been enslaved under the French colonial system starting at least by 1619, a practice that was given royal approbation by Louis XIV in 1689 and had been bolstered with subsequent edicts over the first half of the eighteenth century. The work of Dr. Afua Cooper, Dalhousie University history professor and the former James R. Johnston Chair of Black Canadian Studies at that institution, has done a great deal to illuminate the role of slavery in early Canada, and particularly in Quebec.[12] Retired Parks Canada historian Ken Donovan's studies of Cape Breton under French rule show that there were as many as 266 enslaved artisans, farmers and fishers and their families at Louisbourg alone.[13] There were also enslaved Africans brought to the renamed Annapolis Royal (formerly Port Royal) when the British took it from the French in 1710. In fact, enslavement of people of African ancestry actually increased in Canada under British colonial rule. The work of historian and archivist Barry Cahill shows that just one year after the founding of Halifax in 1749, there were about 3,000 people living in the town. He writes that as many as 400 of these were enslaved, and there were also seventeen free Blacks living there.[14]

After the expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia in the 1750s, New England Planters ("planters" being an historical term for farmers) were invited by Nova Scotia Governor Charles Lawrence to take up their abandoned farms and fisheries. His first proclamation, made in October 1758, raised questions amongst those interested in taking him up on his offer. Accordingly, on January 11, 1759, he issued a second proclamation. This second proclamation offered an additional fifty acres for every person "white or Black" brought into Nova Scotia, thereby encouraging the importation of Africans, whether enslaved or free. Recent studies suggest that 200 or more enslaved "servants" were forcibly migrated to the Maritime colonies by incoming Planters, some of whom were actually fisher families rather than farmers. Interestingly, at least one Planter family was made up of free African New Englanders.[15]

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[12] Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal* (Toronto: HarperCollins Canada, 2011).

[13] Kenneth Joseph Donovan, "Slaves in Ile Royale, 1713-1758," *French Colonial History* 5 (2004): 25-42, 26. The legal history of slavery in French Canada is summarized in William Renwick Riddell, "The Slave in Canada: Before the Conquest," *The Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 3 (July 1920): 263-72, and more recently by Barrington Walker, introduction to *The African Canadian Legal Odyssey: Historical Essays*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, for the Osgoode Society, for Canadian Legal History, 2012), 3-46, 7-10.

[14] Barry Cahill, "Slavery and Freedom, 1749-1782," in the African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition exhibit online, NSA website, accessed Jan. 16, 2019, https://novascotia.ca/archives/africanns/results.asp?Search=&SearchList1=1&Language=English.

[15] Barbary Cuffee to Robert Stevenson, March 7, 1769, Queens County Deed Registers vol. 1, 258, NSA; "A list of proprietors of the township of Liverpool with their number in family respectively," 1764, Commissioner of Crown Lands, RG 20 series C vol. 43 no. 1, NSA. Prominent Planter and Justice of the Peace Simeon Perkins presided over

Both the French and British in Maritime Canada were already engaged in the West Indian trade, but the New England Planters, and the Loyalists who eventually followed them in their migration, extended existing coastal trade networks northwards, and thus made of Nova Scotia a node on the transatlantic shipping routes. Nova Scotian ships carried, via the ports of what today is America's eastern seaboard, cargoes of dried cod, timber, and foodstuffs destined for Caribbean trade. In the West Indies, along with sugar and its by-products, Nova Scotian merchants also acquired enslaved people. These they sold for profit to serve in the households, farms, fisheries, and commercial establishments of British North America. Nova Scotian slaveholders also sent "surplus" African Canadians south for sale in the Thirteen Colonies or the West Indies. Others both bought and sold enslaved Africans for the profits they would bring while on merchant journeys in southern climes, as New England Planter, Captain Samuel Starr did, as witnessed in the document pictured in figure 3.[16]

As the introduction to Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman's recent edited volume, *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*, puts it:

> Long before the advent of a New England textile industry that converted slave-grown cotton into wealth, the carrying trade between the ports of Providence, Boston, or Portsmouth and the West Indian sugar islands created economic ties essential to both regions. From the seventeenth century on, New Englanders recognized a global division of labor that allowed them to obtain European manufactures with West Indian commodities that they had purchased with provisions of their own making, such as fish, horses, lumber, and candles. Barbadian and Jamaican planters grasped this commercial circuit with equal acuity and were able to devote ever-growing resources to sugar production precisely because New Englanders made ships and barrels to transport their commodities and caught fish and raised the cattle to provision their plantations.[17]

No one knows how many enslaved people were living in Maritime Canada before the Loyalists arrived, but the *Halifax Gazette* had since the very founding of Halifax been publishing regular advertisements for both the sale of such persons, and for the recovery of those who had fled in search of liberty.[18] So when the Loyalists, white and Black, came to Maritime Canada, the customs and mores surrounding the ownership and treatment of enslaved African people were already well entrenched.

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the marriage of Barbara's daughter Deborah Cuffee to Irishman John Carroll on May 4, 1772. See Harold A. Innis, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1948), 45.

[16] Karolyn Smardz Frost, "Before the Loyalists: Planting Slavery in Nova Scotia, 1759-1776," in *Unsettling the Great White North*, eds. Michele Johnson and Funké Aladejebe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pending). Earlier scholarship by Gary G. Hartlen set the figure at about 150. See his "Bound for Nova Scotia: Slaves in the Planter Migration, 1759-1800," in *Making Adjustments: Changes and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 123-28. For profitable slave-trading transactions in the West Indies undertaken by Nova Scotians of the Planter period, see for instance Samuel Starr, "Account for Slave Sold in St. Vincent, 1786," Starr Family Fonds, Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University.

[17] Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, eds., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 20-21.

[18] For instance, "Sale of a woman (age 35), two boys (ages 12 and 13), two male teenagers (ages 18), and a man (age 30)," *Halifax Gazette,* May 30, 1752, reel 8152, NSA; "Boy for Sale," *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle*, March 28, 1775, reel 8153, NSA.

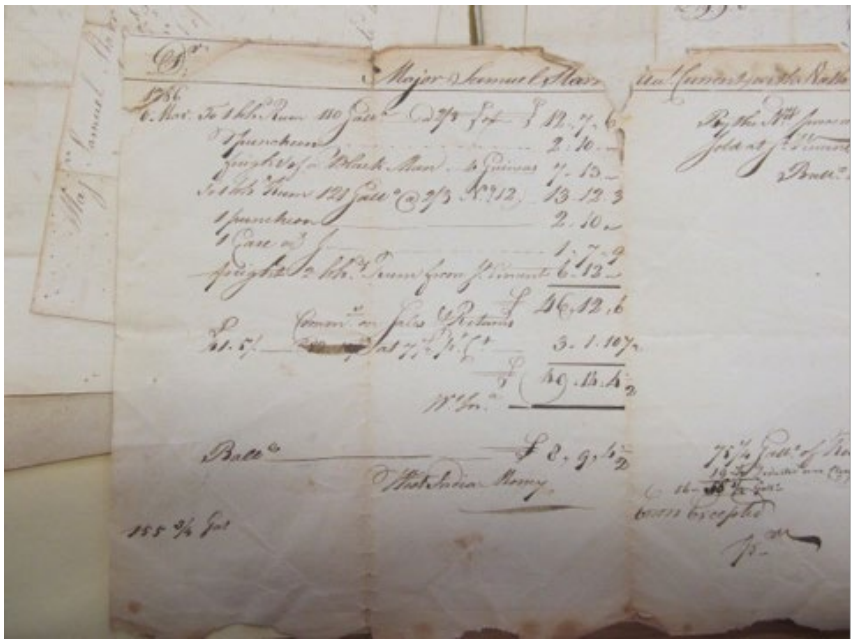

Fig. 3 "Freight of a Black man" transported by Captain Samuel Starr on behalf of merchant Nathaniel Brown for sale in St. Vincent. Cornwallis Planter Samuel Starr Accounts, Starr Family Fonds, Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University. Starr 1990.006 STA/15 account book (1764-1825)

As will be discussed later in this section, Nova Scotian legislation permitting slavery existed in only the most rudimentary form, as a reference to not permitting enslaved people to buy liquor in taverns.[19] However, there was both social acceptability and, at least at first, judicial support for the purchase, maintenance, and sale of enslaved people of African descent. To borrow eminent historian Ira Berlin's useful distinction, the Loyalists were therefore entering, if not a "slave society" where enslaved labour was considered essential to drive the colony's economic engine, at the least a "society with slaves," where slave ownership conferred both the benefit of unwaged work, and considerable prestige.[20]

Loyalists in Black and White

The Loyalist influx effectively doubled the population of Nova Scotia. It also created at Birchtown, on Nova Scotia's South Shore, the single largest free Black population in the Americas. The latter community, as well as other smaller centres in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, was home to Black Loyalists who had heeded British promises of freedom and land in return for their services to the Crown during the Revolutionary War. The number of enslaved Africans in colonial Canada also increased dramatically, since the white Loyalists were allowed to import their enslaved servants with them. The arrival of substantial numbers of enslaved and free Africans into an existing society where slavery was both customary and profitable immeasurably complicated the situation of the Black Loyalists, and set

[19] This was an *Act for Regulating Innkeepers*, passed in 1762, cited in Harvey Amani Whitfield, *North to Bondage: Loyalist Slavery in the Maritimes* (Vancouver & Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2016), 72, 160n9; and Barry Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges of Loyalist Nova Scotia," *University of New Brunswick Law Journal* 43 (1994): 73-135, 87.

[20] Ira Berlin coined this terminology in his landmark volume, *Many Thousand Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1998), 10-11.

the stage for generations of racial oppression and conflict.[21]

In leaving their former American homes, Loyalist slaveholders were thus confirmed in their right to retain their enslaved human "property." It is the height of irony that they sometimes brought enslaved people with them on the same ships on which the Black Loyalists were being transported.[22] Slavery as an institution would continue to flourish in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for more than a generation following the immigration of these refugees, both those of European extraction and the Black Loyalists. White Loyalists, or at least the slaveholders amongst them, apparently perceived little difference between free and enslaved people of African descent, and treated both with near-equal distain.

Slaveholding had been legal and progressively more widely practised since the seventeenth century throughout all of British North America, although there was considerable variation in the conditions under which enslaved people lived and worked. But whether coming from the slave societies where large-scale plantation agriculture made it most profitable, or the societies with slaves of the northern colonies, many Loyalists could not fathom a world in which Black people were not in fact enslaved. By this time in the history of the Atlantic World, slavery was inextricably linked to race, and nowhere more firmly than in Britain's North American colonies.[23]

The white Loyalist population in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick came from all walks of life, and every possible economic condition. A considerable proportion ascribed to dissenting Protestant faiths. King's College, of course, was a product of the Church of England's desire to both train up a new colonial priesthood, and prevent the sons of Loyalist resident in the Canadian Maritimes from being sent south into the nascent United States for their education.

Relevant to direct associations between slavery and King's College, Nova Scotia, how many members of the Church of England were amidst the migrants who entered the Maritime colonies cannot be tabulated. The elite among them, however, and especially those who had previously held important colonial offices, tended to adhere to the official church of the colonies. This was the established faith of Great Britain, the head of which was none other than the royal monarch King George III himself. There were therefore amongst the Loyalists many families who would go on in one way or another to support the establishment of the new King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia.[24] As is demonstrated below, a good proportion of these had either carried enslaved people to Nova Scotia or the mouth of the St. John River with them, had owned enslaved men, women, and children in their previous American homes, or had otherwise benefited from commerce in goods made by enslaved workers.

While the Black Loyalist narrative is relatively well known, it must be remembered that Lord Dunmore's 1775 Proclamation offering freedom to African Americans willing to fight for the Crown, was, first and foremost, an attempt to weaken the revolutionaries' war effort by depriving them of much-needed labour. The edict therefore applied only to African Americans enslaved by rebelling colonists. Dunmore's Proclamation had been followed by a second, this time by Sir Henry Clinton. The Phillipsburg Proclamation of June 30, 1779, again attempted to lure African Americans from their rebelling owners to aid the British war effort. Given the chance to resist their condition, thousands of Black people fled to

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[21] The authoritative work on the subject is James St. George Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). For a more recent study, see Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Black Loyalists and Black Slaves in Maritime Canada," *History Compass* 5, no. 6 (Nov. 2007): 1980-1997.

[22] Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 35.

[23] Berlin, *Many Thousand Gone*, 10-11; Barbara Jean Fields, "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* I, no. 181 (May-June 1990): 95-118.

[24] Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 39-40.

British lines over the course of the war. Britain did not meet its obligations to all of them, and an uncounted number were sold into West Indian slavery for personal profit by British military officers. Others ended up re-enslaved to white Loyalists leaving for the British Caribbean, Florida, and other parts of the Empire.

However, when Savannah was evacuated in July 1782, Black Loyalists were taken off in British transports along with whites. Before the evacuation of Charleston in November of the same year, on the other hand, the white Loyalists based in New York tried to convince General Alexander Leslie to return to their American owners, Blacks who had served the British. The white Loyalists believed this might encourage the Patriots to compensate white Loyalists for their own confiscated estates and slaveholdings. General Leslie did not do so, and some 5,000 Black Loyalists were evacuated, along with the white Loyalists. In a letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces Sir Guy Carleton, Leslie stated that he would not betray "Negroes, who having claimed our protection have borne arms in our service or otherwise rendered themselves obnoxious to the resentment of their former masters, and the severity of Rebel Laws . . . "[25] According to eminent Canadian historian James W. St. George Walker, "some white Loyalist refugees pretended their slaves were free Black Loyalists in order to procure passage for them [on the transports leaving Charleston], indicating that priority must have been given to the freemen before whites were allowed to ship their slaves." Leslie noted that there were some 4,000 Black Loyalists as well as 6,000 enslaved African Americans whom their owners wished to take with them from Charleston to destinations in the West Indies, Florida, New York, London, and Halifax.[26]

After the British surrender at Yorktown, Americans in search of their absconding human property entered New York and demanded the return of those formerly enslaved by them. In the evacuation of New York, Sir Guy Carleton insisted that those men, women, and children who were claimed by rebelling Americans but had served the Crown for more than a year would have their freedom as promised. He held to this principle, despite the fact that Article VII of the peace treaty required that the British return all forms of property to the Americans from whom it had been taken, including enslaved human beings. Brigadier General Samuel Birch issued thousands of certificates of freedom and more than 3,500 Black Loyalists left for Nova Scotia, which until 1784 included the modern New Brunswick. Those who settled near Port Roseway (Shelburne, Nova Scotia) called their settlement "Birchtown."[27]

Backgrounds of Loyalist Slaveholders and Those They Enslaved

For the African-descended people carried into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as slaves, the experience promised to be yet another in lives marked by exploitation, oppression, and personal tragedy. For many, indeed probably for most, their removal from their former homes meant the severing of ties of blood and sentiment for which there could be no replacement. Husbands and wives, children and beloved parents, siblings and friends torn from one another by the upheaval of war now lost all chance of ever being reunited with their loved ones.

With respect to their earlier lives, the conditions of their own enslavement and those under which they

[25] Lt. Gen. Alexander Leslie to Sir Guy Carleton, October 10, 1782. Public Records of Great Britain, North America, SC, 397- 403/CO 5/O16, cited in Timothy J. Compeau, "Dishonoured Americans: Loyalist Manhood and Political Death in Revolutionary America" (unpub. PhD diss., University of Western Ontario, 2015), 307n149.
[26] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 9-10.
[27] See Walker, *Black Loyalists*, Ch. 1 for details noted above. The history of Black resistance in these crucial years is discussed by Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991). See also Manisha Sinha, "To 'Cast Just Obliquy' on Oppressors: Black Radicalism in the Age of Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (January 2007): 149-60.

lived and worked varied greatly amongst African Americans imported by the Loyalists. This is a central theme that runs through the scholarship of Harvey Amani Whitfield. In his many articles and his two groundbreaking books on the topic of slavery in Maritime Canada, Whitfield shows that the slave culture that grew up after the arrival of the Loyalists was, in effect, a melting pot brewed of experiences from multiple geographic, climatic, social, and economic circumstances.[28] So, too, varied the legal context—the slave codes—that had earlier governed the lives of the enslaved in each of the Thirteen Colonies. As noted African American scholar Benjamin Quarles stated in *The Negro in the Making of America*, "The treatment of the slaves was left to the colonies . . . as a rule, the slave code was an accurate reflection of the fears and apprehensions of the colony. . . Hence the more numerous the blacks [*sic*], the more strict the slave codes." Quarles noted that in South Carolina where Blacks outnumbered whites, the codes of Jamaica and Barbados were adopted, while New York, which possessed the largest African American population of the northern colonies, had a far stricter code than Pennsylvania, for instance. Rhode Island of all the New England colonies, again with a large enslaved population, had a stricter code than Massachusetts or Connecticut.[29]

Whitfield makes the case that slaveholding Loyalists moving their enslaved workforce to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick after the Revolutionary War generally came from three regions: the North, including New England and the Middle Colonies; the Chesapeake Bay region, including tobacco-growing Maryland, and Virginia, shifting in places from tobacco to wheat production by the time of American Revolution; and the Carolina Lowcountry.[30] Once in Nova Scotia, newly-created African Nova Scotians who had themselves been kidnapped from Africa and had hideous personal recollections of the Middle Passage, now lived and worked alongside people of mixed African, European, and sometimes also Native American heritage, whose grandfathers and great-grandmothers had also been enslaved. Some, too, had laboured on sugar plantations with hundreds of enslaved workers in the West Indies, or had grown rice in the sweltering paddies of the Carolina Lowcountry where the harshest of slave codes prevailed, before being transported to Nova Scotia.

Others had been raised in the sort of "family slavery," as it was practiced in the much smaller farms, towns, and urban settings in which by far the greater proportion of enslaved servants lived in the New England and Middle Colonies. There, households might have one or two enslaved servants living, eating, and working alongside members of their owners' families; the enslaved were likely multiply-skilled as a result. Those residing in smaller holdings are believed by some scholars to have more quickly assimilated European attributes, although this was to change as increasing numbers of enslaved Africans were carried to New England and the Middle Colonies in the mid-eighteenth century. This "family slavery" would bear a far closer resemblance to the condition in which slaves lived and worked in Nova Scotia and the other Atlantic colonies than did those formerly accustomed to plantation life. Residing in intimate contact with the white families that claimed their service, domestically enslaved people in both northern and southern situations were under constant scrutiny. Having little or no personal life away

[28] See Whitfield, *North to Bondage,* 19-31, and his "The American Background of Loyalist Slaves," *Left History* (Autumn, 2009): 58-87. For a discussion of slavery, the Black Loyalists and the American Revolution, see Alan Gilbert, *Black Patriots and Loyalists: Fighting for Emancipation in the War for Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves, and the American Revolution* (New York: Ecco, 2006); Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).

[29] Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Making of America* (London, UK: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1964), 40- 41.

[30] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 13 (2010): 23-40, 27. For the Virginian shift to wheat farming by the early 1770s, see page 73.

from their owners, they were on call twenty-four hours a day.[31]

Enslaved men and women from Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island or New Hampshire were accustomed to undertaking tasks ranging from plowing, planting, harvesting, threshing, and preserving food grown in the fields of their owners, to carpentry, construction, smithing, cooperage, dressmaking, and cooking.[32] This situation was similar to the type of enslavement typical of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as Whitfield notes, although it is also true that some slaveholding Loyalists arrived with a greater number of enslaved workers than they ended up retaining once they settled into their new homes.[33] Few white Loyalist migrants to Nova Scotia came with more than eight enslaved servants in tow, and this was true even of those originating in more southerly locations. Perhaps due to the shorter growing season in the Maritime colonies that made plantation-style agriculture less profitable than they had been used to, or for factors relating to their owners' relative poverty compared to their earlier circumstances, such Loyalists sometimes put their slaves "in their pocket," and sold them out of the province. This was also a potent form of punishment. The threat of being "sold away" from home, and possibly from family members as well, was a terrible one employed by slaveholding people throughout the history of the institution in the Americas. No statistics survive as to how many enslaved African Nova Scotians would ultimately be shipped off as merchandise to the coastal United States or to the West Indies, some of them, as demonstrated later in this report, by individuals closely associated with King's College, at Windsor.[34]

White Loyalists, too, had varied expectations and experiences of slavery, depending on their own backgrounds. Slave importation had increased in the Thirteen Colonies between 1740 and 1770, causing

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[31] This form of "family slavery" is discussed at length by William Piersen, who coined the term, in Ch. 3 of his seminal volume, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988); also Joanne Pope Melish, *Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860* (NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 27-31. For Nova Scotia, see Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 72-80, which also deals with mistreatment in some detail. It also should be noted that Whitfield, in "American Background of Loyalist Slaves," discussed family slavery on page 66-67, but he also points out on page 61 that this was evolving in New England and the Middle Colonies by the time of the Revolution. Changes in slaveholding in New England and the Middle Colonies were by 1770 leading to an intensification of the use of enslaved labour in agricultural areas of Long Island, Connecticut, rural New Jersey, Pennsylvania and the Hudson River Valley. Higher rates of importation and other factors were resulting in the development of larger-scale farm use of enslaved labour. Whitfield (68) points out that: "The partial 'Africanization' of the northern slave population [between 1740 and 1770] changed sex ratios, slave mortality rates, family structure, and reduced the free black population's numbers."

[32] Fascinating insight into the day-to-day experiences of enslaved Africans living in Britain's northern American colonies in the decades immediately preceding the Revolutionary War are to be found in Chandler B. Saint and George A. Krimsky, *Making Freedom: The Extraordinary Life of Venture Smith* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2009), and in a remarkable diary kept over forty-seven years by a slaveholder and farmer in New London, Connecticut, the homestead of whom is still standing. Joshua Hempstead, *The Diary of Joshua Hempstead: A Daily Record of Life in Colonial New London, Connecticut 1711-1758* (New London, CT: New London Historical Society, 1901). Hempstead's enslaved labourer, Adam, was the subject of an in-depth study by Dr. Allegra di Bonaventura of Yale University in *For Adam's Sake: A Family Saga in Colonial New England* (New York: Liveright Publishing, division of Norton, 2013).

[33] For the purposes of this report, no King's students from Prince Edward Island who were slaveholders have been discovered, but the question merits further attention. See Harvey Amani Whitfield and Barry Cahill, "Slave Law and Slave Life on Prince Edward Island, 1763- 1825," *Acadiensis* 37, no. 2 (2009): 29-51 and the classic work of Jim Hornby*, Black Islanders: Prince Edward Island's Historical Black Community* (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 1991).

[34] T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 10 (1899): 117-19.

expansion in the plantation systems in what would become the American South. Carole Watterson Troxler's work demonstrates that most Loyalist slaveholders who retained larger numbers of enslaved workers and intended to resume their plantation-style agricultural pursuits in their new homelands migrated to the Bahamas rather than come to British North America.[35] Still, a few slaveholding families from Georgia and the Carolinas did bring their enslaved servants to Nova Scotia. Other white Loyalists arrived late, carrying with them many enslaved people. These avowed slave owners had lived for a time in Jamaica, Bermuda or other Caribbean islands, or older plantation societies where the mores and customs were somewhat different from those in the southern tier of Britain's former American colonies.[36]

Not all rural slaveholders had owned plantations, however. Loyalists who had previously farmed New England's rocky soil had yet another understanding of slave governance and slaveholding culture—usually the "family slavery" discussed above. There were also, on the eve of the Revolutionary War, a few experiments with larger-scale farming ventures dependent on slave labour, particularly on the outskirts of Boston. Those Loyalists who came from both urban and rural New York had a different experience, influenced by the former Dutch model in play during the heyday of New Amsterdam.[37]

Urban-dwelling slaveholders from the Chesapeake and the Carolina Lowcountry, as well as the Northern colonies, included both the well-to-do and the middling classes.[38] Shipping company owners in port cities like Boston, Portland, Newport, and New York had vessels plying the routes of the West Indian trade, or were importing Africans directly from the continent as part of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Amongst the Loyalists in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were a few members of elite families such as the Van Courtlandts of New York, who would go on to send their sons to King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia. They had once derived immense wealth from slavery and the trade in slave-produced goods, and they also had relatives and friends who were owners of Caribbean plantations. Most of the elite Loyalists, however, who managed to hang on to their wealth did not join the exodus to Nova Scotia, but rather, as mentioned above, went to either Britain or the Caribbean.[39]

Still other Loyalists came from a different segment of the financial spectrum. There were backcountry people from South Carolina, as well as those who had resided in rural New York, Pennsylvania and elsewhere.[40] Others were town or city-dwellers of more modest means, including craftsmen and shopkeepers, clerks and artisans. They were used to having one or two enslaved servants in their households, and perhaps operated their businesses with one or more enslaved apprentices or

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[35] Carole Watterson Troxler, "Loyalist Refugees and the British Evacuation of East Florida, 1783-1785," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (July 1981): 1-28, 59. See Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia," 27. For the Virginian shift to wheat farming by the early 1770s, see Whitfield, 73.

[36] Most of these went first to St. Augustine, and then settled in Country Harbour, at the extreme eastern end of mainland Nova Scotia, while a few went to Rawdon not far from Windsor, Shelburne on the South Shore, and Manchester, in Guysborough County. See Judith Tulloch, "Marshall, Joseph," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/marshall_joseph_7E.html; Carole Watterson Troxler, "'The Great Man of the Settlement'": North Carolina's John Legett at Country Harbour, Nova Scotia, 1783-1812," *North Carolina Historical Review*. 67, no. 3 (July 1990): 285-314; Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 44.

[37] Ira Berlin and Leslie Harris, eds., *Slavery in New York* (New York: The New Press, 2005); Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[38] Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia," 73-74.

[39] Ann Farrow, Joel Lang, and Jenifer Frank, *Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged and Profited from Slavery* (Hartford, CT: The Hartford Courant, 2005), 53.

[40] See, for instance, Troxler, "Great Man of the Settlement," 285-314.

labourers.[41]

Finally, there were amongst the Loyalist founders of King's College in Nova Scotia, and the Church of England clergy who both taught and studied there, a number of men who originated in the British Isles. The English, Scottish and Irish who came to North America and acquired slaves by purchase or marriage had a different understanding again of what slavery meant and how it worked. While slavery was still practised in England, Ireland and Scotland in the 1780s, the actual numbers of enslaved Africans were relatively few (about 15,000) and those tended to belong to very wealthy people. There were also about 10,000 free Blacks, many of whom lived in urban areas and especially in the port cities.[42]

Slavery in Loyalist Nova Scotia

Whatever their own origins, slave owners amongst the Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia during and after the American Revolution were convinced of their right to both own humans as property, and to import them to their new place of abode. These Loyalists, members of the Church of England amongst them, had sacrificed home, property and position for their loyalty to the Crown. To be sure, not all of them had been wealthy or held enslaved "servants" in their previous lives in the Thirteen Colonies. Those who had, however, wanted nothing more than to re-establish themselves in a manner befitting their prior stations, or at least those to which they aspired, with all the trappings thereof. Furthermore, if they had managed to salvage anything at all from their American possessions, it was movable property, including chattel, a term that included the enslaved men, women and children who served them.

As University of New Brunswick historian Dr. Bonnie Huskins put it in her recent article, "'New Hope' in Shelburne, Nova Scotia:" "Slavery was an important component of the white Loyalist dream in Nova Scotia," and such "settlers believed that they needed slaves to ensure economic independence."[43] Indeed, their property in human beings might be all that was left of some families' saleable assets. While it is believed that white Loyalists imported between about 1,500 and 2,000 enslaved people to Nova Scotia and what is now New Brunswick, estimating their numbers with any precision is almost impossible. Part of the problem lies in terminology; Loyalist slaveholders and even the government and other officials keeping the records, employed the term "servant" for both enslaved people, and free workers; the latter could be either Black or white. Far from being limited to the Loyalists, the euphemism appeared throughout the English-speaking world of the day; it was apparently considered more genteel than outright calling someone a "slave," but it complicates our studies immeasurably.[44]

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[41] There are multiple volumes on the topic, but important recent work on the early history and evolution of slavery in the New England colonies is in Wendy Warren's *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America*, (New York: Liveright/W.W. Norton, 2016). The classic work on New England slavery is by Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England* (New York: Athenaeum Press, 1968). However, modern scholars emphatically reject Greene's emphasis on the relative "kindness" of New England slavery.

[42] For a compelling newer study of British slavery, see Gretchen Gerzina, *Black London: Life before Emancipation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995). For the Black Poor, see Stephen Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786 – 1791* (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 1994) and Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 2018, reprint of 1984 edition), esp. Ch. 8, 194ff.

[43] Bonnie Huskins, "'New Hope,' in Shelburne, Nova Scotia: Loyalist Dreams in the Journal of British Engineer William Booth, 1780s-90s," in *The Consequences of Loyalism: Essays in Honour of Robert Calhoun,* eds. Rebecca Brannon and Joseph S. Moore (Columbia: University of North Carolina, 2019), 104-23, 118.

[44] This is discussed in detail in Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 10-12.

According to the "Return of Loyalists Gone from New York to Nova Scotia," there were 3,360 "servants" in the migration. By far the majority of these would have been enslaved Blacks, but again, exact numbers are impossible to pinpoint because of the terminology.[45] However, there is an important clue that may assist in defining who amongst those "servants" was in fact enslaved. If only a single, first name is provided in the documentation, one may assume that person was very likely to have been enslaved. It was part of the psychology of dominance that buttressed the slave system throughout the Americas that most slave owners addressed their enslaved servants only by a first name. A beloved or elderly person might gain the appellation "Aunt" or "Uncle" as an honorific, or be called after their craft or trade, as in "Carpenter Jim." But one would never address one's enslaved housekeeper as "Mrs. Smith," or one's valet as "Mr. Johnson," for those honorifics were reserved for people of European descent. Thus it is our contention that those "servants" who were identified with only a first name in the records were most likely enslaved.[46]

At the same time, people identified by both their first names and last names may have been either servants or enslaved. Scholars now recognize that Africans forcibly migrated to North America in slave ships usually took surnames for themselves very shortly after their arrival. That may have been the name of the family who claimed their ownership in law; indeed, this was the most common assumption on the part of the slaveholders themselves. Alternatively, an enslaved person might choose a surname for sentimental or other reasons, often one with geographic and occupational significance. However they came to be chosen, such surnames followed down through both the male and female lines, especially in places where "family slavery" pertained and there were often insufficient opportunities to form a family within a single slaveholding. In such cases, people found partners amongst enslaved men and women claimed by other owners. In the parlance of the day, this was known as an "abroad" marriage. Surnames used within the enslaved population endured through sales, transfers, and bequests, too.[47]

There is a further complication as well. The "Book of Negroes," handwritten records that noted the name, description, former ownership and other information about each of the Black Loyalists who

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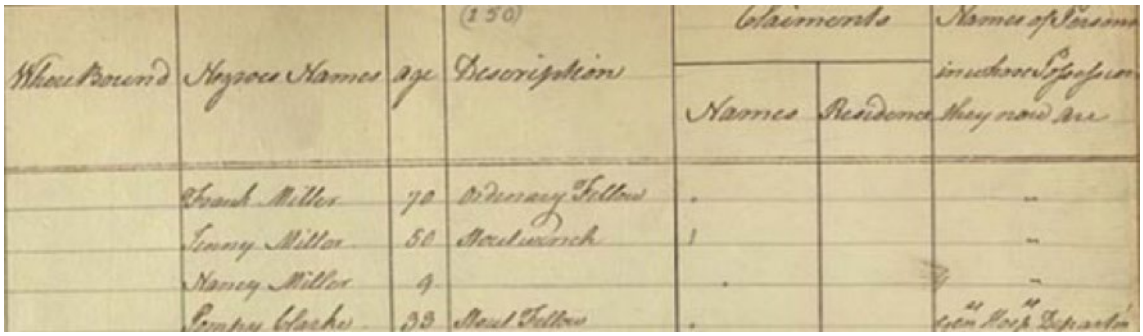
[45] Walker, in *Black Loyalists*, gave an earlier figure of about 1,232 people, but he was basing his information on the 1784 census taken by Colonel Robert Morse. This census omitted Shelburne County, which received by far the largest number of enslaved servants brought by the Loyalists, a number believed to be in excess of 1,200 people. For a discussion of both terminology and numbers of slaves brought into Maritime Canada by Loyalists, see Smith, "Slave in Canada," 23; Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 34; Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia," 24. The "Book of Negroes" lists 333 enslaved African Americans who were taken to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by their Loyalist owners.

[46] Karolyn Smardz Frost, *I've Got a Home in Glory Land: A Lost Tale of the Underground Railroad* (New York: Farrar, Straus Giroux, and Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2007), xix-xxi.

[47] People in colonial America were sold away, given to married daughters to become the property of their new husbands, or even raffled off in lotteries. They retained their own surnames when transferred from one owner to another, however, and thus the surname claimed by the enslaved often bore no relation at all to that of the people who claimed their service. While slaveholders did not officially employ surnames for their "servants," they were certainly aware that they had them, as is evident from colonial-era runaway slave ads with statements such as: "Absconded from my service, Caesar, calls himself George Smith . . ." The issue surrounding slave surnames is discussed in John B. Boles, *Black Southerners, 1619-1869* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 43; Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 443ff; Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 185-256; Cheryll Ann Cody, "There Was No 'Absalom' on the Ball Plantations," *The American Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (June 1987): 563-96. See also Philip D. Morgan, "The Significance of Kin," in *The Slavery Reader*, vol. 1, eds. Gad G. Heuman and James Walvin (New York: Routledge, 2003), 322-54, esp. 347-49.

boarded transports out of New York harbour during the evacuation, has a column entitled "Names of Persons in whose Possession they now are." The meaning of this is quite ambiguous (see table 1). Some of the people there named were prominent white Loyalists. In some cases, African Americans boarding the ships were clearly marked as still being enslaved to the white Loyalist families who had claimed their service in the Thirteen Colonies or else had more recently purchased them. Others, as the work of both Walker and Whitfield demonstrate, had indentured themselves to white Loyalists as their servants or workmen. However, that leaves a significant number who were supposed to have been free Black Loyalists. Yet various white Loyalists were clearly listed as having "possession" of some of them.

Table. 1 Excerpt from the "Book of Negroes." The right-hand column reads, "Names of Persons in whose possession they now are." Sir Guy Carleton Papers, Nova Scotia Archives.[48]



The column in the "Book of Negroes" entitled "Names of Persons in whose Possession they now are" is therefore quite problematic in respect to ascertaining which students, faculty and others associated with King's College were in fact slaveholders. Why would free Black Loyalists be described as "possessions of" whites? None of the scholarly volumes consulted were able to provide a definitive answer. It is possible that certain of the Black Loyalists, free though they were, feared capture and/or re-enslavement, and sought a less formal association with powerful whites for their own protection? As noted earlier, before the Loyalist evacuation, American slave owners came to New York to claim formerly enslaved individuals whom they considered their property. Boston King also states that one deserting Loyalist tried to re-enslave him, and his was hardly a unique experience.[49] Attaching oneself to a powerful white protector was, of course, a common practice amongst free Black people engaged in business, for instance, in the American South, and we suggest here that it may have also been the case for Black Loyalists threatened with capture and re-enslavement by their former owners during the evacuation of New York.[50]

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[48] "Book of Negroes," Guy Carleton, 1st Baron Dorchester: Papers, The National Archives, Kew (PRO 30/55/100 (150)) 10427. Image reproduced by permission of The National Archives. Image online in the "Book of Negroes, 1783" database, African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition exhibit, NSA, accessed August 18, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/book-of-negroes/page/?ID=86.

[49] Boston King in "Memoirs of the life of Boston King, A Black Preacher . . ." *Methodist Magazine* (March-June 1798), 108. Boston King had escaped slavery to serve in the British Army during the Revolutionary War. While in South Carolina, the Loyalist Captain Lewes of the Rocky Mount Militia Regiment told King he was deserting to the Americans and that King must accompany him, or he would put King in irons and give him "a dozen stripes every morning." Boston King managed to escape back to the British and informed on Lewes, who had been stealing horses for his personal enrichment.

[50] See for example, the case of Southern Black barbers both before and after the Civil War, where white patrons offered protection in case of legal and other difficulties. Douglas W. Bristol, Jr., "Regional Identity, Black Barbers and the African American Tradition of Entrepreneurialism," *Southern Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (Jan. 2006): 74-96, 85; Quincy T. Mills, *Cutting along the Color Line: Black Barbers and Barber Shops in America* (Philadelphia: University of

However, we would also like to suggest an alternate reason for this curious state of affairs. In describing the evacuation of Charleston, which had taken place in November of 1782, James W. St. George Walker shows that slaveholders fallaciously called their own enslaved servants "Black Loyalists" in order to get them onto the transport ships. Apparently free Blacks and white Loyalists took precedence, with enslaved human property of lesser importance to the British officers loading the overcrowded vessels. Did this also happen at Boston, Savannah, New Jersey and New York? If so, the lists of Black Loyalists upon which scholars depend—including the "Book of Negroes"—may well include more people who were considered still enslaved to white Loyalist masters than has previously been thought. It is certainly a matter that bears further exploration.

However, by whatever manner they reached Nova Scotia, it is known that these still-enslaved "servants" suffered both directly and indirectly from the same hardships as did those who claimed their service. The conditions encountered by the white Loyalists upon their arrival in Maritime Canada were challenging, to say the least. The situation was exacerbated by delays in assigning them their promised land grants, as was also the case for the Black Loyalists, at least for those who received any land at all. Lieutenant Colonel Morse, who travelled in the province in late 1783 through the summer months of 1794, wrote of the white Loyalists: "If those poor people who, from want of land to cultivate and raise a subsistence to themselves, are not fed by Government . . . *they must perish*." If the white Loyalists were themselves in danger of going hungry in what soon came to be called "Nova Scarcity," what were conditions like for the enslaved people they brought with them?[51]

Much of the land granted the Loyalists, white as well as Black, was heavily forested, and even when cleared the fields were not necessarily productive. Land grants surrounding Port Roseway, later renamed Shelburne, for instance, proved to be rocky, with thin, unproductive soils. Those among the white Loyalists who intended farming had a rough go of it, but having enslaved workers provided a definite advantage. Their "servants" could be profitably employed in heavy labour, some in animal husbandry and other agricultural pursuits, in timbering, land-clearing, and plowing virgin soil. Enslaved women worked alongside men in the fields, especially in planting and harvest time, or were ordered to dairying, the preservation of food and household tasks as well as childcare.[52]

According to studies made by historian Bonnie Huskins of contemporary accounts relating to Loyalist behaviours at Shelburne, some white Loyalists expended far too much of their remaining funds, and presumably the labour of their enslaved skilled tradesmen and artisans, on building elegant homes and holding genteel entertainments, all the while jockeying for prestigious and hopefully lucrative government appointments. As Huskins points out, these behaviours may have been irresponsible but they were certainly understandable, given the focus on social mobility in this period. As she explains in a recent article, those who made up the white Loyalist influx came from a wide variety of backgrounds and stations in life. Relatively few had been amongst the elite in their former colonial American homes, while a great many were artisans, craftspeople and small business owners. These latter in particular saw moving to Nova Scotia as an opportunity to elevate their social status.[53] The more practical among

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Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 41-42.

[51] Quoted in Hind, *University of King's College*, 12-13.

[52] Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 49-50.

[53] Bonnie Huskins, "'Shelburnian Manners': Gentility and the Loyalists of Shelburne, Nova Scotia," *Early American Studies* 13, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 151-188, and her recent "'New Hope,' in Shelburne," 105-6. We would like to thank Bonnie Huskins for so kindly assisting with the wording of this section, and for her multiple contributions to the scholarship that we have referenced here. See also Bonnie Huskins, "'Remarks and Rough Memorandums': Social Sets, Sociability, and Community in the Journal of William Booth, Shelburne, 1787 and 1789," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 13 (2010): 103-32.

them, granted infertile farmland, sought to establish themselves in business, shipping, trading and commercial ventures linking Nova Scotian ports with Britain's former American colonies and the West Indies. Again, having chattel slaves to assist with the work gave them an edge over non-slaveholders. Enslaved shipbuilders constructed vessels, wharves and warehouses, navvies loaded and unloaded the cargoes, and experienced sailors crewed the ships of their those who claimed to own their bodies.[54]

Whatever their previous experiences and inclinations, once in Nova Scotia or settled in the newly-created New Brunswick, the slaveholders among the Loyalists set about re-establishing the mechanisms of control that had governed human bondage in their former American locations. Enslaved Africans in the Maritime colonies were subjected to the same brutal punishments that were the means of coercion throughout the Americas. Whippings, beatings and floggings are all recorded as having been commonplace wherever slavery flourished. Children or beloved spouses were sold away, sometimes to the West Indies so there was no hope of reunion. In some cases, people murdered their enslaved servants, with little consequence, a factor in colonial Nova Scotian slave life that echoes down through oral histories preserved in African Nova Scotian communities.[55]

Women were raped or forced into unwanted sexual relations. It takes little imagination to consider what might have induced a young woman named Thursday to flee the household of John Rock, who advertised for her return in the *Halifax Gazette* of September 1, 1772. Described as being "about four-and-a-half feet high, broad-set with a lump over her right eye," she had left Rock's home on August 18, wearing "a red cloth petticoat, a red baize bed-gown, and a red ribbon about her head."[56]

Loyalists, Slavery and King's College, Nova Scotia

As stated in the introduction to this section, the Anglican Loyalists who made their way to Nova Scotia during and after the American Revolution, who supported the establishment of the new King's College there, enrolled their sons, taught at the institution, or otherwise contributed to its ongoing governance, were the very people least inclined to adopt Enlightenment-bred ideals in respect to "natural law" and an individual's right to self-determination.

Nor can one look to post-Revolutionary America for rejection of the continued practice of human bondage. On the one hand, the freshly-minted US federal government was not clear on the rectitude of slaveholding: the Northwest Ordinance, passed in 1787, prohibited "slavery and involuntary servitude" in the vast unsettled area north of the Ohio River. On the other, the American Constitution was ratified

[54] The difficulties encountered by Loyalists in the Canadian Maritimes are discussed in multiple publications, including such works as Marion Robertson, *King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1983); Ann Gorman Condon, *The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1984); Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986); Steven Kimber, *Loyalists and Layabouts: The Rapid Rise and Faster Fall of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1783–1792* (Toronto: Doubleday, 2008). Regarding Shelburne's situation, entertainments, and the reasons of the subsequent depopulation of what had seemed a most promising settlement, see Charles Weatherell and Robert W. Roetger, "Notes and Comments: Another Look at the Loyalists of Shelburne, 1783-1795," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (1989): 76-91. For examples of still-enslaved Africans at Shelburne, see Whitfield, *"*Slavery in English Nova Scotia,*"* 20-33, and the table on page 34, and Whitfield, "American Background," esp. 59-63.

[55] This was the case with Susan Barclay, sister of James DeLancey of Annapolis Royal. See Smith, "Slave in Canada," 77; Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 79-80.

[56] He did manage to retrieve her, for when his will was probated in 1776, John Rock was still possessed of an enslaved female servant named Thursday. See Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The History of Kings County, Nova Scotia, Heart of the Acadian Land* (Salem, MA: Salem Press Company, 1910), 235.

that same year, confirming the right of slaveholders to retain their enslaved "servants." The Three-Fifth's Compromise of 1787 made each enslaved person worth three-fifths of a white man for voting purposes. This determined how many congressmen there would be from each state in order to balance the populations of northern and southern constituencies for electoral purposes.[57]

Eschewing the rhetoric of the war years, the southernmost of the former Thirteen Colonies remained firmly wedded to maintaining the institution, and by legal means strengthened their hold on their enslaved human property. Indeed, slavery in the United States would not end for another eight decades, and only then in bloody Civil War. It may be said, however, that in the aftermath of revolution, some slaveholders in the Upper South, such as Maryland and Virginia, did free their enslaved servants. One Somerset County Marylander named Philip Graham summed up his reasons for manumitting his human property in 1787: "Slavery is repugnant to the golden Law of God and the unalienable rights of mankind, as well as to every principle of the Late glorious revolution which has taken place in America."[58]

Black Americans took the opportunity to remind the nascent United States of Revolutionary-era liberation rhetoric by petitioning courts for their freedom. It was in part due to their ongoing resistance, and reflecting the tenor of the times, that the northern states took steps towards ending slavery within their borders. Most took a gradual approach to the emancipation process, and individuals of African descent would remain enslaved in places like Connecticut and New York for many years to come.[59]

In what remained of British North America, on the other hand, slaveholding Loyalists seem to have been no more likely than those from the Southern states to give up their human "property," once they were ensconced in their new homes. Nor did the Church of England faithful in their midst seem to have felt particularly conscience-bound to do so. As Troxler has noted, those with large slaveholdings did not come to the Maritime colonies but rather tended to migrate to the British West Indies and also to Florida. It was generally those possessing fewer enslaved workers who sought new homes in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.[60] Still, the Church of England Loyalists in Nova Scotia included a few large-scale planters who had earlier fled to St. Augustine, in Eastern Florida, during the evacuation of Charleston and Savannah. Once that haven was no longer open to them, they came to Nova Scotia, starting in the fall of 1783 with 368 members of the disbanding Carolina regiments and another 132 family members and enslaved servants. More boarded ship in 1784 and 1785. Whatever its reported drawbacks, Nova Scotia was the last part of British North America that still had substantial land grants readily available by that time.[61]

How many Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia in these waves of migration were adherents of the Church of England cannot be quantified. There were plenty who adhered to dissenting Protestant denominations amongst the refugees. Still, by their rejection of revolutionary precepts, those members of the Church of England who were most likely to be involved in the creation of this new King's College

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[57] Howard A. Ohline, "Republicanism and Slavery: Origins of the Three-Fifths Clause in the United States Constitution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (Oct. 1971): 563-84, 563-64.
[58] Quoted in Lerone Bennett Jr., *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1962*, 8th ed. (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 2007), 62.
[59] Herbert Aptheker, ed., in *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States,* vol. 1 (New York: Citadel Press, 1951), 5-12, provides transcriptions of several such petitions.
[60] Troxler, "Loyalist Refugees," 59.
[61] Carole Watterson Troxler, "Re-enslavement of Black Loyalists: Mary Postell in South Carolina, East Florida, and Nova Scotia," *Acadiensis* 37, no. 2 (Summer/Autumn 2008): 70-85; and her "Great Man of the Settlement," 293. For numbers of migrants in the fall of 1783, see Troxler, "Loyalist Refugees," 21, where she shows that a total of 755 white Loyalists and 155 people of African ancestry, free and enslaved went to Nova Scotia.

may well also have been keen to reject the concepts of "natural law," universal rights, the separation of church and state, and a host of other democratizing sentiments. These concepts, arising from the European Enlightenment, were exactly the sort of ideas that had led to the Revolutionary War, and thus to their own state as impoverished refugees.[62]

This was also very much in line with views in Great Britain following the loss of its American colonies. In a very real way, the founding of a new King's College in Windsor, Nova Scotia, was a manifestation of Britain's own desire, and that of the Church of England clergymen who provided leadership for the creation of the institution, to return their world to its proper order.[63] A closer, more stable connection between government and their own faith, the state denomination, was considered essential to ensuring the peaceful hegemony of the British Crown in what remained of the North American colonies. Margaret R. Conrad and James K. Hillier summarized the situation as follows:

> In the wake of the American Revolution the British government was anxious to strengthen the authority of the Crown and to create a rigid class system in the colonies. The Church of England, the established church in Great Britain, was selected to play a leading role. In 1787 Charles Inglis, the Loyalist former Rector of Trinity Church in New York, was consecrated the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, with jurisdiction over all the British North American colonies, including Newfoundland and Bermuda. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church of England missionary arm, helped pay the salaries of the clergymen and the cost of building churches. To help sustain the class structure, Inglis supported the founding of King's College in Windsor in 1788 as an inclusive institution for the sons of the Church of England elite.[64]

This was also the view of William Knox, who was the Undersecretary of State for the colonies in the period leading up to and including the Revolutionary War. He was active in the SPG and wrote of the importance of institutions of higher education to inculcate both Anglican and patriotic British values in the colonists, saying they would:

> diffuse Literature, Loyalty and good Morals among the Colonists: The Want of them will be attended with one or other of the following bad Consequences – either, Ignorance must prevail among the Inhabitants; or, they must send their Children to Great Britain or Ireland for Education, which will involve them in an Expense that few can bear; or, to some College in the American States, where they will be sure to imbibe Principles that are unfriendly to the British Constitution.[65]

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[62] Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 39-40.

[63] As Henry Roper put it in his "Traditions Lecture" delivered at King's College on Sept. 3, 2013 (revised Sept. 11, 2013):

> The history of King's can be understood in the light of the dilemmas of tradition. The college was founded by Loyalists, fugitives from the American Revolution. They hoped to create in the colonies that had remained loyal to Britain societies that would be immune to the levelling tendencies of the newly independent colonies to the south, whose founding principles were encapsulated in the words written by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence.

[64] Margaret R. Conrad and James K. Hillier, *Atlantic Canada: A History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010), 98-99.

[65] Quoted in Carol McLeod, "King's College, Windsor, N.S.," National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Manuscript Report Series No. 163, Parks Canada, 1975, available on the Parks Canada eHistory website, accessed July 7, 2019, http://parkscanadahistory.com/publications/research-publications-1998.pdf.

Building a college that would offer higher education in an emphatically Church of England setting, and particularly one that could provide training for those intending to take Holy Orders, was also imperative in the view of Charles Inglis, the newly-consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia, and those who supported his considerable efforts in this regard. He firmly believed that having such a college would help fill the pulpits of his new episcopal see, while discouraging elite Loyalist families from sending their sons south, to be educated in suspect principles and ideas in colleges located in the United States.

The provision of an education firmly founded on Church of England principles, both for lay students and those studying divinity, also offered a bulwark against the various Protestant sects. Bishop Inglis was convinced these had been at least partly responsible for arousing rebellious sentiments in Britain's American colonies, although Inglis made an outward show of cooperating with ministers of other faiths.[66] The idea of a new King's College in Windsor, Nova Scotia, was thus very much in line with both Church of England priorities for its inaugural North American bishopric, and British governmental plans for cementing colonial loyalties in what remained of British North America.

Loyalism and the Rise of Antislavery

It is therefore interesting that at the time of the Revolutionary War, and the subsequent resettlement of the Loyalists in Maritime Canada, those same Enlightenment-bred ideas that brought about the Revolution and that the Loyalists had so manifestly rejected, were causing people of conscience in Great Britain to question the morality of trafficking in human beings. Rebelling Americans had frequently employed the term "slavery" to describe their own position relative to British overseas rule. The contradiction was not lost on at least some slaveholders, they manumitted their "servants" in response. Even George Washington did so in his will. Evangelical ministers also were effective in convincing people to free the enslaved. The African-descended peoples suffering under the yoke of slavery, too, were inspired by the language of freedom and equality. Both during and following the American Revolution, enslaved people engaged in multiple acts of resistance that in the long run hastened the passage of immediate or gradual abolition legislation, at least in the newly formed northern states.[67]

Loyalists making their way in colonial Nova Scotia and New Brunswick certainly knew of the debates over slavery that were going on in other parts of the English-speaking world and the European continent. As Whitfield states In *North to Bondage*:

> Educated Maritimers kept up with the debates regarding the slave trade, slavery and

[66] Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 35-37.

[67] Art Budros, "The Antislavery Movement in Early America: Religion, Social Environment and Slave Manumissions," *Social Forces* 84, no. 2 (Dec., 2005): 941-66; Fritz Hirschfeld, "Last Will and Testament," in *George Washington and Slavery: A Documentary Portrayal* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 209-23. For the impact of the Revolution on enslaved African Americans see Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1961). Chapter 3 explains the connection between evangelical religion and manumission during and immediately after the war, and discusses early antislavery activism. He also suggests it was General Lafayette who convinced Washington to manumit his enslaved workers in his will (Ch. 10). On the other hand, Justin Roberts in *Slavery and the Enlightenment in the British Atlantic, 1750–1807* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 6ff says that scholars have placed too much emphasis on the positive side of Enlightenment thinking in respect to slavery. Instead, his study focuses attention on the concept that moral and technical, or commercial progress, were parallel concepts that directly influenced changes in the way work was organized and production quantified in plantations during the eighteenth century, developing a sort of factory-farm model with a complex hierarchy of white oversight.

> court decisions in England and Scotland. The *Nova-Scotia Magazine* published several articles on these subjects, with titles such as "Cursory Remarks on the Commerce in Slaves," and "Manner of Selling Slaves in the West Indies." The personal correspondence of John Saunders, later a New Brunswick Supreme Court justice, demonstrates that Loyalists closely followed the 1790s debates regarding the slave trade.[68]

But these concepts and sentiments would have fallen on deaf ears among those Loyalists who, in moving to Maritime Canada, yearned for a return to the British colonial world of their youth. They had been both participants in, and beneficiaries of, the best that the Atlantic World economic system had to offer. Thus, even if the founders of this new Nova Scotian King's College and the parents of future King's students no longer held or traded in human beings, they still had grown up in places where slavery was a normal element of the society and culture. Indeed they themselves had profited therefrom in myriad ways. Before their migration out of the former Thirteen Colonies, their own educations had been paid for with monies derived directly or indirectly from slavery. So had their fine homes, their genteel entertainments and their international travel.

Some of their family fortunes had been actually built on human trafficking, through participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade. The Bayards of New York, one of whom had been the city's mayor who oversaw the lottery to raise funds for the King's College that was established in New York City in 1754, were particularly so engaged. The Bayard family had been part-owners of eight slave ships plying the ocean between Africa and North American ports as well as building their own private sugar mill at the north end of the Trinity Church property, opposite the site of New York City's King's College. Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Vetch Bayard, a Loyalist officer who settled at Wilmot, Nova Scotia, after the Revolutionary War, would miss Bishop Charles Inglis' visit during his first episcopal visitation in the province. This member of the Bayard family would send his son Robert to King's Academy in Windsor, Nova Scotia.[69]

James DeLancey, once in Nova Scotia, continued as a slaveholder and at least four students who attended King's before 1803 bore that surname.[70]

An important future research topic would be to explore the female side of Loyalist families for connections to slavery. Mothers of boys who would attend King's included heiresses to West Indian plantations, and others of those same boys' sisters and aunts who had gone south to marry into the plantation-owning class in Jamaica or Barbados or Trinidad.[71] As Shirley Tillotson's report has so ably

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[68] Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 8-9.

[69] Alan J. Singer, *New York and Slavery: Time to Teach the Truth* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2008); "Bayard, Nicholas," "Bayard, Samuel," and "Bayard, William," in *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. 1, eds. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske (New York: D. Appleton, 1888), 188-99. The Bayards were intermarried with the Stuyvesant family, arriving with them in 1646. Both families were deeply engaged in the slave trade, including trading enslaved people between New Amsterdam and the Dutch Antilles. See Nicole Saffold Maskiell, "Bound by Bondage: Slavery Among Elites in Colonial Massachusetts and New York" (unpub. PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 2013), 29-48. For Bishop Inglis' visit, see Reginald V. Harris, *Charles Inglis, Missionary, Loyalist, Bishop (1734-1816)* (Toronto: General Board of Religious Education, 1937), 88. For Robert Bayard's attendance at King's see A. D. Gibbon, "Bayard, Robert," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed Jan 3, 2021, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bayard_robert_9E.html.

[70] "James DeLancey," Ancestry.com, American Loyalist Claims Series II, Nov. 7, 1783; Whitfield, "American Background," 58-87; George DeLancey Hanger, "The Life of Loyalist Colonel James DeLancey," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 3, no. 2 (1983): 39-56, 49; James Ranlet and Richard B. Morris, "Richard Morris' James DeLancey, A Portrait in Loyalism," *New York History* 80, no. 2 (April 1999): 185-210.

[71] Indeed, the records of the Slavery Compensation Commission starting in 1833 show that more than 40% of

shown, there were multiple less direct connections with slavery. In pre-Revolutionary Boston, New York, Portsmouth and Providence, fathers and grandfathers of future King's students had made fortunes trading in slavery and/or slave-produced goods. They shipped to the West Indies foodstuffs, dried fish and timber to meet the needs of plantation owners in places where land was deemed too valuable to grow food to nourish the Black bodies who worked it. In return, they had received sugar and its products, some of which they turned into rum for trade with Africa in return for still more enslaved people. Enslaved carpenters and shipwrights constructed their houses and merchant establishments, wharves, and the ships they used in the trade. Their food had been grown by enslaved people working the fields of New England or Pennsylvania or the Carolinas, and all too often, at least in Southern climes, their children nursed at the breasts of African women who were their mothers in all but blood.[72]

Loyalist Slavery and the Anglican Church

It was not until 2006, that the Church of England issued a formal pronouncement condemning either the Atlantic Slave Trade or slavery itself. Before the American Revolution and for some time after it, Anglican ministers throughout North America and in England, Scotland, and Ireland too, enthusiastically participated in both slaveholding and in the Atlantic Slave Trade. Indeed, when the British ended slavery in the West Indies in 1833—the Slavery Abolition Act went into effect in 1834— Henry Philpotts, the Bishop of Exeter and his business partners received compensation for their losses in the amount of £13,000, much more than did the rest of the church and its prelates collectively. The Archbishop of Canterbury collected some £9,000 on behalf of the Church of England.[73]

As is detailed in section 6 of this report, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) also derived a good deal of its sustenance from slavery and the profits thereof, although income from its own Codrington Plantations in Barbados were nearly all reinvested there. Founded as a missionary organization in the first decade of the eighteenth century, this organization underwrote the salaries of ministers sent out to the Thirteen Colonies, sponsored education for both African and First Nations people where they would learn to read and to acquire enough knowledge of the faith to become converts, and after the Revolution continued to support Church of England missions and missionaries in British North America.

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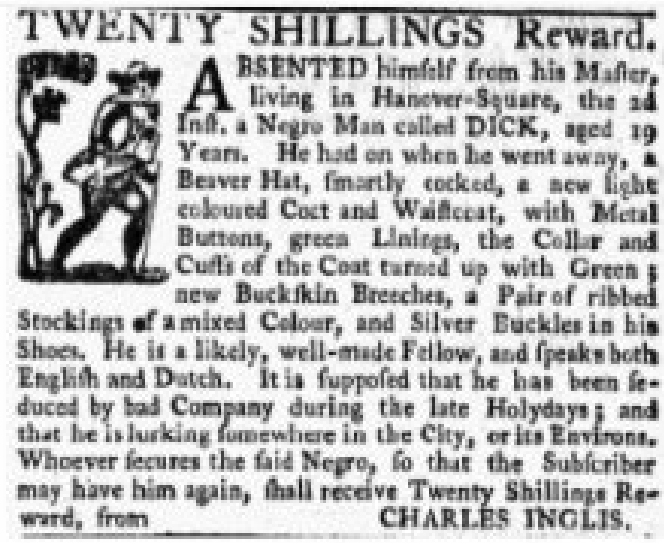
residents of the British Isles who owned enslaved people in the British West Indies were women. See David Olusoga, "The History of British Slave Ownership Has Been Buried: Now Its Scale Can Be Revealed," *The Observer Magazine* online, July 12, 2015, accessed Sept. 12, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/12/british-history-slavery-buried-scale-revealed. The records of the Slave Compensation Commission include the names of slaveholders who received recompense for their losses after Britain passed the Slavery Abolition Act in 1834, the numbers of enslaved human beings they had owned, and the amounts they were awarded. These have been recently mined for data by Dr. Catherine Hall and Dr. Nicholas Draper of the University College, London Legacies of British Slave-Ownership project, accessed Sept. 12, 2018, http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/.

[72] Tillotson, "How (and How Much)."

[73] Jonathan Petre, "Church Offers Apology for Its Role in Slavery," *The Telegraph*, Feb. 9, 2006, accessed Dec. 9, 2018, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1510048/Church-offers-apology-for-its-role-in-slavery.html. We are indebted to Temple University historian Travis F. Glasson, who has studied extensively the history of the SPG. We appreciate both his scholarship and his personal assistance in clarifying aspects of the Society's history and finances. Travis F. Glasson, email messages to the author, Aug. 6 & 9, 2019. Travis F. Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World" (unpub. PhD diss., Columbia University, 2005); Travis F. Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), esp. 226-28.

As will be shown in the second section of this report, the SPG was a mainstay of King's College, Nova Scotia, for decades. It owned Codrington Plantation in Barbados, a sugar operation it had inherited complete with literally hundreds of enslaved workers. The SPG had the word "Society" branded on their bodies until 1733, a cruelty of which much has been made in respect to the Anglican Church's recent attempts to apologize for its actions regarding slavery. The amount of money that actually flowed into SPG coffers for distribution from this source remains a subject for further research. However, the SPG did have fee-paying slaveholders amongst its members and had no scruples about accepting donations provided by those among the faithful whose own fortunes were based, in one way or another, on slavery.[74]

A good example of slavery and attitudes towards it held by Loyalists who would settle in Maritime Canada can be seen in the Reverend Charles Inglis himself. Irish-born schoolteacher Charles Inglis had emigrated to the American colonies as a young man but returned to England to take up Holy Orders. Upon his ordination he had been dispatched by the SPG to minister to three parishes in "the lower counties of Pennsylvania" (later Delaware). As an SPG missionary, his assigned tasks included baptizing, educating and catechizing enslaved Africans in the area; however, after six years in the pulpit, he had baptized only six Black children, and two adults. He was also engaged in similar efforts to convert the Mohawk, a task he apparently approached with more success. In 1765, Inglis removed to the parish of Holy Trinity in New York City, where he would serve first as assistant to the minister and later be promoted to Rector.[75]



TWENTY SHILLINGS Reward.

ABSENTED himſelf from his Maſter, living in Hanover-Square, the 2d Inſt. a Negro Man called DICK, aged 19 Years. He had on when he went away, a Beaver Hat, ſmartly cocked, a new light coloured Coat and Waiſtcoat, with Metal Buttons, green Linings, the Collar and Cuffs of the Coat turned up with Green; new Buckſkin Breeches, a Pair of ribbed Stockings of a mixed Colour, and Silver Buckles in his Shoes. He is a likely, well-made Fellow, and ſpeaks both Engliſh and Dutch. It is ſuppoſed that he has been ſeduced by bad Company during the late Holydays; and that he is lurking ſomewhere in the City, or its Environs. Whoever ſecures the ſaid Negro, ſo that the Subſcriber may have him again, ſhall receive Twenty Shillings Reward, from CHARLES INGLIS.

Fig. 4 Advertisement placed by Charles Inglis for enslaved man named Dick, who has fled his service. *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, January 11, 1773.

The Reverend Charles Inglis was himself a slaveholder, as witnessed by an ad published in the New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of January 11, 1773 (figure 4). At the time he was the assistant at Trinity Parish in New York, and catechist to the "Negroes" of the city on behalf of the SPG.[76] The very fashionably dressed "Dick" had fled Inglis' service wearing "a Beaver hat, smartly cocked, a new light colored Coat and waistcoat, with Metal buttons, Green linings, the Collar and Cuffs of the coat turned up with Green, buckskin breeches." Dick even had silver buckles for his shoes, but was, according to Reverend Inglis, prone to mix with poor company. A second notice mentions Reverend Mr. Inglis as the former owner of "Prymus," for whose return the man's new owner, John Pollock, advertised in the *Royal Gazette* of

[74] Ben Fenton, "Church's Slavery Apology 'Is Not Enough,'" *The Telegraph*, Feb. 11, 2006.

[75] Frank J. Klingberg, "The African Immigrant in Colonial Pennsylvania and Delaware," 11, no. 2 (June 1942): 126-53, 147-48.

[76] As part of the SPG mandate, the organization supported schools to educate enslaved men, women and children whose owners permitted them to attend. The objective was to teach sufficient Anglican doctrine and instill faith so these still- enslaved Africans would convert, be confirmed and become communicants in the Church of England.

December 2, 1778.[77]

Widowed in 1764 Reverend Charles Inglis made a second marriage, to wealthy heiress Margaret Crooke, in May 1773. The union brought Inglis vast landholdings as well as enslaved "servants," for his bride, whose father died when she was only eleven years of age, was said to have been worth no less than £10,000, a fortune for the day. It was Margaret Crooke Inglis who would be the mother of his children. Her maternal grandmother's family were of old Dutch stock from Bergen, New Jersey, and had held slaves. Her maternal grandfather, John Ellison, had constructed a log cabin for his enslaved servants at the planned site of his home on the Hudson River near New Windsor, and the 1755 slave census for New York lists him as owning four men and two women.[78] On her father's side, her grandfather, John Crooke Sr. of Ulster County, New York, left enslaved men and women to his wife and children in his will, dated June 3, 1737.[79]

When the Americans arrived in New York on April 13, 1776, Reverend Inglis took his wife, three children, his mother-in-law Margaret (Garrabrant) Crooke and four servants to stay with his wife's grandmother at New Windsor. However, the family returned when the British ousted George Washington and his troops and re-occupied New York City.[80] Apparently convinced of eventual British victory, Reverend Inglis penned a series of pamphlets opposing Revolution, which in 1776 included publishing an inflammatory rebuttal to Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. After his 1777 appointment as Rector of New York's Trinity Church, Inglis continued to pray for the King from the pulpit of St. Paul's. A good many of his parishioners were slave owners, for as Britain's hold on its American possessions became more tenuous, Loyalists fled to what eventually was the last stronghold at New York City. The lands and enslaved labourers that would have come to Reverend Inglis after his wife's untimely death on September 21, 1783, were confiscated along with his own property.[81]

Before New York was evacuated, Reverend Inglis came together with several of his fellow clergymen to call for the establishment of a new King's College in Nova Scotia, and for the creation of the first Church of England episcopal see in North America. Inglis then went to England for a time, sending his furniture and library to his friend David Seabury at Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia, where he was expecting to

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[77] John Pollock was listed as a Loyalist in William Kelby, ed., "A List of the New York Loyalists or Adherents to the British Crown in the City of New York during the War of The Revolution, 1776-1783," in *Orderly Book of the Three Battalions of Loyalists, Commanded by Brigadier-General Oliver De Lancey, 1776-1778: To Which is Appended a List of New York Loyalists in the City of New York during the War of the Revolution* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1917), 126.

[78] E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York*, 3 (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1850), 508; Edward Manning Ruttinber*, History of the Town of New Windsor, Orange County, NY* (Newburgh, NY: Printed for the Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands, 1911), 13.

[79] Gustave Anjou, *Ulster County, New York, Probate Records* (Ulster Co., NY: County Clerk's Office, 1906), 127.

[80] Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution* (New York: T. Whittaker, 1891), 128. He notes that the two serving women and a young boy servant where white, although no ethnicity is mentioned for the children's nurse, who may well have been an enslaved woman of African origin or descent.

[81] Trinity Church was no longer standing, having burnt in a fire set by the rebels that destroyed fully a quarter of New York City before Charles Inglis was confirmed in his role as rector. Paula J. Hayne, "'The Folly of a Fanatical': Charles Inglis' on Tom Paine's *Common* Sense," in *In Search of Justice: The Indiana Tradition in Speech Communication*, eds. Richard J. Jensen and John C. Hammerback (Amsterdam: Rodolphi, 1987), 117-32. Charles Inglis' slaveholding status is mentioned in light of his aversion to "democracy," rejection both of the concept of "natural law," and of the equality of men to one another, on pages 122-23. Charles Inglis, *The True Interest of America Impartially Stated in certain stictures on a pamphlet intitled Common sense. By an American* [*sic*] (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Jr., 1776).

make his future home. Seabury was a slaveholder, and is listed as bringing three adult "servants" to Nova Scotia.[82] There is no evidence that Charles Inglis imported enslaved servants with him to Maritime Canada following his consecration as Bishop of Nova Scotia in August 1787. Indeed, the two servants he brought along to care for his children were clearly designated as white. Among his first tasks as Bishop was raising support for the creation of King's College. The location was to be Windsor, Nova Scotia, a comfortable country town surrounded by large estates owned by legislators and other members of the colonial elite. Inglis mentioned that this would place the young male students far from the temptations and distractions available in a port city like Halifax.[83]

Neither before nor after his consecration as Bishop, does Charles Inglis seem to have taken a moral or ecclesiastical stance in opposition to slavery or slaveholding, and indeed, a good many of his friends with whom he stayed while on ecclesiastical visits in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would be slaveholders. Historian Ruma Chopra points out that when Loyalists of all levels of society had flooded into New York during the Revolutionary War, it had been Reverend Charles Inglis who urged that it was the "Duty of All Men" to accept that their stations in life were fixed and immutable.[84]

Comparative Chronologies: Abolitionist Thought During the Building of King's College, Nova Scotia

Abolitionism was, on the other hand, in the air in Britain during the early years when King's College was founded and accepted is first students. However conservative their own political and moral beliefs may have been, the ministers and Loyalist elites who established and operated the new Nova Scotian King's College were also well aware that slavery would, sooner or later, be on the reform agenda. The New England Planters before them, and the much larger number of Loyalists who followed them to the British Canadian Atlantic colonies, had drunk in ways large and small from the cups of individualism and personal accountability that were animating Revolutionary-era Americans. They knew that concepts of representative government, the rule of law, and both the rights and responsibilities of individual citizens were taking hold. Questioning the rights of some to enslave others, to subordinate women, to execute or torture those accused of crimes, were all current in the intellectual milieu of the late 18th century, if they had perhaps not yet permeated Loyalist society in Nova Scotia.

The year 1807 would see an end to Britain's immensely lucrative role in the Atlantic Slave Trade. But antislavery sentiments had been rising in England since the middle of the eighteenth century, and were maturing into a full-scale movement by the 1770s. This was the same historical moment in which the resistance to metropolitan dominance that led to the American Revolution had taken hold in Britain's overseas colonies. Opposition to the slave trade was spreading like wildfire through Great Britain in these years. Many American Loyalists spent time in England before coming to Nova Scotia, while others visited with family or returned to Britain for the education of their children in the wake of war. They

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[82] "Muster Roll of Disbanded Officers, Discharged and Disbanded Soldiers and Loyalists taken in the County of Annapolis betwist the 18th and 24th of June 1784," showing David Seabury in possession of three servants older than 10 years of age, Ward Chipman Papers, microfilm C-9818, MG 23 D1, series 1, LAC; online in the LAC's "Loyalists in the Maritimes: Ward Chipman Muster Master Office, 1777-1785" database, item "David Seabury," item no. 913, accessed August 5, 2019, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/loyalists/loyalists-ward-chipman/pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=913&. Seabury's brother, Samuel, would become the first American Episcopalian Bishop in 1784.

[83] There is no need to reiterate the history of the founding of King's in detail here; rather, this section provides a summary of Roper's "King's College" paper, accessed Jan. 10, 2019.

[84] Ruma Chopra, *Loyalists in New York City during the Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 138.

could hardly have been unaware that the idea of holding people in perpetual bondage was rapidly losing ground in the face of both grassroots opposition, and strong intellectual and political leadership.[85]

With a host of attorneys and former magistrates amongst them, members of the Loyalist elite also were informed about judicial decisions that marked the first overt moves against the institution of slavery in both British and Scottish courts. On the very eve of the American Revolution, in 1772, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, John Moore, Lord Mansfield, had ruled in favour of liberating the enslaved James Somersett. He had been threatened with being sold out of Britain to Jamaica and fled but had been recaptured.[86] In the case of *Somersett vs. Stewart*, Mansfield's landmark decision was that, since there was no actual "positive" law legalizing slavery in Britain, the transportation of a man from Britain to be sold as a slave could not be supported:

> The state of slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political; but only positive law, which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasion, and time itself from whence it was created is erased from memory: it's so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law.[87]

Although Lord Mansfield intended his decision to apply only to the case of James Somersett, many slaveholders and at least some of the enslaved themselves believed the precedent it set abolished slavery in the British Isles. Slave owners began to divest themselves of their enslaved property, either by turning elderly and ailing "servants" out of doors to fend for themselves, or by secretly transporting people to the Caribbean for sale. In the colonies, as prominent American legal historian William Wiecek has shown, the Mansfield Decision had a profound effect on both the rhetoric of the nascent American Revolution, and, on the part of at least some Americans, the rising consciousness of the contradiction between slavery and the colonial impulse to free themselves of their own imperial masters.[88]

Interestingly, in Maritime Canada too, it would be the opposition of prominent jurists on the bench to any formal legal recognition of slavery that would, within a generation of the Loyalists' arrival, bring a *de facto*, if not a *de jure*, end to human bondage there. Some of the men involved on both sides of the deliberations would be King's students, members of its Board of Governors, or otherwise associated with the institution.

A form of antislavery was also gaining ground in the new United States of America. African peoples in the Americas had resisted their condition since earliest times. Work slow-downs, damage to tools or livestock, "malingering" or feigning illness, "maronnage," (absconding for short periods), outright flight and even self-mutilation and suicide were all used to fight back against the slave system. People of conscience began to respond, first with protest and then with material aid to those seeking to escape their owners. As early as 1775, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society became the first antislavery organization in the United States. No lesser personage than George Washington himself in 1786 complained that Quakers in that colony were aiding and abetting runaways, the first documented

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[85] An early work on this subject is Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Flight of American Loyalists to the British Isles* (Cincinnati: F.J. Heere Printing Co., 1911). For a comprehensive study see Mary Beth Norton, *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774–1789* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972).

[86] Francis Hargrave, *An Argument in the Case of James Somersett, a Negro*, 2nd ed. (London: Privately printed, 1775).

[87] Jerome Nadelhaft, "The Somersett Case and Slavery: Myth, Reality, and Repercussions," *Journal of Negro History* 51, no. 3 (1966): 193–208.

[88] William M. Wiecek, "Somerset: Lord Mansfield and the Legitimacy of Slavery in the Anglo-American World," *University of Chicago Law Review* 42 (1974): 86-146; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Ithaca, NH: Cornell University Press, 1975), 469-522.

incarnation of what, by the 1830s, would come to be called the Underground Railroad.[89]

In the wake of revolution, Vermont in 1777 became the first part of the United States to abolish adult slavery within its borders. In 1778, Pennsylvania set the stage for a series of northern states to follow suit, with its passage of a gradual abolition act. People already enslaved would remain so, but their children would be freed at a set age. Still, this meant that the last enslaved person in Pennsylvania was not freed until 1847.

Massachusetts, following a series of hard-won freedom suits on the part of enslaved men and women such as Elizabeth Freeman and Quok Walker, declared slavery unconstitutional in 1780. In 1783, New Hampshire followed Pennsylvania's lead and legislated the gradual phasing out of the practice over a period of many years. The next year, Rhode Island and Connecticut also implemented gradual abolition bills, although the terms of service that remained for most of the enslaved were impossibly long. Connecticut did not see the last manumission of an enslaved person until 1848.[90]

In the United Kingdom, enslaved Africans used legal means to resist their further bondage. In Perthshire, a case came before the Scottish courts that would lead to the outright abolition of slavery in Scotland. The 1778 case of *Knight v. Wedderburn* was also to have a profound influence on antislavery in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It was considered particularly relevant to their circumstances by Nova Scotia Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers, who was a member of King's Board of Governors between 1784 and 1833. Joseph Knight, a native African, had been enslaved in Jamaica at the age of 12 or 13 to the immensely wealthy sugar planter family of Wedderburn. Carried to Scotland by his owner, Knight was inspired by the Mansfield Decision to sue for his freedom. Two appeals brought the case before Lord Kames and a court of eleven other judges, who ruled that Knight was owed his liberty. The legal statutes of Jamaica did not pertain in Scotland, the laws of which did not recognize slavery as a legal condition for any person. In 1780, the chagrined and hard-line pro-slavery advocate John Wedderburn was instrumental in founding the London Society of West India Planters and Merchants, which applied its very considerable financial resources and political influence to resisting all efforts to end Britain's part in the overseas slave trade.[91]

But the tide had already turned in the British Isles. Again at the Court of King's Bench in 1783, Lord Mansfield overturned a lower court decision to award insurance funds to the captain of a slave ship. He had deliberately drowned 130 Africans by throwing them over the side when his ship, the *Zong*, ran short of water. The captain had tried to file his claim on the lost cargo in the case of *Gregson vs. Gilbert*.[92] The *Zong* case took place the very year that the British evacuated New York and the main part

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[89] For George Washington's statement, see Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *Never Caught the Washingtons' Relentless Pursuit of Their Runaway Slave, Ona Judge* (New York: Atria, 2007), esp. 66-69.

[90] The well-known case of Elizabeth Freeman, known as Mum Bett or Mumbett, is a good example. In *Brom & Bett v. Ashley* she joined with another enslaved man named Brom to sue for her freedom in the municipal court at Sheffield, Massachusetts. These were the first two enslaved people to be freed when Massachusetts ratified its new constitution in 1780. Interestingly, her great-grandson was African American sociologist and intellectual W.E.B. DuBois. See Arthur Zilversmit, "Quok Walker, Mumbet, and the Abolition of Slavery in Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 25, no. 44 (October 1968): 614–24; Ben Z. Rose, *Mother of Freedom: Mum Bett and the Roots of Abolition* (Waverly, MA: Treeline Press, 2009). For the ruling in the Quok Walker case, which was launched one year after the constitution was established, see Chief Justice William Cushing, "Notes on *Quok Walker* vs *Nathaniel Jensen*," in *The American Debate over Slavery, 1760–1865: An Anthology of Sources,* eds. Scott J. Hammond, Kevin R. Hardwick, and Howard Lubert (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co. Inc., 2016), 18.

[91] Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 9.

[92] For a detailed analysis see James Walvin, *The Zong: A Massacre, the Law and the End of Slavery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), esp. Ch. 7, 117-37.

of the Loyalist migration got underway. As the publicity spread about these and other court challenges, more and more people began questioning the morality of stealing people from Africa to fuel the sugar and tobacco plantations of the Americas. People called for an end to Britain's central role in the slave trade, and Granville Sharp, himself a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, argued on behalf of the enslaved in both cases judged by Mansfield. A young Thomas Clarkson, who asked "Is it lawful to make slaves of others against their wills?" in his 1779 Cambridge thesis, dedicated his life to opposing the slave trade and slavery itself, and the movement gained adherents. Literally thousands of petitions were sent to Parliament by people rejecting any continued participation in the commerce in human beings, however much the profits contributed to Great Britain's coffers.[93]

As historian Ruma Chopra put it so well, "Displaced black families became caught in the cross-currents of the Atlantic world at a moment when the British were experimenting with anti-slavery and launching their claims to West Africa."[94] In 1787, the same year in which Charles Inglis was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia at Lambeth Palace and returned to Canada to take up his Episcopal mantle, the "Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade" was established in England. The colony of Sierra Leone was also established on the West African coast. The purpose was to provide a home for England's "Black Poor," at least some of whom had been enslaved, but were abandoned by their former owners in the wake of Lord Mansfield's 1772 decision. Others were Black Loyalists who had not found Britain the haven they had been promised. Also in 1787, the US Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance. This outlawed slavery in the unorganized territories north of the Ohio River. The law was, however, widely ignored, as most slaveholders already living there interpreted it to mean that only further importation of enslaved people was prohibited. Also that same year, there was an attempt to have slavery recognized in law in Nova Scotia. However the bill failed to pass.[95]

Meanwhile, the establishment of Nova Scotia's new King College's progressed apace, driven almost single-handedly by Bishop Charles Inglis in the face of Governor John Parr's personal indifference to higher education.[96] With funding from both the Nova Scotian Council and the SPG, in 1788 Inglis led the

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[93] Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African, translated from a Latin Dissertation, which was Honoured with the First Prize, in the University of Cambridge, for the Year 1785, with Additions* (London: J. Phillips, 1786), accessed August 15, 2019, https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/1070.

[94] Ruma Chopra, "Refugees Fit for Rescue: Loyalists, Maroons, and Mi'kmaq," *Borealea: Early Canadian History* (blog), April 17, 2017, accessed Jan. 31, 2018, https://earlycanadianhistory.ca /2017/04/17/refugees-fit-for-rescue-loyalists-maroons-and-mikmaq/.

[95] n.a. *Society Instituted in 1787, for the Purpose of Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London: n.p. 1787), Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. University at Buffalo Libraries – SUNY, accessed March 1, 2019; Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (London: Pan Books, 2005), 175-78; David Brion Davis, "The Significance of excluding Slavery from the Old Northwest in 1787," *Indiana Magazine of History* 84, no. 1 (1988): 75-89; Paul Finkelman, "Slavery and Northwest Ordinance: A Study in Ambiguity," *Journal of the Early Republic* 6 (1986): 343–370 and Finkelman's "Evading the Ordinance: The Persistence of Bondage in Indiana and Illinois," *Journal of the Early Republic* 9 (1989): 21–51. For Nova Scotia legislation, see Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The Struggle over Slavery in the Maritime Colonies," *Acadiensis* 41, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2012): 17-44, 23.

[96] John Parr (1725-1791) was first sent from Britain as Governor of Nova Scotia in 1786, but the appointment of Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief occasioned his own reappointment as Lieutenant-Governor of the province. He was a military man who reportedly believed the world would have been a better place *without* literary pursuits, and was accused of dragging his feet over the establishment of Bishop Inglis' Academy and then King's College itself. Peter Burroughs, "Parr, John" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 19, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/parr_john_4F.html.

establishment of a boys' preparatory school called "the Academy" in a rented house at Windsor, Nova Scotia. It was the first stage in the creation of King's College. He enrolled his own son John, aged eleven, as the very first student. Also in 1788, the British Parliament passed the Slave Trade Act. This regulated the number of enslaved people who could be carried on each ship relative to tonnage, the idea being that less overcrowding aboard ship would contribute to lower mortality rates and less misery during the Middle Passage. It was a reaction to the findings of a House of Commons committee, and a widely published drawing that showed the enslaved packed head-to-foot, in chains, on a British slaver named *The Brookes.* The vessel had a capacity of 450 persons but routinely shipped 600 people per voyage from the African coast to the Americas.[97]

As the founder of King's College, and a major influence on the morality of its students (and indeed every Church of England adherent under his jurisdiction), it must be said that Charles Inglis' own attitudes towards slavery seem to have been positive rather than negative. This was true both before the American Revolution, when he himself owned slaves and acquired more through his second marriage to heiress Margaret Crooke, and afterwards, when he served as the leader of the established church in Canada, with a see that extended from Nova Scotia to Bermuda, and at first included both Upper and Lower Canada. His first "Visitation" was a lengthy voyage undertaken in July and August 1788, covering some 700 miles, and described in detail in his journal and subsequent letters to his immediate superior, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Inglis travelled first to Windsor and then across the north shore of Nova Scotia as far as Digby. From there he took a schooner across the Bay of Fundy to New Brunswick.[98]

Nearly every family with whom Bishop Inglis visited on his journey, including most of the Anglican ministers along the way, had either brought enslaved servants to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, or had been slave owners before they left their former colonial American homes. Several were old friends who had been Loyalist refugees in New York and thus congregants of his. So he was more than aware of their slaveholding in the past, if not their present situation. Prominent amongst them were people who would later be associated with King's College, Windsor, including the Ruggles, Barclay, de St. Croix, Bonnell, Millidge, Moody and DeLancey families, all of whom exploited the unwaged work of enslaved "servants" in Nova Scotia. Indeed at least one of them, Timothy Ruggles, had a slaveholding on the North Mountain in Wilmot Township, Nova Scotia, that was large enough to be called a "plantation." Archaeologist Catherine Cottreau-Robins, who has written extensively on evidence relating to the Ruggles site, calls this part of the "landscape of slavery" that at least some of the Loyalists recreated in their new Nova Scotian home.[99]

The bishop also met with his ministers in various locations, including Reverend Roger Viets at Digby; Reverend James Scovil at Kingston, New Brunswick; Reverend Richard Clarke at Gagetown, and Reverend John Beardsley at Maugerville, all of whom owned slaves as is demonstrated in section 2 of this report. In fact, Reverend Beardsley along with Inglis had been among those Loyalist ministers at

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[97] Walvin, *The Zong*, 117-18. For a potent image and comprehensive discussion, see "The *Brookes* - Visualising the Transatlantic Slave Trade," Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past, University of York, UK, accessed August 15, 2019, https://archives.history.ac.uk/1807commemorated/exhibitions/museums/brookes.html.

[98] Harris, *Charles Inglis*, 86-94.

[99] Archaeological and documentary analyses by Catherine Cottreau-Robins regarding the Ruggles "plantation" provide a detailed and nuanced investigation of the Ruggles family as slaveholders, and of the lives led by those enslaved to them. See her "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia" dissertation cited earlier, as well as "Searching for the Enslaved in Nova Scotia's Loyalist Landscape," *Acadiensis* 43, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2014): 125-36; and her most recent piece on the subject, "Exploring the Landscape of Slavery in Loyalist Era Nova Scotia," in Brannon and Moore, *Consequences of Loyalism*, 122-32. We are grateful to Bonnie Huskins of the University of New Brunswick for bringing this latter source to our attention.

New York who signed the original letter calling for the founding of a new King's College in Nova Scotia. Once in New Brunswick Inglis also dined with Colonel Beverley Robinson, whose entourage from New York had included nine enslaved people.[100]

Having been the SPG-funded catechist to Black congregants in both Delaware and New York before the Revolutionary War, Bishop Inglis did, however, concern himself with the education of Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia. In 1788, the same year he made his first Visitation, he recommended to the SPG the establishment of a school at Little Tracadie, where there were already seventy-five families, and hired a schoolteacher to lead them in both education and the faith.[101] He had written in 1786 disparagingly of what he perceived to be indolence on the part of the Black Loyalists, which he thought was "the natural consequence of their former state and sudden emancipation." Infertile land, coupled with the hijacking of the ship bearing government supplies intended to tide them over to the next season, were responsible for starvation amongst the Black Loyalists at Guysborough during their second winter, factors that did not seem to occur to Inglis. In a later missive to the Archbishop of Canterbury he observed that "Latterly they [the Negroes] seem to manage better. . . . It is probably that the descendants of these Blacks who are now free will in general be as industrious and useful as white people of the same rank."[102]

If Bishop Inglis and his Loyalist contemporaries were resistant to the ideas that slavery as an institution contravened "natural law," and that bondage was, to use modern terminology, a crime against humanity, such views were hardly confined to people living in either Great Britain or in British North America at the time. At least some of the Loyalists Inglis knew who would send their sons to King's College were of French or Swiss descent. Some Huguenot families and others of European descent traced their tenure in North America to the era of Dutch hegemony in their colony of New Amsterdam (New York). Amongst the latter was Margaret Crooke Inglis, the mother of Bishop Inglis' own children. Of particular interest to such people would have been the rising tensions in France and in the French sugar islands in the last decades of the eighteenth century.[103]

In 1788, French feminist playwright and leading abolitionist Olympe de Gouges published *Reflections of Black People*, asking: "Why are Black people enslaved? The color of people's skin only suggests a slight difference. There is no discord between day and night, the sun and the moon and between the stars and dark sky. All is varied; it is the beauty of nature. Why destroy nature's work?"[104] A French "Society of the

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[100] The tour is described in Harris, *Charles Inglis,* 86-94, although no reference is made to the slaveholding status of the bishop's host families.

[101] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 83-84.

[102] Bishop Charles Inglis Papers, Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nov. 20, 1788, quoted in George A. Rawlyk, "The Guysborough Negroes: A Study in Isolation," *The Dalhousie Review* 48 (1968): 24-36, 25.

[103] When he arrived in Nova Scotia Bishop Inglis had three surviving children by his second wife, Margaret Crooke Inglis (1748-1783). His son Charles (1774-1782) had died while the family was still in New York, and his wife in 1783. Margaret had been the granddaughter of Colonel Thomas Ellison and his wife Margaret Garrabrandt of New Windsor, in Orange County, New York, and it was with them that she, her mother and her children had stayed for a time during the Revolutionary War. Her father died when she was a child and her grandparents brought her up. The Garrabrandts were of old Dutch stock. Her father's family originally was named Kruk, Anglicized to Crooke, and resided in Ulster County, New York. The 1755 slave census of New York shows that her father owned four enslaved people (three male, one female) at that time. His own father, John Crooke Sr., was a large landholder and had left enslaved people to his heirs in his will dated June 3, 1737. John Crooke Sr. lived at Kingston, New York and was clerk of Ulster County from 1746-1759. Anjou, *Ulster County*, 127; O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, 508; Ruttinber*, Town of New Windsor,* 13. See also Harris, *Charles Inglis*, 39.

[104] Hilda L. Smith and Berenice A. Carroll, eds., *Women's Political & Social Thought: An Anthology* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2000), 130-32.

Friends of Blacks" was created in that same year, but was partly discredited because it was believed to have been founded under the influence of British abolitionists. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was published in August 1789, evidence of the upheaval and dissatisfaction with the divine right of kings and the established social and economic hierarchy that would culminate in the French Revolution.[105]

Such revolutionary ideas were also felt in French Caribbean colonies, most particularly Saint Domingue, the richest sugar island of them all, where planters of mixed ancestry who were themselves slaveholders demanded recognition before the National Assembly in Paris. The French Revolution would have a profound effect on Bishop Charles Inglis as well. Not only did it delay allocation of funds to build King's College for a time, but the violence and upheaval it caused to the old order of things also worried him to the core. According to Judith Fingard, Inglis was confirmed in his "distrust of non-conformity and change" and "his views on the importance of religion as an agency for preserving the *status quo* and on the role of an established church as the partner of government and a guarantee against civil discord."[106]

In the same year as the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was made in France, 1789, the Nova Scotian legislature ratified the legal status of Inglis's preparatory school for boys. Funding was also provided for the construction of the King's College building at Windsor, in the amount of £1,000. The relevant legislation was entitled "An Act for Founding, Establishing, and Maintaining a College in this Province." The Governors of King's College of Nova Scotia were appointed, the board made up of prominent men already charged with the superintendence of the new King's Academy.[107] In a letter to his immediate superior, John Moore (1730-1805), the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated November 30, 1790, Inglis discussed purchasing seventy acres of land and seeking a quarry for the stone to build King's College. By the next winter Bishop Charles Inglis was finally able to order stone quarried and carried to the building site. This was moved on sleds with teams of oxen up a long hill, and stockpiled on the site (actually sixty-nine acres in size) purchased for £150 from local Planter John Clarke, pending the hiring of a stonemason able to dress it appropriately for construction purposes.[108]

Again in 1789, there was another attempt by slaveholders in Nova Scotia to regularize the institution in the colony. According to Whitfield: "In 1789, proposed legislation 'for the Regulation and Relief of the Free Negroes within the Province of Nova Scotia' outlined punishments for those who would 'carry [blacks] out of the Province' and sell them as slaves to the West Indies . . . The words 'Slaves by Birth or otherwise' would have given owners greater support for their claims to own black people as property." This too, failed to pass.[109]

Meanwhile, across the Atlantic in Britain, William Wilberforce was leading the campaign in Parliament against Britain's ongoing participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, while Quakers and other people of conscience forwarded still more petitions demanding an end to this pernicious commerce in Black bodies. Pamphlets were written and widely distributed by abolitionists like Thomas Clarkson, the

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[105] For a detailed discussion, see Lawrence C. Jennings, "The Interaction of French and British Antislavery, 1789-1848," *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 15 (1992), 81-91.
[106] Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 29.
[107] Thomas Beamish Akins, *A Brief Account of the Origin, Endowment and Progress of the University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, N.S., Printed by Macnab & Shaffer, 1865), 4-8; F. W. Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle 1789- 1939: Collections and Recollections* (Halifax, NS: The Imperial Publishing Company Limited, 1941), 21.
[108] Charles Inglis to Archbishop Dr. John Monroe, Nov. 30, 1790 and April 1, 1791, and Charles Inglis to Mr. Grenville, Dec. 20, 1790, in Charles Inglis' Letterbook, Charles and John Inglis fonds, C-25, reel 10248, NSA.
[109] Whitfield, "Struggle over Slavery," 23-24.

indefatigable Granville Sharp, and John Newton, a former slaver captain credited with supporting the efforts of William Wilberforce to end the slave trade and with authoring the beloved hymn, "Amazing Grace."[110] Physicians formerly employed on slave ships testified before the House as to the horrific, disease-ridden conditions under which the traffic in human beings operated (figure 5).

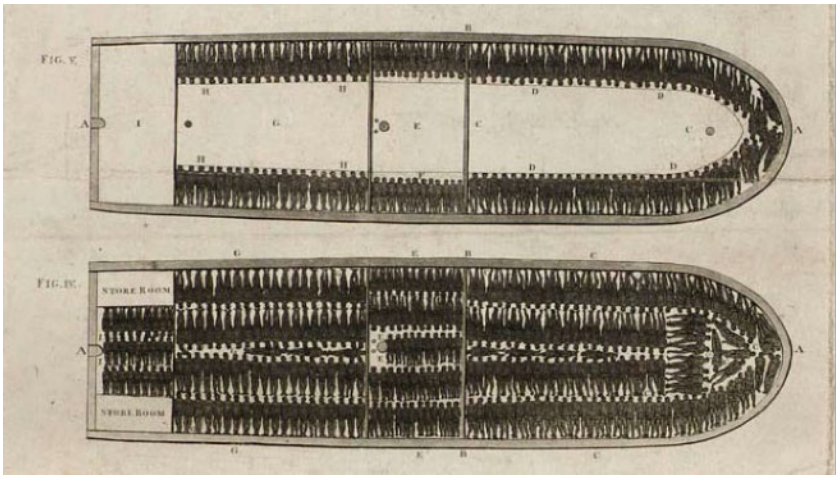

Fig. 5 Engraved plan of the Slave Ship *Brookes.* National Maritime Museum Collection, Greenwich, UK, Michael Graham-Stewart collection.[111]

In 1789, the same year King's Academy opened in Windsor, Nova Scotia, there was in London a personal account published by an activist believed to have been kidnapped in childhood from his African home. His name was Olaudah Equiano, named in slavery Gustavus Vasa. Equiano was a member of an all-Black antislavery group named the "Sons of Africa." He wrote his own account of his experiences, a volume that shocked the British Isles. It enlightened thousands regarding the horrific conditions experienced by those taken from African shores by slavers during the voyage from the African coast to the Americas, known as the "Middle Passage." By 1791, a new law had been passed to prevent insurance companies from paying out against losses of slaves deliberately thrown overboard by captains and crew, directly in response to the incident involving the *Zong* eight years earlier.[112]

Also in 1791, on June 1, Bishop Charles Inglis laid the cornerstone for the new building of King's College, at Windsor, Nova Scotia. By June 18, he was able to report in a letter to Mr. Cumberland, a British dramatist who was agent for Nova Scotia on behalf of the British government:

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[110] Thomas Clarkson had come to his position on slavery as a student at St. John's College, Cambridge, when he wrote a prize Latin essay on the question of "Whether it is right to make slaves of others against their wills?" John Newton experienced a religious conversion in 1748 that altered the course of his life but did not immediately open his eyes to the horrors of the slave trade by which he made his living. Becoming an evangelical Anglican minister in 1767, Newton encouraged a youthful William Wilberforce to continue his political career in order to further the cause of antislavery. In 1788, Newton published a shockingly blunt pamphlet about his observations aboard slave ships, entitled *Thoughts upon the Slave Trade* (London: J. Buckland, 1799).

[111] Available online in the Michael Graham-Stewart Slavery Collection, Royal Museums Greenwich, accessed August 19, 2019, https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/254967.html.

[112] Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself* (London: privately published, 1789). Recently, scholars have questioned whether Equiano was actually born in Africa, and experienced the Middle Passage first hand. However, the descriptions in the volume are considered authentic, whether representing his personal experience or that of others. See also Gretchen Gerzina, *Black London*, 108-23, 172-73.

> The men are employed in digging the foundation for King's College at Windsor. The mason engaged to carry on the Building, which he will begin in a few days, & I hope the Cellar storey will be finished this season. The same frugality is observed in carrying on this Building, which is to be of Stone, as in the Churches [that were being constructed throughout the province][113]

However, there were insufficient numbers of skilled masons available to cut and shape the massive amount of stone required to complete so ambitious a structure. Inglis never found one. Eventually Inglis decided to build his College out of wood, above the completed stone foundation. This was done in the "German fashion," filling the space between the uprights with brick, stone and mortar, and sheathing the whole in sawn board as far as the top of the second story, with a third storey and "attick" above all made of wood.

It is sobering to realize that if Charles Inglis considered the talent pool available in the Black Loyalist community he might well have found a master mason there. Several men listed in the "Book of Negroes" were skilled in construction, and they were so employed in public works projects. James W. St. George Walker in his landmark volume, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, says that three of the Black Loyalists at Birchtown identified themselves as masons and there was a total of twenty-one carpenters there.[114]

The ultimate example of resistance to the brutality of slavery was revolt. On August 1, 1791, two months after Charles Inglis wrote the letter quoted above, the Haitian Revolution broke out on the island of Saint Domingue. Despite efforts of both France and Britain to put down the rebellion and force the enslaved back to the sugar plantations that sent so much money into French coffers, the Haitian Revolution would by 1804 result in independence and the creation of Haiti as a new nation.[115] Refugees from the violence flooded the American ports including Charleston, Baltimore, Boston and New York. There they undoubtedly came into contact with American relatives of Loyalists living in Canada. There were also by this time former Nova Scotian settlers who had, disillusioned with their Canadian experience, returned to their old American homes; despite the loss of their property, the change in government, and the hospitality of former neighbours and friends, life in the new "United States" seemed to them more appealing than trying to eke out a meager living from Nova Scotia's stony and unforgiving soil.[116] Interestingly, Haitian French planters and their enslaved workers also found refuge in New Orleans and coastal Louisiana, a region that passed back and forth between French and Spanish

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[113] Charles Inglis to Mr. Cumberland, June 18, 1791, Charles Inglis Letterbook, Charles and John Inglis Fonds, C-24 reel 10248, vol. C-24, NSA.

[114] Charles Inglis to Mr. Grenville, Dec. 20, 1790; Charles Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury, April 5, 1791; Charles Inglis Letterbook, Charles and John Inglis Fonds, C-24, reel 201248, NSA. See also Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 28-30. For the employment of Black Loyalists in public works projects, see Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 42-43, 47.

[115] In 1804, Jean-Jacques Dessalines oversaw the massacre of nearly all the island's European and white creole inhabitants. See Franklin W. Knight, "The Haitian Revolution," *The American Historical Review,* 105, no. 1 (Feb., 2000): 103-15; Robin Blackburn, "Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of the Democratic Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 62, 3rd. ser., no. 4 (Oct., 2006): 643-74. An interesting article reinforcing the importance of the Enlightenment on the era is Rebekah Nicholson, "The Enlightenment and Its Effects on the Haitian Revolution of 1789-1804," *McNair Scholars Journal* 10, no. 1 (2006), accessed Jan. 10, 2019, https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/mcnair/vol10/iss1/11/.

[116] For a very interesting modern study and a longitudinal analysis of Haitian refugee descendants in the US, see Angel Adams Parham, *American Routes: Racial Palimpsests and the Transformation of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

rule in this period. There, they would have come into contact with the "Cajun" descendants of Nova Scotian Acadians so cruelly expelled from their neat farmsteads and productive fisheries of Maritime Canada in the 1750s.

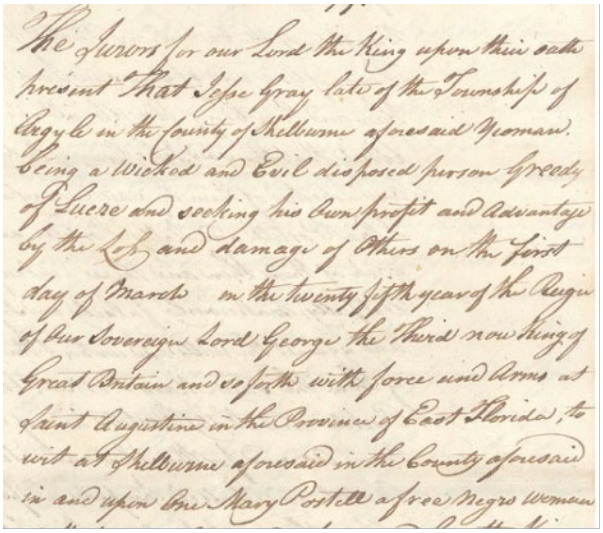

Fig. 6 Indictment of Jesse Gray in the Mary Postell Case, *R v. Gray*, April-November 1791[117]

In Nova Scotia, Black Loyalists found themselves denied property or else cheated in the amount of promised land grants and the "King's Bounty" of provisions, especially as compared to the amounts that the white Loyalists received. Treated as still enslaved by most white settlers they encountered, some were reduced to starvation. To feed themselves and their families, men and women indentured themselves for a period of months or years. Hampered by illiteracy, these desperate souls were sometimes tricked into signing contracts of much longer duration. Others, as in the famous case of Black Loyalist Mary Postell and her daughters at Argyle, Nova Scotia, had their manumission papers ignored or destroyed and were sold as slaves—in Mary's case, famously, for one hundred bushels of potatoes (figure 6). Sylvia Hamilton's poignant and evocative poem, "The Potato Lady," was inspired by Mary's story.[118]

In 1801, there was an effort made to set up a commission of inquiry regarding slavery in Nova Scotia, initiated by none other than Ward Chipman, by then MLA for King's County. As Whitfield states, his motives for raising the issue remain unclear, but in any case, the motion failed.[119]

Black Loyalists in New Brunswick were segregated and discriminated against in the land-granting system, just as they were in Nova Scotia. However, in New Brunswick they were formally prevented from voting, although they generally did have protection under law, rights of marriage even in interracial relationships, could testify in court against whites, and had other benefits common to British subjects. The charter of the City of St. John, New Brunswick in 1785 specifically prohibited Black residents from selling goods in the town market, fishing in the harbour, or competing with white workers by practising a trade within the limits of the town, this latter restriction a particular blow to people denied land and thus unable to otherwise make a living.[120] Their numbers were fewer than in Nova Scotia, but still substantial; David Bell, Barry Cahill and Harvey Amani Whitfield have written recently that "there were

[117] Shelburne County Court of General Sessions of the Peace Nova Scotia Archives RG 60 Shelburne County vol. 1 file 49-4, online in the African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition exhibit, NSA, accessed August 19, 2019, https://novascotia.ca/archives/Africanns/archives.asp?ID=46.

[118] Mary Postell's tale is recorded in *King v. Jesse Gray,* Shelburne Co., NS. Record of the Court of Sessions at Shelburne, Minutes of July 7, 1791, RG 60, F 9.4, NSA, accessed July 17, 2019, https://novascotia.ca/archives /Africanns/archives.asp?ID=46, and also cited in Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia," 38n15. See Troxler, "Re-enslavement of Black Loyalists," 70-85. Sylvia Hamilton's poem appears in George Elliott Clarke, ed. *Fire on the Water: An Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing,* vol. 2 (East Lawrencetown, NS: Pottersfield Press, 1992), 93, and is also cited in Troxler, "Re-enslavement of Black Loyalists," 70.

[119] Whitfield, "Struggle over Slavery," 24.

[120] *The Charter of the City of Saint John in the Province of New Brunswick* (St. John, NB: William Durant & Co., 1785), accessed March 10, 2019, https://archive.org/details/cihm_48078/page/n5.

probably not fewer than one thousand Blacks in early new Brunswick, and at least half of them were slaves."[121]

There was also discrimination in religion. In both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick people of African ancestry were routinely seated apart from whites in the Church of England. Where the white congregations could afford it, churches were built with balconies for their seating, or else Black people, widows, military men and their families, and the poor were relegated to the back pews. These pews were free as opposed to being rented out annually, as the rest were. Since St. Paul's Church in Halifax had a very large white congregation overwhelmingly comprised of white Loyalists, it was expected that congregants of African descent would hold separate services under lay readers.[122]

This happened under Charles Inglis' watch as bishop, of course, and he himself was not above taking advantage of the situation in which so many landless Black Loyalists found themselves. Inglis owned several thousand acres at his estate he called "Clermont" near Aylesford in the Annapolis Valley. He had at least one tenant farmer—effectively a sharecropper—working for him there. His name was John Brown and he was, according to Inglis' journal, very industrious. The man's hard work and "neat and more flourishing" section did not avail him, though. After Brown had cleared a total of eight acres, Inglis did not permit him to cultivate the tidy fields, but rather moved John Brown to a different part of the bishop's land, so he could do it all over again.[123]

One branch of the church did try to help. The Associates of the Late Dr. Bray was a society created as the result of a legacy received in 1723 by Dr. Thomas Bray, the same visionary clergyman who had initiated the founding of both the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the SPG. The interest from this bequest was devoted to the religious education of enslaved Africans, and he so designated the funds in his will. The Associates sent boxes of clothing and shoes to the Black Loyalist settlement at Birchtown, beside Shelburne.[124] According to James St. George Walker, among the Associates who concerned themselves with the plight of the Black Loyalists were such British abolitionist luminaries as William Wilberforce and Granville Sharpe. The organization also established schools at Preston, Brindley Town and elsewhere. The Birchtown school operated for more than ten years under the direction of Black Loyalist leader Stephen Blucke, starting in 1784. He was an educated man and a member of the Church of England, and as Bonnie Huskins points out, therefore acceptable to the Associates of Dr. Bray in the capacity of schoolmaster.[125]

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[121] D.G. Bell, J. Barry Cahill, and Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery and Slave Law in the Maritimes," in Walker, *African Canadian Legal Odyssey*, 365.

[122] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 67-68; Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 168-69.

[123] Bishop Charles Inglis' Journal, entry for August 16, 1791, cited in Walker, *Black Loyalists,* 46. According to Harris, *Charles Inglis,* 130-32, in May 1789 the bishop purchased for his personal estate some 5,000 acres at Aylsford, in the Annapolis Valley. Over the years he added more property until he had about 9,000 acres in total, some of which he farmed with tenants. The house he built there in 1795 he called "Clermont." King's College received the property after the death of Charles Inglis' grandson and namesake.

[124] The little progress made by Black Loyalists there, who were forced to work for lower wages than unemployed whites, aroused local soldiers to violence. The first riot in what remained of British North America was the result. Walker, *Black Loyalists,* 48-49; Huskins, "'New Hope' in Shelburne," 116; Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History,* 2nd ed. (Montreal and Kingston: Queen's University Press, 1997), 78-79.

[125] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, xxiii; 53, 80; Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 135-36. According to Fingard, Anglican-educated Black children were in demand as household servants. "The Church of England prided itself on being able to produce excellent servants and find them benevolent masters." Clearly there was no sense that educated African Nova Scotians could either become independent of white supervision, or escape from lifelong servitude to whites. For Blucke's involvement see Huskins, "'New Hope' in Shelburne,"110-12. Bishop Inglis visited the school which

However, conditions were so dreadful and the cases of abuse so egregious on Canada's eastern seaboard, that a leading Black Loyalist named Thomas Peters travelled to England to put their case before the British government. He complained that the people of Nova Scotia maintained a "public and avowed Toleration of Slavery" that militated against any positive resolution to the dilemma of the Black Loyalists. They were, he said, no more than "mere Cattel or brute Beasts."[126] Gaining the sympathies and support of British abolitionist Thomas Clarkson, who sent his brother John Clarkson to oversee matters in Nova Scotia, the Black Loyalists were offered an opportunity to emigrate from Maritime Canada to Britain's new West African colony of Sierra Leone.[127] It is a shameful fact that at least some of the people involved with King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia, were active in trying to prevent the Black Loyalists from leaving, on purely mercenary grounds. Since Black Loyalists in many cases were forced to take lower wages than white workers might demand, officials like Provincial Secretary Jonathan Odell of New Brunswick, an ordained minister himself with several slaves in his household, did everything they could to discourage Black Loyalists from taking the offer to go to Sierra Leone. Odell was a very prominent Loyalist and one of the original committee of eighteen Anglican ministers who had met in British-occupied New York to propose the founding of King's College in Nova Scotia.[128]

At least one of those cruelly prevented from joining their families for the voyage was held in bondage by people associated with King's College. This was John Cottrell "Mr. Farish's negro servant" [*sic*] mentioned by John Clarkson in his notes. Cottrell had been seized as Farrish's property along with his insolvent owner's other effects, pending Farrish being put on trial for debt. Although Clarkson offered to purchase John the town magistrate, Judge Skinner, refused to free the man so that he could go to Sierra Leone along with his wife and children. Clearly Mr. Farrish's financial picture improved later on, for Henry Farrish would be a student at King's by 1820. The ultimate fate of his father's "Negro servant" remains unknown.[129]

It was in fact with great difficulty that Thomas Peters and John Clarkson extracted as many of those Black Loyalists who had signed indentures or were otherwise oppressed from their white captors as they could. On January 15, 1792, 1,192 people set sail on fifteen transport ships from Halifax harbour, destined for the West African coast.[130]

Some years later, Bishop Charles Inglis would lament the departure of the Black Loyalists, but not for humanitarian reasons. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on January 25, 1794, blaming the loss to the province of their inexpensive labour. This along with other factors, principally the war with France

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had 44 students in 1790.

[126] Thomas Peters to Lord Grenville, "The Humble Petition of Thomas Peters, A Negro, 179, F0 4/1, C 308757, The National Archives, London, UK, cited in Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia," 37n2. See also Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012), 287-88.

[127] This is discussed in considerable detail in Walker, *Black Loyalists*, esp. Ch. 5.

[128] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 119, 128; Alfred G. Bailey, "Odell, Jonathan," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 19, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/odell_jonathan_5E.html; Hind, *University of King's College,* 8. Odell's house is still standing in Fredericton, although the slave quarters that had been attached to it have long since disappeared. See "Jonathan Odell House," *MyNewBrunswick.ca* (May 15, 2015), accessed March 10, 2019, https://mynewbrunswick.ca/jonathan-odell-house/.

[129] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 79. John Clarkson NSA MG 1 vol. 219, 197-201; published in *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 89-90 (Public Archives of Nova Scotia pub. no. 11, 1971) (F90 /N85/ Ar2P no. 11), accessed Dec. 18, 2018, https://novascotia.ca/archives/africanns/archives.asp?ID=45&Page=200402068&Transcript=5.

[130] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 136-38. Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 25 Jan 1794, in Bishop Charles Inglis letters 1791-1799.

he complained, were responsible for the state of economic depression that was negatively influencing the government, and threatening continued funding for King's College at Windsor:

> Some late unfortunate incidents contributed to strengthen the above apprehension. The removal of 1200 blacks from hence to Sierra Leone, and of those fisherman who carried on the whale fishery, from Halifax to N. Haven, gave a great check to the industry and commerce of this Province. The embarrassments of war succeeded. Many of our ships were taken last summer; for as no danger was apprehended in these parts, our coasts were left almost unprotected by any naval force. A diminution of the public revenue, and private distress, were the consequences; and as the revenue is now under better regulations than formerly, and public credit is restored; yet from the prevalence of the opinion that Government would do no more for the Seminary at Windsor, and the decrease of our revenue, I was really afraid than an attempt would be made, when the Legislature met, to take away the £400 a year allotted for the Academy. Nor are my fears wholly removed as yet.[131]

It is clear from contemporary accounts that some of the Loyalist parents who sent their sons to King's could not find it within themselves to treat people of African descent as anything but slaves. They believed themselves superior to Black people, whatever their legal status, and this was clear in the way in which they treated first the free Black Loyalists, and later the Black Refugees who arrived after the War of 1812. It is their actions that give lie to the concept that the euphemism "servant," employed particularly in domestic circumstances throughout North America, meant anything other than "slave." They used, too, biblical justifications for continuing to hold people in bondage, and for buying, selling, and trading them.[132] However, the Black Loyalists themselves had been promised much more than they received, and so they resisted. The effect of this, according to Walker, was that: "The articulation of 'race' as a social qualification, implicit in slavery, became explicit in Loyalist Nova Scotia, evoked by the Black Loyalists' demand for equality."[133]

More research is expected to reveal that members of the Church of England associated with King's College, like white Loyalists of other religious persuasions, relentlessly pursued runaways, sold free Black Loyalists into slavery in the Caribbean, or tricked them into life-long indenture contracts that effectively re-enslaved them in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. These are all practices known to have been applied by white Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers in this period.[134] According to John Clarkson, brother of leading British abolitionist Thomas Clarkson who came to Nova Scotia to help arrange for the migration of Black Loyalists to Sierra Leone, certain of the white Loyalists along with British officers made "attempts to reduce again to slavery those negroes who had so honourably obtained their

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[131] Bishop Charles Inglis letters 1791-1799, Charles and John Inglis Fonds, MG 1, vol 479, item 2, NSA, transcription page 57. Our thanks to Dr. Shirley Tillotson for locating and sharing this fascinating piece of correspondence with us.

[132] Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 62-63.

[133] Walker, *Black Loyalists,* xxiii.

[134] In "Some Account of the New Colony of Sierra Leone," *The American Museum; or Universal Magazine*, May 1791, Thomas Clarkson described the re-enslavement of veteran Black Loyalists by white Loyalists, likely based on information provided by his brother John Clarkson as he assembled Black Loyalists to go to Sierra Leone. See Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes: A History in Documents* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2018), Document 47, 84-85; also Troxler, "Re-enslavement of Black Loyalists," 78, which tells the story of four Black Loyalists who had left Country Harbour for Halifax, were kidnapped, and taken in chains to Shelburne pending being shipped south to the West Indies for sale. The two couples were rescued and taken before a magistrate who freed them.

freedom. They hired them as servants, and, at the end of the stipulated time, refused payment of their wages, insisting that they were slaves: in some instances they destroyed their tickets of freedom, and then enslaved the negroes for want of them; in several instances, the unfortunate Africans were taken on board vessels, carried to the West Indies, and there sold for the benefit of their plunderers."[135]

Others, including the Reverend John Rowland whose son attended King's Academy in the early years, were shipping their slaves off to the West Indies for sale.[136] There were six students with the surname of Barclay at King's in the period between 1789 and 1802. One Loyalist matron of that name, Susan (DeLancey) Barclay whose husband Thomas was a particular friend of Charles Inglis, was known for her cruelty to her "servants"; she punished them by hanging people up by their thumbs, and was accused of beating one enslaved man to death, with no consequences except perhaps the annoyance of her husband and disapproval of her neighbours. Whitfield says this was one of the few pieces of oral history regarding bondage in British North America that has endured down to the present day. According to T. Watson Smith, writing in 1899, the man's murder was common knowledge: "Mrs. J. M. Owen, of Annapolis, to whom the writer of this paper has to express his indebtedness for more than one item of interest, has referred in the *Halifax Herald* to the tradition that Mrs. Barclay, wife of Colonel [Thomas] Barclay, of Annapolis, was responsible for the death of a slave through a severe whipping she had ordered him."[137] Mrs. Barclay's daughter, a Mrs. Cornelia DeLancey, was among the people Bishop Inglis mentioned visiting in his 1788 tour of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as she was in particular need of comfort due to her sorrow at the death of her mother. Again, four DeLanceys attended King's College, Nova Scotia, in its first decades.[138]

King's College and the Abolitionist Impulse

On the other hand, King's College, Nova Scotia, was also under the influence of men with a very different—and far less self-serving—view of slavery. Two ex-officio members of King's original board of governors stand out, for they were successively Chief Justices of Nova Scotia. These were Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange and Sampson Salter Blowers.[139] Thomas Strange had cut his judicial teeth in the halls of British jurisprudence, while Sampson Blowers had been an extremely successful lawyer in Massachusetts in pre-Revolutionary America. These two men were in the vanguard of preventing formal

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[135] Cited in Troxler, "Re-enslavement of Black Loyalists," 84.

[136] William Booth, *Remarks and Rough Memorandums: Captain William Booth, Corps of Royal Engineers, Shelburne, Nova Scotia 1787, 1789*, ed. Eleanor Robertson Smith (Shelburne: Shelburne County Archives and Genealogical Society, 2008), 90-91; also quoted in Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 52.

[137] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 77; Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 76-80.

[138] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 77; Harris, *Charles Inglis*, 88; Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles*, 150. See also Janet Hathaway, "Spreadsheet: Individuals Associated with the University of King's College" (unpub. MSS, University of King's College Archives, Halifax, Nova Scotia).

[139] Sampson Salter Blowers had been appointed Attorney General in 1784 and Chief Justice after Thomas Lumisden Strange resigned in 1787. He owned an extensive farm at Windsor, and attended King's Board of Governors' meetings faithfully. Blowers is noted for working with King's President William Cochran in 1818 in attempting to have King's reduce its requirement for students' signing the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England; they hoped to open the college to more students. Board member and Judge of the Court of the Vice-Admiralty Alexander Croke disagreed, and the request was ultimately refused by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Blowers went on to defend King's College from being amalgamated into the new Dalhousie University in 1824. Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Blowers, Sampson Salter," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 19, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/blowers_sampson_salter_7E.html; Hind, *University of King's College*, 32–34, 50–54, 60–62.

legislation protecting slaveholders' rights in their human property from ever being passed in Nova Scotia. They, as Strange put it, "wished to wear out the claim [of slave-holders] gradually."[140]

These two brilliant jurists were aided in their efforts by the fact that only one law antedating their positions in office even acknowledged that slavery existed in the colony, and that was one forbidding inn and tavern keepers from selling alcohol to slaves (the law had been passed in 1762). First Chief Justice Strange and then his successor Chief Justice Blowers, both of whom were Board members at King's College, repeatedly ruled on behalf of the enslaved in cases where individual bondspeople sued for their own freedom, to the point that slaveholders, largely of Loyalist stock but with "old settlers" among them, despaired of having any further judicial support for slaveholding in the province.[141]

An interesting question arises regarding Chief Justice Thomas Strange. He was trained in the law in London, but was still quite young and inexperienced when he arrived in Nova Scotia. Strange was appointed to the elevated position of Chief Justice very quickly, evidently the result of having someone with considerable political influence in his corner. It was, in point of fact, rumoured that he was the natural son of none other than John Moore, the Earl of Mansfield, whose iconic rulings in the Somersett and *Zong* cases had proven so groundbreaking with respect to British slavery and the slave trade. If rumours of his parentage were true, Strange had benefited from both his father's high office, and from Mansfield's own attitudes towards human bondage. Although historian Barry Cahill calls him a "closet emancipationist but not in any degree an abolitionist," as Chief Justice, Strange consistently worked to undermine the institution of slavery in Nova Scotia.[142]

The Maritime colonies were somewhat behind the times, for the death knell had already been rung for slavery in other parts of British North America by 1793. Upper Canada's first Lieutenant Governor was John Graves Simcoe. He had fought alongside Lord Dunmore's "Ethiopian Regiment" in Revolutionary War battles, particularly in New Jersey. Simcoe developed great respect for the courage of these soldiers, and a personal loathing for slavery. Once back in England, he served as the parliamentary representative for St. Mawes, Cornwall, and supported William Wilberforce's anti-slave-trade stance in the House. Upon arrival to take up office in the newly-reorganized British North America, Simcoe had apparently intended to abolish slavery outright in Upper Canada. When that failed, Simcoe employed the political capital provided by a horrible incident where a young woman named Chloe Cooley was bound and gagged before being dragged, struggling desperately, to a small boat so that she could be sold away, across the Niagara River into the United States. When this was reported to him by veterans, Black Loyalist Peter Martin and his white friend, William Grigsby, Simcoe instructed his Attorney General to find a way to abolish slavery over time, while still respecting property rights. Upper Canada became the first province in the British Empire to create a gradual emancipation law, passed in 1793. In Lower Canada, it was Chief Justice James Monk who firmly and routinely ruled against the slaveholder in case

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[140] John Doull, "Samson Salter Blowers, 1743-1842," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 26 (1945): 33-48.

[141] Blakeley, "Blowers, Sampson Salter"; Hind, *University of King's College,* 32-34, 50-54, 60-62 as cited in above; Whitfield, *North to Bondage,* 87-106.

[142] Lord Mansfield raised in his household a great-niece who had been born to a mixed-race woman named Maria. She was the child of nephew, Viscount John Lindsay. Elizabeth, called Dido in the family, was evidently a great favourite of Lord Mansfield's and had been brought up alongside Mansfield's white niece and heiress, Lady Elizabeth Murray. If his purported relationship to Lord Mansfield was true, Thomas Strange was a close cousin to Dido. The relationship between Mansfield and Strange is mentioned by Barry Cahill and Jim Phillips, "The Supreme Court of Nova Scotia: Origins to Confederation," in *The Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, 1754-2004: From Imperial Bastion to Provincial Oracle*, vol. 2, Osgoode Society for Legal History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 61, and 117n41. See also Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges," 91.

after case, until the practice died out and slaveholders began paying wages to their former "servants."[143]

The year 1793 was important as well for two, much more negative developments with respect to the continuing presence of slavery in the United States. Destined to be revised several times over the ensuing years, the first was the passage by Congress of the first Fugitive Slave Law. This made it a crime for anyone to impede the capture and re-enslavement of a freedom-seeker, anywhere in America's states or territories, slave or free.[144] The second was the invention of the cotton gin by a young Yale graduate Eli Whitney. He was visiting planter friends in the Carolinas when they complained of the length of time it took to process raw cotton. This device combed the sticky seeds out of the cotton fibre much more quickly than enslaved labourers could accomplish the task by hand, making cotton agriculture a truly profitable staple crop for the first time. Whitney's invention would condemn millions of African Americans to a life of unending drudgery, vastly expand the demand for plantation lands into the American west and southwest, and ultimately fuel the tensions that would lead to the US Civil War.[145]

The very next year, in France on February 4, 1794, the National Assembly proved itself true to the ideals of liberty and equality touted in revolutionary rhetoric. They chose to abolish slavery and thus sacrifice the riches accruing from the sugar trade of the French Caribbean and when they issued the Emancipation Declaration. The respite was short-lived: slavery would be reinstated in the French sugar islands in 1802, under Napoleon Bonaparte, who had previously espoused the right of the enslaved to liberty. France's participation in the transatlantic slave trade would not be finally abolished until 1834, as part of a bilateral agreement with Great Britain.[146]

As far as Nova Scotia was concerned, an ex-officio member of the King's College Board of Governors from 1792 to 1808, Governor Sir John Wentworth, wrote to the Duke of Portland in October 1796, rather overoptimistically, that slavery "is almost exterminated here" in Nova Scotia.[147] Such, of course,

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[143] Despite its antiquity, the best legal analysis of the ending of slavery in Upper Canada remains William Renwick Riddell, "Slave in Upper Canada," *Journal of the American Institute for Criminal Law & Criminology* 14, no. 2 (May 1923 to Feb. 1924), 249-78, 253-59; also his article of the same name in the *Journal of Negro History* 4, no. 4 (Oct. 1919): 372-95. The most recent study of the Chloe Cooley incident is in Afua Cooper's, "The Secret of Slavery in Canada," in *Gender and Women's Studies: Critical Terrain,* 2nd ed., eds. Margaret Hobbs and Carla Rice (Toronto & Vancouver: Women's Press, 2018), 291-302, esp. 299-300. For a succinct discussion of Simcoe's legislation and its implications, see Frost, *I've Got a Home in Glory Land,* 195-96.

[144] We use the term "freedom-seeker," which is an active and positive term confirming the agency of the formerly enslaved in their quest for liberty, rather than "fugitive slave," which was a pejorative term employed by the slaveholders in search of their lost human "property." "Freedom-seeker" was coined by Dr. Daniel G. Hill, Ontario's Chair of its first Human Rights Commission, in his volume, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada* (Agincourt, ON: Book Society of Canada, 1981).

[145] *Fugitive Slave Act*. Proceedings and Debates of the House of Representatives of the United States at the Second Session of the Second Congress, Begun at the City of Philadelphia, November 5, 1792, Annals of Congress, 2nd Congress, 2nd Session (November 5, 1792 to March 2, 1793), 1414-15; Eli Whitney's Patent for the Cotton Gin, Records of the United States House of Representatives, RG 233, document 306631, National Archives and Records Administration (henceforth NARA in this report).

[146] "Decree of the National Convention of February 4, 1794, Abolishing Slavery in all the Colonies," *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History,* transl. and ed. Lynn Hunt (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996), 115–16; Philippe R. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War* (Tuscaloosa, 2011), 39-40. For a thorough discussion of how France ended slavery in its colonies see Lawrence C. Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery: The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802–1848* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[147] Quoted in Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges," 73; Smith, "Slave in Canada," 61.

was not the case. His own hands were hardly clean in the matter, for Wentworth had been the last royal governor of New Hampshire and belonged to a family that had made its fortune profiting from slavery and the fruits of enslaved labour. Following his emigration from New Hampshire, Wentworth had "purchased in New York two slave musicians with the engaging classical names of Romulus and Remus, whom he had known since their childhood, and sent them as a gift to Lady Rockingham, assuring her that they were faithful, honest and free from vice."[148] Arriving in Nova Scotia in 1783, Wentworth had been appointed Surveyor of the King's Woods to locate and reserve stands of white pine for future use as masts for the British navy. In the next year, he purchased a group of nineteen enslaved men, women and children. He had them baptized at St. Paul's Church in Halifax before shipping them off to the Surinam plantation operated by his cousin. Wentworth kept two young people named Matthew and Susannah for use in his own household.[149]

Governor Parr died in 1791. Sir John Wentworth was appointed the next Governor of Nova Scotia in 1792 and Bishop Inglis and his long-desired college finally gained the full support of the most senior official in the province. A graduate of Harvard, where he had suffered because of his rejection of Puritan values espoused at his Alma Mater, Wentworth was a devout Churchman. He was also a strong advocate for Inglis' efforts to provide the sons of Maritime Canada with an education imbued with both Church of England and Oxonian traditions. However, Wentworth's favourable presumption regarding the decline of slavery in Nova Scotia may well have been influenced by his experience with the Jamaican Maroons, six hundred of whom had arrived at Halifax in 1796. Brave and fearless warriors, they had long resisted colonial domination in their former West Indian home. Wentworth received the Maroons enthusiastically, setting some to work building the third incarnation of the Halifax Citadel. Offering them land vacated by the departed Black Loyalists at Preston, he encouraged them to gain an education, become farmers, abandon polygamy and adopt Christianity. Governor Wentworth was particularly enamoured of his Maroon mistress by whom he had at least one child. However, the Maroons by and large rejected such change and requested of the British government transport to a place with a climate where their staple foodstuff, yams, would grow. Nearly all of them left the province in 1800, bound for Sierra Leone, as has the Black Loyalists who left the province eight years earlier.[150]

To return to the Church of England leadership of the province, it seems curious that in all of Charles Inglis' voluminous correspondence and in his own journals, which he kept for most of his adult life, there is little discussion of slavery and the attempt to abolish the slave trade. Although as a bishop he can hardly have opposed the Archbishop of Canterbury in his continued silence as to the morality of the matter, there had been other high ranking members of the clergy who had spoken out against

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[148] One of them played the French horn. See Wentworth to Lady Rockingham, December, 1776, Ramsden Records, Rockingham Letters, Sheepscar Library, Leeds, No. 51, cited in Paul W. Wildserson, *Governor John Wentworth & the American Revolution: The English Connection* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994), 166; Brian C. Cuthbertson, *The Loyalist Governor: Biography of Sir John Wentworth* (Halifax: Petheric Press, 1983), 78; Judith Fingard, "Wentworth, Sir John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 19, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio.php?BioId=36832.

[149] John Wentworth to Paul Wentworth or his attorney, Feb. 24, 1784, Wentworth Letters, vol. 49, NSA, reproduced in Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, Document 42, 74-75. St. Paul's Church, Halifax, only became a cathedral after Charles Inglis was made Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787.

[150] Jody Fernald, "Slavery in New Hampshire: Profitable Godliness to Racial Consciousness" (MA thesis, University of New Hampshire, 2007), 11-14; Brian Cuthbertson, *Loyalist Governor*, 78; Ruma Chopra, *Almost Home: Maroons between Slavery and Freedom in Jamaica, Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), Ch. 3, esp. 83-84. The classic earlier work is John N. Grant, *The Maroons in Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 2002).

slavery.[151] Yet when Bishop Inglis sent his son John, the first student who had enrolled at King's Academy and then King's College, and now his personal secretary, to England to raise funds for the new College library in 1800, the committee struck to collect funds for this purpose included none other than William Wilberforce. The ardently antislavery politician had himself stated that his reason for his stance was his hope of heaven—he believed that enslaving human beings was sinful. The subject must certainly have come up for, when young John Inglis enlisted Wilberforce to the cause of raising the money to buy books for the King's College library, he must have be been more than aware of the fact that he was rubbing shoulders with the foremost parliamentarian opposing the slave trade.[152]

The year 1800 was also significant in the history of slavery in the Maritimes. In New Brunswick, as in Nova Scotia, the demise of the institution came about gradually, as the result of judicial reluctance to uphold the "rights" of slaveholders, rather than because of legislation. The case against continuing the institution of slavery in New Brunswick was less clear-cut that it was in Nova Scotia. The judicial system was entirely dominated by Loyalists in the newly-founded colony, many of them hard-line slaveholders. Whatever the liberalizing atmosphere might be in Great Britain or the Canadas, personal interest trumped reform. According to the Reverend W. O. Raymond, whose paper entitled "The Negro in New Brunswick" was likely written for the short-lived African Canadian newspaper *Neith* in 1903:

> Lieut. Col. Beverley Robinson brought with him from New York nine colored servants; Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, seven; Lieut. Col. Edward Winslow, four. Hon. Gabriel G. Ludlow, first mayor of St. John, and for many years administrator of Government, was a slave owner, so, also, were General Coffin of Nerepis, Lieut. Col. Richard Hewlett of Hampstead, James Peters of Gagetown, Elijah Miles of Maugerville, Stair Agnew of Fredericton, Col. Jacob Ellegood of Dumfries, Capt. Jacob Smith of Woodstock, Titus Knapp of Westmoreland, Judge Upham, and many others. Even clergymen were slave owners. Rev. James Scovill, first rector of Kingston, N. B., in 1804 bequeathed to his wife, Amy, his servant boys Robert and Sampson, aged respectively 12 and 10 years, with a proviso that at the age of 26 years both should be set at liberty if they discharged faithfully the duties of servants until that period.[153]

As can be seen in the following sections of this report detailing direct connections between the Nova Scotian King's College and slavery, members of the Church of England amongst these New Brunswick-based slaveholding families sent their sons to King's. The first Chief Justice of New Brunswick was

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[151] See James Walvin, "Slavery, the Slave Trade and the Churches," *Quaker Studies* 12, no. 2 (2008), accessed March 4, 2019, https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol12/iss2/3.

[152] William Wilberforce lived until the very eve of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. His life's work done, he passed away on July 29, 1833, one month before the passage of the Imperial Act that would end slavery on August 1, 1834. Slavery, however, continued in another form in the Caribbean for another four years. A system of indenture was imposed on those manumitted in the Caribbean, ostensibly to provide for a period of on-the-job training for the formerly enslaved, but also to soften the financial blow for slaveholders. It was a disaster. Britain opted in 1837 to pay out more than £200 million pounds to compensate former slaveholders for their losses. It is only recently that the British Parliament finally paid off the monies borrowed for the purpose. No monies were set aside for the colonies that made up the modern Canada, since it was assumed that slavery was already outmoded there. The period of indentureship ended in the British Caribbean in 1838. A form of indenture continued for Indian and Chinese workers transported to the Caribbean for instance, well into the twentieth century. See Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labour, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

[153] Rev. W.O. Raymond, "The Negro in New Brunswick," *Neith* 27, no. 1 (Feb. 1903): 27-33, PANB, accessed Jan. 13, 2019, https://archives.gnb.ca/Exhibits/FortHavoc/html/Negro-in-NB.aspx?culture=en-CA.

George Duncan Ludlow, formerly of New York, who during his tenure vigorously supported the rights of slaveholders in retaining their human property.[154] As University of New Brunswick historian David G. Bell points out in his article, "Slavery and the Judges of Loyalist New Brunswick," published in 1982, there were two opportunities in 1800 to abolish slavery outright in the province, neither of which was taken. These were the test cases of *R. v. Jones* and *R. v. Agnew*. King's College-associated judges and attorneys were involved on both sides of these landmark court cases, providing a good example of how entrenched were people's positions on either side of the equation.[155]

In this case, Solicitor General Ward Chipman acted brilliantly on the side of the enslaved woman, whose name may have been Nancy. She was suing for her freedom as the former "property" of Loyalist Caleb Jones, who had been a large slaveholder in Maryland and owned 1,600 acres of land on the St. John River opposite Fredericton.[156] Jones had bought two enslaved servants at New York, carrying them with him when he boarded the *Martha* in New York Harbour in the autumn of 1783. He managed to salvage seven more in 1785, including a woman named Nancy, from his former Maryland properties. This was thanks to his wife, Betty, who had remained behind to guard the family's estates.[157] His original two purchased in New York fled before Jones' return, and in 1799, he ostensibly sold Nancy for £40. Her new owner was Stair Agnew, a Loyalist originally from Virginia. Agnew, without obtaining proper paperwork for his purchase, had left Nancy with Jones for the time being. She fled, taking with her a four-year-old named Lidge whose interesting tale is told in detail by Harvey Amani Whitfield in his volume *North to Bondage.*[158]

One of the judges in the case was Judge Joshua Upham, who was a slaveholder. He had a nephew of the same name who attended King's College. Others acting on the side of the slaveholders included: New Brunswick's Attorney General Jonathan Bliss, formerly of Springfield, Massachusetts; John Murray Bliss, who was married to Judge Upham's daughter (their son, George Pidgeon Bliss, would attend King's College starting August 31, 1815, and go on to become Receiver General for the province); Thomas Wetmore (later Attorney General of New Brunswick); Charles J. Peters (son James Peters attended King's in Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1815-1819); and William Botsford (grandson Chipman Botsford was a King's student in 1826).[159] All of Jonathan Bliss' sons would attend King's College: Henry matriculated at

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[154] Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 107.

[155] David G. Bell, "Slavery and the Judges of Loyalist New Brunswick," *University of New Brunswick Law Journal/Revue de droit de l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick* 31 (1982): 9-42.

[156] Caleb Jones was only indirectly connected with King's College. His daughter Mary married another son of slaveholding Loyalist Elijah Miles, James Augustus Miles, whose brother Frederick William Miles, attended King's in 1820. He does not seem to have attended King's College, Nova Scotia, himself. See David B. Harper, "Ambitious Marylander: Caleb Jones and the American Revolution" (unpub. PhD diss., University of Utah, 2001), 136. James did not own slaves according to Harper. The case on behalf of the enslaved Nancy received an early and thorough treatment in I. Allen Jack, "The Loyalists and Slavery in New Brunswick," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 2, no. 4, Section II (1898): 137-85, accessed Jan. 20, 2019, https://archives.gnb.ca/Exhibits/FortHavoc/html/Loyalists-and-Slavery-in-NB.aspx?culture=en-CA.

[157] Harper, "Ambitious Marylander," 83.

[158] Whitfield, *North to Bondage,* 1-2. For another good description of the case see Harper, "Ambitious Marylander," 117-23.

[159] The younger Joshua Upham was listed in John Inglis, *Memoranda Respecting King's College at Windsor in Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Gossip & Coade, 1836), 22, as studying to become a barrister sometime before the Charter of 1802, but the exact dates of his attendance at King's has not been discovered. The attendance of the other students listed here comes from Janet Hathaway's comprehensive listing of individuals associated with King's Academy and King's College before 1833/4, in her dissertation titled "Spreadsheet: Individuals Associated with the University of King's College" (see sect. 1, p. 39, n. 138).

King's in 1803; the dates of enrolment for Lewis are not known. William Blowers Bliss entered King's Academy and then on November 9, 1809, King's College, Nova Scotia, graduating at the age of eighteen. He would go on to become a judge of the Supreme Court (1834-1869) and represent Hants County in the Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly 1830-1834, as well as serving as a long-time member of the King's College Board of Governors.[160]

In the cause of Nancy's liberty, Ward Chipman served alongside Samuel Denny Street, both appearing as "volunteers for the rights of humanity." In his voluminous *The Blacks in Canada,* Robin W. Winks suggested that Chipman saw this as an opportunity to strike a blow against slavery in the province, much as his friend and colleague Salter Sampson Blowers was doing in Nova Scotia.[161] In pressing his suit on Nancy's behalf, Chipman consulted Blowers, with whom he had graduated from Harvard in 1763. Their correspondence in the matter offers fascinating insight into the legal issues at play, and Chipman's own argument took up eighty-two pages of foolscap. The proceedings were published in the *St. John Gazette,* of Tuesday, February 12, 1800. The four judges in the case—Chief Justice George Duncan Ludlow, Judge Isaac Allen, Judge Joshua Upham, and Judge George Saunders—were hopelessly split in their decision. No satisfactory judgement was made, because Judges Allen and Upham upheld Caleb Jones' right to the ownership of Nancy Morton, with Judges Allen and Saunders dissenting.[162]

Stair Agnew was so incensed that he challenged to a duel, first Judge Upham's son-in-law, John Murray Bliss, and then Judge Allen, who both declined, and thirdly, Samuel Denny Street.[163] The latter accepted and the affair progressed but neither man was fatally wounded. Nancy was given back to her former owner, William Bailey, "to whom she bound herself" for a period of fifteen years.[164] She was thirty-eight at the time, so her full manumission would not have taken place until she was fifty-three years old. Further details of the case are less relevant to the King's College story, but it is of note that Judge Isaac Allen, who dissented along with Judge George Saunders in the case, freed his slaves soon after and began a lively correspondence with British abolitionist William Wilberforce.[165]

Neither Chipman and Street's efforts, nor those of Chief Justice of Nova Scotia (as of 1797) Sampson Salter Blowers were successful in ending slavery in the short term. But the handwriting was already on the wall. In 1807, Great Britain ended her own role in the Atlantic Slave Trade, with the United States following suit the next year. However the institution of slavery itself continued in the British West Indies for nearly three more decades, and in some places longer still, while in the United States it endured for close to six, ending only with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution on

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[160] Inglis, *Memoranda Respecting King's College*, 25. Jonathan Bliss's third son, William Blowers Bliss (1795-1874), graduated at 18, and went to England, receiving his legal education at London's Inner Temple before returning to live in Nova Scotia. His wife was the adopted child of Sampson Salter Blowers. One of their daughters became the wife of Bishop Hibbert Binney. William Bliss also would serve on the Board of Governors for King's College from 1848-1853. See Charles James Townshend, "Memoir of the Life of the Honorable William Blowers Bliss," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 27 (1913): 23-45.

[161] Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 108-9. The account of the proceedings is provided in the *St. John Royal Gazette, and New Brunswick Advertiser*, Feb. 12 and 18, 1800.

[162] The outcome of the two-day deliberation is discussed in Ward Chipman to Salter Sampson Blowers, Feb. 27, 1800, transcribed in full in Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery," 150-51.

[163] According to Cahill, "Samuel Denny Street, who, apart from Chipman, was the chief and perhaps the only anti-slavery lawyer at the New Brunswick bar, was a non-Loyalist, English-trained attorney. Unlike Chipman, moreover, he was a consistent, ideological opponent of slavery, whereas Chipman viewed slavery more as a *legal* than as a moral issue and was therefore prepared to argue both sides of its legality, depending on the interests of his client." See Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges," 114n147.

[164] Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery," 152.

[165] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 114.

January 31, 1865.[166]

On May 12, 1802, King's College in Windsor, Nova Scotia, received its long-awaited Royal Charter granted by King George III. Thus "the college was made an [*sic*] university, with the privileges of conferring degrees of Bachelor, Master and Doctor, in the several arts and faculties . . ." A total of some £4,000 had been provided by the Crown to support the construction of the university, and it was built on land purchased with funds supplied by the Nova Scotia legislature. The Board of Governors was granted the powers to set statutes for the university's operation. One of their acts was to require the students to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England in order to graduate, a condition that for years discouraged many would-be students of other denominations and even some Low Churchmen from enrolling at King's. After the Charter was received, the first public examination of students took place on September 11, 1803. Those declared "Scholars on the Foundation" included William Peters, George Fraser, and Harris Hatch; their scholarships were paid by the SPG. The new treasurer was Brenton Haliburton, who was Bishop Inglis' son-in-law. The Reverend William Twining was appointed principal of the Academy, with the slaveholding Cyrus Perkins as his assistant.[167]

Whatever the feelings of Loyalists and other slave owners in the matter, the institution was clearly on its way out in Nova Scotia by the first decade of the nineteenth century. The last bill of sale for an enslaved African Nova Scotian is dated October 6, 1804, at Annapolis Royal. It was for Percilla, who had been the property of Jane Dickson, William Prince, and Isaac Bonnell. The little girl was eight years and four months old, and had been the property of the late Robert Dickson. She was sold to William Robertson for the sum of £17.[168]

In Nova Scotia, after a series of defeats in the courts in trying to have absconding "servants" returned to him, the former sheriff of Westchester, New York, James DeLancey—who brought six enslaved individuals with him to Nova Scotia, and subsequently sent four sons to King's College—as well as John Taylor, and others at Annapolis Royal, petitioned the Nova Scotia Legislature either to enact laws that acknowledged their ownership of their human property, or provide them with compensation for their losses. Their petition stated that this was because their enslaved servants were "daily leaving their service and setting your petitioners at defiance." The bill was introduced by Thomas Ritchie, member for Annapolis County, and reached second reading on January 11, 1808, but was tabled. It never again saw

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[166] 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Abolition of Slavery. House Joint Resolution proposing the 13th amendment to the Constitution, January 31, 1865; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1999; General Records of the United States Government; RG 11; US National Archives. See the National Archives website, accessed August 15, 2019, https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/13th-amendment.

[167] Akins, *Brief Account,* 16-17-19. The requirement that in order to graduate students had to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles was dropped in 1806, after John Inglis approached the new Archbishop of Canterbury in the matter. Brenton Haliburton, too, came from a slaveholding New England Planter family, and had settled at Windsor, Nova Scotia. William Peters' father Thomas did not include losses in enslaved servants in his Loyalist claim, and does not seem to have owned enslaved people after his removal to Canada.

[168] "Bill of Sale for the Last Slave Sold in Nova Scotia," Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton Collection, Acadia University Archives, accessed January 11, 2019, https://archives.acadiau.ca/islandora/object/research%3A1490; William Renwick Riddell, "Slavery in the Maritime Provinces," *Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 3 (July 1920): 359-75, on page 370 says there was a later case, in 1807, but the documents supporting the sale of "Nelly" have not come to light. William Franklin Bonnell, Isaac's son, attended King's Academy at Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1790, as shown in "Appendix B (Students at King's College, 1790): List of the Students in the Seminary at Windsor, Nova Scotia, Specifying their Classes and Studies; with the Names of Their Fathers, and the Places of Their Residence," written by William Cochrane, then president of King's, and reproduced in *Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, For the Year 1961* (Halifax: Queen's Printer, 1961), 18-19.

the light of day.[169]

The matter was likely brought to a head, at least for James DeLancey, by the loss of his enslaved servant, Jack, whom he had taken with him from New York to London, and subsequently to Annapolis. In 1800, Jack fled to Halifax and was employed by William Woodin there. DeLancey had his attorney, the same Thomas Ritchie who would later present the petition discussed above, sue Woodin for Jack's return. Despite a lower court decision in his favour, later proceedings did not succeed in confirming DeLancey's ownership and Jack was lost to him. The attorney for the defense was none other than Richard John Uniacke, a former slave owner himself, but who maintained that slaveholding had already ended in the province. Uniacke was first Speaker of the House of Assembly, then Attorney General and finally Solicitor General of Nova Scotia, and an ex-officio member of the Board of Governors at King's College from 1797-1830. Relations seem to have been somewhat better between James DeLancey and a female servant, who he promised to free upon his death. However, tradition has it that she decided to hasten her manumission, and mixed a fatal dose of poison into his tea.[170]

When war broke out in 1812 between Great Britain and the United States, enslaved African Americans were again offered a chance at freedom if they would support the British war effort. More than 4,000 people took up the challenge, with 2,500 to 3,000 of them eventually being transported to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick during and after the conflict. These so-called Black Refugees were scattered throughout both provinces. Once there, they fared little better than the Black Loyalists had done.[171]

The End of Slavery in Much of the British Empire

By the time of the War of 1812, slavery as an institution was on its way out in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, although recent studies show that it survived for two more decades in isolated pockets.[172] Owners influenced by the twin deterrents of a series of adverse court decisions, coupled with the rising antislavery feeling in Great Britain, began to convert the conditions of servitude from lifelong bondage to indentures for a set period of years. Many people served through the 1820s as indentured servants, or under the terms of manumission in their deceased owners' wills. The last known advertisement for a slave sale appeared in New Brunswick newspapers in 1816.[173]

However, King's College, Nova Scotia, would benefit from slavery and the profits accruing therefrom for many years to come. Students' fees were paid by parents whose family wealth had been built on the

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[169] Petition of John Taylor and others, Negro proprietors, Dec. 1807, RG 5 A, Box 14, doc. 49, NSA, cited in Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia," 37n3 and reproduced as Document 53, "Digby Slave-0wners' Petition, Nova Scotia, 1807," in Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, 93. For the James DeLancey case relative to his ownership of Jack, see Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 24; Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, Document #61, 112-13; James DeLancey's Complaint Against William Woodin, 1803, 112-13; Whitfield, "American Background," 65-66. See also Riddell, "Slavery in the Maritime Provinces," 370 and Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges," 118-21. James Johnson Ritchie received a BA from King's College, Nova Scotia, in 1835.

[170] For the James DeLancey case relative to his ownership of Jack, see Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 24; Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, Document #61, James DeLancey's Complaint Against William Woodin, 1803, 112-13. For the poisoning of James DeLancey, see George DeLancey Hangar, "The Life of Loyalist Colonel James DeLancey," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 3, no. 2 (1983): 39-56, cited in Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 159n94. For Richard Uniacke's role, see Winks, *Blacks in Canada,* 105-6.

[171] The number of Black Refugees in Maritime Canada comes from Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The African Diaspora in Atlantic Canada: History, Historians, and Historiography," *Acadiensis* 46, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2017): 213-32, 213n1.

[172] Cottreau-Robins, "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia," 10n14 and 27.

[173] Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 107.

backs of enslaved workers, or by trading in enslaved Africans, or else by shipping foodstuffs, timber and sawn board, and particularly dried cod to the Caribbean. The latter had long been a major protein source for enslaved plantation workers, shipped south in return for slave-produced sugar, salt and other products. The Church of England, and particularly the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which offered base support for the operation of King's College and for the clergy who both taught and were educated there, did not divest itself of its West Indian sugar plantations or the enslaved men, women and little children who laboured there until the British Parliament abolished the institution in that part of the British Empire. During a journey in 1806-1807 to England to try to convince the new Archbishop of Canterbury to loosen restrictions on students who did not subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles—a move in which he was successful—John Inglis also managed to convince the SPG to award scholarships at King's to the sons of Church of England missionaries. Between 1809 and 1866, the SPG gave grants, scholarships, and "exhibitions" to King's College, Nova Scotia, totalling some £28,000.[174]

Loyalists living in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick also continued to enjoy the financial benefits of fortunes made through slavery and the use of slave labour. For instance, the children of Bishop Charles and Margaret (Crooke) Inglis, including future bishop John Inglis, were named in the wills of well-to-do relatives from New York State. The Ellison family, which had owned large slave-worked farms in upstate New York, in particular left sums of money to the Inglis children, John, Margaret and Ann Inglis. They were named both in the will of Thomas Ellison, Margaret's uncle, dated February 1, 1796, and of Mary Ellison who left a bequest to her niece, Margaret Crooke Inglis, along with her son John Inglis and her granddaughter Margaret Haliburton in her will dated October 26, 1810.[175]

The Slavery Abolition Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1833, was made effective August 1, 1834, in the British West Indies, Cape Town, Mauritius, and Canada. However, for the enslaved peoples of the sugar islands, the legislation meant little; they were forced into indentures to ensure the ongoing supply of sugar and molasses—the latter needed to make the rum deemed so essential by the British Navy. Such was the abuse inherent in the indenture system that, by 1838, Britain abandoned the indenture model and manumitted the rest of the people who had effectively remained enslaved under it. Slavery, however, continued in colonies acquired by Britain in warfare, such as those in the Indian Ocean, until about 1820, and those owned by officers of the British East India Company. It did not end in India itself until 1868.[176]

It is startling to realize in this day and age that Great Britain has only recently paid off the enormous sum of £20,000,000 it borrowed to defray the losses of slaveholders for their human property. It is cogent to the discussion here that the SPG collected some £8,823 8s 9d in compensation for the loss of its enslaved labour force in Barbados, about half a million pounds in modern currency.[177]

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[174] Harris, *Charles Inglis,* 117-18; Judith Fingard, "Inglis, Charles," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 19, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/inglis_charles_5E.html.

[175] Leonard Allison Morrison, *The History of the Alison, or Allison Family in Europe and America, A.D. 1135 to 1893* (Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1893), 244.

[176] See for instance, Richard B. Allen, ''Licentious and Unbridled Proceedings': The Illegal Slave Trade to Mauritius and the Seychelles during the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History*, 42, no. 1 (2001): 91-116.

[177] Jonathan Petre, "Church Offers Apology for its Role in Slavery," *The Telegram* (London, UK), Feb. 9, 2006, accessed Dec. 9, 2018, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1510048/Church-offers-apology-for-its-role-in-slavery.html.

African Nova Scotians at King's College in the Nineteenth Century

In closing, it is of some interest that King's College employed African Nova Scotians in service positions at Windsor, Nova Scotia, long after slavery was abolished. Although any early direct association between enslaved workers and the operation of King's College has not been identified, there were certainly free Black men employed at King's in the first half of the nineteenth century and probably later. There is in F.W. Vroom's *King's College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939: Collections and Recollections* published in 1941 an intriguing mention of "serving-men" who entered the students' rooms in the mornings to light the fires. There were also stewards from whom students could acquire foodstuffs so they could make their own breakfasts and dinners in their rooms. Indeed, Vroom names two of them: "Pompey" and "Charlie." No time frame is given for this recollection, but another author who mentions "Pompey" in a poem about his university years at King's would have been a student in the late 1840s.[178] The inference from the first source is that both Pompey and Charlie, and perhaps at least some of the serving-men too, were in fact of African descent. The poem, quoted later in this document, confirms that at least Pompey was Black.

The use of the men's first names by students at King's is suggestive of the servants' ethnicity, for the same reasons that enslaved men and women were not identified by their surnames by European-descended people while they were still enslaved. First of all, it was usual at King's to follow an Oxford-derived, British model in manner and custom. In the British Isles, white servants of both sexes were normally addressed by their surnames, and this was particularly true for a young person addressing an elder. Only stable boys and scullery maids might be called by their first names, and in any case rarely came into contact with members of the elite. On the other hand, by North American custom, even quite venerable people of African descent were almost always addressed by their first name only, as were King's College servants Pompey and Charlie, and were called so by men presumably much junior to them in age.

A second point in this regard is the fact that, while anyone might name a son "Charles" or "Charlie," the personal name "Pompey" was indelibly connected to slavery. It was common for those who held enslaved servants to give what they considered slightly derogatory or humorous names to their human property, names all too often derived from the Classics. Caesar, Calpernia, Venus, Mars, or even Prymus, as one of Charles Inglis' own enslaved servants in New York had been named, were commonly employed as names for enslaved children.[179]

While a slaveholder might name a slave child "Pompey," only a free man but lately arrived from an enslaved situation was likely to have done so for his own offspring. Perhaps Pompey was named after a grandfather, brother, uncle or beloved friend.

So who were Pompey and Charlie? David W. States in his 2002 MA thesis entitled "Presence and Perseverance: Blacks in Hants County, Nova Scotia, 1871-1914," describes the arrival of Samuel Johnson or Johnston at Five Mile Plains near the Windsor area, with a contingent of Black Refugees who settled

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[178] Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 57-58.

[179] The use of names drawn from Greek and Roman mythology and history for enslaved Africans is discussed in Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003), 54. Berlin suggests that this was an expression of the contempt with which slaveholders viewed their chattel, although earlier authors also saw it as a means by which Southerners particularly could show off their classical educations. See also Cody, "There Was No 'Absalom,'" 583. Leah Grandy of the University of New Brunswick has presented a fascinating analysis in her "Naming Culture in the Book of Negroes," *Atlantic Loyalist Connections* (blog), The Loyalist Collection website, Feb. 21, 2018, accessed August 8, 2019, https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/atlantic-loyalist-connections/naming-culture-book-negroes.

there during the latter part of 1812. Johnson and his wife received a one-hundred acre grant along with provisions and rations to keep them until their land could be cleared and crops harvested. They named their first son "Pompey," born at the end of 1812. Pompey married his wife, Charlotte Pilotte, at the Brooklyn Anglican Church of St. James in 1829, and had a number of children, including a son named Charles. Pompey's wife's family were also Black Refugees. She had been born in Savannah, and came to Nova Scotia as a three-year-old child. Interestingly, it was Reverend William Cochran of Windsor, sometime president of King's College, who arranged for her father, Sergeant Pilotte's, indenture for 10-acres of land located southwest of the Halifax-Windsor Road, when he first brought his family to the area in 1816.[180]

Pompey Johnson and his son Charles were the only two men with these first names; both were of African descent, associated with one another, and living in the vicinity of King's College in the 1840s and 1850s. The direct connection of Charlotte Pilotte Johnson's family to Reverend William Cochran and King's College is also suggestive. According to church records, Pompey passed away on April 20, 1863.[181]

In 1878, King's graduate Reverend Maurice Swabey mentioned Pompey's horror at seeing the condition of his boots, which presumably the older African Canadian man would have to clean. The reference survives in a bit of verse recalling Swabey's college days at Nova Scotia's King's College. It confirms Pompey's African ancestry and reads, in part:

> That nigh a quarter century has flown
> Since "Alma Matter" stamped us for her own.
> Why, (den of dens!) your rooms in "Middle Bay,"
> They look as if you'd *never* been away.
> And I and Hazen (chums as true as steel)
> Were bounding in to join you in a meal!
> Your oval table trembles on its legs,
> Your cap and gown on swinging from the pegs,
> "Longinus," lies, half open, on the shelf,
> The buckwheat pancakes frizzle on the delf,
> Whilst "Pompey" views, with horror in his eye,
> Your awful boots, that cover hip and thigh![182]

In the original publication, a symbol beside the second last line here reproduced leads to a footnote with the helpful explanation that Pompey is "the negro 'gyp.'" According to the King's College, Cambridge webpage entitled *Upstairs, Downstairs: College Servants, 1919-1939*, "College servants did everything from patrolling the college grounds to polishing boots and boiling eggs. The college could not have functioned without them." It goes on to quote an explanation provided by a former American student at Cambridge, who wrote in 1840, a gyp is "a college servant, who attends upon a number of students. . . [who] calls them in the morning, brushes their clothes, carries parcels for them... and waits at their parties and so on." Apparently being a college servant was a very good position, including benefits, and one which individuals held for many years. It was also a position one could, with luck, pass on to one's

[180] David W. States, "Presence and Perseverance: Blacks in Hants County, Nova Scotia, 1871-1914" (unpub. MA thesis, St. Mary's University, Halifax, 2002), 49-62, also 108.
[181] Burials in the Parish of Christ Church, Windsor, 1814-1900, cited in States, "Presence and Perseverance," 51n73.
[182] Maurice Swabey, *Voices from Abegweet: Or the Home on the Wave* (London, UK: James Nisbet & Co., 1878), 58. The poem is entitled "Epistle." For the term "gyp" see Charles Astor Bristed, *Five Years in an English University* (New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1873), 29.

offspring, as was likely the case with Pompey when he introduced his son Charlie to college life.[183]

Conclusion

This section represents an initial effort to study attitudes towards the institution of slavery held by people associated with the founding and early operation of King's College, Nova Scotia, as well as the context in which such links between slavery and slave-ownership, were forged. Subsequent sections of this report present additional research data and in-depth discussion illuminating some of the more direct relationships that have been discovered between King's College, Nova Scotia, and both the practice of slaveholding, and the wealth gained through the trade in the fruits of enslaved labour.

It is clear from our work so far that, without slavery and the profits that slaveholders, merchants, and even governments gained from it in one way or another, King's College, Nova Scotia, might not have been established, at least in the form it took, nor could it have been sustained. The Loyalists who founded King's in their new colonial Maritime place of residence had sacrificed home, property, and often precious family ties during the American Revolution. In exile and torn from whatever their former stations in life had been, they wanted nothing more than to re-establish themselves as members of a prosperous and genteel society, a society that in the eyes of many of them, included holding other human beings as property. Most could not conceive of a world in which people of African ancestry were neither subordinate nor enslaved. This was an attitude that greatly complicated the ways in which Black Loyalists, freed for their courageous service to the Crown during the late war, were perceived and treated by them. The more conservative of the Loyalist settler group were immune to the implications of Enlightenment-era thinking that, to their minds, was responsible for rebellion in the former Thirteen States. They were also deaf to arguments following thereupon regarding concepts of "natural law" and thus the rise of abolitionist thought in the English-speaking world.

From the very beginning, human bondage, the traffic in Black bodies, and wealth that accrued from trading in the products of West Indian plantations must therefore be considered foundational to the creation of King's. Nearly all those associated with the earliest years of the college, including Bishop Charles Inglis himself, either had been slaveholders in their former American colonial homes, had brought enslaved "servants" with them to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, or both. Furthermore, grants awarded by the Nova Scotia Legislature for the operation of this new King's College in British North America came from monies earmarked for the purpose from the taxes placed on West Indian sugar imports.

Even more damningly, the salaries of faculty, clergymen, stewards and all those engaged in the education and management of King's Academy and King's College were paid in part out of funds sent by

[183] "Upstairs, Downstairs: College Servants 1919-1939," (May 2010), King's College, Cambridge, Archive Centre Online, accessed Jan. 4, 2019, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/archive-centre/archive-month/may-2010.html. Interestingly, although a college servant was also known as a "gyp" at the University of Durham in northern England, a servant in a similar position at Oxford was, and still is, known as a "scout." The etymology of the word "gyp" is obscure. Some authors suggest it comes from the now-outmoded word "gypsie," which is a derogatory term for Roma and is highly racist, implying thieving ways. *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* by E. Cobham Brewer (London: Cassell & Co., 1898), 566, cited in the Wordorigins Discussion Forum website, accessed August 15, 2019, https://www.tapatalk.com/groups/wordoriginsorg/gyp-room-t3857.html, says it may be derived from a Greek word meaning "vulture," inferring that the servant preys on the students. However, another interesting idea found later in the same blog is that it derives from "gippon," which was a short garment worn by knights in the Middle Ages either under or over armour. This, in turn, comes from a French word, "jupeau," which was a tunic and is a word no longer in use.

the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The SPG not only held slaves in large numbers at its Codrington Plantations in Barbados, but it also accepted membership fees and donations from slaveholders and individuals whose wealth derived from commercial engagement in the sale and transport of slave-produced goods. Fees paid for the education of many King's students came from families who owned enslaved people, those engaged in the West Indian trade, or who had previously been so engaged while still resident in the Thirteen Colonies before the Revolutionary War. Several members of King's Board of Governors owned or had owned enslaved men, women and children. And on it goes.

We are sadly aware of a particularly egregious omission in the data presented here. Much more scholarship is needed to determine the role played by enslaved African Nova Scotians in the history of King's College, the first institution of higher learning created in British North America after the Revolution. Our own priority in undertaking this project has been to bring forward the voices of the enslaved and both document and commemorate the ways in which their talents, skills, experience and unwaged labour contributed to the establishment and operation of King's College, Nova Scotia.

We have worked hard to do so, given the timeframe and financial limitations of the project, but there is a great deal still to be accomplished. Only a longer and much more intensive program of research, one that both includes travel to gather documentary evidence from archival repositories in Great Britain, the United States and the West Indies, and encompasses a study of any oral history that may survive within the African Nova Scotian community, will help bring this long-buried and crucially significant aspect of King's early history to light.

Section 2. The Founders

Fig. 7 Triumphal Entry of the British Troops into New York. Etching by Francois Xavier Habermann, Augsburg, ca. 1776.[1]

Introduction

Section 2 concentrates on direct connections between King's College, Nova Scotia, and the institution of slavery as demonstrated in the lives of the Church of England ministers who met in British-occupied New York on March 8, 1783. It was they who developed the first formal proposal for creating a new King's College in Nova Scotia, along with one calling for the establishment of the first North American Anglican bishopric.[2]

Only nine of the original eighteen clergymen moved to what remained of British North America. Eight of them have been profiled here. (The relationship between Charles Inglis, the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, and the institution of slavery is touched upon in section 1 of this report, but awaits a much fuller biographical account). These profiles are presented below, in alphabetical order by surname. Several of these clergymen also had sons who would attend King's Academy, the preparatory school founded at Windsor in 1788, and both sons and grandsons who would be connected in one way or another to the new Nova Scotian King's College. Their biographies are detailed here as well, each listed under the heading bearing his fathers' name.

We have been relatively successful in fleshing out the lives and experiences of numerous students, faculty, and others affiliated with King's College who either owned slaves, or had done so prior to arriving in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Sadly, the same cannot be said of the individuals whose service they claimed. As stated in the first section of this report, there is a frustrating shortage of

[1] Francois Xavier Habermann, "L'Entré triumphale de Troupes royales a Nouvelle Yorck." (Triumphal Entry of the British Troops into New York), Etching, Augsburg, ca. 1776. Philadelphia Print Shop West, accessed Aug. 22, 2019, https://pps-west.com/product/british-troops-enter-new-york-city/.

[2] This is a revised version of section 2 (September 2019).

information about the lives and experiences of enslaved Black men, women and children who lived and worked in the Maritime colonies, both before and after the American Revolutionary War.

This lack of data is particularly true for still-enslaved men, women, and children transported by white Loyalists to the eastern seaboard of what is now Canada; there is not even a clear account available of how many they were, let alone what became of them after they were freed, either *de facto* as was generally the case, or finally *de jure*, when slavery was abolished in most of the British Empire, effective August 1, 1834. As discussed in section 1, part of the problem lies in the fact that the term "servant" was used indiscriminately by both slaveholders and government officials when referring both to enslaved African Nova Scotians and to free servants employed for wages.[3] For more information on this thorny problem, consult our discussion in section 1, pages 14-15.

The matter is also complicated because, within the first decades after the Loyalists arrived, slavery would prove both unprofitable and untenable in the face of consistent judicial opposition.[4] This, coupled with rising antislavery sentiments on both sides of the Atlantic, had all but rung the death knell for the institution in much of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by the end of the War of 1812. However, slavery continued to be practised by individuals in places like Port Grenville, in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, through the early 1830s.[5] Hence the bulk of our work has been confined to the first two to three generations of each Loyalist family with connections to King's College, Nova Scotia. (Prince Edward Islanders are not included in this study, since we have found little evidence that slaveholding Loyalist families who settled in that colony were associated with King's College, Nova Scotia, at least in its early years.)

The lives of the enslaved, once they reached the remaining portion of British North America, are much obscured by the general lack of documentary evidence for slavery, slaveholding, and slave trading in the Maritime colonies. To the best of our knowledge, none of the people of African ancestry claimed by white Loyalists as their human "property" in either Nova Scotia or New Brunswick have left personal accounts of their experiences. Furthermore, it is suspected that such documentation regarding slavery as may survive in letters, diaries, or other resources produced by Loyalist slaveholders and others, generally remains in private hands. Also lacking is evidence for how the institution of slavery ended for individual African Nova Scotians and African New Brunswickers claimed by those families whose sons attended King's College, Nova Scotia, or who were otherwise related to King's over the years.

It is known that certain slaveholders, including Church of England clergymen, rid themselves of "surplus"

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[3] See especially Whitfield's groundbreaking volume, *North to Bondage*, 10-12.

[4] For the judicial opposition to slavery in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, see Whitfield, *North to Bondage,* Ch. 5, 85-109 and several relevant documents transcribed in Whitfield's *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*; Bell, "Slavery and the Judges"; Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges"; Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 102-10.

[5] Cottreau-Robins, "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia," 10n14:

> Also of interest . . . is the story of the Honorable Josiah Webbe Maynard of the Island of Nevis, West Indies and Port Grenville, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. Maynard ran a mill in Port Greville in the late 1820s and provisioned his family's plantation in Nevis with Nova Scotia timber. He is reported to have transported slaves back and forth between Nevis and Nova Scotia to help harvest and/or load his vessels with timber to take back to the West Indies . . . Researching Maynard and his slave-related activities in Nova Scotia is a collaborative project with fellow Nova Scotia Museum staff David Christianson and Roger Lewis.

See also Julian Gwyn, "The Parrsboro Shore-West Indies Trade in the 1820s: The Early Career and Diary of Joseph Norman Bond Kerr," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 13, no. 1 (1993): 1-42, cited by Cottreau-Robins in the same footnote.

enslaved servants by shipping their human property either to the eastern seaboard of the United States, or to the West Indies for sale, thereby protecting their own investment. Others began treating slavery as if it were simple indentureship, and imposed a term of years on their servants before they freed them.[6] Some simply let their "servants" go, to manage as best they could. Manumissions were only rarely registered, and few documents have survived in colonial Maritime records with respect to the sale, bequests, or other forms of transfer, of legal ownership. A small number of notices offering people for sale, or calling for the return of those who fled in search of freedom, appeared in Nova Scotian and New Brunswick newspapers. These became fewer as the years passed. Only when there was a court case, letter, detailed will or estate inventory or other record pertaining to the enslaved, does one gain insight into the personal lives and the conditions under which they suffered during their bondage.[7]

Some relevant wills are extant; they tend to be early, dating from the 1790s through the first decade of the nineteenth century. Certain of these wills set forth conditions under which individual people of African descent would be freed, either immediately or more often after a period of so many years' service to a surviving spouse or child. Particularly devout slaveholders sometimes also stipulated that, after their deaths, those whose service they claimed should be taught to read the Bible, for instance, before they could be manumitted. A very few slave owners left bequests of money, land, or even bedding and clothes for the benefit of such "servants."[8]

We therefore simply do not know what became of the vast majority of enslaved people of African heritage who were once owned by people associated with King's College. Section 7 of this report includes recommendations for further research. More intensive study may well turn up more information than was possible within the temporal geographic, and financial constraints under which our investigations were conducted.

King's College: The Founders and Slavery

The founding of King's College in Windsor, Nova Scotia, was a long and complex process superbly outlined in Dr. Henry Roper's report entitled "King's College, New York, and King's College, Windsor: Their Connection in Fact and Legend."[9] As noted in the introduction to this section, of particular interest for the purposes of this study, are the eighteen clergymen who came together in New York on March 8, 1783. New York was the last British stronghold in the Thirteen Colonies, and after Lieutenant-General Charles Cornwallis surrendered to the Americans at Yorktown, signing the articles of capitulation on October 19, 1781, everyone knew that it was only a matter of time before the British authorities would

[6] See Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes,* for multiple examples, including Document #63, which pertains to the celebrated "Nancy case" where an enslaved woman sued for her freedom in the New Brunswick courts in 1800. The case involved a large number of very prominent white Loyalists, both in the defence and prosecution. The case itself is detailed in a number of sources. For an early account see Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery." See also section 1 of this report, pages 46-47.

[7] An excellent early account of the legal history of slavery in British North America can be found in Riddell, "Slavery in the Maritime Provinces."

[8] Some such wills are digitized and appear on the Nova Scotia Archives website. See for instance that of Benjamin Belcher (1743-1802). He was not a Loyalist but rather an earlier settler who lived on the Cornwallis River near Port Williams in King's County. A staunch Anglican, Belcher charged his heirs with the duty to ensure that those enslaved people he left to them would be taught to read the Scripture. NSA Kings County Probate Records, estate case file B7, reel 19779, online at the NSA's African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition exhibit, accessed Aug. 15, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/Africanns/archives/?ID=62.

[9] Roper, "King's College," accessed Jan. 23, 2019.

have to turn New York over to General George Washington.

The ministers who met in New York a year-and-a-half later were planning for the future life of the Church of England after the evacuation of the city, with a view to the resettlement of Loyalist refugees and disbanded provincial regiments in Nova Scotia. These Church of England clergymen provided to Sir Guy Carleton, the British Commander-in-Chief at New York, two documents to be forwarded to the British government.

The first called for the creation of the first American bishopric, something long in the works and a position that would ultimately see Reverend Charles Inglis, then the rector of Trinity Church in New York City, appointed the first Bishop of Nova Scotia.[10] The second was entitled: "Plan of a Religious and Literary Institution for the Province of Nova Scotia" (see table 2). This latter petition called for the founding in central Nova Scotia of an academy, or boy's preparatory school. It also requested the establishment of a seminary. A follow-up letter from Reverend Inglis and four other members of the Anglican clergy was sent to Carleton on October 18, 1783, pending the British evacuation of New York. The letter specified the need for the establishment in Nova Scotia, "first of a public grammar school [King's Academy, or seminary] for classical and other branches of education," and then of a college. These institutions were intended for the training of future clergymen to serve in the Maritime provinces, and for educating the sons of the elite. Such institutions would also, they wrote, "diffuse religious literature, loyalty and good morals among His Majesty's subjects there." Both the academy and college would be established under Bishop Charles Inglis' guiding hand. It is of considerable interest that both these institutions survive to this day.[11]

Of those eighteen clergymen whose vision would, by 1790, beget King's College, Nova Scotia, nine were eventually to take up pulpits in Nova Scotia and what today is the province of New Brunswick. A select few were members of the fifty-five Port Roseway Associates formed at New York before the evacuation. The Associates requested special treatment and larger land grants in Nova Scotia than other Loyalists were expected to receive. Several of the clergymen had been slaveholders in the Thirteen Colonies, and either imported enslaved men, women and children or acquired them, once they had settled in their adopted British North American home. Those who served as missionaries sent to colonial North America by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), were receiving support derived from the profits of slavery and from trade in the products of enslaved labour.

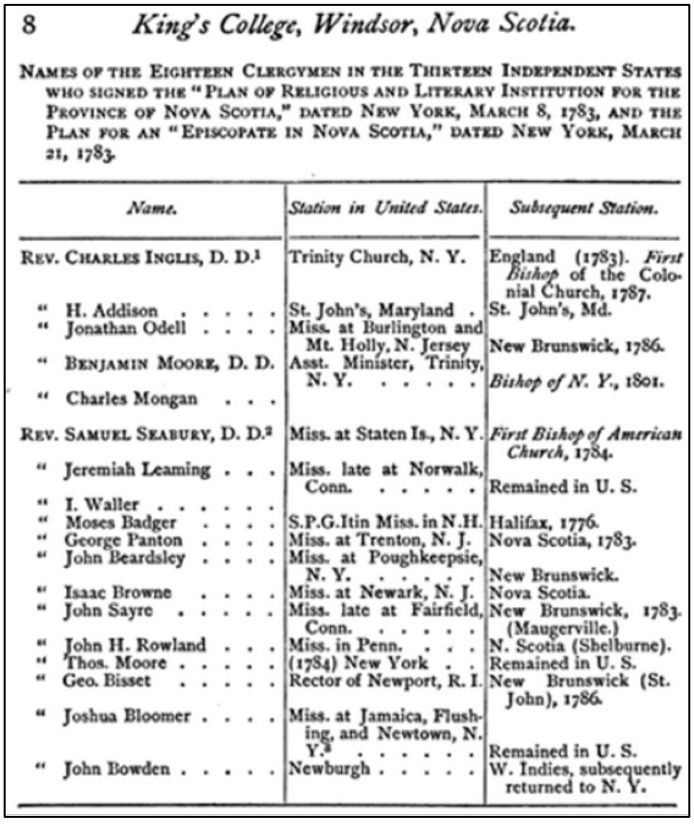
This dependence upon funding from the SPG would continue once these Loyalist ministers reached British North America. As will be discussed in section 6 of this report, the SPG received revenues from the Barbados sugar plantation, Codrington, which it inherited in 1710 and operated for 124 years. Codrington was worked by 200 or more slaves in the mid-eighteenth century, and as many as 400 enslaved men, women, and children by the turn of the nineteenth century. The SPG made much of the fact that its missionaries operated a school at Codrington for the enslaved, and converted as many as possible to the Anglican faith. This concern for education and religious instruction in no way implies that the SPG leadership was opposed to slavery itself. As Travis S. Glasson put it in his excellent 2005 doctoral thesis on the subject: "The Society came to embrace the position that slavery and conversion to

[10] See table 2, and Hind, *University of King's College*, 5-11.

[11] Akins, *Brief Account*, 1-2; also Thomas B. Akins "King's College and Episcopate in Nova Scotia," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 6 (1887-88): 130-33, cited in Roper, "King's College," 29n60, and available online, accessed Jan. 23, 2019, https://archive.org/details/collectionsofnov06nova/page/122; Hind, *University of King's College*, 8-10; Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*.

Christianity were compatible, and indeed could be mutually beneficial."[12]

Table 2 List of the eighteen clergymen who met at New York and signed "A Plan of Religious and Literary Institution for the Province of Nova Scotia," New York, March 8, 1783[13]



8 *King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.*

NAMES OF THE EIGHTEEN CLERGYMEN IN THE THIRTEEN INDEPENDENT STATES WHO SIGNED THE "PLAN OF RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INSTITUTION FOR THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA," DATED NEW YORK, MARCH 8, 1783, AND THE PLAN FOR AN "EPISCOPATE IN NOVA SCOTIA," DATED NEW YORK, MARCH 21, 1783.

Name.	*Station in United States.*	*Subsequent Station.*
REV. CHARLES INGLIS, D. D.[1]	Trinity Church, N. Y.	England (1783). *First Bishop* of the Colonial Church, 1787.
" H. Addison	St. John's, Maryland .	St. John's, Md.
" Jonathan Odell	Miss. at Burlington and Mt. Holly, N. Jersey	New Brunswick, 1786.
" BENJAMIN MOORE, D. D.	Asst. Minister, Trinity, N. Y.	*Bishop of N. Y.*, 1801.
" Charles Mongan . . .		
REV. SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D.[2]	Miss. at Staten Is., N. Y.	*First Bishop of American Church*, 1784.
" Jeremiah Leaming . . .	Miss. late at Norwalk, Conn.	Remained in U. S.
" I. Waller		
" Moses Badger	S.P.G.Itin Miss. in N.H.	Halifax, 1776.
" George Panton	Miss. at Trenton, N. J.	Nova Scotia, 1783.
" John Beardsley	Miss. at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	New Brunswick.
" Isaac Browne	Miss. at Newark, N. J.	Nova Scotia.
" John Sayre	Miss. late at Fairfield, Conn.	New Brunswick, 1783. (Maugerville.)
" John H. Rowland . . .	Miss. in Penn. . . .	N. Scotia (Shelburne).
" Thos. Moore	(1784) New York . .	Remained in U. S.
" Geo. Bisset	Rector of Newport, R. I.	New Brunswick (St. John), 1786.
" Joshua Bloomer	Miss. at Jamaica, Flushing, and Newtown, N. Y.[3]	Remained in U. S.
" John Bowden	Newburgh	W. Indies, subsequently returned to N. Y.

It appears that little of the funding the Society provided to King's College, Nova Scotia, came from the SPG's operation of their Codrington Plantations in Barbados. However, the SPG did have fee-paying members who were slaveholders and also received substantial donations from people who both owned and traded in slaves, or whose own wealth derived otherwise from slavery. This included the buying, selling, and transport of the "white gold" of the Atlantic World: sugar, molasses, and the rum that was consumed in such quantities by the British Navy.

Thus it must be said that all SPG-funded clergymen, whether in British North America, the Caribbean, on the African continent, or elsewhere, benefited from the proceeds of human bondage, whether or not they were slaveholders themselves. This was just as true for the faculty at King's College, Nova Scotia who drew salaries based on SPG funding. There were also students who attended the college "on the foundation," meaning they needed such financial support to complete their education.[14]

[12] Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 122. For Glasson's fascinating volume on the subject, see Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*.

[13] Hind, *University of King's College*, 8.

[14] This terminology appears in the King's College Account Book, 1803-1841, Financial Records Collection, UKC.FIN.4.1.1, Special Collections, University of King's College Archives, Halifax.

The ministers who came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick included:

Rev. Moses Badger	SPG Missionary; Halifax 1776, but returned to New York, then Providence, NH
Rev. John Beardsley	St. John 1783; travelling pastor until appointed Rector of Maugerville, NB in 1784
Rev. George Bisset	To New Brunswick in 1786, died in 1788 at St. John
Rev. Charles Inglis	First Bishop of Nova Scotia (1787)
Rev. Isaac Browne	Annapolis in 1783; pensioned by SPG and died in 1787[15]
Rev. Jonathan Odell	First Provincial Secretary of New Brunswick
Rev. George Panton	Halifax 1783; SPG Missionary at Yarmouth 1785, returned to England in 1786
Rev. John Rowland	Before 1786 he was at Shelburne; Rector of St. Patrick's Church until death in 1795
Rev. John Sayre	Rector of Maugerville, New Brunswick, in 1783 but died in 1784[16]

Reverend Moses Badger (1743-1792)

A former SPG itinerant missionary in New Hampshire, Reverend Moses Badger was the son of Joseph Badger (1698-1760) and Hannah (Moody) Parsons (1702-1762) of Haverhill, Massachusetts. He graduated from Harvard University in 1761. Badger converted from Congregationalism and went first to New Hampshire to study under SPG minister Reverend Arthur Brown, who was rector of the Queen's Chapel there, then to Britain for his theological education.[17] He was ordained in England in 1767 and dispatched to the colonies for missionary work. According to his report to the SPG on August 5, 1768, Reverend Badger had by that time 1,132 people in his charge, and in the previous eleven months had baptized "107 children, 1 adult female and 1 negro" although there was few churches in the colony in which to minister. Badger also served as clergyman to the Queen's Chapel at Portsmouth, New Hampshire from 1768-1774.[18]

With the rise of the Revolution, Reverend Badger and his family were forced to leave his charge because of their loyalty to the Crown. They went first to Boston, and after the evacuation of that city travelled to Halifax in 1776. Badger returned, however, to become the chaplain to DeLancey's Second Battalion in the American Revolution, and he also served as a Royal Navy chaplain. Reverend Badger was formally

[15] Reverend Brown's name was spelt both with and without a final "e" in contemporary documents. Here the "e" is included, following Hind, *University of King's College,* as on pages 8-9.
[16] Hind, *University of King's College*, 8-9. Short biographies of those clergymen who called for the founding of King's College in Nova Scotia and who later moved to the Maritime colonies are provided in Chapter 10: "Exiled Clergy of the Revolution," in Eaton, *Church of England*, 155-90.
[17] Captain W.F. Goodwin, "Early Notices of the History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New Hampshire," in *The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America* 7, no. 6 (June 1870): 356-60, 357.
[18] John Norris McClintock, *Colony, Province, State, 1623-1888: History of New Hampshire* (Boston: B.B. Russsell, 1898), 589; Chaim M. Rosenberg, *The Loyalist Conscience: Principled Opposition to the American Revolution* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2018), 85. The SPG file is quoted in Goodwin, "Early Notices," 357.

banished from Massachusetts in September 1778. The Badgers lived in British-occupied New York, and after the war moved to Newport, finally settling in Providence, Rhode Island.[19]

Reverend Badger's wife was Mary Cook Saltonstall, whom he wed in 1771. Her parents were Richard Saltonstall (1703-1756) and Mary Cooke Saltonstall (1723-1804) of Haverhill, Massachusetts. Her family had a long history in colonial New England. She was a descendant of John Winthrop and her paternal ancestor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, having been one of the original signatories to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Mary Badger's father was a Justice of the Superior Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, a position to which he was appointed by King George II. He reportedly was the youngest officer ever commissioned in Massachusetts, becoming colonel at age 23.[20] Mary's half-brother, whose estate bordered the Merrimack River, was Colonel Richard Saltonstall (1732-1785). He had received his AB (*artium baccalaureus*) from Harvard, and was the Sheriff of Essex County. He was a staunch Loyalist, moving first to Boston and then to England during the Revolutionary War, where he received a pension. Mary's half-brother sacrificed a great deal for his loyalty, refusing to fight against his own countryman, but remaining in Britain until he passed away.[21]

While Reverend Badger and his wife do not seem to have held anyone in slavery themselves, it is of interest for the purposes of this section that Richard Saltonstall (1610-1694) who was Mary (Saltonstall) Badger's direct ancestor, protested against importation of enslaved Africans to the colony, and called for an end to the trade. At the other extreme of this contentious issue, her cousin, Dudley Saltonstall (1738-1796) at the age of eighteen voyaged to and from Africa on a slave ship operating out of New London, Connecticut. His diary of the voyage, in all its chilling detail, survives in the collections of the Connecticut State Library at Hartford. He went on to a career in the Continental Navy and as a privateer during the Revolutionary War. Dudley Saltonstall would be celebrated for having captured the *Hannah,* which belonged to British General Henry Clinton. He continued in the slave trade in later life, travelling to the West African coast and making immense profits.[22]

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[19] Saltonstall Family Papers, "Guide to the Collection," Ms. N-2232, Massachusetts Historical Society, available online, accessed Aug. 19, 2019, http://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fa0345; *Banishment Act of the State of Massachusetts: An Act to Prevent the Return to This State of Certain Persons Therein Named and Others Who Have Left This State or Either of the United States, and Joined the Enemies Thereof, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick*, available online, accessed Aug. 18, 2019, https://archives.gnb.ca/Exhibits/FortHavoc/html/Mass-Banishment-Act.aspx?culture=en-CA.

[20] Henry Bond, *Family Memorials: Genealogies of the Families and Descendants of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts, including Waltham and Weston* (New York: Little, Brown, & Co., 1855), 927-28.

[21] Henry Bond, *Family Memorials,* 978; Commission of Richard Saltonstall as Justice of the Superior Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Jan. 24, 1745, in Personal Papers: Harvard in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Harvard University Archives, accessed August 20, 2019, https://colonialnorthamerica.library.harvard.edu/spotlight/cna; Saltonstall Leverett, *Ancestry and Descendants of Sir Richard Saltonstall: First Associate of the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1897), 21-22, 157. For Mary Cooke Saltonstall, see page 23; however, this source gives entirely different dates of birth and death for Badger's wife than does the Massachusetts Historical Society catalogue of the Saltonstall family papers (see supra).

[22] The discovery that Dudley Saltonstall was author of the slave voyage diary in the Connecticut State Library is a relatively recent one. He continued in the slave trade until at least the 1780s. See Ann Farrow, "Logging Misery and Death aboard Connecticut Slave Ships," *Hartford Courant*, June 11, 2014, accessed June 4, 2021, , https://www.courant.com/news/connecticut/hc-xpm-2014-06-11-hc-250-slavery-logbooks-20140610-story.html. Ann Farrow tells the full story of slave trading on the part of the New London, Connecticut, branch of the Saltonstall family in *The Logbooks: Connecticut's Slave Ships and Human Memory* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2014), referencing the Dudley Saltonstall Collections at the New London Historical Society.

Mary (Saltonstall) Badger's paternal grandfather also held a number of people in bondage. In 1709, this Richard Saltonstall lost the family mansion when an enslaved young woman, having been beaten for her resistance to her enslaved condition, set fire to a stock of gunpowder kept at "Saltonstall Seat," resulting in a conflagration that blew it to pieces. The tale is recorded in Chase's *History of Haverhill* (1861), and recounted in more detail by American Quaker poet and abolitionist John Greenleaf Whittier, in his volume *Conflict with Slavery* written in 1833.[23] Further research may discover what became of the abused woman who had set fire to the house, and the fate of the rest of the family's enslaved servants.

Reverend Moses Badger lost his home and small property in Haverhill. It was confiscated and subsequently auctioned off on March 8, 1779 because of his Loyalist sympathies.[24] Despite this, Reverend Badger never returned to Canada's Maritime colonies, but rather became rector of St. John's, the former King's Chapel in Providence, Rhode Island, starting in 1786. Badger was instrumental in helping establish the new Episcopalian Church in the United States, and was one of three ministers who met in 1790 to found the diocese of Rhode Island.[25] Whether or not he was a slaveholder during his incumbency there is not known, and his Loyalist claim, if any, remains to be located. Moses Badger died in Providence in 1792, having lost his wife a year earlier. Reverend Badger's funeral was attended by his Lodge brothers from the St. John Masonic Lodge, at Providence, Rhode Island.[26]

Reverend John Beardsley (1732-1810) and sons John D. Beardsley (1771-1854) and Crannell Beardsley (1775-1855)

Reverend John Beardsley was a slaveholder in both the American colonies and in New Brunswick, where he eventually settled with his family.[27] Born at Ripton, Connecticut in 1732, John Beardsley came from the colony with the largest slaveholdings in New England, there being some 6,464 enslaved people on the eve of the Revolutionary War. Slavery was clearly popular in Connecticut, and by 1776, one in four wills registered in the colony included enslaved servants.[28] The history of African bondage in the colony dated at least to 1660. As was true in Virginia and Maryland, this had begun with indentureship. However the term "slave for life" appeared in legal documents not long after, slavery being legalized in 1650, and this applied to both Africans and Native Americans. Connecticut's Black Codes were passed starting in 1690 and repeatedly refined over the years. Such codes were intended to control the behaviour of African-descended people, both enslaved and free. By the mid-eighteenth century, Africans were imported directly from the continent to Connecticut ports, until 1774 when such importation was banned on the eve of the Revolutionary War.[29]

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[23] John Greenleaf Whittier, *The Conflict with Slavery: Politics and Reform the Inner Life Criticism* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1888-89), 69; G.W. Chase, *The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts, from Its First Settlement, in 1640, to the Year 1860* (Haverhill, MA: privately published, 1861), 241.

[24] Notice of auction of lease of property of Moses Badger of Haverhill, absentee Loyalist, March 8, 1779, Saltonstall Family Papers, Ms. N-2232, Box 25, Massachusetts Historical Society; Chase, *History of Haverhill*, 376-79.

[25] Eaton, *Church of England*, 159.

[26] Freemasons, and Bennett Wheeler, "The brethren of St. John's Lodge are requested to attend the funeral of our brother Rev. Moses Badger" (1792), Brown Olio, Brown Digital Repository, Brown University Library, accessed Aug. 19, 2019, https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:262947.

[27] Hind, *University of King's College*, 8. For Beardsley's biography, see C. Alexander Pincombe, "Beardsley, John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 20, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/beardsley_john_5E.html.

[28] Jackson Turner Main*, Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 177, cited in Douglas Harper, "Slavery in Connecticut," Slavery in the North website, accessed April 1, 2019, http://slavenorth.com/connecticut.htm.

[29] Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Slavery in Connecticut* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1893), 11-17; di

John Beardsley began his education at Yale University, in New Haven, Connecticut, but graduated from King's College in New York with a BA in 1761, after which he travelled to England for ordination as a missionary of the SPG. His voyage was paid for by the Norwich, Connecticut, church on the condition that he come back to minister there. Upon his return he took up a pastoral charge including the towns of Norwich and Groton, Connecticut. Reverend Beardsley continued his studies, receiving a Masters degree from King's College, New York, in 1768. It is not known when he first acquired his enslaved "servants," but Reverend Beardsley married the daughter of another Anglican clergyman, Sylvia Punderson (1733-1771), who had grown up in a slave-owning household. In 1765, Beardsley transferred to become a SPG Missionary at Poughkeepsie, New York. The parish included Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, and Trinity Church, Fishkill. The parish purchased a glebe farm for his support. Reverend Beardsley held the post for eleven years, and in addition to ministering to his three congregations, he reported good progress in his SPG-assigned task of educating and converting enslaved African Americans. His first wife passed away in 1774 leaving three-year-old twins, Sylvia Beardsley and John Davis Beardsley, the latter of whom would one day attend King's College, Nova Scotia.[30] Beardsley remarried almost immediately, but his second wife, Catherine Brookes, died within a year of their wedding, on February 5, 1774.[31]

As tensions rose leading up to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Reverend John Beardsley was first confined to his farm, and then arrested as a Tory. He had remarried, this time to Gertrude Anna Crannell, the daughter of a respected attorney, and she bore him more children. One of their sons was Bartholomew "Crannell" Beardsley, named after his maternal grandfather. He would attend Kings' College, at Windsor, Nova Scotia. According to an article entitled "Loyalist Masons During the Revolution," "Early in December 1777 the Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in New York reported that the more radical revolutionaries might actually inflict physical harm on Mr. Beardsley and . . . therefore requested permission to send [him and his family] through the lines to New York, which was in British hands."[32] Beardsley lost all his property, both real and personal, although he had been allowed to take with him his library, and his family's "wearing apparel and bedding."[33] In December 1777, New York Governor Clinton gave permission for Beardsley to take with him "his wife and five children, his Negro Wench and three Negro Female Children," along with the above-named possessions.[34] He subsequently took his family and enslaved servants to New York City while it was still

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Bonaventura, *For Adam's Sake*, 125, 129-31; Katherine J. Harris, "Freedom and Slavery," in *African American Connecticut, Explored*, eds., Elizabeth J. Normen, Stacey K. Close, Katherine J. Harris and Wm. Frank Mitchell (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2013), 3-12. See also Harper, "Slavery in Connecticut," accessed Aug. 10, 2019, http://slavenorth.com/connecticut.htm.

[30] Ian Fraser, "Biography of Rev. John Beardsley," Loyalist Directory, United Empire Loyalists Association of Canada website, accessed Jan. 10, 2019, http://www.uelac.org/Loyalist-Info/extras/Beardsley-John/Rev-John-Beardsley.pdf; Frank J. Klingberg, **"**The S. P. G. Program for Negroes in Colonial New York," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 8, no. 4 (Dec. 1939): 306-71, 365.

[31] Pincombe, "Beardsley, John," accessed August 22, 2019.

[32] Wallace McLeod, "Loyalist Masons during the Revolution," in *The Grand Design: Selected Masonic Addresses and Papers of Wallace McLeod* (Highland Springs, VA: Anchor Communications, 1991), 149-62.

[33] Loyalist Claim, Reverend John Beardsley, Maugerville Jan. 28, 1786, Public Record Office Audit Office in Class 13, Vol. 21, folios 20-21. Digital version at Ancestry.com, "UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013).

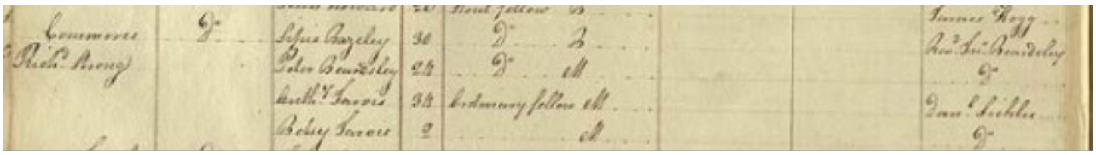
[34] Amy Ver Nooy, Edmund Van Wyck, and Frank V. Mylod, "The Glebe House and the People Who Lived There," in the *Year Book of the Dutchess County Historical Society, Volume 38* (Dutchess County, NY: Dutchess County Historical Society, 1953): 58-73, esp. 60-62.

in British hands, arriving December 16, 1777, and in 1778 he moved to Long Island.[35]

In April 1778, Reverend Beardsley became chaplain to Colonel Beverley Robinson's Loyal American Regiment. Colonel Robinson had been his parishioner at Fishkill. His brother, Paul Beardsley, was also attached to the regiment. The Colonel's son, Beverley Robinson, became Lieutenant Colonel, and Major Thomas Barclay, who would later migrate to Nova Scotia, also was an officer with the regiment. After the evacuation of New York, Beardsley accompanied his unit to the mouth of the St. John River, in the part of Nova Scotia that became New Brunswick in 1784.[36] Bartholomew Crannell was his wife's father, also a Loyalist and also moved to New York.[37] Aged fifty-one but still very active and energetic, Reverend John Beardsley arrived May 10, 1783, on the *Commerce* in the company of his twenty-four-year-old slave, Peter Beardsley. (Other sources say Beardsley arrived on the *Union*, which carried 209 Loyalists to St. John harbour[38]). His brother Paul joined him in his own family's exile in New Brunswick.[39]

Described as the "property of the Reverend John Beardsley," two men are listed as having arrived at St. John River on the *Commerce* on July 8, 1783 (see table 3). Each was described as a "stout fellow." Scipio Bazely was aged thirty, and "B[lack]" in complexion. Peter Beardsley, at twenty-four, was described with an "M" for mulatto, a word that had come into English from Portuguese, meaning of African ancestry mixed with white, Native or another ethnicity. Two more people associated with Beardsley arrived aboard the *Commerce* on that date, but are listed separately from Scipio and Peter.

Table 3 The enslaved Peter Beardsley arrives aboard the *Commerce*. Excerpt from the "Book of Negroes."[40]



In fact, Reverend Beardsley brought three enslaved people and one other servant to Maugerville. (The town was named after a merchant who bought and sold slaves at Halifax, Joshua Mauger.)[41] They are listed in the "Book of Negroes," which recorded the names and other details pertaining to Black Loyalists, indentured and still-enslaved African Americans who were leaving New York when the British left the city bound for the Maritime colonies. In addition to a woman named Dinah, Beardsley also

[35] Isaac Haight Beardsley, *Genealogical History of the Beardsley-Lee Family in America* (Denver, CO: John Dove Printing, 1902), 235-36.
[36] Hind, *University of King's College,* 8-10. Part of the Loyal American Regiment also went to Nova Scotia, settling first in Shelburne, but then moved to Annapolis County.
[37] Nooy et al., "Glebe House," 61.
[38] The "Book of Negroes" shows three enslaved adults associated with Bartholomew Crannell: Esther, 18, and Sam, 35 were the "property of Bartholomew Crannell," while Robert, 36, appears to have been a Black Loyalist accompanying Crannell to New Brunswick.
[39] The personal papers of Bartholomew Crannell are preserved at LAC, MG 23 D5, MSS group 23. See also the British Headquarters Papers, indexed on CD ROM by the Sir Guy Carleton Branch of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada in Ottawa.
[40] "Book of Negroes," Guy Carleton, !st Baron Dorchester: Papers, The National Archives, Kew, UK (PRO 30/55/100) 10427. Permission to reproduce this image has been requested. Image online in the "Book of Negroes, 1783" database, at the African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition exhibit, NSA, accessed Aug. 18, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/book-of-negroes/page/?ID=38.
[41] Afua Cooper, interview with Jordan Gill, "'Our History Has Been Covered Up': Facing New Brunswick's Past on Slavery," *CBC News*, Feb. 21, 2018, accessed Jan. 31, 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/new-brunswick-history-slavery-1.4544260.

brought to New Brunswick a twelve-year-old boy named Jacob, likely as an indentured servant:[42]

> Jacob, 12, a likely boy (Rev. Mr. Beardsley), formerly slave to Thomas Harboard [Harbord] of Portsmouth, Virginia, left him four years ago.[43]
>
> Dinah, 35, sickly wench, Rev. Mr. Beardsley of River St. John's [*sic*], claimant (Rev. Mr. Beardsley). Says she is his own property, having always been in the family.[44]

By this account, the youthful Jacob was a Black Loyalist, with Reverend Beardsley's name listed in the column beside his name and description under the heading, "Names of Persons in whose Possession they now are," in the "Book of Negroes."[45] The meaning of this heading is ambiguous, as is discussed in section 1 of this report.[46] Dinah, however, asserted her enslaved status. While it is impossible to infer motive at such temporal distance, perhaps Dinah was concerned that she would continue to be cared for by the minister and his family, given her poor health. By reinforcing Beardsley's ownership of her, she also announced his responsibility for her care.

It would be of great interest to know Jacob's history. The youth had formerly been enslaved at Portsmouth, which lay directly across the Elizabeth River from Norfolk, Virginia. This was the headquarters of Virginia's Royal Governor, John Murray, the fourth Earl of Dunmore, after he fled the colonial capital of Williamsburg. It was from a vessel lying offshore from this point that Lord Dunmore made his well-known proclamation of November 7, 1777. By offering freedom to African Americans enslaved to the rebels in return for their service in the conflict, his proclamation inspired literally thousands of enslaved people of African ancestry, effectively creating the Black Loyalist phenomenon. It was also from Portsmouth that Dunmore's Black "Ethiopian Regiment" launched its very effective raids on American positions. Jacob would have been but two years of age at that time. Portsmouth passed back and forth between British and rebel hands several times, including a stint under Brigadier General Benedict Arnold, ending with British occupation under Lord Cornwallis just before his troops were defeated at Yorktown.[47]

Reverend Beardsley would become the first minister to serve the spiritual needs of the New Brunswick Loyalists. He travelled far and wide in the service of the Church. His first letter to the SPG after his arrival described the Beardsley family's living situation, for they spent their first two months in New Brunswick in tents, as did many of the other Loyalist refugees. He wrote: "with the help of my servants [I] built a small house, which tho' coarse and homely, is warm and will keep us by God's blessing from perishing, through the ensuing winter." If his enslaved servants were living in this modest structure with Beardsley, his wife, and children, this was indeed a very cosy sort of "family slavery" they were all experiencing.[48]

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[42] Whitfield, "American Background," 69.

[43] Thomas Harbord's father, Captain Thomas Harbord, was tied for the position of fourth largest slaveholder in Norfolk, Virginia, in the mid-eighteenth century. See Michael J. Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 610n52.

[44] "Book of Negroes," Guy Carleton, First Baron Dorchester: Papers, The National Archives, Kew, UK, accessed Aug. 18, 2019.

[45] "Book of Negroes."

[46] For details, consult sect. 1, pp. 16-17.

[47] Adele Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia: The Norfolk Area and Eastern Shore* (Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 1982), esp. Chapter 3; Robert Brooke Albertso, *Portsmouth, Virginia* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 9-10.

[48] This term comes from the work of Piersen, *Black Yankees*; also Melish, *Gradual Emancipation*, 27-31. For Nova Scotia, see Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 72-80. The term "family slavery" refers to a form of enslavement often

Hopefully the enslaved servants were not relegated to the tents instead, for the Beardsleys occupied their rudimentary and cramped housing for two more years.[49]

John Beardsley was allocated Lot 151 in St. John, New Brunswick, in 1783, and his brother Paul Beardsley was awarded Lot 374. Reverend John Beardsley filed his Loyalist claim on January 28, 1786. He received half-pay as the chaplain of the King's New Brunswick Regiment between 1793 and 1802.[50] After the death of Reverend James Scovil, also a slaveholder and profiled later in this section, Reverend John Beardsley gained his own charge. He took up the figurative pulpit at Maugerville, which did not yet have a standing church. In fact, Christ Church would be the first Church of England consecrated in the province. An enthusiastic Freemason, Reverend Beardsley would also take part in establishing the new province's first Masonic Lodge. Interestingly, the John Beardsley medal established in 1967 remains the highest honour a New Brunswick Mason can receive to this day.[51]

"He was one of a handful of freemasons who applied to the Nova Scotia Grand Master for permission to organize a lodge in Parr Town in 1784. A dispensation was granted and on September 1, 1784, the officers of Hiram Lodge No. 17 were installed, with Rev. Beardsley [*sic*] as Master."[52] Up to 1784, in order to join the Masonic Lodge one had to be free and not enslaved. However a separate African American branch, named after its founder, Prince Hall, who had fought in the American Revolution on the side of the rebels and been inducted by another soldier had in the meantime been founded in Boston. The Grand Lodge of England chartered this branch of the Prince Hall Masons, as they were known. African Lodge 459 came into being at Boston on September 24, 1784, within three weeks of the white Loyalist-dominated Hiram Lodge No. 17 being created by white Loyalists in New Brunswick.[53]

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found in New England and the Middle Colonies and also in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where one or two enslaved people lived and worked alongside the family who claimed their service. The situation was intimate and put the enslaved individuals in the awkward position of being both under constant surveillance, and being expected to work twenty-four hours a day.

[49] Quoted in Ross N. Hebb, *The Church of England in Loyalist New Brunswick, 1783-1825* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004), 129.

[50] Beardsley, *Genealogical History,* 12; Claim of Reverend John Beardsley, Jan. 28, 1786, Dutchess County [*sic*], New York, American Loyalist Claims, 1776–1835. AO 12–13. The National Archives, Kew, UK. Digital version at Ancestry.com, "UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013).

[51] Pincombe, "Beardsley, John."

[52] This text was provided by Bonnie Huskins, history professor at the University of New Brunswick and a member of the "King's and Slavery, a Scholarly Inquiry" Review Committee. She kindly allowed us to quote directly from her commentary on our paper here. For an analysis of the unrest in Hiram Lodge No. 17, consult Bonnie Huskins, "Discontents and Dissidents: Unrest Amongst Loyalist Freemasons in the 1780s and 90s," in *Violence, Order, and Unrest: A History of British North America, 1749-1876*, eds. Elizabeth Mancke et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019). See also William F. Bunting, *History of the St. John's Lodge, F & AM of Saint John* (Saint John: J. & A. MacMillan, 1895), 7-8; David Bell, *Loyalist Rebellion in New Brunswick: A Defining Conflict for Canada's Political Culture* (Halifax: Formac, 2013), 151–52, and his "The Republican Craft and the Politics of Loyalist Saint John," a conference paper presented to the Atlantic Canada Studies Conference, University of New Brunswick at Saint John, May 5, 2012.

[53] Prince Hall Freemasonry, a separate African American branch of Freemasonry, was first chartered on September 29, 1784, by the Grand Lodge of England, the American lodges having refused to do so. After that point a separate branch of the Masonic Lodge flourished, first in the US and later on both sides of the border, masonry becoming a very important aspect of African Canadian life and society. In the US, this African Lodge separated from the United Grand Lodge of England in 1824. The first Canadian lodge, called Mount Olive Lodge #1, was established in Hamilton (Canada West) in 1856, followed by lodges in St. Catharines, Windsor, and elsewhere. The first Nova Scotian branch of the Masons with Black membership was Union Lodge No.18, at Halifax. According to Reginald V.

When Bishop Charles Inglis made his first "Visitation" to the parishes of his episcopal see in 1788, he breakfasted with the Beardsleys at their Maugerville home. There, servants enslaved to the Beardsley family undoubtedly waited on him, although he does not record the fact in his notes.[54] This personal visit to the Beardsley home may have been an attempt to mend fences. There had originally been another candidate for Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Reverend Thomas Bradbury Chandler, who declined the honour. Of the clergy in New Brunswick, those who had opposed Inglis' appointment to bishop included Reverend James Scovil (Kingston, New Brunswick), Reverend George Bisset (St. John), and Reverend John Beardsley (Maugerville), all of whom had favoured the other candidate.[55]

Reverend Beardsley opened a correspondence with his former church in Poughkeepsie, New York, which continued for many years. Specifically, he requested the Bible he had left there, stating that it had been given him personally by the local Masonic Lodge and was his own property. However the church fathers declined to send it out of the country and eventually he donated it for their use. Not so a barn he had built on the property on which he had lived, which was church land. Apparently he had constructed it at his own expense, but requested that, should he leave the parish, he would be recompensed for its value. This would be accomplished by his son, Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley, an attorney and judge, who was a King's College student in 1790. The younger Beardsley would travel with his father to Poughkeepsie to plead his case and in this he would be successful.[56]

In 1789, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel expressed itself well pleased with Reverend Beardsley's progress in Maugerville.[57] The SPG provided support for a teacher named Walter Dibblee at the school there. Dibblee was also a Loyalist, from a slaveholding family from Connecticut.[58] Dibblee married Reverend Beardsley's daughter, Hannah. Walter's uncle, Reverend Frederick Dibblee, was also an SPG missionary. A graduate of King's College, New York, Reverend Dibblee was serving at a school for First Nations children at Woodstock, New Brunswick. When Walter Dibblee resigned to join his uncle in his work, the teaching position at Maugerville went to John D. Beardsley. He was Hannah Dibblee's half-brother, and the son of SPG missionary Reverend John Beardsley. John D. Beardsley was a former student of King's Academy, Windsor, Nova Scotia, of whom more below.[59]

Harris, P.G.M., in his article: "The Story of Equity Lodge No. 6, Halifax," no formally designated Prince Hall Masonic branch existed in Nova Scotia until 1946. However, "in 1855 five colored men were initiated in Royal Sussex Lodge No. 6, Halifax. They subsequently applied for and obtained a dispensation from Hon. Alexander Keith and on December 3, 1856 (nearly 100 years ago) they, and several white brethren were granted a warrant as Union Lodge No. 994 by the Grand Lodge of England. In 1969, the Lodge along with the other English lodges in the Province joined the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia and were assigned No. 18." This article is cited in Winks, *The Blacks in Canada,* 419n10. See also Peter P. Hinks and Stephen Kantrowitz, eds., *All Men Free and Brethren: Essays on the History of African American Freemasonry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), and Judith Fingard, "Race and Respectability in Victorian Halifax," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 20, no. 2 (1992): 175.

[54] Harris, *Charles Inglis*, 90.

[55] David G. Bell, "Charles Inglis and the Anglican Clergy of Loyalist New Brunswick," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 7, no. l (1987): 37.

[56] Nooy et al., "Glebe House," 62-3.

[57] Cooper, interview with Jordan Gill, Feb. 21, 2018.

[58] Frederick W. Bailey, ed., *Early Connecticut Marriages: As Found on Ancient Church Records Prior to 1800*, 7th book (New Haven, CT: Bureau of American Ancestry, 1905), 17, Internet Archive, accessed Dec. 30, 2018, https://archive.org/stream/earlyconnecticu00bailgoog - page/n20/mode/2up/search/dibblee. The page opposite the one recording the marriage of Fyler Dibblee and Polly Jarvis on June 18, 1763, of whom schoolteacher Walter Dibblee would be the eldest son, shows the marriage of "Caesar and Candace black slaves of Sands Selleck and Mr. Dibblee," dated June 23, 1767.

[59] G. Herbert Lee, *An Historical Sketch of the First Fifty Years of the Church of England in New Brunswick* (St. John,

Although he continued as a slaveholder, Reverend Beardsley met his SPG-ordered obligations for the education and conversion of the Loyalists' enslaved servants: "At the vestry meeting in 1790 the first sexton was elected, Scipio, the colored slave of Eliza [Elijah?] Miles. Four years afterwards Scipio received a surname, Africanus." Scipio was baptized in 1788, for as T. Watson Smith wrote in 1899: "On September 14, 1788, John Beardsley…….baptized 'Cæsar Broadstreet, a servant to Peter Ryerson; Nathanael and John, servants of Captain [Elijah] Miles; Edward Ludlow, servant to Mr. [Richard] Carman; Margaret Allison, servant to Mrs. Allison; Scipeo Africanus, Susannah Africanus, Mary, Osman and Cornelius Moore, all Black Adults;' on 'April 26, 1791, John, a black servant child of Mr. John Simonson;' and on 'October 3, 1797, Ann and Mary Ann, Mr. Simonson's black children,' and also 'Elizabeth and Easter Longmuire, black adults of Mr. Lawton.'"[60]

Reverend Beardsley married at least three times, and the last led to scandal. His wife leaving him to return to New York in 1792, he apparently believed a rumour that she had passed away and he accordingly felt free to remarry. The rumour proved false and his congregation refused to continue under his rectorship. In 1799, Bishop Inglis, in considerable distress over the matter, intervened, but Beardsley continued to cohabit with Mrs. Mary Quaint, his most recent bride. Accordingly Bishop Inglis demanded Reverend Beardsley's resignation in 1801. John Beardsley went to live with his daughter Hannah and her husband Walter Dibblee, and passed away at Kingston, New Brunswick in 1809.[61] W.O. Raymond (1853-1923), a Church of England clergyman who became a distinguished New Brunswick historian, was Reverend John Beardsley's great-great grandson.[62]

King's Academy student John Davis Beardsley was the son of Reverend John Beardsley and his first wife, Sylvia Punderson, who had been the daughter of Reverend Ebenezer Punderson, an SPG Missionary in New Haven, Connecticut. Her niece, Prudence Punderson (1758-1784) famously created the embroidered "The First, Second and Third Scenes of Mortality." It shows the three phases of a woman's life, with an enslaved maidservant caring for a white infant in a cradle (see figure 8).[63] This piece by the first cousin of King's College student John Davis Beardsley demonstrates the central role played by enslaved African Americans in colonial Connecticut, and confirms the casual acceptance of human bondage within the Punderson household.

John D. Beardsley had been twelve years of age when he arrived at Parr Town (St. John) harbour with his father, stepmother and siblings in July 1783. John D. Beardsley went on to study at the King's Academy, starting in 1789. He was intending to follow his father into the ministry but, sadly, couldn't afford to graduate from King's. His half-brother, Crannell Beardsley, was also a student in the first year after King's College proper was created.[64]

NB: Sun Publishing, 1880), 32, 55-56, 78-80.

[60] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 85-86.

[61] Pincombe, "Beardsley, John"; Ross N. Hebb, "Bishop Charles Inglis and Bishop Samuel Seabury: High Churchmanship in Varying New World Contexts," *Anglican and Episcopal History*. 76, no. 1 (March 2007): 61-88; 68-9; Hebb, *Church of England,* 49-50.

[62] D. G. Bell, "Raymond, William Odber," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 22, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/raymond_william_odber_15E.html.

[63] For further information, see Nellie Beardsley Holt and Charles Eleazer Holt, eds. and compl., *Beardsley Genealogy: The Family of William Beardsley, One of the First Settlers of Connecticut* (West Hartford, CT, 1951), accessed Jan. 1, 2019, https://archive.org/details/BeardsleyGenealogyTheFamilyOfWilliamBeardsleyOneOfTheFirstSettlersOfStratfordCon.

[64] The list of students at King's College, shown in "Appendix B (Students at King's College, 1790)," 18, includes only

Prudence Punderson, *The First, Second, and Last Scenes of Mortality*

Courtesy, The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT

Preston, CT ca. 1783
Silk needlework on linen

Prudence Punderson (1758-1784) was born in Preston, CT, the eldest of eight children. Her needlework, done before her marriage, is titled "The First, Second and Last Scenes of Mortality," and represents three stages of life: infancy, womanhood, and death. The scene features a rare representation of the furnishings of a well-appointed, early Connecticut drawing room, and an even rarer depiction of an African American "servant" as an integral member of the domestic scene. The slave, who attends the infant, may have been the "wench Jenny" who was included as property in Prudence's father's will. It is likely that this embroidery was done while Prudence and her family were in exile on Long Island, due to her father's Loyalist sympathies during the Revolutionary War.
(based on Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Furniture as Social History: Gender, Property, and Memory in the Decorative Arts" *American Furniture*1995)

Fig. 8 Tapestry depicting an enslaved African American, by Prudence Punderson, niece of Sylvia (Punderson) Beardsley. Sylvia Beardsley was the mother of King's College student John D. Beardsley.[65]

Crannell Beardsley as a student at the academy in 1790. No other source places this younger half-brother of James D. Beardsley at King's at this early date. It is possible that James D. Beardsley and his brother were both sent to the King's Academy at Windsor and John D. had to leave before the list was made in 1790. For the list, see table 4 (sect. 3, pp. 83-84).

[65] This image from the collections of the Connecticut Historical Society and the attached text were provided for an educational program entitled "Citizens All" produced by the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance and Abolition, accessed Aug. 31, 2019, https://glc.yale.edu/outreach/teacher-programs/citizens-all-

Two years after taking up a teaching post at Maugerville, John D. Beardsley moved to Woodstock, where he married Sarah Munday Dibblee. She had come to Nova Scotia with Walter Dibblee's uncle, Reverend Frederick Dibblee of Woodstock, New Brunswick. Sarah was the daughter of Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee (1715-1799) of Stamford, Connecticut. He also had charge of the church at Greenwich, Connecticut. Ebenezer had remained in the nascent United States, although he was a Loyalist. He too was a slaveholder. In *Early Connecticut Marriages* there is an entry recording the wedding of: "Cesar & Candace black slaves of Sands Selleck & Mr. Dibblee on June 23, 1767."[66] The 1790 US census of Connecticut shows two Black slaves in his household, which was otherwise very poor.[67] It is not known if John D. Beardsley owned slaves himself, but he and his bride had obviously benefitted from his father's and the Dibblee family's ownership of enslaved people, and from their unwaged labour.

John Beardsley's younger son, Bartholomew "Crannell" Beardsley, was born in 1775 at Poughkeepsie, New York, to Reverend John Beardsley and his second wife, Gertrude "Anna" Crannell.[68] Crannell Beardsley, as he was known as a child, arrived in New Brunswick with his family in 1783 at age eight. Attending King's in 1790, Crannell Beardsley's name appears in the list of students there provided by President William Cochran to Bishop Charles Inglis and sent in a letter to Lord Grenville on September 8, 1790. The youth was studying "Phaedrus, Latin Grammar, Grecian History, and Arithmetic."[69]

Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley articled in the law offices of Ward Chipman, one of the finest legal minds in the province. Chipman, it will be remembered, had vigorously defended the rights of the enslaved woman known as Nancy against the claims of Caleb Jones, in the celebrated case before the New Brunswick courts in 1800.[70]

In 1783, Reverend Beardsley married Mary Jenkins by whom he would have six sons and one daughter.[71] She was the daughter of Lieutenant John Hatch Jenkins, of the Third Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers, and he had settled his family at Kingsclear, York County, New Brunswick. Her family seem not to have been slaveholders, although her sister Judith married Richard Smith. He was the son of Colonel Jacob Smith, a Loyalist settler at Woodstock, New Brunswick, and, according to T. Watson Smith, brought one or two enslaved people with him when he came to the Maritime colonies. In 1808, the burial records at Woodstock list the funeral of "Andrew, a servant of Captain Smith"[72]

Shortly after being called to the bar in 1796, Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley took his young family to Newark, Upper Canada (the modern Niagara-on-the-Lake). There he received a land grant, established a household and a law practice, and, as one of the few trained attorneys in the province, became a

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african-americans-connecticut-1700- 1850/connecticut-stories-3.

[66] Bailey, *Early Connecticut Marriages,"* 17, accessed Dec. 30, 2018.

[67] Ebenezer Dibblee, in Alice Izelle Dibblee Conlon, *Dibblee-Perry and Allied Families* (Portland, OR: privately published, 1983), transcribed online at "Rev. Ebeeezer Dibblee," Geni.com website, accessed Jan. 1, 2018, https://www.geni.com/people/Dr-Ebenezer-Dibblee/6000000003942790377.

[68] H. V. Nelles, "Beardsley, Bartholomew Crannell," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 22, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/beardsley_bartholomew_crannell_8E.html.

[69] "Appendix B (Students at King's College, 1790)."

[70] This is discussed in section 1 herein, and in multiple sources, including Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery"; Bell, "Slavery and the Judges"; Smith, "Slave in Canada," 103-9; Whitfield, *North to Bondage,* 1-2; Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 108-9. An account of the proceedings was published in the *St. John Royal Gazette, and New Brunswick Advertiser*, Feb. 12 and 18, 1800. See also Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: Women's Press, for the Osgoode Society, 1991), 112-20.

[71] Beardsley, *Genealogical History*, 75.

[72] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 86-87, 87n1.

founding member of the new Law Society of Upper Canada. The venerable organization survives. Its home is Osgoode Hall on Queen Street just west of the Toronto City Hall.[73]

Beardsley and his bride returned for a time to New Brunswick, but they moved back to the Niagara District, where he was elected to the Upper Canadian legislature. Beardsley defended those accused of high treason at the Bloody Assize at Ancaster, Upper Canada, in 1814; his clients were Upper Canadian settlers proven to have assisted the Americans during the War of 1812. It was, in fact, the duty of William Hamilton Merritt, who had fought with Simcoe in the Revolutionary War and was the "father" of the Welland Canal, to see that the executions were carried through. Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley went on to support the Welland Canal project. A reformer in politics, he protested the expulsion of William Lyon Mackenzie from the House and later backed the rabble-rousing Scottish newspaper publisher's efforts leading to the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837-1838.[74]

Although little has been discovered regarding Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley's relationship to people of African descent, he, along with the rest of his family, had certainly benefited from the fact that his father was a slaveholder. Beardsley also had been brought up and received his education thanks to the SPG funding that supported their missionary, the Reverend John Beardsley and his family. As section 6 of this report shows, there was a significant contribution to the SPG coffers on the part of slaveholders and those who profited from the transport and trade in slave-produced commodities.

However, Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley's relationship with William Hamilton Merritt at Niagara suggests that he may have held other views. Merritt, along with the Mayor of St. Catherines, Upper Canada, Elias Smith Adams, was an early supporter of the Black community. Merritt and Oliver Phelps, builder of the Welland Canal, sold land at advantageous rates to the African Canadians of St. Catherines when they wanted to build their church, now known as the Salem Chapel. He also engaged in the operation of the Underground Railroad. Freedom-seekers entered the Niagara Peninsula in ever-increasing numbers starting after the War of 1812. Indeed, Merritt, as a Member of Provincial Parliament, financially and personally supported a local association named the "Refugee Slaves' Friends Society" for the benefit of those escaping from American bondage, a group in which Harriet Tubman herself was active by the 1850s. Although there were seventy members, unfortunately the list of them no longer exists and there is no way of discovering whether Beardsley was one of their number.[75]

On the other hand, the younger Beardsley's choice of legal cases is suggestive of the liberal attitudes he seems to have espoused. In 1817, Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley vigorously defended a First Nations woman on a charge of infanticide. He argued successfully that cultural differences played a role in her actions, and his plea resulted in a recommendation for clemency on the part of the jury.[76]

Finding the political climate uncomfortable in Niagara, he moved his family home to Woodstock, New Brunswick and again took up the practice of law. One son, Horace Beardsley, remained in Carlton County and was elected to the House of Assembly. Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley became a judge in 1834, holding positions both at the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and as judge of the Probate Court for Carleton County. He was also a Justice of the Peace, and was briefly elected to the New Brunswick

[73] Christopher Moore, *The Law Society of Upper Canada and Ontario's Lawyers, 1797-1997* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 13-16.
[74] David Murray, *Colonial Justice: Justice, Morality, and Crime in the Niagara District, 1791-1849* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2002), 44.
[75] Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 258.
[76] Sidney L. Harring, *White Man's Law: Native People in Nineteenth-Century Canadian Jurisprudence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, for the Osgoode Society for Legal History, 1998), 112-13.

Fig. 9 Grave of Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley (1775-1855), St. Jude's Cemetery, Oakville, Ontario[78]

House of Assembly, but ultimately returned to Upper Canada. He opened a law practice in Oakville, on Lake Ontario, and remained there with his wife until the end of their lives. Mary passed away while visiting New Brunswick and she is buried there near her family. Bartholomew died at the age of eighty in Oakville and lies in St. Jude's Anglican Church cemetery (figure 9). The Beardsleys' house is still standing, and according to a report by the Ontario Heritage Trust (OHT), remained in the family for a second generation. The OHT document states that Beardsley named his Oakville home "Chestnut Grove," "although locally it was known as 'Beardsley's Grove' and was the site of many community picnics. Beardsley's son, James, inherited the property and lived there until the 1880s. He sold off the eastern twenty-six acres of the property in 1866 and farmed the remaining land himself."[77]

Reverend John Beardsley was a slave owner, as very likely was his son James Davis Beardsley, who remained in New Brunswick. As is the case with so many African Americans who came to the Maritime provinces, either willingly or under duress, nothing has been discovered about the fate of the men and women Reverend John Beardsley had enslaved, or what became of those he may have been bequeathed to his son and former King's students John D. Beardsley and Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley.

Reverend George Bisset (d. 1788) and son James Bisset (ca. 1774-1815)

The Reverend George Bisset does not appear to have been a slaveholder either in his Rhode Island pastoral charge or once he moved to the Maritime colonies. Appointed in Britain to be an SPG missionary in Rhode Island, Reverend George Bisset had taken up his post in 1767, becoming both minister and schoolmaster at Newport. True to the SPG mandate, Bisset included enslaved Africans amongst his students. Of course, as a beneficiary of SPG support, he was also receiving the proceeds of slave labour, and as is detailed in section 6 of this report.

In 1775, the British evacuated Newport and Bisset left his family behind when he fled to New York with the troops. His wife and child were later permitted to join him. His Loyalist claim, which was reviewed on November 28, 1789, shows that his only assets had been the farm and orchards left to his wife and her sisters by their father, James Honeymoon, and these had been destroyed to prevent them falling into enemy hands.[79]

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[77] Nelles, "Beardsley, Bartholomew Crannell"; Ontario Heritage Trust, "Notice of Intention to Designate 1026 Lakeshore Road, Oakville, Ontario," Sept. 21, 2016, accessed Aug. 22, 2019, https://www.heritagetrust.on.ca/en/oha/details/file?id=1708.

[78] Photo from Find a Grave website for Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley, posted by "Miettesa." Permission to publish this image was kindly granted by Donna Barnhill, January 10, 2021.

[79] Loyalist Claim of Reverend George Bissett, Nov. 28, 189, American Loyalist Claims, 1776–1835, AO 13, Series II,

In 1786, Reverend George Bisset briefly returned to England before leaving for his new SPG position at St. John, New Brunswick. Reverend Bisset became active in the St. John Masonic Lodge, and preached sermons to his lodge brothers.[80] He commenced work on the new church that would become the cathedral, and died on March 3, 1788. Reverend Jonathan Odell, who was, among many other qualities, a well-known poet and is profiled later in this section, wrote a poem in Reverend Bisset's honour that was published in the *Royal Gazette* on March 11, 1788. Penelope Bisset, George's impoverished widow, applied to the British government for a pension on August 18, 1788, again August 20, 1788, and for a third time on May 21, 1791.[81]

Reverend George Bisset's only son, James Bisset, was a student of King's Academy in 1790, described in the "List of Students at the Seminary at Windsor, Nova Scotia" as the son of the "late Reverend Mr. Bisset."[82]

James Bisset, too, took up Holy Orders. The New Brunswick legislature approved a new Academy for the education of the province's youth: "In 1800, the Rev. James Bisset was principal preceptor, and he continued in charge till [*sic*] the summer of 1803, when he succeeded Rev. John Beardsley as rector of Maugerville."[83] Reverend Bisset was also a trustee of the new college in New Brunswick when it received its royal charter in 1800. This today is the University of New Brunswick. James Bisset died at age forty-one at Maugerville, New Brunswick, on April 24, 1815.

Reverend Isaac Browne (1709-1787)

Reverend Isaac Browne was a slaveholder both before and after his migration to Nova Scotia. He brought with him one enslaved man named Bristol. The "Book of Negroes" lists the two men as arriving on the sloop *Lydia* under Captain Gretchus on June 25, 1783. The listing reads: "Bristol, 35, stout fellow. Dr. Isaac Browne of Annapolis Royal, claimant. (Isaac Browne). Property of Dr. Isaac Browne whose father bought him at One Year Old."[84] Reverend Dr. Isaac Browne's Loyalist Claim corroborates the "Book of Negroes" listing, as it itemizes "Three Negro Slaves valued at one hundred and Thirty pounds" (see figure 10).

Isaac Browne was a Yale graduate in 1729. He was an early SPG missionary "and sometime physician" at Setauket, Long Island, where an Anglican church had been consecrated in 1730.[85] Originally called Christ

461-63, The National Archives, Kew, UK. Digital version at Ancestry.com, "UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013).

[80] Marie Tremaine, *Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751-1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 237; Bunting, *History of St. John's Lodge*, 17 and 310.

[81] Herbert Leventhal and James E. Moody, eds., "A Bibliography of Loyalist Source Material in the United States," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* 85, Part I (1975): 73-308, 134 and 137.

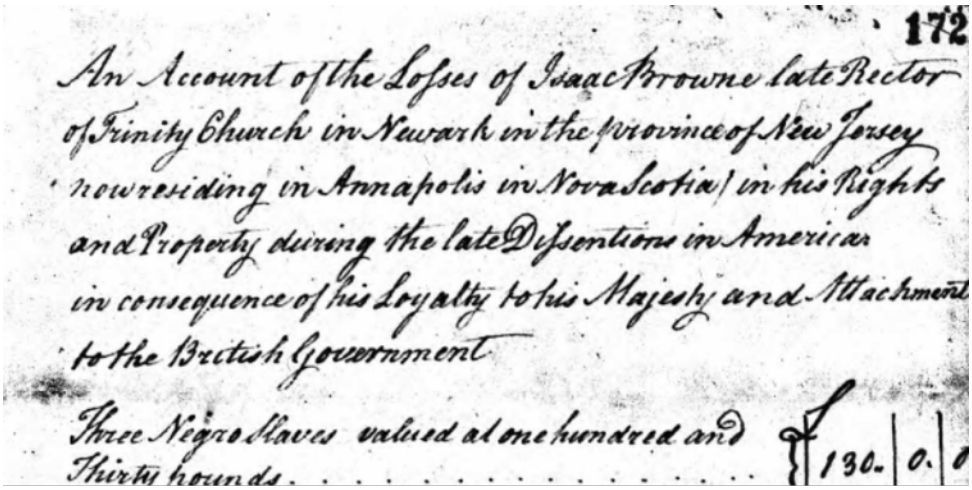
[82] "Appendix B (Students at King's College, 1790)." The list was written by William Cochran, president, and enclosed in Bishop Charles' Inglis letter to Lord Grenville, Sept. 8, 1790, Colonial Office Papers (henceforth C.O.), vol. 217, no. 72, 52-53.

[83] W.O. Raymond, "New Brunswick Schools of Olden Time," *Educational Review* (New Brunswick Teachers' Association): 48-49.

[84] "Book of Negroes," Guy Carleton, First Baron Dorchester: Papers, The National Archives, Kew, UK (PRO 30/55/100), RG 1, reel 10427, NSA. The number of enslaved people owned by David Ogden is not known, but a tale survives of three who braved the crossing over to British lines to warn the slaveholder that his property was about to be attained and sold. See Judith L. Van Buskirk, *Generous Enemies: Patriots and Loyalists in Revolutionary New York* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 144.

[85] James McLachlan, *Princetonians, 1748-1768: A Biographical Dictionary* (Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 2015), 69; see also W.O. Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne: Benjamin Marston at Halifax, Shelburne and Miramichi," *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections* 3, no. 8 (1907): 204-77.

Church, it was renamed in that year the Caroline Church, after King George II's Queen Wilhelmina Karoline of Brandenburg-Anspach. Reverend Dr. Browne began his ministry there in December 1733. A few years after he arrived, a small gallery was added to the back of the church, reportedly to accommodate the enslaved servants of the congregants as well as his own.[86]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An Account of the Losses of Isaac Browne late Rector of Trinity Church in Newark in the Province of New Jersey now residing in Annapolis in Nova Scotia / in his Rights and Property during the late Dissentions in America in consequence of his Loyalty to his Majesty and Attachment to the British Government

Three Negro Slaves valued at one hundred and Thirty pounds . . . . . 130. 0.

Fig. 10 Loyalist Claim of Reverend Dr. Isaac Browne, filed in 1786 at Halifax. "Three Negro Slaves" valued at £130, out of a total claim of £903.00.[87]

Reverend Browne's next charge was at Trinity Church in Newark, New Jersey, where he spent nearly four decades as the SPG-funded minister. When the Revolution was brewing, Browne's property was confiscated because of his Loyalist sentiments. He went with his wife to British-controlled New York to find refuge from persecution. Arriving in Nova Scotia in 1783, he landed at Annapolis but made his way to Windsor. With him came his wife, his son, and his brother Peter. Reverend Browne's son, Daniel Isaac Browne, was a Princeton graduate and attorney whose property had also been also confiscated. Reverend Isaac Browne had at least one powerful relative in Lower Canada; his son-in-law was Isaac Ogden, son of Loyalist Judge David Ogden of New Jersey, who was a large slaveholder. Isaac Ogden was married to the Browne's daughter, Mary, and was a graduate of the first class at King's College, New York. He was appointed first Judge of the Admiralty at Quebec and later became a Puisine Judge at Montreal.[88]

Reverend Browne was an elderly man and, despite his ownership of the enslaved Bristol, was very poor at the time of his arrival in the Maritime colonies. He passed away in Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1787. Daniel also died before 1800 and his 500-acre grant at Annapolis and the 1,000 acres he received in King's County (received in 1784) reverted to the Crown.[89] There is no record of what became of the

[86] Hind, *University of King's College*, 9-10; "Brief History of Caroline Church," Caroline Church Online, accessed Jan. 31, 2019, http://www.carolinechurch.net/welcome/history.shtml. Some of Reverend Isaac Browne's sermons are available at the New Jersey Historical Society, Manuscript Group 337, Isaac Browne (1709-1787), Episcopal minister Sermons, 1736-1776.

[87] "Reverend Mr. Brown's Account of Losses," in Loyalist Claims filed at Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1786, Archives of Ontario, reel 721, American Loyalist Claims, Series II, Claims A-D, New Jersey, 172.

[88] Mary Browne was his first wife. Isaac Ogden too had been forced to leave New York in the evacuation, went to England, and was there appointed to his first of two powerful positions in Lower Canada. See Richard Henry Greene, "King's (Now Columbia) College and its Earliest Alumni," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 25 (1894):123-32, 125.

[89] McLachlan, *Princetonians*, 70.

enslaved Bristol, who would have been thirty-nine or forty years of age when Reverend Browne died.

Reverend Jonathan Odell (1737-1818)

Fig. 11 Jonathan Odell, first Provincial Secretary of New Brunswick. New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick.[90]

According to multiple sources, Reverend Jonathan Odell (figure 11) was one of the best-educated and accomplished Loyalists to immigrate to the Maritime colonies.[91] Reverend Odell had been a slaveholder while in Burlington, New Jersey, and continued to be such once he arrived in New Brunswick. His family home at the new provincial capital of Fredericton was constructed in 1785. The Odell house still stands next to Christ Church Cathedral, and his property was one of the largest Loyalist estates in the region.

There was a house on the land when Odell acquired it; he had the older building connected to his newly-constructed home with a breezeway. This earlier structure served as the summer kitchen as well as the quarters for Odell's enslaved servants, and much could have been learned from its study but the structure was unfortunately demolished in 1959.[92]

A native of Newark, New Jersey, Jonathan Odell was a graduate of Princeton and was trained both as a teacher and a medical doctor. He served as a surgeon with the British army, and spent time in the West Indies, after which he travelled to England and studied theology. He was ordained in 1767, returning as an SPG missionary to Burlington, New Jersey. When the Revolution broke out, Odell served first as chaplain of the Pennsylvania Loyalist Regiment, and then of the King's American Dragoons, who were encamped at Fresh Meadows on Long Island and were reviewed by Prince William while he was in the colonies.[93] Odell also held a series of positions of responsibility, including superintending the British government printing offices at Philadelphia. In 1781, he was appointed by Sir Henry Clinton as Secretary to the Board of the Associated Loyalists at New York.[94]

Reverend Odell also published poetry and became "the leading propagandist poet of the Loyalist cause during the American Revolution," according to one source. He distinguished himself by brokering

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[90] Jonathan Odell Portrait, watercolour on ivory, acquisition number W129, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick.

[91] The Odell Family Papers: 1766-1919, PANB.

[92] Whitfield, "American Background," 66, points out that a few Loyalists did try to provide separate housing for their enslaved servants, Odell being one of them. See also Harvey Amani Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 68.

[93] W. Stewart McNutt, "The Founders and Their Times," Founders Day Address, Thursday March 6, 1958, online at Archives and Special Collections, Archives 225 Anniversary Project, University of New Brunswick Libraries, accessed Aug. 12, 2019, https://lib.unb.ca/225/founders-and-their-times.

[94] Memorial of Reverend Jonathan Odell, in Loyalist Claims filed at Halifax, Nova Scotia, heard on Feb. 28, 1787, Archives of Ontario, Reel 721, American Loyalist Claims, Series II, Claims L-P-V, New Jersey, 256-8. He asked for £500 for the loss of his land, but his accounting of other property has not yet been located. The date of his hearing is included in "Minute Book, 1785-1788," Halifax and Nova Scotia, American Loyalist Claims, 98, 1776–1835, AO 12–13, 305. "Odell House," Fredericton Heritage Trust, accessed Jan. 22, 2019, http://www.heritagefredericton.org/node/35.

negotiations between Benedict Arnold and spy John André.[95] Odell escaped to New York, and his property was confiscated. With the British withdrawal from that city, he went to England with Sir Guy Carleton in 1783, and then travelled to New Brunswick, arriving in November 1784. He participated in efforts to create the new province, and with support from Carleton's brother, the newly-appointed Governor Thomas Carleton of New Brunswick, was given the office of the first Provincial Secretary. It was one that Odell held from 1784 to 1812. He also served as Registrar and Clerk of the Council. The Honorable Jonathan Odell was on the Executive Council from 1784 until he died, at Fredericton, in 1818. An extremely intelligent and literary man, he was a widely published poet during his later life.[96]

Reverend Odell was also a committed slaveholder. When appointed by Governor Carleton to be a recruiting agent to assist in the emigration of Black Loyalists to Sierra Leone, Odell was noted for trying to keep the Black Loyalists from leaving the province; his aim was to retain them as low-waged workers for the benefit of white New Brunswick settlers. In fact, Odell personally intervened in the attempts of Black Loyalist leader Thomas Peters and British abolitionist John Clarkson to convince Black Loyalists to move to West Africa. According to historian James W. St. George Walker in his landmark volume, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone*, Odell and other senior officials insisted that Black Loyalists could not emigrate without showing their certificates of freedom. These had been issued nine years earlier by General Birch at New York. Since some of these precious documents had been lost, others damaged or otherwise rendered illegible, there are an unknown number of Black Loyalists who were actually prevented from leaving New Brunswick by this tactic. Walker also accuses Odell and other officials of forging indentures and other documents to keep the Black Loyalists in New Brunswick, so they could continue to be exploited as a source of low-waged labour.[97]

Odell was proud of his slaveholding status. A tradition survives in Fredericton oral history on the provenance of a concrete garden statue depicting an enslaved African, as recounted by Mary Louise McCarthy, a long-time Officer in the New Brunswick Black History Society. The figure is painted black, and he wears a white turban and loincloth with green leaves showing underneath. Intended as a support to assist riders in mounting their horses, the enslaved man is shown in a state of perpetual resistance against an unseen adversary (see figure 12). According to local lore, he was a favourite of Jonathan Odell's. When the man died, Odell had a statue made of him and placed in the garden of the family home. It is now in the collections of the York Sunbury Historical Society, at the Fredericton Regional Museum (see figure 13).[98]

However, a student paper entitled "Looking in the Mirror A Reflection on Race in New Brunswick," by Denis Y. Boulet, dated December 12, 2017, makes some interesting points about the garden statue:

> Considering the age of the object, we know that this statue was not purchased or

[95] Coded letters in Jonathan Odell's hand respecting the first meeting between Benedict Arnold and John André are to be found in the "Spy Letters of the American Revolution" exhibit of documents from the Henry Clinton Papers, in the collections of the William C. Clements Library, University of Michigan. See Benedict Arnold to John André, July 12 and July 15, 1780, accessed April 1, 2019, https://clements.umich.edu/exhibit/spy-letters-of-the-american-revolution/gallery-of-letters/. For his Revolutionary War period verse, see Cynthia Dubin Edelberg, *Jonathan Odell, Loyalist Poet of the American Revolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987).

[96] See for instance Thomas B. Vincent, ed., *Jonathan Odell: An Annotated Chronology of his Poems, 1759-1816* (Kingston, ON: Loyal Colonies Press, 1980) and Robert Gibbs, ed., *The New Brunswick Poems of Jonathan Odell* (Kingston, ON: Loyal Colonies Press, 1982).

[97] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 119, 128; Edelberg, *Jonathan Odell*, 156-57.

[98] Mary Louise McCarthy, via text, April 6, 2019.

owned by Jonathan Odell himself, but may well have been purchased by one of his children or grand-children. Prior to being added to the museum's collection, the object had been used as a garden ornament in Odell Park – a sizeable piece of land bequeathed by the Odell family to the City of Fredericton with the condition that it would be used solely for recreational purposes and would not be sold to any private third party.[99]

Fig. 12 Photo showing statue of enslaved man in front of Odell House, Fredericton. Image courtesy Mary Louise McCarthy, taken from photo at Fredericton Region Museum.[100]

It seems that Jonathan Odell became rather less affluent as he grew older, his government salary having remained at the same rate for the preceding fifteen years. He asked for relief from the provincial legislature. It was granted and he was able to provide for the support of his two daughters and his son as a result.[101] Odell was a founder of the College of New Brunswick (later King's College, Fredericton), which became the University of New Brunswick. Other founders included Sir Thomas Carleton, governor of the province, and Judge George Duncan Ludlow, the first Chief Justice of New Brunswick, whose pro-slavery position in the prosecution of the "Nancy case" was discussed in section 1 of this report.[102]

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[99] Denis Y. Boulet, "Looking in the Mirror: A Reflection on Race in New Brunswick" (unpub. student paper, Dec. 12, 2018), Dr. Fekru Gebrekidan, available online, accessed April 12, 2019, https://www.academia.edu/35864570/Looking_in_the_Mirror_-_A_Reflection_on_Race_in_New_Brunswick.

[100] With thanks to Mary Louise McCarthy, Officer of the New Brunswick Black History Society. For further information on the statue, see "Statue, garden," accession no. 1969.2574.1, Fredericton Regional Museum, image online in the Artefacts Canada, Government of Canada database (keyword for search: 1969.2574.1), accessed Aug. 22, 2019, https://app.pch.gc.ca/application/artefacts_hum/indice_index.app?lang=en.

[101] McNutt, "Founders and Their Times."

[102] McNutt, "Founders and Their Times." McNutt's speech was written for the 225th anniversary of the founding of the University of New Brunswick. He wrote of George Duncan Ludlow that he had once owned a "fruitful property [that] he had left behind in Princess Anne County in Virginia. There, according to the memorial [Ludlow] submitted to the Loyalist Commissioners, he had possessed eight hundred acres of fertile land, orchards of apples and peaches, twelve negro slaves, a still of good oak timber and a home that was famed as the most hospitable in the county."

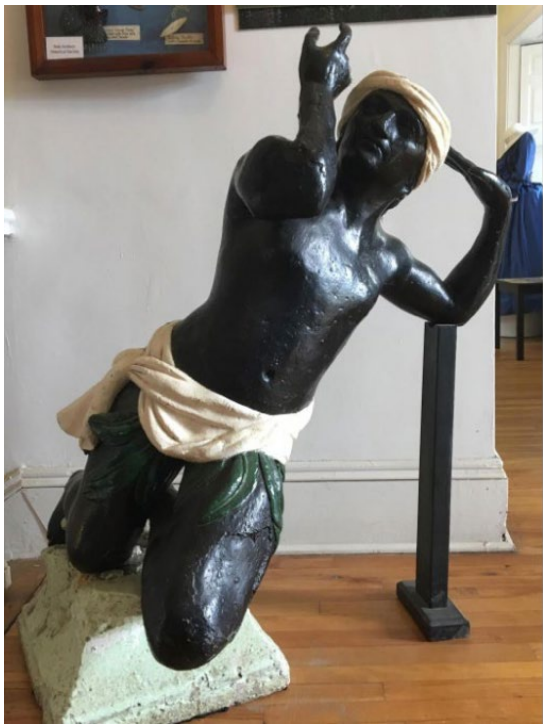

Fig. 13 Painted concrete garden statue from Odell family home. York Sunbury Historical Society.[103]

Damningly, Jonathan Odell in later life expressed a negative opinion of the capabilities of the next group of African Americans moving to the Maritime colonies, the Black Refugees. Veterans of the British forces in the War of 1812, they were entering New Brunswick as free people, as had been promised to them in return for their service. Despite their proud military record of service to the Crown, Odell wrote disparagingly that people of African descent were "designed to be subservient to others . . . *slaves by nature*."[104] Rather ironically, it was Reverend Jonathon Odell's son, William Franklin Odell (1774-1844), who was responsible for resettling the Black Refugees on land in New Brunswick. He followed his father in his position as Provincial Secretary, having prepared for the bar under the tutelage of Ward Chipman.[105] W.F. Odell held his station for more than sixty years, and was frequently the recipient of motions by antislavery attorney Samuel Denny Street, who was Ward Chipman's co-council in the 1800 case to free the enslaved Nancy, as described in the first section of this report. For instance, Odell wrote in 1805, that: "Street has sued out [*sic*] another habeas corpus for *James* Hopefield (a Brother I suppose of Dick) in the keeping of Dr. Clarke - so that I suppose we shall e'er long have half the negroes in the Province on Record."[106]

A rare notice giving clues to the later lives of people once enslaved to Loyalist owners associated with King's College, Nova Scotia, appeared in the Fredericton *Gleaner* on February 16, 1894. It was an obituary of a man who had been one of Jonathan Odell's enslaved servants:

> Central Kingsclear (York Co.) Feb. 15 – William FRANCIS, a much respected colored gentleman who has long been a resident of this place, passed away after a long siege of illness. His father and mother came out with the Loyalists. His father with the ODELL's and mother with the DIBLEEs.[107]

Reverend George Panton (d. 1810)

Reverend George Panton does not seem to have been a slaveholder either before or after the

[103] Photo by Sydney Rowinski, Museum Operations Coordinator, Fredericton Region Museum, York Sunbury Historical Society & Fredericton Region Museum, permission to publish the image received via email, Aug. 22, 2019.
[104] Winks¸ *Blacks in Canada*, 131; Phillip Buckner, "Chipman, Ward (1754-1824)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed August 20, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chipman_ward_1754_1824_6E.html.
[105] W.A. Spray, "The Settlement of the Black Refugees in New Brunswick 1815 – 1836," *Acadiensis* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 64-79.
[106] Odell to Chipman, Nov. 12, 1805, series 1, D 1, MG 23, Lawrence Collection, LAC, cited in Bell, "Slavery and the Judges," 20n38.
[107] I am indebted to New Brunswick researcher Jennifer Dow for kindly sharing this obituary.

Revolutionary War, although, like nearly all the other Anglican ministers profiled in this section of the report, he did receive his funding as a missionary in the Thirteen Colonies from the SPG. Panton would also be paid out of SPG monies while ministering to his Loyalist congregation at Shelburne, Nova Scotia.

Reverend Panton was Scottish-born, educated in Aberdeen and sent to Trenton, New Jersey, as a missionary for the SPG in 1774. His ordination had taken place in 1771. Panton returned to the US, settling in New York as a tutor, and in 1773 he became an SPG missionary. He received an honorary master's degree from King's College, New York, also in 1774. His second charge was the church at Philipsburg, New York, the modern Yonkers. He, along with Reverend Charles Inglis and other prominent Church of England Loyalists, protested the Patriot cause, both in print and through speeches delivered in New York State, Pennsylvania and Maryland. Reverend Panton joined the British army at White Plains in 1776, providing important intelligence to the British forces, and by 1778 was chaplain to the Prince of Wales American Regiment.[108]

Reverend Panton eventually was forced to seek refuge in British-occupied New York. He then went on to Nova Scotia, arriving in 1782 as an SPG missionary to Port Roseway (Shelburne), with an annual salary of £30. Because of a mix-up, another missionary also arrived, Dr. William Walter, who had previously been rector at Trinity Church, Boston. Walter brought three "servants" with him when he came to Shelburne in 1783. Walter also claimed to be the Church of England representative for the town.[109] In an attempt to resolve the difficulties, Panton called for the creation of three separate parishes, St. Patrick's, St. George's and St. Andrew's, which Governor Parr approved. Panton remained at St. Patrick's and Walter was unhappily settled into the St. George's parish.

While at Shelburne, Reverend Panton made a particular effort, in keeping with the SPG mandate, to provide the rites of the church to the region's Black Loyalists. He informed the SPG that he had baptized 122 people at Birchtown. Most of them, according to Walker, were adults.[110]

Reverend Walter continued to agitate, however, and an exhausted Reverend Panton retreated from the fray. He moved to England to raise money for churches in Nova Scotia. He passed away in 1810.[111]

Reverend John Hamilton Rowland (ca. 1746? -1795) and son Reverend Thomas Bowlby Rowland

The next SPG missionary to arrive at Shelburne would be the Reverend John Hamilton Rowland. He was a confirmed slaveholder, and imported enslaved servants from upstate New York to his new ecclesiastical home in Nova Scotia. Rowland not only sold off a young girl to Barbados, at considerable profit, but also left several slaves in his will, which was probated May 9, 1798, at Shelburne, Nova Scotia. His legacy to his heirs included "Samuel, a black boy, [valued at] thirty-five pounds; William, a ditto, [valued at] thirty pounds; a girl, twenty-five pounds."[112]

John Hamilton Rowland had been born in Wales. Educated at Oxford, he came to Britain's American

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[108] Neil MacKinnon, "Panton, George," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed August 21, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/panton_george_5E.html.
[109] Eaton, *Church of England*, 139.
[110] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 67-69.
[111] Eaton, *Church of England*, 139. Eaton's and other early accounts differ somewhat from the Neil MacKinnon entry on "Panton, George" in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. The dispute between Walter and Panton is discussed at length in Raymond, "Founding of Shelburne," 204-77.
[112] Will of Rev. John Hamilton Rowland, probated May 9, 1798, Shelburne, Nova Scotia, A-104, reel 20168, NSA.

colonies in 1768.[113] Unlike most of the other Church of England ministers discussed in this section of the report, Rowland was not an SPG missionary, but rather was appointed to Great Bridge, St. Bride's parish near Norfolk, Virginia, by Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore. This included glebe lands with fields of grain, extensive orchards, livestock, and productive gardens, well able to support a minister and his family. As was noted earlier with respect to the Black Loyalist youth named Jacob who accompanied Reverend Beardsley to his new home in British North America, Lord Dunmore used the Norfolk region as his headquarters and the base for raids by the Black Loyalist "Ethiopian Regiment." Dunmore's last great battle in the region was fought at Great Bridge, and he burned Norfolk as he withdrew from the area, so as a British governor-appointed minister, Reverend Rowland was hopelessly compromised. Called before the rebel Committee "of said county" on April 9, 1777, he refused to take the oath.[114]

Reverend Rowland was stripped of his clerical living, and made his way to Philadelphia where he volunteered his services to the Crown. Although his wife and friends who stayed behind hid some of his possessions, the rebelling militia ferreted them out and his family lost everything. Rowland was appointed chaplain to the New Jersey Volunteers, 2nd Battalion. The ship on which he was taking refuge with his "wife and several small children" on the way to join his regiment in British-held Long Island was boarded by rebel forces. Rowland wrote in his Loyalist claim that he then "suffered a Second loss," including "a Negro and Furniture taken by the Rebels . . .[worth} £100. In 1784, he served for a time as the rector of St. Andrews Church on Staten Island.[115]

Arriving in Nova Scotia on August 1787, Reverend Rowland inherited the Church of England's problems at Shelburne. He took over the St. Patrick's Parish, previously the preserve of Reverend George Panton, and smoothed things over with Reverend Walters. Both became SPG missionaries, which provided for their support, but Walter left for England in 1791. Rowland was responsible for overseeing development of Christ Church at Shelburne. The Yorkshire-born Isaac Hildreth, who designed and built a number of important structures in the province, took on its construction. He worked with another Loyalist master builder, forming the firm "Hildreth and White" with Aaron White. It is suspected that Hildreth and White may also have been responsible for erecting King's College, Nova Scotia. Hildreth later constructed Government House and Province House in Halifax. Hildreth had previously settled in Virginia and was also a slaveholder in Nova Scotia. Bishop Charles Inglis consecrated Christ Church, Shelburne, on July 30, 1790.[116]

Reverend Rowland is notorious for having sold away from friends and possibly family a young female servant in 1789, shipping her to the West Indies where his profit could be maximized. "Mr. Rowland [an Anglican minister] sold his Negress for 30£ of this Currency, and 'Tis said she will fetch 300 dollars at New Providence," wrote William Booth of the Royal Corps of Engineers in his personal journal. Booth

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[113] Huskins, "'Remarks and Rough Memorandums,'" 119.

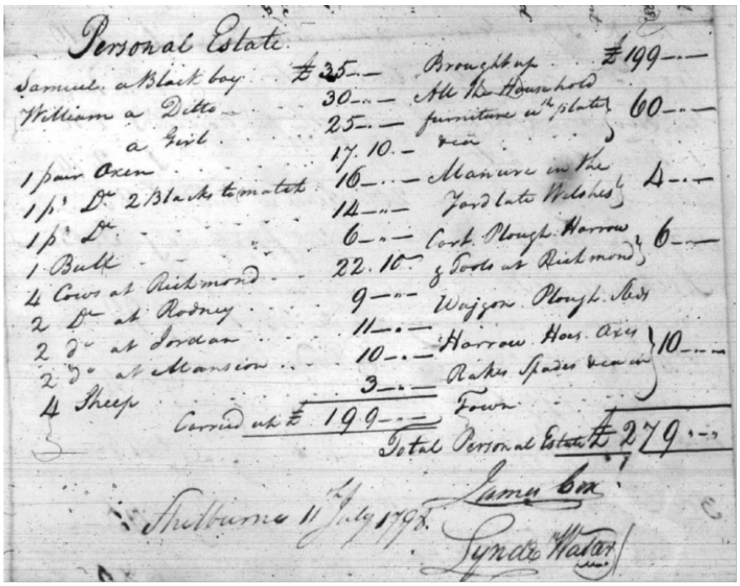
[114] Albertso, *Portsmouth, Virginia*. 9-10; Otto Lohrenz, "The Reverend John Hamilton Rowland of Revolutionary America and Early Shelburne," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 17, no. 1 (1987); Memorial of Rev. John H. Rowland," American Loyalist Claims, Series II; Class: AO 13, New Claims, Virginia, 270-73. Digital version at Ancestry.com, "UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013).

[115] "Memorial of Rev. John H. Rowland," American Loyalist Claims, Series II; Class: AO 13, New Claims, Virginia, 270-3. Digital version at Ancestry.com, "UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013); "St. Peter's Church, Perth-Amboy," *The Christian Journal, and Literary Register* 14, no. 8 (New York: T. & J. Swords, Aug. 1830): 244-51, 248.

[116] Robertson, *King's Bounty*, 179-80. See also "Loyalist Link – Forest and Sea," exhibit of the Shelburne County Museum, NS. Community Stories collection online, Virtual Museum Canada, accessed April 15, 2019, https://www.communitystories.ca/; Bruce C. Fergusson, "Isaac Hildreth, Architect of Government House, Halifax," *Dalhousie Review* 50 (1970-1): 510-16.

later consulted Rowland on the practicalities of sending enslaved people to the West Indies, as he intended to send one of his own "servants" to a relative's plantation there.[117]

Reverend John H. Rowland's son, Thomas Bowlby Rowland, had been a student at King's College, Windsor, but did not graduate. Instead, on his deathbed in February 1795 Reverend Rowland begged Bishop Charles Inglis to ordain Thomas so that he could succeed his father in the Shelburne ministry. Reverend Thomas B. Rowland was accepted by the SPG and received a missionary's stipend from that organization, which was, of course partly funded through the profits of slavery.[118]



Personal Estate

Samuel a Black boy	£35.–	Brought up	£199.–
William a Ditto	30.–	All the Household furniture w[ith] plate &c	60.–
a Girl	25.–		
1 pair Oxen	17.10.–	Manure in the Yard late Welshes	4.–
1 p[ai]r D[itt]o 2 Black to match	16.–		
1 p[ai]r D[itt]o	14.–	Cart Plough Harrow & Tools at Richmond	6.–
1 Bull	6.–		
4 Cows at Richmond	22.10	Waggon Plough Harrow Hoes Axes Rakes Spades &c in Town	10.–
2 D[itt]o at Rodney	9.–		
2 D[itt]o at Jordan	11.–		
2 D[itt]o at Mansion	10.–		
4 Sheep	3.–		
Carried up	£199.–	Total Personal Estate	£279.–

Shelburne 11 July 1798. James Cox; Lynde Walter

Fig. 14 Appraisal of the personal estate of Reverend John H. Rowland, Shelburne, NS. The first three lines show the enslaved Samuel and William, as well as an unnamed girl.[119]

Reverend John H. Rowland died at the age of forty-nine without leaving a will, so his estate was probated and there are several relevant documents available, including the appraised price of his enslaved servants. Together Samuel, William, and an unnamed girl were valued at £90 (see figure 14).[120] It is not known what became of these people after Reverend Rowland passed away, but presumably they were inherited by his widow, Mrs. Mary Rowland and possibly also by Reverend Thomas B. Rowland, because the work entailed in preparing his estate for the purposes of probate fell to them. Reverend Thomas B. Rowland took over the pulpit that had been his father's on October 9, 1795. In 1798, the Church of England's Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge began funding a school at Shelburne under the younger Reverend Rowland's supervision. The Associates of the Late Dr. Bray sent monies to support a school for Black children at Shelburne as well. On September 18, 1820, Reverend Thomas B. Rowland wrote to the Associates and said that the school had been closed for some time because there was no available teacher. However, it had recently reopened under a Mr. Alexander Shaw "who was teaching with success."[121]

Reverend Thomas B. Rowland received an honorary degree from King's in 1827. In that same year, the census for Shelburne, in Shelburne County, Nova Scotia, listed one male and one female servant in his household; their legal status is unknown.[122] Reverend Rowland moved to Pittsburgh in 1836 and died

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[117] Booth, *Remarks and Rough Memorandums*, 90-91; also quoted in Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 52. The original journal of William Booth, Shelburne, NS is held in the Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University.
[118] C.W. Vroom, *Bicentenary Sketches and Early Days of the Church in Nova Scotia. With an Introd. by the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia and a Chapter on King's College* (Halifax: Chronicle Printing Co., 1910), 163.
[119] Will of Rev. John Hamilton Rowland, probated May 9, 1798, Shelburne, Nova Scotia, NSA, A-104, reel 20168.
[120] Eaton, *Church of England*, 138-43.
[121] Associates of Dr. Bray, "Abstract of the Proceedings of the Associates of the Late Dr. Bray for 1819," in *The Christian Remembrancer; or, The Churchman's Biblical, Ecclesiastical & Literary Miscellany,* 2 (Jan-Dec 1820), 693.
[122] Census for Nova Scotia, Shelburne, Shelburne County, 1827, Commissioner of Public Records, NSA, RG 1 vol. no.

there some years later.[123]

When Thomas B. Rowland relinquished his clerical charge, it was taken up on January 1, 1836, by yet another King's College graduate. This was the Reverend Thomas Nowland White who had received his BA in 1827, and a Doctorate of Divinity from King's College, Nova Scotia, in 1866. Reverend White was the grandson of Massachusetts Loyalist and Mayflower descendant Gideon White. Gideon White was one of the original Port Roseway Associates formed in New York prior to the evacuation by the British in 1783. Gideon White, too, had been a slaveholder when he arrived. In the "Book of Negroes," there is a listing for: "Abraham & 21, stout man, (Mr. Edwards). Property of Gideon White but allowed to go with Mr. Edwards to Nova Scotia." He had arrived on the *Peggy* at Port Roseway, so whether directly or indirectly, both the Reverends Rowland, father and son, and their successor at Christ Church, former King's student Reverend Thomas Nowland White, benefited from the unwaged labour of enslaved African Americans and African Nova Scotians.[124]

Reverend John Sayre (1738-1784)

Fig. 15 Reverend John Sayre[125]

There is no indication that Reverend John Sayre owned enslaved servants either in Connecticut or in New Brunswick, although other members of his family had done so. According to the Loyalist claim made by the Reverend's son, James, the SPG missionary was a native of New York and when the Revolutionary War broke out was ministering to a congregation in Connecticut.[126]

Educated at King's College, New York, Reverend John Sayres married Mary Bowes, in 1739. He also was trained as a surgeon and practised medicine locally. When the Revolutionary War broke out, refusing to stop praying for the King from the pulpit earned him nine months imprisonment. Danbury was re-occupied by the British under General Tryon, and the Sayre family home was inadvertently burnt so he and his family lost everything. In 1779, they retreated to British-occupied New York, where Reverend Sayre ministered to several congregations, as well as soldiers in the British Legion.[127]

Along with Gideon White, John Sayre was one of the fifty-five Loyalists who in 1783 formed the group known as the "Roseway Associates" in New York before its final evacuation. In fact, Reverend Sayre

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446; online at the NSA "Census Returns, 1827" database, accessed Jan. 24, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/census/1827/returns/?ID=2480.

[123] Robertson, *King's Bounty*, 181.

[124] Eaton, *Church of England,* 143.

[125] Rev. Edmund Guilbert, *Annals of an Old Parish: Historical Sketches of Trinity Church Southport Connecticut 1725 to 1898* (New York: T. Whittaker, 1898), 50, from Ancestry.com, "Annals of an Old Parish: Historical Sketches of Trinity Church, Southport, Connecticut, 1725 to 1898" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2005).

[126] Loyalist Claim, Reverend John Sayre presented by his son, James Sayer, St. John, Feb. 19, 1787, American Loyalists Claims, Series I Piece 001: Evidence, Connecticut, 1786-1787. There were surgical instruments and medicine included in his claim of losses, and also the sum of £160 for nine months salary as a physician, the length of time he was imprisoned at New Britain.

[127] For his time in New York see Francis G. Fish, *St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, New York: From the Year 1784 to the Year 1845, with a Memorial of the Sunday Schools* (Brooklyn, NY: by the author, 1845), 14-20. For the genealogy see T.M. Banta, *Sayre Family; Lineage of Thomas Sayre, a Founder of Southampton* (New York: DeVine Press, 1901), 78, 142-44.

went to Annapolis Royal in 1783 as an agent to report back on land, its fertility, and what resources might be available there to the New York Loyalists.[128] He, with his large family, moved to Parrtown (St. John) and then to Maugerville, New Brunswick, where Reverend Sayre ministered for a short time until his death in 1784. His impoverished widow was left with eight surviving children. Several accompanied her when she moved to the newly-formed United States, settling in Pennsylvania.

It is of interest that the Sayres' daughter, Esther, was the wife of Christopher Robinson, a slaveholder and Virginia Loyalist who was on the first Executive Council of Upper Canada. Indeed, it was Christopher Robinson who in 1798 proposed a bill to overturn Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe's 1793 "Act to Prevent the Further Introduction of Slaves, and to Limit the Term of Contract for Servitude." The controversial bill was the first antislavery legislation in the British Empire. Simcoe, who had fought alongside Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment in the Revolutionary War, and opposed slavery, had found himself unable to pass an abolition bill in the face of opposition from slaveholding Loyalists on his Executive Council. However, a Black Loyalist named Peter Martin reported to Simcoe the desperate struggles of an enslaved woman named Chloe Cooley whom he had seen bound, gagged, and forced into a small boat at Queenston. She had then been taken over the Niagara River to upstate New York to be sold. Such was the public horror at this stark reminder of the realities of slavery, that the legislation passed. Reverend Sayres' son-in-law, Christopher Robinson's, proposed bill to reintroduce slave importation in Upper Canada was tabled and never brought back for discussion. Interestingly, Esther (Sayre) Robinson's son, John Beverley Robinson, became first Attorney General and then Chief Justice of Upper Canada. He was in office throughout the entire period of African American migration to Canada in the era of the Underground Railroad, and, ironically, his own rulings were instrumental in making Canada a safe haven for freedom-seekers.[129]

Conclusion

Eighteen Anglican ministers met in New York on March 8, 1783, to write petitions calling for the founding of a new institution of higher education in Nova Scotia, and for the creation of the first North American bishopric. The latter was a position that ultimately would go to one of their own number, the Reverend Charles Inglis. Of the eighteen, nine moved—in one case only temporarily—to the Maritime colonies, which were located in what is, today, a part of Canada. With the exception of Bishop Charles Inglis, whose relationship with slavery is touched on in section 1 of this report, these are profiled above, in alphabetical order by surname, along with evidence of their relationship to the institution of slavery. Short biographies of their sons who attended King's College are provided under each of their fathers' names.

Not all of these men held people in bondage, but most either had claimed the service of enslaved people while still in the Thirteen Colonies, or else had acquired human "property" while living in their new Nova Scotian or New Brunswick homes. All but one was an SPG-funded missionary. Thus, their wages in both their earlier stations and in their new British North American homes, were partly derived

[128] Eaton, *Church of England*, 146-47.

[129] It would be interesting to learn what Esther learned at her father's knee. Her husband was obviously a committed slaveholder. Esther Sayre Robinson's son, John Beverly Robinson, while not a declared abolitionist, set legal precedent in 1819 as a very youthful Upper Canadian Attorney General when he refused American slave catchers access to the province. He wrote: "Since freedom of the person (is) the most important civil right protected by the law of England … the negroes (are) entitled to freedom through residence in (Canada) and any attempt to infringe their right (will) be resisted in the courts." It was this pronouncement, and Robinson's subsequent actions as Chief Justice of the province at the time of the Civil War, which made Upper Canada/Canada West the legal haven it was for African Americans escaping bondage.

either from the exploitation of enslaved men, women and children, or from the sale and transport of goods that were cultivated, processed and shipped by enslaved people of African descent, or both.

While biographical details can be traced for members of the Church of England clergy who pioneered on behalf of the faith in British North America, there is almost nothing known about the enslaved people whose service they claimed in law. This is true both during their time in the Thirteen Colonies, and while living in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Only names and brief descriptions of some still-enslaved individuals recorded in the "Book of Negroes," or for whom there is brief mention in court, newspaper or other such records, have been preserved to the present day. Much more research is needed. We must seek out clues to their long-neglected histories, so that these disenfranchised and exploited people, too, can be credited for the ways in which their labour, creativity and talents contributed to the establishment of King's College, Nova Scotia.

Section 3. The First Students

Introduction

On September 8, 1790, Bishop Charles Inglis sent the list illustrated in table 4 to the Colonial Minister Lord Grenville. Drawn up by King's president William Cochrane, it shows the first students enrolled at King's Academy, a grammar school for boys founded in 1788. It also show those students enrolled at King's College, the institution of higher learning, which was established at Windsor, Nova Scotia, a year later in 1789. These two connected institutions served as an upper and lower school for educating the sons of Nova Scotia's mainly Church of England elite. The table identifies the students' fathers and places of residence and details the course of study they were following.

Table 4 "Appendix B (Students at King's College, 1790)" in Public Archives of Nova Scotia, *Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, For the Year 1961* (Halifax: Queen's Printer, 1961), 18 & 19

APPENDIX B
(Students at King's College, 1790)
List of the Students in the Seminary at Windsor, Nova Scotia, Specifying their Classes and Studies; with the Names of their Fathers, and the Places of their Residence.

Greek and Latin School

This List was drawn up in time of a vacation when the Students were absent; their ages could not therefore be ascertained. Their age in general is from 10 to 16 years.

Class	Students	Fathers	Residence	Studies
1	John Millidge	Major T. Millidge	Granville, N. Scotia	Greek Testament Odes of Horace Grecian History Euclid's Elements
	James Bissett	The late Reverend Mr. Bissett	St. Johns, (sic) N. Brunswick	
2	John Inglis	Bishop of N. Scotia	Halifax, N. Scotia	Virgil's Aeneid Greek Grammar Prosody Grecian History Arithmetic
	William Bonnell	Isaac Bonnell Esq.	Digby, N. Scotia	
	Joshua Upham	Major Upham	St. Johns, N. Brunswick	
	Thomas Murray	Col. Murray		
	John Halliburton	Will. Haliburton Esq.	Windsor, N. Scotia	
	Hugh McMonagle	John McMonagle		
3	Crannell Beardsley	Rev. John Beardsley	Majorville, N. Brunswick	Phaedrus Latin Grammar Grecian History Arithmetic
	Mordaunt Halliburton	Wm. Halliburton Esq.	Windsor, N. Scotia	
4	Richd. Leonard	Geo. Leonard Esq.	St. Johns River, N. Brunswick	Selecta Veteri Testamenta Historia Latin Grammar Grecian History Arithmetic
	Edward Arnold	B. Gen. Arnold	St. Johns, N. Brunswick	
	John Emerson	John Emerson Esq.	Windsor, N. Scotia	
5	Benj. De St. Croix	Mr. Joshua De St. Croix	Granville, N. Scotia	Latin Grammar Grecian History Arithmetic
	William Gray Alex. Gray	Joseph Gray Esq	Windsor, N. Scotia	

[Table 4 continued on p.90]

Table 4 (cont.) "Appendix B (Students at King's College, 1790)"

List of Students in the Seminary at Windsor, Nova Scotia

	Class	Students	Fathers	Residence	Studies
English School	1	Charles Thomas	The late Mr. Thomas	Windsor, N. Scotia	Geometry, Geography, Arithmetic, Writing
	2	Robt. Barclay	Mr. Andw. Barclay	Shelburne, N. Scotia	
		Israel Andrews	Mr. Israel Andrews	Windsor, N. Scotia	Arithmetic Writing Reading
		Hugh Ross	Mr. Job Ross		
		Otto Emerson	John Emerson Esq.		
		Isaac Deschamps	Geo. Deschamps Esq.		
		Michael Head	Michael Head Esq.		
		James Arnold	B. Gen. Arnold	St. Johns, N. Brunswick	
	3	Joseph Andrews	Mr. Israel Andrews	Windsor, N. Scotia	Writing Reading
		Walter Burton	Mr. Ambrose Burton		
		Durican McArthur	Mr. ____ McArthur		

The 1790 table provides an excellent framework for investigating which of the first students to attend King's benefited directly from the institution of slavery. Please note that this section of our report provides details regarding only a representative sample of these students and their families, as well as what little information we have been able to compile regarding those they enslaved. It has been our objective throughout this project to document the history of those African Nova Scotians whose lives were impacted by direct connections between King's College and the institution of slavery. This is a goal that the scarcity of locally available primary source material has made difficult to attain.

Kings and Slavery: Tracing the Lives of the Enslaved

We have discussed the problems inherent in tracing the lives of enslaved African Nova Scotians in section 1 of this report. It is a tragic fact that nearly everything that is known about Canadian slavery comes from sources produced by members of the dominant white culture. They were, more often than not, the slave owners themselves, or else were government or judicial officials. The white Loyalists' interest in people they believed they owned was as a source of unwaged labour, and as chattels who could be rented, mortgaged, or sold. Furthermore, as Harvey Amani Whitfield put it in his most recent article: "The documents written about slaves were usually recorded by people who held incredibly demeaning views of people of African descent."[1]

With the exception of a few transcribed court documents, the voices of the enslaved are almost entirely missing from the historical record. Absent, too, are clues that would speak to individual personalities, experiences of bondage, or the ultimate fate of those who were either freed or, as was often the case, simply abandoned to fend for themselves. However, exploring the personal and professional lives of slaveholding families whose sons attended King's College can at least provide some indication as to the

[1] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "White Archives, Black Fragments: Problems and Possibilities in Telling the Lives of Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes," *Canadian Historical Review*, advance online issue (June 18, 2020), accessed June 24,2020, https://www.utpjournals.press/doi/abs/10.3138/chr-2019-0050.

identities of those who were enslaved, and suggest the conditions under which enslaved people of African descent lived, both in the Thirteen Colonies and in what today is Maritime Canada.

Wills of slaveholders are particularly interesting, as are records describing disputes over shared human "property". Most useful, too, in the case of people connected to King's College are the Loyalist claims that were registered with the British government in hope of compensation for assets lost or confiscated during the Revolutionary War. These often give numbers and sometimes names of enslaved individuals. We are grateful for the wealth of digitized data available online, and for the assistance provided by colleagues, archivists, librarians and genealogists who have generously sourced documents for us. However, our inability to travel due to the pandemic and for financial reasons has still hampered such research; wills, letters, diaries, court cases relating to property, and other such records dating to the pre-Revolutionary years are usually to be found in the locations whence Loyalist families originated.

We have made some remarkable discoveries regarding the lives of individuals enslaved by families associated with King's College. Still, the fact that the fate of so many remains undocumented at this point is a source of great frustration. Court records and personal papers, along with commercial and shipping documents, and newspaper advertisements seeking the return of those who manifested their resistance by escaping, remain the main sources of data locally available to scholars in respect to slavery and its effects in colonial Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They offer the merest glimpse into the lives of uncounted numbers of women, men and children enslaved by people who were connected, in one way or another, with King's College in Windsor, Nova Scotia. Much more archival and other research, particularly in American, Caribbean and British repositories, is urgently needed to develop a fuller picture of the Black experience in relationship to King's College.

King's and Slavery: Slaveholding Families of the First Generation

Among the known slaveholders whose sons attended King's in 1790 were the Bonnell family of Digby, Nova Scotia; the Leonards, Arnolds and the Uphams who settled in New Brunswick, and Colonel John Murray of Saint John. The latter had been both an enslaver and the leading merchant at Rutland, Massachusetts, before the Revolution.[2] The status of the Emersons of Windsor, Nova Scotia, as far as slavery is concerned is not known. The Haliburtons, a Planter family from Massachusetts, had brought two enslaved African New Englanders with them in 1761. As for the McMonagles of Windsor, Nova Scotia, their slaveholding status has not been discovered but a woman named Ruth McMonagle appeared in the records of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, in 1794 as sponsor of a (presumably enslaved) "Negro Child" at his baptism.[3] The Grey family of Massachusetts, Loyalists who settled at Windsor, are discussed in respect to the West Indian Trade in Shirley Tillotson's authoritative report detailing profits

[2] Interestingly, Colonel Murray witnessed the sale of three enslaved people in 1754. These included an infant named Quacko, of whom Murray was named a guardian in the will of his former owner. As a young man he took the name Quock Walker and engaged in a landmark freedom suit. The case was heard in the Massachusetts Superior Court in the spring term, 1783. Robert M. Spector, "The Quock Walker Cases (1781-83)—Slavery, Its Abolition, and Negro Citizenship in Early Massachusetts," *Journal of Negro History* 53, no. 1 (Jan., 1968): 12-32; Edwin D. Mead, "Old Rutland, Massachusetts, The Cradle of Ohio," in *Historic Towns of New England,* ed. Lyman P. Powell (NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), 81-120. It is not known if Colonel Murray, whose son Thomas attended King's in 1790, brought enslaved servants with him to Nova Scotia, but according to Mead, while in Rutland, Massachusetts before the Revolution: "He held every office the people could give him, and represented them twenty years in the General Court. He was a large, fleshy man, and, "when dressed in his regimentals, with his gold-bound hat, etc., he made a superb appearance." He lived in style, with black servants and white.

[3] Eaton, *History of Kings County*, 68; St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, 1774 – 1795, cited in States, "Presence and Perseverance," 42.

from West Indian slavery accruing to families associated with King's College.[4]

Joshua de St. Croix and his family were settlers of Huguenot descent formerly living in New York State. The story of the African Americans they forcibly migrated to the Bridgetown, Nova Scotia area, is the most detailed we have been able to piece together and is the subject of an extensive essay in section 4 of this report. A second major essay tells the story of the Barclays of Shelburne, whose son Robert attended King's in 1790 and migrated first to the West Indies and then to Norfolk, Virginia, where he held enslaved African Americans throughout the course of his life.

Whether or not Colonel Thomas Millidge of Granville was a slaveholder has not been ascertained, but his son Stephen Millidge (1761-1803) of Sackville, New Brunswick, was, for the inventory for his estate included an enslaved woman named Rose. Stephen's brother, John Millidge, was the senior student attending King's College in 1790, and served as assistant to President William Cochrane. He was one of the first two King's students ordained and went on to become the Anglican minister at Annapolis Royal. It was Colonel Millidge, John and Stephen's father, who surveyed the lots for Black Loyalist settlers in the Annapolis area.[5] Further research is needed to reveal whether the Ross, Andrews, Deschamps, McArthur or Burton families had direct connections to slavery. Students Crannell Beardsley and James Bissett, whose fathers were among the founding Church of England ministers of King's, have already been profiled in section 2 of this report.

Slavery at Windsor, Nova Scotia, the Site of King's College

For the purposes of this report, the term "King's College" is used in reference to the educational institution established at Windsor, Nova Scotia, in the 1780s. However, in actuality there were two, intimately linked schools. As noted in the introduction, the first to be founded was the King's Academy, which served as a preparatory school for younger boys starting in 1788. It was described in later documents, including letters sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's London offices, as "the collegiate school." The second, King's College, was a school of higher learning in operation from 1789 on, although it did not receive the Royal Charter permitting the granting of degrees until 1802.

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[4] Benjamin Gerrish Gray (1768-1854) inherited a fortune made by his mother Mary's uncle' Benjamin Gerrish in the West India Trade. Tillotson, "How (and How Much)," 10. B.G. Gray graduated from King's and became an Anglican minister and SPG missionary, for a time as minister to the Jamaican Maroons. He served at St. Paul's, Halifax, after Rev. John Inglis. D. Murray Young, "Gray, Benjamin Gerrish," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed June 10, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gray_benjamin_gerrish_8E.html. For slavery see Riddell, "Slavery in the Maritime Provinces," 362. Riddell wrote, "In 1770 the executors of Joseph Gerrish of Halifax lost £30 on the sale of three Negroes for £150 to Richard Williams and Abraham Constable, the Negroes having been appraised at £180: and a Negro boy named John Fame was not then sold."

[5] Stephen Millidge to Sarah (Botsford) Millidge, Nov. 6, 1791, W.C. Milner Papers, S11 F1, New Brunswick Museum, references an enslaved man named Isaac. Cited in W. Eugene Goodrich, *Letters to Sally: An Early Sackville Love Story* (Sackville, NB: Tantramar Heritage Trust, 2014). Transcribed on the Tantramar Heritage Trust website, accessed June 10, 2020, https://tantramarheritage.ca/2012/12/white-fence-58/. Inventory cited in Judith Rygiel, "All that Glitters; Shopping for Buttons in Early Westmoreland County," *Westmoreland Historical Society Newsletter* 53, no 1 (Feb. 2018): 8-14, 11. Since the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick are closed due to the pandemic, we were unable to view the original document before for publication of this report. The "Book of Negroes" lists Lydia, a "stout wench" of 20 who was "in the possession of" Major Millidge [*sic*] when she arrived on the *Nancy* at St. John's Harbour, but whether this refers to Stephen Millidge or to his uncle Phineas Millidge who also settled there cannot be ascertained. See the "Black Loyalists Directory (Book 2)," Black Loyalists: Our History, Our People website, accessed June 10, 2020, http://blackloyalist.com/cdc/documents/official/black_loyalist_directory_book_two.htm.

Both were created in response to the call put forth by eighteen members of the Anglican clergy meeting at New York in 1783, prior to the British evacuation of the city. This has been discussed in some detail in section 2 of this report.

The location of Windsor, Nova Scotia, rather than Halifax was apparently chosen even before the founding ministers departed from New York. A letter signed by "G.P." (George Panton?) was written as a follow-up to "A Plan for Religious and Literary Institutions for the Province of Nova Scotia" indicating the desired location for the new King's College:

> A public seminary, academy or college should without delay begin to be instituted at the most centrical [*sic*] part of the province (suppose at Windsor [*sic*]) consisting at first of a public grammar school for classical and other branches of education, conducted by a teacher of approved ability, temper, judgement and sound morals, professing the principles and living in the communion of the Church of England.[6]

This was reinforced by a report entitled, "Thoughts on the Establishment of the Church of England in Nova Scotia," written by Dr. Shute Barrington, Bishop of Salisbury, England. The latter document was presented to the Nova Scotia Legislature by Bishop Charles Inglis after he arrived in Halifax on October 15, 1787, following his consecration at Lambeth Palace.[7] For Inglis, as was the case with the elite Loyalists who were amongst the founding generations of people associated with King's, reinforcing British colonial values meant ensuring the sons of the exiles were inculcated with Church of England principles. Religious orthodoxy was seen as a bulwark against revolution. Dissenting faiths, so popular south of the border, were therefore considered threatening. As the new governor of New Brunswick, Sir Guy Carleton's brother Thomas Carleton put it, "The American Spirit of innovation should not be nursed among the Loyal Refugees."[8] Anxious to see his goal of educating a North American clergy realized, Bishop Inglis moved forward on the first phase of his plan, first by securing immediate funding and then by working on locating a suitable house or other structure at Windsor for the launch of the King's Academy.

Windsor was but forty-five miles from Halifax, and pleasantly situated at the junction of the St. Croix and Avon (Piziquit) Rivers on the south shore of the Minas Basin. Indeed, the original Mi'kmaq name for the region was "Piziquid" or "Pisiguit" meaning "the place where waters come together." It was also, in Bishop Inglis's opinion, sufficiently removed from the fleshpots of the port city to safeguard the morals of King's students. As King's graduate F.W. Vroom wrote in his *King's College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939*:

> Windsor stood in a unique position in its relation with Halifax. The Governor and Members of the Council and the Judges for the most part lived in Halifax, and if they did not have houses of their own at Windsor they had hospitable friends there and welcomed any opportunity to flee thence from the undesirable accompaniments of a noisy and dirty seaport and military station.[9]

The Windsor area has a long history of human occupation. For more than 13,000 years the land they called Mi'kma'ki has been home to First Nations people. French Acadians settled amongst the Mi'kmaq in the Piziquid area in the 1680s. Despite existing treaties made following the British conquest of mainland Nova Scotia in 1710, they betrayed their agreements and began colonizing the region. By 1749

[6] Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 10.
[7] Vroom, 12.
[8] Quoted in Maya Jasanoff, "The Other Side of Revolution: Loyalists in the British Empire," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 65, no. 2 (April 2008): 205-32, 224.
[9] Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 13.

Governor Edward Cornwallis and his 2,000 British immigrants had founded Halifax. The British Fort Edward was constructed high above the junction of the two rivers, in 1750, at what is now Windsor, overlooking the Minas Basin, dyked tidal marshes and fertile fields cultivated by the region's Acadian settlers. Major Charles Lawrence, the future governor, brought the 54th Regiment of Foot to Fort Edward. During Father Le Loutre's War (1749-1755), over 1,000 Acadians left the region to resettle in Ile St. Jean (Prince Edward Island). When the Seven Years' War (1754-1763) broke out and the remaining Acadians were forced from their homes in 1755, many were housed at Fort Edward.[10]

When the New England Planters began arriving in 1759, they settled at the place the Acadians had called "Pisquid." The area was both protected by the fort and its neatly dyked fields and wooded uplands were very attractive from an agricultural point of view, so members of the British merchant elite set aside the best of the former Acadian lands for themselves. They established expansive country estates surrounding Fort Edward. One of the first to see the possibilities of the region was Nova Scotia's Lieutenant Governor and sometime acting governor, the British-born Michael Francklin; it was he who is credited with replacing the Acadian "Pisquid" with the thoroughly English name of "Windsor."[11] The Francklins' Windsor house was a centre of local society, and a beloved retreat for the family whenever Michael and his wife, Susannah, could tear themselves away from their Halifax mansion, and from Francklin's duties both as a successful merchant and as a colonial administrator.[12]

Windsor was established as a town in 1764, with the township created the same year. In 1765, the Agricultural Fair was launched and continues there to this day. More settlers arrived directly from the British Isles. Ship-building became a significant local industry, joined by gypsum mining in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Fort Edward was an important defensive site during the American Revolution and headquartered the 84th Regiment of Foot. This Highland regiment saw service in the 1776 Battle of Fort Cumberland. Originally part of King's County, by 1781 the three townships of Newport, Falmouth and Windsor were formed into the newly-created Hants County.[13]

After the Revolutionary War, Loyalists arrived in the Windsor area to take up lands as well, some of them moving to the district expressly because of the plan to establish King's College there. In the words of eminent Nova Scotian historian Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton:

> The founding of the college brought many cultivated people permanently to Windsor, and before long the great beauty of the town and its comparative nearness to Halifax led others, for the most part people of some means who had more or less connection

[10] L. R. Fischer, "Francklin, Michael," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed June 29, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/francklin_michael_4E.html.
[11] James S. MacDonald, "Memoire: Lieut. Governor Michael Francklin, 1752-1782," *Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 16 (1912): 1-39, 20. For a summary, and well researched account of the establishment of King's Academy at Windsor, see Harris, *Charles Inglis*, 107-118. An interesting memorial regarding the early history of Windsor itself, survives in a letter from M. Tonge to the Reverend W.C. King, dated Jan. 11, 1814. In the papers of early Fort Edward settler Isaac Deschamps MG 1, vol. 25, item 11, pp. 28-31, NSA Isaac Deschamps, exhibit online, accessed Aug. 27, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/deschamps/archives/?ID=11. Interestingly, M. Tonge was most likely the former Loyalist Marie de St. Croix, who married William Cottnam Tonge. See section 4 of this report for an essay on the life of her brother, Benjamin de St. Croix, who had at least two degrees from King's College, Windsor. The de St. Croix family were Huguenots and slaveholders from New York.
[12] MacDonald, "Lieut. Governor Michael Francklin," 21-27. The Francklins also gave a two-acre parcel of land for development of the Church of England and cemetery. The latter is now known as the Protestant Burying Ground, and there many people associated with King's lie interred, including the first King's College president, William Cochran. The Francklins also had farms at Amherst and elsewhere, including the "Franklin Manor" at Beausejour.
[13] Eaton, *History of King's County*, 3.

> with the capital, to purchase estates there and make the town their home. Among such families, toward the middle of the 19th century, were the Bowmans, whose estate was called Spa Spring, the Butlers, who owned Martock, the Cunninghams who lived at Saulsbrook Farm, the Frasers, who occupied Gerrlsh Hall, the Haliburtons who lived at Clifton, and the Kings, whose place was known as Retreat Farm, while across the meadow, through the trees, nearly on the site of the early church of the Acadian French, rose the wooden tower of quaint Christ Church, where they all worshipped on Sunday.[14]

By the time Bishop Charles Inglis knew of it, the area around Windsor was dotted with estates comprising some 1,000 acres or more, complete with outbuildings and sometimes tenant farmers to cultivate the fields.[15] A number of Windsor-area households, whether seasonally or continuously occupied, were cultivated and maintained by enslaved "servants", as detailed by David W. States in his ground-breaking 2002 MA thesis, "Presence and Perseverance: Blacks in Hants County, Nova Scotia, 1871-1914."For instance, Windsor area farmer Joseph Wilson left his wife two enslaved women, Byna and Sylla, in his will, written in 1776. Should she pass away, they were to be left in lifelong servitude to the Wilsons' son John. Benjamin De Wolfe (1744-1819) of Windsor advertised for the return of a "Negro boy Mungo about 14 years old and well built" in 1780. Local families continued to trade enslaved men, women and children with the Caribbean islands. T. Watson Smith, in his authoritative history of Canadian slavery published at the end of the 19th century, wrote that "the account books of Benjamin DeWolfe, one of the earlier merchants of Windsor, show sales in the same islands of slaves from Hants county." DeWolf's name appears frequently in the King's College Account Book for the period 1803-1841, held in the King's College Archives. He provided multiple building and repair services for the college buildings over the years. In 1781, at Falmouth, Abel Michener placed an ad in the *Halifax Gazette* for the absconding James, offering a reward of £5 for his return.[16]

It was, of course, the coerced toil of their enslaved "servants" that made the genteel lifestyles of the well-to-do British and American colonists of the Windsor district possible. As was the case in colonial New England, in addition to undertaking housework, childcare and other domestic tasks, the unwaged labour of enslaved African Nova Scotians was essential to the economies of these large-scale agricultural endeavours. They managed livestock, dairies and kitchen gardens, made clothing, cooked and preserved food, and performed the myriad daily tasks required of them to ensure the comfort and ongoing prosperity of the white people who claimed to own them.[17] In colonial British North America, they lived under the same constant threat both of violence and of family separation that were the lot of enslaved African people everywhere on the continent.[18]

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[14] Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, "Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761, Part II, The Township of Windsor," *Americana Magazine 1909-1915* (Feb. 1915): 83-104, 85n2.

[15] Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 13-18.

[16] Smith, "Slave in Canada, 13, 119. States, "Presence and Perseverance," esp. 33-47; King's College Account Book, 1803-1841, Financial Records Collection, UKC.FIN.4.1.1, University of King's College Archives, Halifax.

[17] See Riddell, "Slavery in the Maritime Provinces," 363.

[18] In addition to multiple slave narratives detailing such abuse, and a series of invaluable autobiographies recounting the personal experiences of people who had been enslaved, many of which are available online at docsouth.unc.edu, authoritative scholarly works include John Blassingame's *Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Gutman, *Black Family in Slavery*, and Brenda Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). Among the most recent are Heather Andrea Williams, *Help Me to Find My People: The African American Search for Family Lost in Slavery* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Gregory D. Smithers, *Slave Breeding: Sex, Violence, and Memory in African American History* (Jacksonville: University Press of Florida, 2012).

However, some people in the Windsor area were particularly ill-treated. T. Watson Smith writing in 1899 about the Great Fire that had taken place at Windsor only two years before, remarked:

> Among the dwellings destroyed at Windsor, N.S., on a fateful Sunday in October, 1897, was one in which I had often looked askance in childhood, because of the story that a slave boy, killed by a blow from a hammer in the hand of his master, had been known to put in an occasional appearance there.[19]

The murderer was John Cunningham, who had served as Indian Superintendent under Governor John Parr from 1769 to 1773. This is noted in the records of the Court of General Sessions of Hants County on October 30, 1787: "The account of Archibald & William Smith, & Joseph Burgess of Newport, for apprehending & conveying Cunningham to jail, who was tried for murdering one of his slaves and acquitted."[20] The Cunninghams owned Saulsbrook Farm near Windsor.[21] According to David W. States:

> Cunningham, of Windsor and Halifax, had earlier appeared in *the Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser* of 30 May-6 June 1769 in reference to two slaves: "Quine and Flora a negro Women, [*sic*] were lately tried, convicted and sentenced to receive 25 Lashes at the Public Whipping Post, for stealing sundry Articles from John Cunningham Esq. And on Saturday last they received their punishment."[22]

John Cunningham still claimed the service of one enslaved man when he wrote his will in 1775, for his "servant" James Daly is mentioned. The sons of John Cunningham Esq., Captain John Cunningham of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers, and Richard Cunningham, who was an Ensign at the time his father's will was written and went on to political office, both attended King's College. So did Richard Cunningham's own sons, Perez Morton Cunningham (1812-1866) and John Cunningham (1820-1851).[23]

Their mother was Sarah Apthorp Morton (1782-1844), daughter of Boston merchant Perez Morton. He was a voice for Revolution in the American War for Independence and later Speaker of the House of the Assembly for the Massachusetts Legislature. Sarah and Richard wed at the home of Governor John Wentworth on August 22, 1809, with Reverend Benjamin Gerrish Grey officiating.[24] Interestingly, Sarah Cunningham's maternal grandfather had been a slave-trader in mid-18th century Britain, but her father strongly opposed slavery and her mother, also named Sarah, was a leading American poet who published an important antislavery poem entitled "The African Chief" in 1791. Sarah Cunningham was related to Governor Wentworth's family on her mother's side.[25]

For colonial New England, see Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780-1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998); Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2016); and most recently, Jared Ross Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds: A History of Slavery in New England* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2019).

[19] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 77.

[20] Court of General Sessions, Hants County, October 30, 1787, RG34-313, P1. NSA,.1, cited in States, "Presence and Perseverance," 41.

[21] Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, "Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761, Part I," *Americana Magazine 1909-1915*, (Jan. 1915): 1-43.

[22] States, "Presence and Perseverance," 41.

[23] Eaton, "Rhode Island Settlers, Part II," 4, 85n2 and 96-97.

[24] Reverend Grey was an early student at King's and the first English master at the King's Academy (1799). By 1803 he was a member of the King's College faculty and held the post of college librarian. See Akins, *Brief Account*, 13, and 13n.

[25] Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes: A Biographical Dictionary of African and African*

The Founding of King's Academy

Upon his arrival in the province Bishop Charles Inglis presented Governor John Parr and the House of Assembly with the resolution for "the speedy establishment of a public school in some commodious and central location in the Province, for the purpose of instructing the rising generation in the principles of sound literature and Christian religion."[26] As a result of Bishop Inglis's efforts, the Nova Scotian government allocated £400 for the establishment of King's Academy and to pay its first principal, who would do double duty as professor. Bishop Inglis reported this in his first episcopal letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on December 26, 1787. The Board of Governors for the new "Academy" would consist of the Lieutenant Governor; bishop, chief justice, president of the council, and the speaker of the House of Assembly, and they were responsible for establishing the regulations for the school.[27]

Fig. 16 Map of part of the Windsor Road, showing Fort Edward and the location of King's College relative to the harbour and the Avon River in 1817/1818[28]

American Slaves in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island (forthcoming, Acadiensis Press, 2020/2021). Manuscript used with the kind permission of the author. In the "Petition of John Cunningham of Halifax relating to the Windsor Road bill," Nova Scotia House of Assembly, NSA, RG 5 Series A vol. 2 no. 94 dated Nov. 29, 1787, Cunningham states that he had been an "Inhabitant of this Province since its first settlement," and owned 5,200 acres and had settled fifteen families along the Windsor Road. The younger John Cunningham, "Merchant," appears as one of those who studied at King's College in the years before the Royal Charter was attained in 1802, in Inglis, *Memoranda Respecting King's College*, 23, and on page 27, P.M. (Perez Morton) is listed as having received his A.B. degree in 1827. For Richard Cunningham's connection to the Morton family, see Eaton, *Church of England*, 255. See also Walter Muir Whitehill, "Perez Morton's Daughter Revisits Boston in 1825," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd. ser., 82 (1970): 21-47. For Perez Morton's personal antislavery activism, see James Spear Loring, "Spear Family Records," *New England Historical & Genealogical Register and Antiquarian Journa*l 18 (1864): 160, quoting an April 1778 issue of the *Boston Gazette*, where Perez Morton was accused of trying to free enslaved African Americans at Boston "without consent of their masters."

[26] Akins, *Brief Account*, 4.

[27] Hind, *University of King's College*, 19-20; Vroom, *Bicentenary Sketches*, 127. Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 21. The founding of King's College, Nova Scotia, is discussed in more detail in section 2 of this report.

[28] Map Sheet 10, Mile 44, Windsor, drafted by John Elliott Woolford, NSA Map Collection 15.1. Online at the NSA

King's Academy formally opened on Saturday, November 1, 1788, with great fanfare and a total of seventeen students. Three more joined within a few days. The new grammar school was organized into two sections: the Greek and Latin school and the English school. No boy under the age of eight was admitted, and some knowledge of classical languages was required for entry into the Greek and Latin school. Reverend Archibald Paine Inglis, the bishop's nephew, was appointed principal and head of the Greek and Latin school, and a Mr. John Norden was to direct the English school. The location for the first year was the rented home of local carpenter Israel Andrews.[29]

The first student enrolled was the Bishop of Nova Scotia's own son, John Inglis, aged eleven. He would have been about thirteen years of age when the 1790 table of students illustrated at the beginning of this section of the report was produced. John had, of course, grown up in a slave-owning household. His father, the Reverend Charles Inglis, and his mother's family, the Crookes and Ellisons, held enslaved African people while they lived in New York. John and his sisters would also receive substantial legacies from members of their deceased mother's family. (The Inglis and Crooke family histories relating to slavery are discussed at length in section 1 of this report):

> The Ellison family, which had large slave-worked farms in upstate New York, in particular, left sums of money to the Inglis children, John, Margaret and Ann Inglis. They were named both in the will of Thomas Ellison, Margaret's uncle, dated February 1, 1796, and of Mary Ellison who left a bequest to her niece, Margaret Crooke Inglis, along with her son John Inglis and her granddaughter Margaret Haliburton in her will dated October 26, 1810.[30]

The Francklin House: The Taint of Slavery

For some reason, Israel Andrews's home must have proved unsuitable, for on November 1, 1789, King's Academy reopened in a commodious house rented from Mrs. Susanna Francklin. It included some twelve acres of land in which the students could roam. The lease on the Francklin house at Windsor was for a five-year period, after which King's was expected to move into a purpose-built college building nearby. The Francklins had given the two acres of land for the building of the first Church of England at Windsor, the site of the Old Parish Burying Ground.[31]

The Francklin House itself—and therefore the first incarnation of King's Academy—was both directly and indirectly connected with slavery. Mrs. Francklin was the widow of Michael Francklin, who passed away in 1782. Francklin, who had risen to dizzying heights in the Nova Scotian establishment, was from Devonshire, England. He came to Halifax in 1752, opening a shop selling Jamaican rum, the highly profitable product processed from sugar grown on plantations operated with enslaved labour. Francklin also became a protégé of Halifax's leading ship-owner and merchant, Joshua Mauger, whose wife was Francklin's cousin. Slavery was the order of the day, for Mauger traded in slave-produced goods from

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exhibit titled, Woolford's Surveys: The Roads from Halifax to Windsor and Truro, 1817-18, accessed Aug. 27, 2019, https://novascotia.ca/archives/Woolford/archives.asp?ID=10.

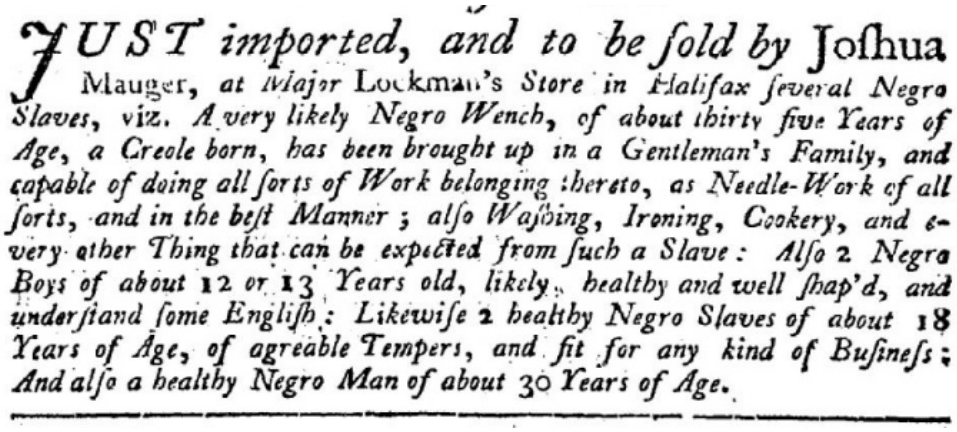
[29] Harris, *Charles Inglis*, 113; Carol McLeod, "King's College, Windsor, NS," National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Manuscript Report no. 163, Parks Canada, 1975, 12, Parks Canada History eLibrary website, accessed July 7, 2019, http://parkscanadahistory.com/publications/research-publications-1998.pdf. Most sources state that the first King's was in Susannah Franklin's Windsor home. However, that lease ran from 1789—one year after the founding of King's Academy—to 1794.

[30] See sect. 1, p. 48 herein; Morrison, *Allison Family*, 244.

[31] Henry Youle Hind, *Sketch of the Old Parish Burying Ground of Windsor, Nova Scotia* (Windsor, NS: *Hants Journal* office, 1889), 10-12; Eaton, "Rhode Island Settlers, Part II," 4, 84-85.

the West Indies, especially sugar, molasses and rum. In 1750 he began his own distillery outside Halifax which supplied much of the colony with rum. Mauger acquired huge real estate interests in the Maritime colonies, including a store at Pisquid (Windsor).[32]

Joshua Mauger also dealt in people. He imported enslaved African Caribbean people to the Maritime colonies. In the same year that Francklin arrived, Mauger advertised enslaved Africans for sale in the *Halifax Gazette* (see figure 17). Michael Francklin went on to trade in salt fish for the Mediterranean trade, and also along with Mauger held lucrative contracts for the victualling of the British fleet during the siege of Louisbourg. Michael Francklin held a Council seat and was active in establishing an effective militia for the province. Joshua Mauger moved to England in 1760 and became Nova Scotia's London agent in 1762; it was through Mauger's influence on the other side of the Atlantic that Michael Francklin became Lieutenant Governor of the colony, holding the office from 1766 until 1776. Although he fell afoul of provincial Governor Francis Legge who had arrived in 1772, losing his lofty position, Francklin was still a government official for he was put in charge of negotiations with the First Nations peoples of the province.[33]



JUST imported, and to be ſold by Joſhua Mauger, at Major Lockman's Store in Halifax ſeveral Negro Slaves, viz. A very likely Negro Wench, of about thirty five Years of Age, a Creole born, has been brought up in a Gentleman's Family, and capable of doing all ſorts of Work belonging thereto, as Needle-Work of all ſorts, and in the beſt Manner; alſo Waſhing, Ironing, Cookery, and every other Thing that can be expected from ſuch a Slave: Alſo 2 Negro Boys of about 12 or 13 Years old, likely, healthy and well ſhap'd, and underſtand ſome Engliſh: Likewiſe 2 healthy Negro Slaves of about 18 Years of Age, of agreable Tempers, and fit for any kind of Buſineſs; And alſo a healthy Negro Man of about 30 Years of Age.

Fig. 17 Advertisement for the sale of enslaved men, women and young boys, placed by Joshua Mauger, business mentor to Michael Francklin. *Halifax Gazette*, May 3, 1752.[34]

Mrs. Francklin, Michael's widow, was the former Susannah Boutineau (1740-1816), and an heir to the fortune amassed by her mother's brother, slave trader and merchant Peter Faneuil. Peter Faneuil

[32] Julian Gwyn, "'A Slave to Business All My Life.' Joshua Mauger c.1712-1788: The Man and the Myth," *Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society Journal* 7 (2004): 38-62. Gwyn writes that the relationship between Mauger and Francklin soured, in part because as one of Mauger's business agents, Francklin did little to advance Mauger's local interests once his former mentor had departed for England. Indeed, Francklin's properties in Nova Scotia were mortgaged to Mauger, in repayment of his very large debts.

[33] Fischer, "Francklin, Michael," accessed August 31, 2019. Fischer and other sources erroneously state that Susannah Francklin was Peter Faneuil's grand-daughter. He never married and it was his younger sister, Susannah (Faneuil) Boutineau (1712-1792) who was Mrs. Francklin's mother. For Joshua Mauger see Donald F. Chard, "Mauger, Joshua," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed August 31, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mauger_joshua_4E.html; and "Document 2: Slaves for Sale in Halifax, Nova Scotia," in Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, 25; *Halifax Gazette*, May 30, 1752. For his dealing in Jamaican rum, see MacDonald, "Lieut. Governor Michael Francklin," 8. It would be useful to consult the extensive collection of Joshua Mauger's correspondence, some of it with Michael Francklin, held in the collections of the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History in New York, reference no. GLC03902.250.

[34] *Halifax Gazette,* May 30, 1752, 2, reel 1852, NSA, online at the African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition exhibit, NSA, accessed Aug. 19, 2019, https://novascotia.ca/archives/africanns/archives.asp?ID=4.

(1700–1743) built Boston's well-known Faneuil Hall and in 1740 donated it to the city. Born into the Huguenot exile community in New York, he was a slave dealer who owned a ship that carried people stolen from the African continent for sale in New England. He also made a fortune in the West Indian trade which exchanged foodstuffs, preserved fish and timber with the plantation societies of the Caribbean in return for slave-produced goods. The family money came down to Peter and his sister from their unmarried uncle Andrew Faneuil, to whom Peter had been apprenticed. Andrew Faneuil had also imported people from Africa to enslave and sold them from a shop on Boston's Merchant Row.[35]

Fig. 18 Susannah (Boutineau) Francklin
(1740-1816). By John Singleton Copley. She rented out her Windsor,
Nova Scotia, house as the first King's Academy and King's College.[36]

The *Boston Gazette* of March 15, 1743 noted: "Mr. Faneuil has left no Will, so that a very plentiful Estate by his Death comes to his surviving Brother, and four sisters." These included Susannah Boutineau, Susannah Francklin's mother. Thus Mrs. Francklin had personally and directly benefitted from the proceeds of slavery (Faneuil claimed the service of five people at the time of his death), the slave trade and the West Indian trade. There is currently a movement to boycott Faneuil Hall because of its long connection with both slavery and the slave trade.[37]

As mentioned throughout this report, among the first students enrolled at both King's Academy and the nascent King's College were those whose families traded in the products of plantation agriculture. These included the salt so necessary for preserving the fish culled from the teaming waters surrounding the

[35] Jonathan M. Beagle, "Remembering Peter Faneuil: Yankees, Huguenots, and Ethnicity in Boston, 1743-1900," *New England Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (Sept. 2002): 388-414, esp. 389-98. For the profits of the trade and Peter Faneuil's business in the Atlantic and domestic slave trades, see Kerima M. Lewis, "Captives on the Move: Tracing the Transatlantic Movements of Africans from the Caribbean to Colonial New England," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 44, no. 2 (June 2016): 144-75, 164-65.

[36] Permission to reproduce this image has been requested.

[37] J.D. Capelouto, "Call for Boycott of Faneuil Hall Spotlights Namesake's Ties to Slavery," *Boston Globe*, July 23, 2018.

Maritime colonies. The salt came principally from the island of Anguilla and was produced by enslaved workers.[38] Furthermore, "An Act for Founding, Establishing and Maintaining a College in this Province," passed by the Nova Scotia Legislature in 1789, provided for the ongoing operation of an institution of higher learning, with another five hundred pounds allocated to purchase land and build King's College, based on taxes on imported sugar:

> Be it therefore enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Assembly, That a sum not exceeding four hundred and forty-four pounds eight shillings and ten pence half-penny, current money of Nova Scotia, equal to four hundred pounds, sterling money of Great Britain, shall be yearly, and every year, granted, allowed, and paid by, from, or out of such monies as may, from time to time, be collected and paid into the public treasury of this province **from the duties imposed, or to be imposed, on brown and loaf, or refined sugars**. [my emphasis][39]

Since the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) whose support was so important for operation of King's, enslaved hundreds of people at its Barbados sugar plantations, slavery and the profits from trading in slave-produced goods were written into the very fabric of King's College. Dr. Shirley Tillotson pointed out in her recent paper, "How (and how much) King's College benefited from slavery in the West Indies, 1789 to 1854," that abolitionist thought, while on the rise in Nova Scotia, had little effect on the men involved in establishing this new Church of England educational institution of in British North America: "In 1789, at the time King's was assigned ongoing funding from monies provided from the province's tax on imported sugar, the Atlantic world was embroiled in a struggle over whether slavery should be abolished. Nova Scotia's first known antislavery pamphlet had been published in 1788, marking Nova Scotians' participation in this international political and military conflict."[40]

Fig. 19 William Cochrane (1757-1833), abolitionist President and Professor at King's College for more than four decades

On the other hand, students at King's were in fact exposed to antislavery sentiments, and strongly held ones at that. King's first principal, William Cochran, was hired away from his position at the Halifax Grammar School. Ordained in the Church of England in 1791, Cochrane was an Irish-born educator who had first settled in the United States, but loathed the practice of slavery, and so moved to Nova Scotia. William Cochrane with his abolitionist sympathies administered and taught at King's College in various capacities for more than four decades, with enormous influence over the boys and young men under his tutelage. Some may well have absorbed antislavery principles along with other aspects of their education, for Cochrane was beloved by the students. He also ministered to

[38] Harris, *Charles Inglis*, 107-118. Slavery and the production of salt by evaporation from salt ponds on Anguilla is discussed at length in Jane Dillon McKinney, "Anguilla and the Art of Resistance" (unpub. PhD dissertation, College of William and Mary, 2002), 38 "The sugar islands were dependent upon the salt islands to maintain their farm animals and slaves. They were connected by the Canadian schooners that came laden with white pine from Montreal and salt fish from Nova Scotia to trade for salt, sugar, rum and molasses to take back to the fisheries."
[39] Eaton, *Church of England*, 198-99. See also Richard John Uniacke, *The Statutes at Large: Passed in the Several General Assemblies Held in His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: John Howe and Son, 1805), 268-69.
[40] Tillotson, "How (and How Much)," 19.

local congregations including Falmouth and Rawdon over the course of his long career.[41]

The First Students at King's

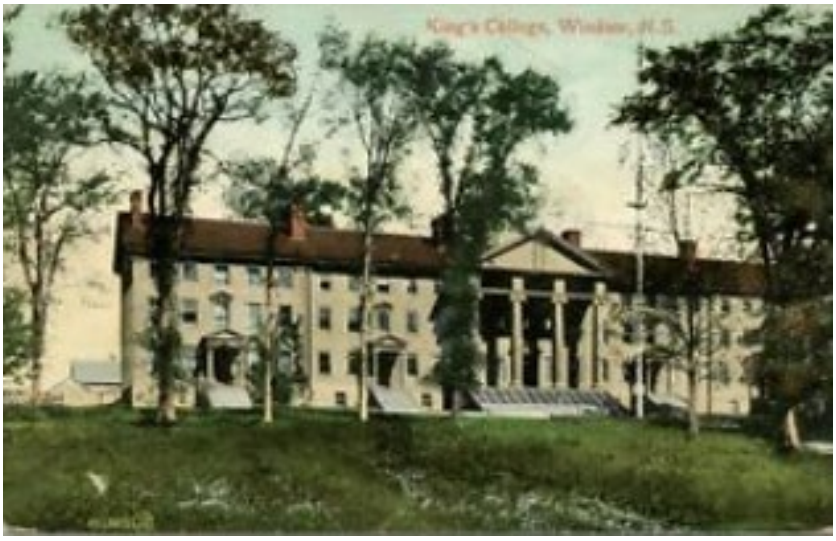


Fig. 20 Undated postcard showing King's College, Windsor, NS.

In the following pages are profiled five of the first students at King's Academy, along with a related figure, William Cottnam Tonge, who served on the Board of Governors. The students continued their education in the upper school as well, although no degrees were conferred by King's College until after the Royal Charter was obtained in 1802.Their biographies are chosen to provide a sample of the kinds of information this investigation has brought to light about the direct connections between King's and slavery. Doing so will help elicit information regarding the lives of the people of African descent that they and their families enslaved, what became of them once they were free, and also aid in the discovery of where such information might be located in US, Canadian, West Indian, or British repositories.

Edward Shippen Arnold (1780-1813) and James Robertson Arnold (1781-1854), sons of General Benedict and Peggy (Shippen) Arnold, of Saint John, New Brunswick

Among the most famous—or infamous—families who sent their sons to King's in 1790 was that of General Benedict Arnold and his second wife, Peggy (Shippen) Arnold. The Arnolds spent six years living in Saint John, New Brunswick, after the Revolutionary War in which Benedict Arnold had played so controversial a part (see figure 21). Edward and James Arnold were born during the American Revolution, and were both enrolled at King's in 1790. In the *Memoranda* published by Bishop John Inglis in 1836, both Edward and James Arnold are mentioned. As the reader will recall, this was a pamphlet recapping the early history of King's College including a listing of former students along with their occupations. There being no extant records for the period, these were people whom Inglis and other former students remembered having attended the college prior to its receipt of the Royal Charter. John

[41] Charles Bruce Fergusson, "Biography of Rev. William Cochran," MG1, F7/one, 7, NSA: "But Nothing secured to him [seemed] so inconsistent & revolting as to read in our declaration of independence & declrn of rights, that 'all men are born free and independent'& get to see numbers of men set up to auction in our streets, and sold exactly like horses or oxen: He wrote some essays on this subject which he had printed in the N.Y. newspapers; & these were and only in the way of scoff & ridicule by the repubn patriots of that city [*sic*]."

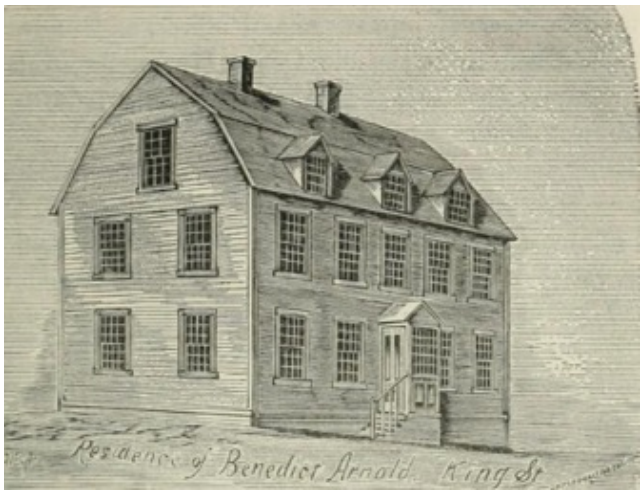


Fig. 21 Home of Benedict and Peggy Arnold, Saint John, New Brunswick[43]

Inglis, who had been a classmate of Edward Arnold, notes that he went into the Army, and that Edward's younger brother James did likewise, the latter listed as "A.D.C. (Aide-de-Camp) to the King."[42]

According to William Cochrane's 1790 table illustrated at the beginning of this section (table 4), Edward Arnold of Saint John, New Brunswick, attended the Greek and Latin School and studied "Selecta Veteri" (which means "old selections," presumably referring to texts) along with Biblical studies, or "Testamenta," and the self-explanatory "Historia." Latin Grammar, Greek History, and Arithmetic rounded out the curriculum. Edward was a classmate of the sons of his father's contemporaries James Bissett, Joshua Upham, and Thomas Murray who lived at Saint John, while Crannell Beardsley came from Maugerville and Richard Leonard from River St. John. Aged nine, his younger brother, James Robertson Arnold, learned the "three "Rs"': Reading, Writing and Arithmetic in the English School at King's Academy. James was the only boy from Saint John in the English School.[44]

Rather than dwelling on the complex history of General Benedict Arnold's actions during the American Revolution, a history too well known to require repetition here, we offer details of his and his wife's histories in reference to slavery. This includes both their own and their families' histories of slaveholding, and the Arnolds' frequent participation in commercial ventures where the products of enslaved workers, particularly those located on West Indian plantations, was a principal source of their income. While evidence has not been found of slaveholding on the part of the Arnold family while resident in Saint John, it is highly likely that sons Edward and James Arnold were brought up in a slave-owning household. Both Benedict Arnold and his celebrated wife, the former Margaret (Peggy) Shippen, had been raised and educated through profits derived from the institution, had held enslaved people during their marriage, and in New Brunswick Benedict Arnold along with his adult sons from his first

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[42] Inglis, *Memoranda Respecting King's College*, 22. The first student enrolled in King's Academy, John Inglis would become the third Bishop of Nova Scotia.

[43] Joseph Wilson Lawrence, *Footprints: Or Incidents in the Early History of New Brunswick* (Saint John, NB: J. & A. MacMillan, 1883), 27; "Benedict Arnold's House Still Standing in Water Street," *Rocky Mountain Sun* (Aspen), May 10, 1890, reprinted from the *New Haven Gazette*.

[44] There are important papers relating to the life of Edward Arnold contained in the New York Public Library, Archives and Manuscripts division, online at the NYPL Archives website, accessed July 4, 2019, http://archives.nypl.org/controlaccess/471?term=Arnold,%20Benedict,%201741-1801.

> Letters written from England by Benedict Arnold and his wife Margaret Shippen Arnold to their son Edward Arnold offering him advice and comfort while he was in India and letters in which Margaret Shippen Arnold provided Edward with details of his father's death and information about financial and family matters, and the fear of invasion by Bonaparte. Also includes letters from Edward Arnold about the provenance of the letters from his parents, family letters written by William Arnold, and a genealogical chart for the Arnold family.

marriage made their livings in the West India trade.

Benedict Arnold was born in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1741. Enslaved "servants" named Dinah, Peg, Philip and Bristol lived and worked in the Arnold family home, although his family lost both its money and its slaveholding status during his youth.[45] Apprenticing as an apothecary, he opened a shop in New Haven, married the daughter of the local sheriff and with her had three sons. It is not known if he enslaved anyone in his household, but Arnold invested in ships for the West India Trade in partnership with a local merchant. They owned the *Charming Sally*, the *Fortune* and the *Three Brothers.* Arnold had a particular interest in selling New England lumber and Canadian-bred horses, in search of which he sometimes travelled as far as Quebec.[46]

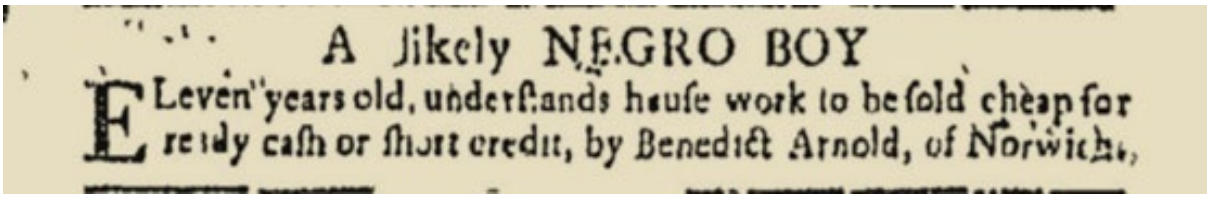
A likely NEGRO BOY
ELeven years old, understands house work to be sold cheap for ready cash or short credit, by Benedict Arnold, of Norwich,

Fig. 22 "A likely Negro boy." Advertisement. *New London Summary, or The Weekly Advertiser,* August 8, 1760.[47]

When the Revolution broke out Arnold enlisted, fought at Lexington and Concord, and became a trusted ally of General Washington. Never popular with other officers, he was a brilliant strategist, taking Fort Ticonderoga, launching a major attack on Quebec, commanding the naval battle on Lake Champlain, and occupying Montreal for a time.[48] After participating successfully in the Saratoga Campaign, and defending Connecticut against British incursions, he was put in charge of Philadelphia by General Washington, arriving in June 1778.[49] According to one source, "In Philadelphia, he surrounded himself with foppish aides and liveried servants and drove about in an elegant carriage pulled by an expensive set of matched horses and driven by a slave." Most elite families in the city had enslaved African Americans in their households, and Philadelphia also boasted enslaved artisans, craftsmen, sailors and dockworkers in the busy port city. Of the approximately 1,400 people of African heritage in the city in

[45] Raymond Francis Danieli, "The Revolutionary War Spy as Hero and the Revolutionary War Hero as Traitor" (unpub. MA thesis, Georgetown University, 2010), 16; Dave R. Palmer, *George Washington and Benedict Arnold, A Tale of Two Patriots* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2006), 29; Clare Brandt, *The Man in the Mirror, A Life of Benedict Arnold* (New York: Random House, 1994), 6. The names of the enslaved African Americans in the Arnold household are cited in Norwich, CT., court documents placing liens on them during the bankruptcy of Benedict Arnold's father in 1756. See New London County. County Court. Files, 1691-1855, Judicial Department State Archives Record Group No. 003, Connecticut State Library; finding aid available on the CT State Library website, accessed June 21, 2020, https://ctstatelibrary.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/NLCCFiles.pdf.

[46] Curtis Fahey, "Arnold, Benedict," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed July 2, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/arnold_benedict_5E.html.

[47] Cited in Eric D. Lehman, *Homegrown Terror: Benedict Arnold and the Burning of New London* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2014), 11-12. The term "likely" meant the lad was healthy, well-formed, and expected to thrive.

[48] Carol Sue Humphrey, *The Revolutionary Era: Primary Documents on Events from 1776 to 1800* (Westport, CT: The Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003), 81, 91.

[49] He had fallen afoul of Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys from Vermont early in the campaign and earned the enmity of other officers as well. Despite conspicuous bravery and extremely hard-won strategic victories, Arnold's reputation was sullied by rumours and criticism, in part because of his somewhat arrogant personality and argumentative nature. Randolph Shipley Klein, *Portrait of an American Family: The Shippens of Pennsylvania across Five Generations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 182.

1765, only about 100 were free.[50] General Arnold lived in the old Masters' mansion previously occupied by Richard Penn, grandson of William Penn and Arnold's personal household included two enslaved Africans.[51]

In Philadelphia, Benedict Arnold met and married Margaret (Peggy) Shippen. At eighteen, the pretty and vivacious Peggy was but half his age, and deeply loyal to the Crown. Her extremely wealthy father, Judge Edward Shippen (1729-1806), had been the last Royalist Attorney General for Pennsylvania but straddled the line between Loyalist and Patriot sentiments. He was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania who, according to recent studies in the connections between slavery and that institution:

> owned and sold enslaved persons throughout his life, as can be seen in postings in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. On April 12, 1750, Shippen and William Gray had for sale a "Negroe man." On October 26, 1752, Shippen advertised "a handy stout Negroe boy, about 16 or 17 years of age." On November 30, 1752, Shippen posted for sale a "Negroe man, by trade a cooper, but not to be sold out of town from his wife." And on December 15, 1757, the sheriff of West Castle posted about a "Negro fellow, named Dick, who says he belongs to Mr. Edward Shippen, in Philadelphia…" that he brought in . . .Edward Shippen owned enslaved individuals into the 1770s.[52]

The Shippens gifted the newlyweds with "Mount Pleasant," a valuable estate high above the Schuylkill River. The magnificent Georgian mansion was flanked by two outbuildings containing kitchen areas and slave quarters (which are still standing). The number of enslaved servants living there during their tenure is a subject for future research, but Edward Shippen Arnold, the couple's first child and a future King's student, was born into this slaveholding household while Benedict and Peggy Arnold lived in Pennsylvania.[53]

Letters found in the 1930s suggest Peggy influenced her new husband to turn his coat to the British cause.[54] It was her former suitor, Major John André, a friend of future Upper Canadian Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, who carried letters back and forth to British commander Sir Henry

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[50] Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 38.

[51] Gary B. Nash, "For Whom Will the Liberty Bell Toll? From Controversy to Collaboration," *The George Wright Forum* 21, no. 1 (March 2004): 39-52, 39.

[52] Clay Scott Graubard, "Documenting the University of Pennsylvania's Connection to Slavery" (unpub. essay, University of Pennsylvania, April 19, 2018), 33, citing the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 1,2 1750; Oct. 26, 1752; Nov. 30, 1752; Dec. 15, 1757, and also Shippen, Edward. 1754-1789, "Edward Shippen Receipts, 1754-1789," Shippen Family Collection, Mss.B. Sh621, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

[53] Klein, *Portrait of an American Family*, 188-89. This is disputed. Some sources state that Arnold purchased the property himself; this seems unlikely given the precarious state of his finances. He had expended a great deal of money on the Quebec campaign, the receipts for which were lost. He was not reimbursed. Also, some state that he never actually lived there but only transferred the land into his wife's name. However, Klein presents compelling evidence that the Mount Pleasant estate was indeed home to the Arnolds for a short time, before Benedict and Peggy Arnold were forced by financial and other circumstances to sell it. For Edward Shippen Arnold, see Lewis Burd Walker, Edward Shippen Jr., and B. Franks Walker, et al., "Life of Margaret Shippen, Wife of Benedict Arnold," (continued), *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 25. no. 2 (1901): 145-90, 165-67.

[54] Nancy Rubin Stuart, "Traitor Bride: Did Peggy Shippen Lead Her Husband, Benedict Arnold, to Commit Treason, or Has She Been Misunderstood?" *American History* 48, no. 6 (Feb. 2014). See also E. Irvine Haines, "Peggy Shippen: Light on a Tragic Life: Old Letters Hold New Evidence against the Young Wife of Benedict Arnold in the Famous Treason Episode," *New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1932.

Clinton.[55] (As noted in the previous section, the first gradual abolition legislation in the British Empire would be passed in 1793, while Simcoe served as Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada.)[56] Interestingly, the clandestine correspondence between Arnold and Clinton was encoded by Jonathan Odell, Loyalist poet of the Revolution and one of the eighteen Anglican ministers to call for the founding of a new King's College in Nova Scotia. Discovered when George Washington appointed General Arnold commander of West Point, André was hanged. Arnold fled to the Loyalist stronghold at New York. His wife went first to Philadelphia, and then New York. There was born the couple's second son and future King's student, James Robertson Arnold, on August 28, 1781.[57]

Meanwhile, General Arnold, now an officer in the British army, received more than £6,000 for changing sides and providing crucial military information to the British. Again he demonstrated his attitudes towards slavery when Arnold led an attack on Virginia, taking Richmond in January 1781, and gaining Portsmouth, Virginia, as the base from which future British military efforts would be launched.[58] Captured enslaved workers were employed in works projects, and then Arnold rewarded them for their labours by selling them back to their former owners.[59] He aroused great resentment for the brutality of troops under his command when he took New London, Connecticut, which was very close to his birthplace. Indeed, he had many friends and acquaintances amongst the American Continental soldiers who were killed. After Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in October 1781, the Arnolds sailed for England on the same ship as Lord Charles Cornwallis, arriving January 21, 1782. The Arnolds were both received at court and given substantial rewards for their service to the Crown. Included were lands in Upper Canada that their sons would eventually take up.[60] Arnold's Loyalist claim included the loss of an enslaved man, aged 22, whom he valued at £100, the equivalent of nearly $27,000 CAD today (figure 23).

Benedict Arnold left England in 1784, inviting the three Connecticut-based sons of his first marriage to meet him in Saint John, in the newly-created New Brunswick, seeking to augment his fortunes by re-entering the West Indian trade. Arnold travelled on his own brig and visited Halifax briefly, spending some time with his old friend, antislavery-minded Sampson Salter Blowers, future member of the King's College Board of Governors. In 1785, Arnold and his son Richard moved to Saint John, where the general

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[55] John André's family money was invested in Grenada, where they owned sugar plantation worked by enslaved Africans. These were lost when the island was taken by the French. D.A.B. Ronald, *The Life of John André: The Redcoat Who Turned Benedict Arnold* (Philadelphia: Casemate, 2019), 26-27.

[56] This was *An Act to Prevent the Further Introduction of Slaves and to Limit the Term of Contracts for Servitude within This Province*, 33 Geo. 3, c. 7 (Upper Canada), passed July 9, 1793.

[57] Walker et al., "Life of Margaret Shippen (continued)," 165. See also section 2 of this report, p. 74 and 74n95. Some of the letters are in the William C. Clements Library, University of Michigan. See Benedict Arnold to John André, July 12th and 15th, 1780, online at the Spy Letters of the American Revolution exhibit of items in the Henry Clinton Papers, Clements Library website, accessed April 1, 2019, https://clements.umich.edu/exhibit/spy-letters-of-the-american-revolution/gallery-of-letters/.

[58] George Green Shackleford, "Benedict Arnold in Richmond, January, 1781: His Proposal concerning Prize Goods: With Historical Introduction," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 60, no. 4 (Oct., 1952): 591-99; Barry K. Wilson, *Benedict Arnold: A Traitor in Our Midst,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 223-24.

[59] Wayne Lynch, "Grading British General Benedict Arnold," *Journal of the American Revolution* (Aug. 2, 2013), accessed July 2, 2019, https://allthingsliberty.com/2013/08/grading-british-general-benedict-arnold/; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 141. However iconic African American historian Benjamin Quarles stated that Arnold withheld enslaved workers from former rebel owners but would return them to widows and children of Loyalists who died fighting for the Crown. See Quarles, 131-32.

[60] Fahey, "Arnold, Benedict," accessed July 2, 2019; Lawrence, *Footprints*, 70.

renewed his wartime acquaintance with Ward Chipman and his wife.[61] Benedict Arnold bought Lot 1329 on which to erect a store on Main Street, in Lower Cove, Saint John.[62] He purchased the ship the *Lord Sheffield* with a partner, Munson Hayt. The *Royal Gazette* of September 12, 1786, included an ad for "A Black Boy, 14 years of age in full vigor of health, very active, has a pleasing countenance and every ability to render himself useful and agreeable in a family," signed James Hayt, Munson Hayt's brother. He also a year later advertised for Abraham, who had absconded from his service. The ad appeared in the September 12, 1787, edition of the *Saint John Gazette,* the main New Brunswick newspaper.

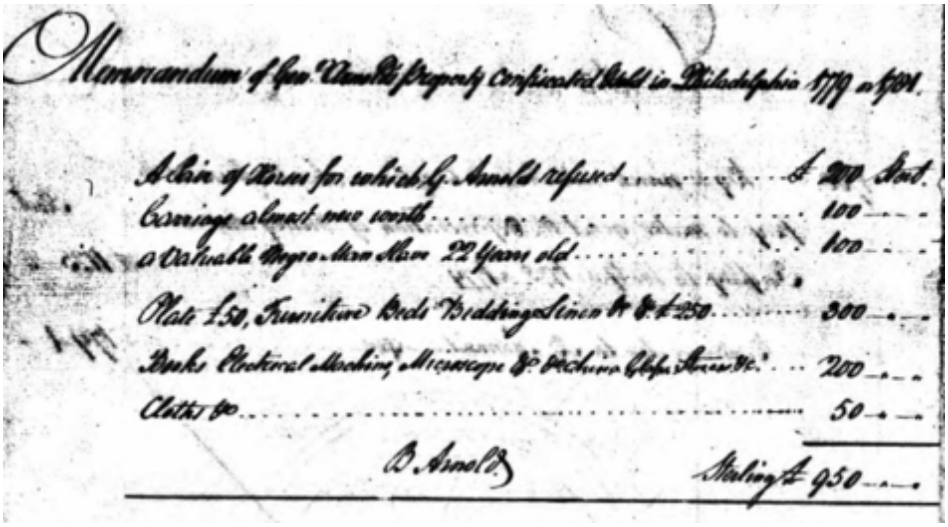

Fig. 23 Loyalist Claim of Benedict Arnold, March 5, 1784[63]

On firmer financial footing, Arnold returned to England on the *Peggy* to bring his family to New Brunswick. He acquired a significant amount of property, some in downtown Saint John and York County, and the rest in the new provincial capital of St. Anne's (Fredericton). The latter acquisition was probably due to his long-time association with the new Provincial Secretary and ordained Anglican minister Jonathan Odell, a slaveholder, who had been embroiled with him in the John André affair.[64]

In 1787, Peggy and her children joined her husband and stepsons at Saint John. They made their home on King at Canterbury Street. Peggy and Benedict's son George was born at Saint John.[65] Only further research will show if the Arnolds had enslaved people living in their household, but it seems highly likely

[61] Fahey, "Arnold, Benedict," accessed July 2, 2019; Phillip Buckner, "Chipman, Ward (1754-1824)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed Sept. 5, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chipman_ward_1754_1824_6E.html.

[62] Lawrence, *Footprints,* 70. For a short history, unfortunately without references, but that describes Saint John at the time of the Arnolds' arrival, see Wilson, *Benedict Arnold*.

[63] Ancestry.com, "UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013), from American Loyalist Claims, 1776–1835, (March 5, 1784) AO 12–13, National Archives, Kew, UK.

[64] Louis Quigley, "'The Greatest Rascal that Ever Was,' [Benedict Arnold]" Famous Folks series, *New Brunswick Reader*, accessed July 2, 2019, http://new-brunswick.net/Saint_John/benedict/benedict1.html; Jean E. Sereisky, "Benedict Arnold in New Brunswick," *Atlantic Advocate* 53, no. 7 (1963), 37; Lawrence, *Footprints*, 71; Bailey, "Odell, Jonathan," accessed Sept. 5, 2019.

[65] Benedict Arnold also fathered a son with an unnamed woman, possibly while Peggy took her baby off to visit her family in Philadelphia. He educated John Sage, as the boy was known, and left him well provided for in his will. The place of this illegitimate son's birth is disputed, since his gravestone states that he was born April 14, 1786, before the family settled in Saint John.

for several reasons. First, they had long personal experience of slavery; secondly, because Benedict Arnold and his sons could readily acquire enslaved individuals in their voyages to and from the Caribbean; and thirdly, because both Peggy and her husband Benedict were quite conscious of their status, of which having enslaved "servants" was a symbol within their social circle in Loyalist Saint John.[66]

The Arnolds enrolled both of their elder sons, Edward and James, at the new King's Academy in Windsor, Nova Scotia. Profits the Arnolds gained through Benedict's commercial ventures in the Caribbean contributed to their sons' school fees. However, Benedict Arnold was famously litigious and the family's Saint John sojourn proved short-lived. His lawyers were Attorney General Jonathan Bliss and Solicitor General Ward Chipman. Both would in 1800 become involved in the famous "Nancy" case where an enslaved woman sued the Loyalist who claimed her service for her freedom (discussed in section 1 of this report). After a series of unsuccessful attempts to collect on debts owed by Arnold's former partner and other local businessmen, the family auctioned off their household goods. There was no mention of enslaved servants in the sale notice posted on September 6, 1791.[67]

Benedict and Peggy Arnold returned with their family to England in December 1791. Presumably they removed their sons from their Nova Scotian college at that time. Peggy and Benedict never returned to New Brunswick but corresponded with the Chipman and Bliss families for years. In England, Arnold was again entangled in disputes including fighting a duel with the Earl of Lauderdale. However, he recovered his fortunes somewhat by continuing the West India Trade and while the French Revolution raged, helped organize militia on the islands of the British Caribbean. Peggy was repeatedly forced to ask her father, Edward Shippen, for money to help raise and educate their family in England. Thus, ongoing support for Benedict and Peggy's family continued to come, in part, from the proceeds of slavery.[68]

Tellingly, Benedict Arnold served in the West Indies and was involved in putting down an uprising of enslaved plantation workers in Martinique. For their loyalty to the Crown, the Arnolds were awarded 15,000 acres of land in Upper Canada. General Arnold died in 1801 in England. The widowed Peggy spent her remaining years in London trying to pay off her husband's remaining debts. She died in 1804.[69]

Edward Shippen Arnold, born in Philadelphia on March 19, 1780, attended King's Academy along with his younger brother, James Robertson Arnold, at least until the fall of 1791. Both had imbibed the colonizing spirit of the Empire along with their parents' lifelong custom of exploiting people of ethnicities differing from their own; this is evident in their respective military careers and in Edward's personal and business activities as well.

As a number of sons of Loyalists who had found refuge in England did, Edward Shippen Arnold entered the East India Company's service. He began as a cadet in the 6th Native Cavalry Bengal Army. A year

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[66] Lillian M. Beckwith Maxwell, "The First Canadian Born Novelist," *Dalhousie Review* 31 (1951-2): 59-64, 60. Arnold also had land and financial interests in Fredericton and built a trading post on Campobello Island in Passamaquoddy Bay. According to the author, "Trading posts on the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay were an essential factor in the West Indian trade."

[67] Lawrence, *Footprints*, 72; Whitfield, "Struggle over Slavery," 40-42; Bell, "Slavery and the Judges," 20ff; Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery"; Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges," 114n147; Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 108-9. The account of the proceedings is provided in the *St. John Royal Gazette, and New Brunswick Advertiser*, Feb. 12 and 18, 1800.

[68] See for instance Edward Shippen, Jr. to Margaret Arnold, March 28, 1802, April 3, 1804, Burd-Shippen Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Pittsburgh. He ultimately settled an annual pension of £100 on his distressed daughter. ULS Digital Collections website, accessed June 10, 2020, https://digital.library.pitt.edu/collection/burd-shippen-family-papers.

[69] Fahey, "Arnold, Benedict," accessed July 2, 2019.

before he passed away, Benedict Arnold wrote on September 19, 1800, to Ward Chipman, his former solicitor in New Brunswick, specifically mentioning his two sons who had attended King's:

> I am sorry to say that Mrs. Arnold's health at times is indifferent ... she has lately been much distressed in parting with our eldest Son, Edward, who left us for India, where he goes to Bengal under the Patronage of Lord Cornwallis ... he is much beloved & respected by all his acquaintance. . . James our second son is in the same line, he has been at Gibraltar, where he has lately been selected from all the young officers to go to Malta.[70]

Edward was commissioned a Second Lieutenant on May 10, 1799. He was sent to India as a deputy paymaster. There he enjoyed the patronage of Lord Cornwallis himself, who had remained a faithful friend of his father's.[71] Edward would be joined in Muttar (modern Mathura, in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh), India about 50 km. northwest of Agra by his sister Sophia and younger brother, George, whom he supported and the latter of whom's career he sponsored until his own death in 1813. George Arnold served in the 2nd Native Cavalry Regiment for nearly a quarter century before passing away in 1828. Edward also paid for the education of William Arnold, his youngest brother.[72]

While he was in India, Edward Arnold invested in local business with partner George Mercer. They made a fortune producing indigo, operating one or more factories. At first, Europeans first traded with India for the highly valuable plants that produced an intense blue dye associated with royalty. However plantation agriculture with enslaved labour in both America and the West Indies had proven cheaper sources until the American Revolution truncated the trade. At that point the East India Company began growing indigo in Bengal again, providing dyestuffs for the British textile industry and particularly for uniforms.

Indigo was a taxable commodity and Indian farm families were forced to work at starvation wages, growing indigo rather than the more profitable rice or wheat to satisfy British colonial requirements, enriching the British growers and exporters in the process. While not slavery per se, figure 24 illustrates British colonial life on an indigo plantation, along with the highly exploitative nature of the agricultural practices employed by the East India Company in the production of the valuable and labour-intensive crop.

According to Prakash Kumar, whose scholarship focuses on Indian indigo production as a colonizing practice:

> Planters of European descent used complex contract laws to obligate the peasantry to grow indigo for very low remuneration . . .The premium quality indigo produced on the

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[70] Quigley, "Greatest Rascal," accessed July 2, 2019. Cornwallis was Viceroy of India, 1786-1793, and returned in 1805. His death shortly thereafter ended the patronage that Edward Shippen Arnold had enjoyed and stymied his career. He would die a lieutenant in 1813.

[71] Edward Shippen Arnold's will is available online at The National Archives, Kew, UK, accessed Sept. 12, 2019, https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/D344654.

[72] J.C.P. Riddy, "American Loyalists," letter to the editor, *History Today* 20, no. 2, (Feb 1, 1970): 131; Lewis Burd Walker, "The Widowhood of Margaret Shippen Arnold: Letters from England, 1801-1803," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, 115, no. 2 (April 1991): 221-55, 239. See also Janasoff, *Liberty's Exiles*, 338-39. Regarding Edward and James' support for their younger siblings, see James Robertson Arnold to Edward Shippen, Jr., May 23, 1806, Charles Pelham Greenough Fuller Collection, Harvard College Library, cited in Kenneth Roeland Kimsey, "The Edward Shippen Family: A Search for Stability in Revolutionary Pennsylvania" (unpub. PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1973), 235n8.

backs of colonized workers was sold to textile manufactories in the metropolis and other parts of the world, bringing enormous profits to the European planters and their managerial staff, as well as to a network of European shippers, insurers, bankers, and brokers.[73]

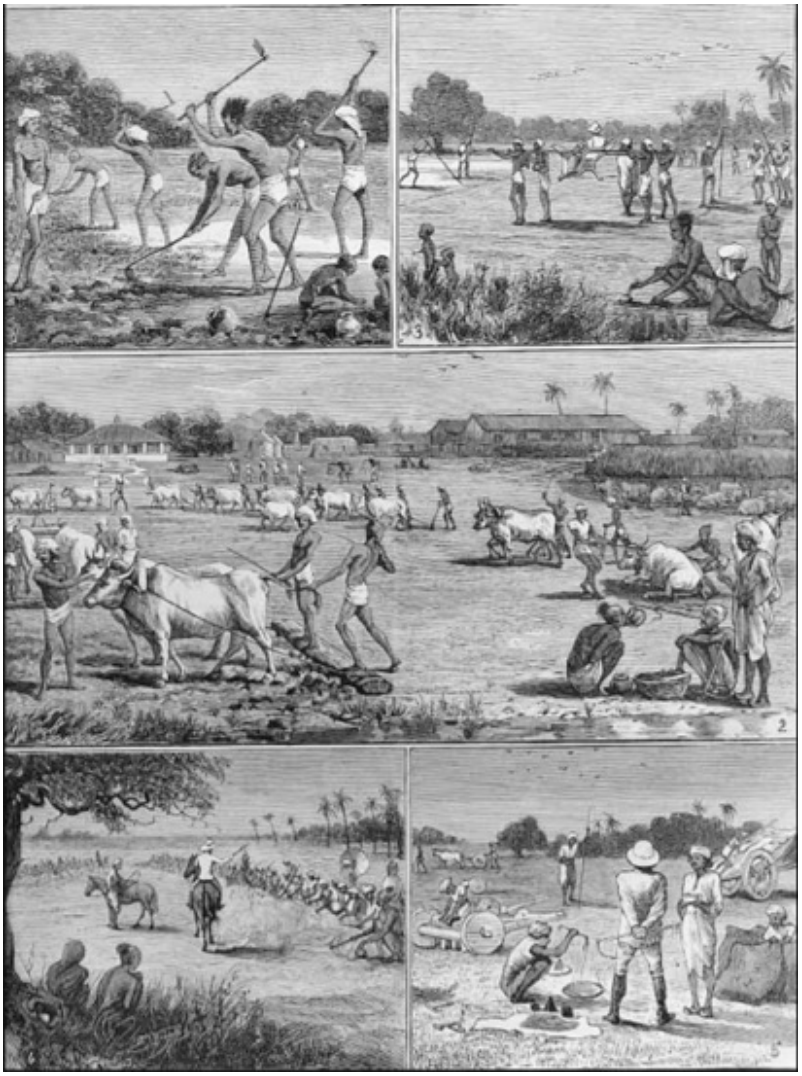

Fig. 24 "Views from the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic.*" South Asia study resources compiled by Frances Pritchett.[74]

"Asiaticus," pseudonym of the author of an admiring 1912 article about indigo production in Bengal, wrote of the lifestyle enjoyed by planters and factory owners such as Edward Shippen Arnold:

[73] Prakash Kumar, "Plantation Indigo and Synthetic Indigo: European Planters and the Redefinition of a Colonial Commodity," *Comparative Studies in Society and History; Cambridge* 58, no. 2 (Apr 2016): 407-31, 409.
[74] Online in Frances Pritchard's "Ordinary People and Daily Life" drawings index, Columbia University, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1800_1899/dailylife_drawings/ilnviews/ilnviews.html. Natalie Arsenault and Christopher Rose, compl., *Explorers, Traders and Immigrants: Tracking the Cultural and Social Impacts of the Global Commodities Trade*, Hemispheres: The International Outreach Consortium at the University of Texas at Austin (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 2008), 86. Accessed June 30, 2020, https://laits.utexas.edu/cairo/files/ExplorersTradersImmigrantsFull.pdf.

> The modern indigo industry was created by the East India Company. It was fostered and developed by the Company's servants and attained the zenith of its prosperity under the management and care of British capitalists, planters, and traders. Many of the planters attained to great wealth, owned large estates, and settled down to live the lives of country gentlemen in the tropics. They rode to hounds, kept racing studs, revelled in pig-sticking, and entertained their friends on a princely scale.[75]

Lieutenant Arnold was hardly alone in his industrial venture, for as Asiaticus wrote: "The [East India] Company's servants were allowed, and, indeed, encouraged to trade in the dye." This was done, he quotes, "in order to afford them a means of remitting their fortunes home, as well to the benefit of Bengal as to their country."[76] Indeed, "Up to the year 1815 most of the factories were owned by the servants of the Company and many of these latter realised large fortunes from this source." With a production beginning in 1789, by 1815 nearly all the world's production of indigo was coming from India, and chiefly from Bengal.[77]

By the turn of the 19th century, the East India Company was sending more than 5 million pounds of indigo into the port of London annually, an incredible quantity of the product. Former King's student Edward Arnold did not live to see major alterations in the business that occurred after the East India Company gave up the monopoly in 1814. The changes in production would ultimately lead to violent revolution against the abuses of the British manufacturing group that governed indigo production, paying a mere pittance to local growers and demanding they meet their quotas annually. In 1860, the abuses and exploitation of Indian agriculturalists would result in the "indigo mutiny," or the Blue Mutiny," as it came to be called.[78]

Edward Shippen Arnold was also involved in a personal relationship with his "housekeeper." The British East India Company in the period that Arnold was at Muttar encouraged intermarriage between its officers and Indian women of high-caste, as indeed had the Portuguese and Dutch before them. However, many officers in the East India Company service made less formal arrangements. According to Durba Ghosh:

> Ranging from long-term cohabitation to short-term sexual alliances as well as polygamous arrangements, a significant proportion of these relationships emerged as part of the master-servant contract between many men and their housekeepers, maidservants, and slaves, showing that household labour and sexual labour were closely linked in a colonial settlement where domestic help and the socially-appropriate companionship of white women were equally scarce.

Edward Shippen Arnold lived with Mahummedy Khaunum, a Muslim woman from a good family. Whether their relationship came about through a service contract is not evident from available records, but he did not marry her.[79] This was not true of other Englishmen stationed in India, a number of whom

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[75] Asiaticus, "The Rise and Fall of the Indigo Industry in India," *Economic Journal* 22, no. 86 (June 1912): 237-47.
[76] This quotation is from Delta [pseudomym], *Indigo and Its Enemies; Or, Facts on Both Sides* (London: J. Ridgway, 1861), 6-7. Even this 1861 account emphasizes how coercive and abusive the growing and processing of indigo by British East India Company employees was.
[77] Asiaticus, "The Rise and Fall of the Indigo Industry," 240.
[78] Tirthankar Roy, "Indigo and Law in Colonial India," *Economic History Review* 64, no. 1 (2011): 60-75; J.C.H. MacNair, "Old Indigo Plantations," *Edinburgh Review* 248, no. 505 (July 1928): 164-72.
[79] Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 107-8, 113. Ghosh does show that at least some such liaisons between British officers and Indian women were outright enslavement, including that of Robert Grant, who provided for his enslaved concubine in his

did indeed marry Indian women.[80]

Edward together with his older half-brother Richard, who had been in the West India Trade with their father in Saint John, applied for land in Upper Canada as half-pay officers. Richard was listed as a lieutenant and Edward as an ensign. By order of the Duke of Portland, the Arnolds secured extensive properties in Upper Canada, including 5,000 acres south of Lake Simcoe, and in Grenville County in the area where Renfrew, Ontario, is today. Edward Shippen Arnold, however, died in Dinajpur, now part of Bangladesh, on December 13, 1813, aged 33.[81] In his will Edward provided support for both Mahummedy and for any child with whom she might be pregnant at the time of his death.[82]

According to Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, his brother James also chose a military career:

> Major-General James Robertson Arnold, son of the celebrated Benedict Arnold, entered the British army in 1798, and was colonel commanding the engineers at Halifax in 1825 and '26. In 1801, he served in the Egyptian campaign, and was at the taking of Alexandria and Cairo. Later, he served also in the West Indies, was severely wounded in leading the storming party at Fort Leydon, and was presented with a sword of honor [*sic*] from the committee of the patriotic fund.[83]

James Robertson Arnold (1781-1854), had been born in New York City after Peggy (Shippen) Arnold's arrival there to join her husband. The Arnolds spent several years in Saint John, New Brunswick, and at the age of nine, James was sent to King's Academy in Windsor, Nova Scotia. James Arnold went on to join the British Army, starting as an ensign at the age of eighteen in 1799. He distinguished himself in the Napoleonic Wars, and was at the surrender of Malta in 1800. He went on to Egypt, and then to Demerara and Surinam where he led his regiment in the war against French forces seeking to dominate the West Indies. He distinguished himself at the storming of Fort Leydon and received a regimental sword by the Committee of the Patriotic Fund. [84]

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will. Edward Arnold's younger brother George, also a career officer in the East India Company, left a will where both his wife and daughter in England, and Setterah Khammar Adams, with whom he lived in India along with their teenaged daughter Louisa Harriet Adams were named. See Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles*, 339 and 417n86. The will was contested.

[80] Usha Devulapalli, "Exploring Social History of Colonial India: Issue of the Mixed Race Children (1765-1857 AD) Social Issues Mixed Race Children Faced during Colonial Period 1765-1857 A.D.," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention* 7, no. 5 (May 2018): 51-59; Erica Wald, "From Begums and Bibis to Abandoned Females and Idle Women: Sexual Relationships, Venereal Disease and the Redefinition of Prostitution in Early Nineteenth-Century India," in "Personal Law, Identity Politics and Civil Society in Colonial South Asia," ed. Eleanor Newbigin, Leigh Denault, and Rohit De, special issue, *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 46, no. 1 (January 5, 2009): 5–25, https://doi.org/10.1177/001946460804600102.

[81] Wilson, *Benedict Arnold*, 221-22. Their application was reviewed by Upper Canada's Executive Council, which was comprised nearly entirely of Loyalists, on July 9, 1796. Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, who disliked their father, in no small part because of the loss of his close personal friend John André during Arnold's defection, opposed the move.

[82] Will of Lieutenant Edward Shippen Arnold, British Archives L/AG/34/29/26 Bengal Wills 1813, 193. His brother George had both an English wife and a woman with whom he lived in India and by whom he had a young daughter. All three received bequests in his will. See Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles*, 339 and 417n85 & n86. See also Pownoll William Phipps, *The Life of Colonel Pownoll Phipps. With Family Records* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1892), 89-90; Ghosh, *Sex and the Family*, 107-8.

[83] Eaton, *Church of England*, 205-6.

[84] Henry George Purdon, *Memoirs of the Services of the 64th Regiment (Second Straffordshire) 1758 to1881* (London: Wm. Allen & Co., 1882), 39-40; Henry George Hart, *The New Annual Army List* (London: John Murray,

One wonders how his family background in slavery influenced James Arnold's attitudes towards soldiers of African descent whom he encountered during his military service. On May 14, 1804, James' mother wrote: "My dearest James is Stationary Commanding Engineer at Barbadoes [*sic*], as well as Adjutant which gives him many advantages, particularly most capital quarters, immediately over the Sea, a circumstance of infinite importance to his health." As a Royal Engineer, he worked with the Corps of Black Military Quarter Master and Barrack Department, recruited in the West Indies to ensure the availability of skilled "artificers" and "pioneers" (military labourers). A troop of over one hundred of these valuable men was stationed in Barbados starting in 1804 to undertake military construction projects relating to the defense of the island in the war with France.[85]

James Robertson Arnold married Virginia Goodrich (1787-1852) in England in 1807. After the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812, James sailed for Bermuda where he served as a Royal Engineer responsible for fortifying the new Royal Naval Dockyard. It replaced that at Halifax, now reduced to the winter base for the fleet. Arriving in 1816, he commanded African Bermudans, both enslaved and free Black workers, the former of whom were leased from the slaveholding Bermudans who claimed their service.[86] "Enslaved labor [*sic*] was employed as a part of local, Crown improvement projects such as terrestrial and maritime military surveys of the island and its reef system, as well as new construction projects, most notably the Royal Naval Dockyard on the island's western extreme."[87] Members of the 3rd Battalion of Colonial Marines were also employed in fortifying the naval yards. Originally recruited in Guadeloupe and the West Indian island of Marie Galante, these men were joined by African Americans freed for their service to the Crown in the War of 1812, before their resettlement in Trinidad.[88]

Arnold executed his duty efficiently and was sent on to Halifax. As commanding officer of the Royal Engineers from 1818-1825, he was responsible for the new design of what would become the fourth Citadel. James Robertson Arnold attained the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Royal Engineers and was awarded the Imperial Knight of the Crescent, a Turkish order created first to honour Admiral Lord Nelson in 1799 for his bravery in battle against Napoleonic forces.[89] An interesting tale is told of an 1819 visit to New Brunswick, made while he was stationed at Halifax, Nova Scotia:

> The last of the Saint John real estate, still in the Arnold family name, was sold on January 4,1839, to one Samuel Halbett. And that transaction was the last ever to involve

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1840); Kimsey, "Edward Shippen Family," 235.

[85] René Chartrand, "The British Army's Unknown, Regular, African-West Indian Engineer and Service Corps, 1783 to the 1840s," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 89, no. 358 (Summer 2011): 117-38, 126-27.

[86] Francis Theodore Stanhope II, "Fantasy Island: Race, Colonial Politics, and the Desegregation of Tourism in the British Colony of Bermuda, 1880-1961" (unpub. PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015), 35: "Royal Engineers supervised the construction of docks, barracks, roads and other infrastructure, using enslaved African laborers hired from Bermudian slaveholders."

[87] Brent Fortenberry, "Life among Ruins, Bermuda and Britain's Colonial Heritage," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20 (2016): 601–13,

[88] Omar Shareef Price, "Away to Freedom: African American Soldiers and the War of 1812" (unpub. PhD diss., University of Louisville, 2011), 16, 29. The 3rd Battalion of Colonial Marines, now comprising six companies, was sent to Trinidad in August 1816, soon after James Robertson Arnold arrived.

[89] James Robertson Arnold also was made a member of the Royal Guelphic Order, as a Knight of Hanover, a Hanoverian honour instituted in 1815 by the future King George IV whose family name was Guelph. This was a military rather than a civil title. See "Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order," Victoria and Albert Museum online, accessed June 20, 2020, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O167920 /royal-hanoverian-guelphic-order-badge-unknown/. Details of his life and military career are gleaned from a variety of sources, including: Lewis Burd Walker, "Life of Margaret Shippen, Wife of Benedict Arnold," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (1900-1901), 257-66.

> Benedict Arnold in Saint John . . . There is, finally the story told of one of his sons, James, an officer in the Royal Engineers, who revisited Saint John in 1819 and, on seeing the old home at King and Canterbury streets, "wept as a child". In 1830, James was appointed aide-de-camp to King William IV.[90]

There was a more complete account of the Arnold family published in the Saint John papers in 1855, unfortunately with errors (Edward and James Arnold's ages are reversed, and James was not the only son born in America).

> [From the 'Boston *Daily Bee'*]. Lt. James Robertson Arnold was the oldest of four children which Arnold's second wife, Miss Shippen of Philadelphia bore him, viz. James Robertson, Edward, George and Sophia. . . . He entered the British Army in 1798 and rose to the rank of Colonel of Engineers. He was stationed at Bermuda from 1816 to 1818 and from last named year to 1823 was at Halifax, the commanding officer of engineers of N.S. and N.B. While thus in command, he was in Saint John and on going into a house built by his father in King St. (still standing, Bragg's Bldg.) he wept like a child. Since the accession of Queen Victoria he has been an Aide de Camp. In 1841 he was transferred from Engineer Corps and appointed Major General and Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order. Edward Arnold, the next son was some years ago in a banking house in England. . . . The sister [Hannah] adhered to her brother throughout his eventful and guilty career. She died at Montague, Upper Canada in 1803.[91]

The house that James Robertson Arnold had so loved had been sold to Attorney-General Jonathan Bliss in 1792 when the family returned to England. It was later part of "Bragg's Block."[92]

Table 5 The Arnold brothers at King's College[93]

Names.	*Profession.*
John Inglis, D.D.,	Bishop of Nova Scotia, and its Dependencies.
James Bisset,	Clergyman.
William F. Bonnell,	Merchant.
Gustavus Halliburton,	
George M. Halliburton,	Merchant.
Samuel Head,	Physician.
Michael Head,	Captain, R. N.
Thomas Murray,	Barrister.
Joshua Upham,	do
Edward Arnold,	Army.
James S. Arnold,	A. D. C. to the King.

For details regarding slaveholding in the Arnold family, and particularly in relation to Edward Shippen Arnold and James Robertson Arnold who both attended King's Academy in Windsor, Nova Scotia, it would be useful to consult the Arnold Family Papers held in the Special Collections and Archives, University of Denver, Colorado.

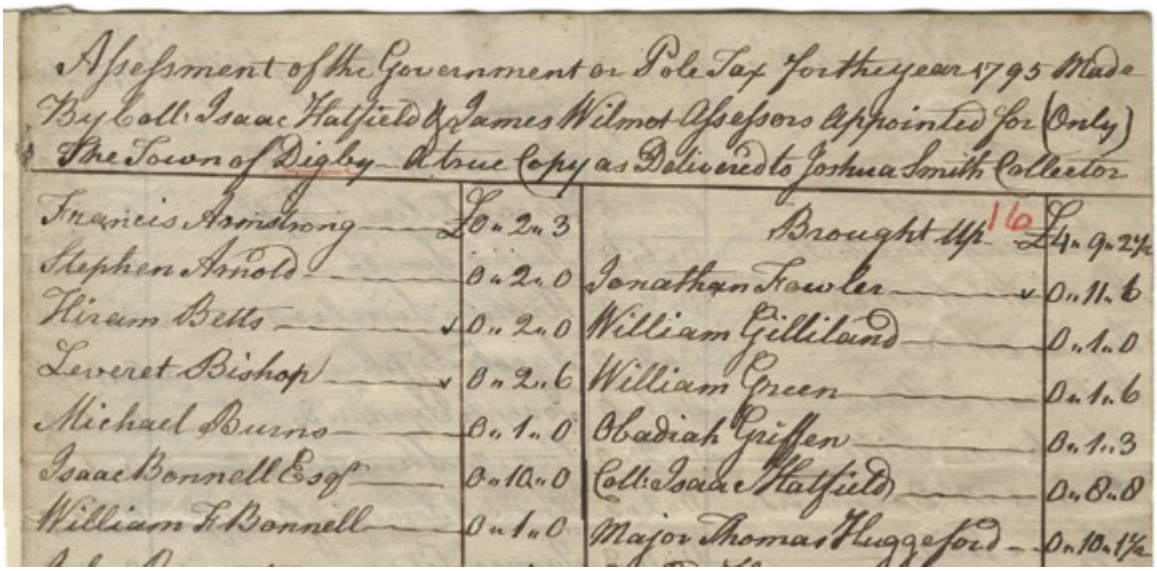
William Franklin Bonnell (1775-1837), son of Isaac Bonnell (ca. 1737-1808) of Annapolis County, and William Franklin Tonge (1764-1832), son of Winckworth Tonge (1727-1792) of Windsor, Nova Scotia

Among of the first students to attend King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, was William Franklin

[90] Quigley, "Greatest Rascal," accessed July 2, 2019.
[91] Published in the *Saint John Morning News*, Jan. 31, 1855.
[92] Bunting, *History of St. John's Lodge*, 396.
[93] Excerpt from Inglis, *Memoranda Respecting King's College*, 22.

Bonnell.[94] He had been born in New Jersey in 1775 and named after his godfather, the colonial governor of the state. This was Loyalist William Franklin, son of the iconic Benjamin Franklin. William Bonnell was the son of Isaac Bonnell and Grace (Fox) Bonnell of Perth Amboy. At the time of his birth, his father was Barracks Master and the Sheriff of Middlesex County, New Jersey. Both were plum appointments and had been gained, no doubt, because of Isaac's close friendship with Governor Franklin. William had two sisters, Mary Ann and Elizabeth.[95]

Table 6 Poll Tax Records, Digby, Digby County—1795. Commissioner of Public Records Nova Scotia Archives RG 1 vol. 444½ no. 61.



A Assessment of the Government or Pole Tax for the year 1795 Made By Coll. Isaac Hatfield & James Wilmot Assessors Appointed for (Only) The Town of Digby A true Copy as Delivered to Joshua Smith Collector

Francis Armstrong	£0 2 3		Brought up	16	£4 9 2½
Stephen Arnold	0 2 0		Jonathan Fowler		0 11 6
Hiram Betts	0 2 0		William Gilliland		0 1 0
Leveret Bishop	0 2 6		William Green		0 1 6
Michael Burns	0 1 0		Obadiah Griffen		0 1 3
Isaac Bonnell Esq	0 10 0		Coll. Isaac Hatfield		0 8 8
William F. Bonnell	0 1 0		Major Thomas Huggeford		0 10 1½

William's father, Isaac Bonnell, was a slaveholder who left instructions for the future manumission of three young enslaved African Nova Scotians in his will. This will be discussed later in the section but their names were George, Tom and Bob and undoubtedly they knew Isaac's own children quite well, having grown up in the household.

As a Loyalist and an intimate of the governor, Isaac Bonnell had been removed from his position in 1776 on George Washington's order. He was confined to Trenton and was released on parole. Some of his lands were confiscated but his home at Perth Amboy, which had been the property of his wife's family, was kept for the Bonnell's three children, including their only son William. Later that same year Isaac Bonnell renounced his oath to the King and joined the rebel forces, serving in the New Jersey militia for a time, only to rejoin the British forces later.[96]

Welcomed back into the Loyalist fold, by 1777, Isaac Bonnell had been made a lieutenant in the Prince of Wales American Regiment. According to his Loyalist claim, Isaac Bonnell was part-owner of a ship

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[94] I am indebted to the excellent genealogical research conducted by Chief Paul Gwilawato Bunnell for many of the details included in this subsection. His article, "Loyalists of Digby, Nova Scotia," can be found online at the Digby Genweb site, accessed June 29, 2019, http://sites.rootsweb.com/~nsdigby/lists/article1.htm. This material is used with the kind permission of the author. Chief Paul Gwilawato Bunnell, permission given via email, June 30, 2019.

[95] Will of Isaac Bonnell of Digby, Nova Scotia, 1806, transcribed Document #85, Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, 147.

[96] Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution: With an Historical Essay* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1864), 236.

which was commandeered as a fuel supply boat service on Staten Island, but the *Lively Hope* was lost later that same year.[97] He did not claim any loss in "negroes," suggesting that he was able to bring his enslaved servants with him to Nova Scotia (see figure 25).

After the Revolutionary War, the Bonnells settled at Digby, Nova Scotia. The first colonial settlement at Digby, a place the Mi'kmaw people called "Oositookun, or "ear of land" was established by the Acadians in the early 1600s, and after their removal in 1755 was settled by New England Planters in 1760. They called their new town "Conway." It was renamed with the Loyalist immigration starting in 1783 after Rear Admiral, Sir Robert Digby, who was Captain of the HMS *Atlanta*. Until 1837, this was part of Annapolis County. Digby was the second-largest settlement of Loyalists in Nova Scotia, after Port Roseway (Shelburne).[98]

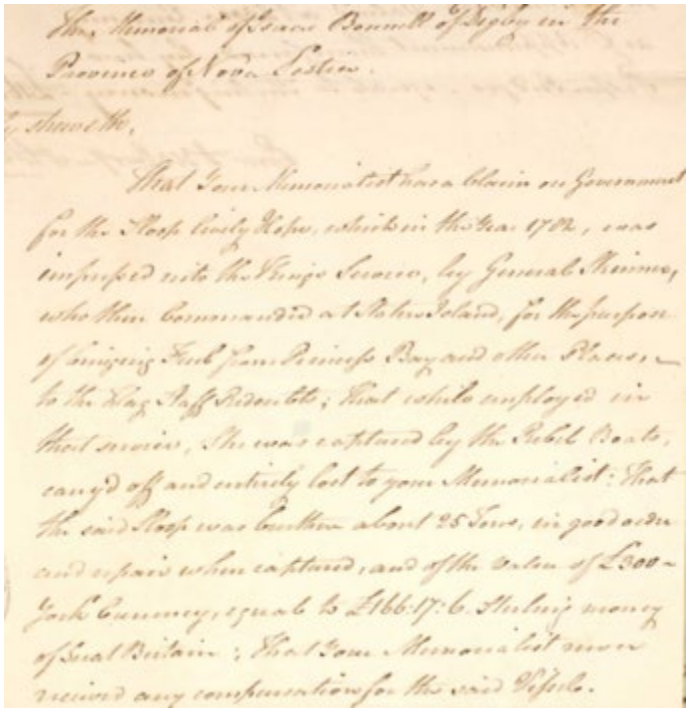


Fig. 25 Examination of the Loyalist Claim of Isaac Bonnell, May 29, 1789. The National Archives, Kew, UK; American Loyalist Claims, Series II; Class: AO 13.[99]

William Franklin Bonnell came to Digby as a child along with his father, Isaac, following the Loyalist evacuation from New York. William's mother and Isaac Bonnell's wife, Grace, had died during the Revolutionary War. The Bonnell daughters were left behind in the United States, probably for their education. The first Muster Roll of the County of Digby dated July 18,1784, only shows two people in the

[97] Memorial of Isaac Bonnell of Digby in the Province of Nova Scotia, presented May 20, 1789, at London by William Taylor. Claim for sloop *Lively Hope* that had been valued at £300 "York currency" and was pressed into the King's service by Colonel Skinner and captured by the enemy. American Loyalist Claims, Series II; Class: AO 13; Piece: 1, The National Archives, Kew, UK; digital version at Ancestry.com, "UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013).

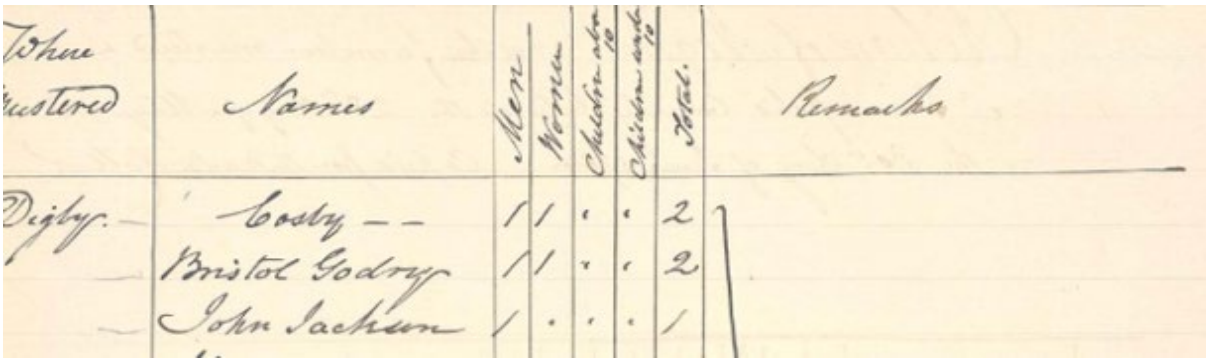
[98] Isaiah W. Wilson, *A Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia* (privately published, 1893), 28-43; 345.

[99] Ancestry.com, "UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013).

widowed Isaac Bonnell's household. There were also servants, although whether they were enslaved or not remains unresolved. The "Book of Negroes" lists: "John Jackson, 22, stout fellow, (Isaac Bonnel, Esq. [*sic*]). Formerly slave to Mr. Bunion, Charlestown, South Carolina; left him in 1780 after the siege." John Jackson arrived on the ship *Betsey* under Captain William Galilee.[100]

According to oral tradition retained in the Bonnell family and transcribed in a local history printed in 1893, the Bonnells lived at first in a log hut with only greased paper for windows, but Isaac Bonnell had managed to hang onto at least part of his fortune and also was both ambitious and a capable merchant. The Bonnell family would make their permanent home in a fine house on Queen Street.[101]

Table 7 John Jackson named in the "Return of Negroes and their families mustered in Annapolis County between the 28th day of May and the 30th day of June 1784," September 5, 1784[102]



Names	Men	Women	Children under 10	Children under 10	Total	Remarks
Digby:						
Cosby --	1	1	.	.	2	
Bristol Godrey	1	1	.	.	2	
John Jackson	1	.	.	.	1	

Isaac Bonnell was granted a considerable amount of valuable land, including:

1784……	Digby…….	Town lot.
1796……	Digby…….	Water lot.
1800……	Digby…….	Water lot.
1801……	Digby Township…….	801 acres[103]

He was appointed Justice of the Peace on February 9, 1784, and also was made Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas on March 29, 1790.[104] A staunch member of the Church of England, he managed to send his only son, William Franklin Bonnell, to King's College in Windsor, Nova Scotia, where the fifteen-year-old William was listed as one of the first students. He followed a curriculum including Virgil's *Aeneid*, Greek Grammar, Prosody, Grecian History, and Arithmetic (see the table presenting the 1790 list at the beginning of this section). There were other students from the area attending at the same time, including surveyor Thomas Millidge's son, John, who lived at Granville, and Benjamin de St.

[100] "Book of Negroes," transcription at The Black Loyalist website, http://www.blackloyalist.info/sourcedetail/display/15.
[101] Wilson, *County of Digby*, 70, 386.
[102] From, "Return of Negroes and their families mustered in Annapolis County between the 28th Day of May and the 30th Day of June 1784," Commissioner of Public Records, NSA, RG 1 vol. 376, 73-77 (microfilm no. 15437), online in the NSA's Africans in the Age of Slavery and Abolition exhibit, accessed Aug. 15, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/archives/?ID=33&Language=.
[103] Bunnell, "Loyalists at Digby," unpaginated online.
[104] Wilson, *County of Digby*, 54.

Croix, son of Joshua de St. Croix. All three came from slaveholding families.

William Franklin Bonnell had apparently left King's by 1803, when he was listed as an ensign in the Nova Scotia Legion, the militia regiment mustered at Digby.[105] In the poll tax list for Digby taken in 1795, he was unmarried and without family for, while his father Isaac owed ten shillings, William F. Bonnell was taxed at only a single shilling. William entered the business world alongside his father. Isaac Bonnell and another Loyalist named Elisha Budd had already established themselves in the merchant shipping business, styling their new company "Bonnell and Budd." Later with additional partners including William Franklin Bonnell, Isaac's son, this became "Bonnell, Budd, and Co." Their store stood on the east side of Water Street, near Birch. Entering the trade supplying the plantation societies of the Caribbean, William would spend his career profiting from transporting and selling the products of enslaved labour, as his father had done before him.[106]

Starting with two schooners which proved inadequate to expanding their engagement in the West India Trade, the partners had a large ship with copper fasteners constructed at considerable expense. The *Queen Charlotte,* which was built at Digby in 1805, was intended to carry timber, lumber and fish to Barbados. She set sail that fall, but was lost at sea, a terrible financial blow to Bonnell, Budd, and Co. To make matters worse, Isaac's Loyalist claim of £635 was only partly funded, but he did receive £210 along with both a small pension and an indemnity of £30 per annum for loss of income during the war years. In 1806, sixty-eight-year-old Isaac Bonnell passed away and was laid to rest in the cemetery attached to Trinity Anglican Church. At the time he had at least three enslaved youths in his household, for whom he provided in his will as is discussed below.[107]

William Franklin Bonnell travelled to England in 1808, where he married Ann Maria Collins at St. Mary's Church in Marylebone, London, on December 10 of that year. They went on to have ten surviving children, the eldest of whom was William Franklin Bonnell Jr. (1809-1866). Like his father, William was primarily a businessman in the West Indian Trade. Thus, this former King's student profited greatly from the proceeds of enslaved labour. He was also in 1822 appointed Postmaster of the area, a position inherited by his son, William F. Bonnell, Jr. The latter moved to Gagetown, New Brunswick, where he became postmaster. William Franklin Bonnell Sr. was made Commissioner of Public Lands for the Western District in 1823, and as his father, Isaac, had been before him, he was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. William F. Bonnell Sr., who had attended King's in 1790, passed away in the autumn of 1837. He was, like his father, buried at the Trinity Church of England cemetery at Digby.[108]

> One of William's sisters, Mary Ann Bonnell, had become the wife of Loyalist Elisha Budd. They were married at Trinity Anglican Church, Digby, on August 15, 1789. Mary Ann (Bonnell) Budd had a head for business. Widowed early, she joined the firm of her brother, William F. Bonnell, an arrangement which continued until his own passing in 1837. Mary Ann died in 1850 at the age of 82, and was laid to rest in the Trinity cemetery at Digby.[109]

William's second sister, Elizabeth, on February 18, 1793, married another man associated both with

[105] Wilson, 124.
[106] Wilson, 345.
[107] Wilson, 272, 368.
[108] Wilson, 424, 430-31.
[109] Elisha Budd had been a lieutenant in the King's American Regiment during the Revolutionary War, and was a native of White Plains, Westchester County, New York. Mary Ann, however, was widowed early for Budd travelled to England to discharge the debt incurred by the loss of the *Queen Charlotte*, and passed away at Liverpool in 1813. See Wilson, *County of Digby*, 345-46.

King's College, and with slavery.[110]An orator of considerable note from a sophisticated and highly educated literary family, William Cottnam Tonge (1764-1832), was an ex-officio member of the King's Board of Governors from 1805-6.[111] He was the son of Irish-born military man Winckworth Tonge (1728-1792) and Martha Cottnam of Hants County. During the Seven Years War, Winckworth had been a young ensign at the siege of Louisbourg and took part in several major battles including serving with General Wolfe at Quebec. He held a series of political and governmental posts, including service in the House of Assembly and being appointed both Naval Officer for Nova Scotia, and a Justice of the Peace. He later returned to military life during the American Revolution. In 1760, the Tonge family had acquired extensive lands along the St. Croix River and an estate known as "Winckworth," but the family estate was heavily in debt by the time William Cottnam Tonge came of age. It had to be sold in 1789, and the Tonge family moved to Halifax.[112] His tale and his ongoing connections with slavery is told following the Bonnell family history presented below.

Returning to the Bonnell family at Digby, some of the larger slaveholders who arrived during the Loyalist migrations settled in this part of the province. However, there was also a significant population of Black Loyalists, most prominent among whom were two hundred members of the Black Pioneer regiment that mustered at Digby, and whose settlement was at Brindley Town (the modern Acaciaville). According to noted—and controversial—scholar of Canadian slavery Robin W. Winks: "Of the 486 grants and warrants for grants of land eventually made to free Negroes in the colony, nearly half were in Annapolis County."[113] While the grants given Black Loyalists were much smaller and less fertile than those accorded whites, former Acadia history student Aaron Bourdages, who made a study of slavery in the region, makes the point that as a result of proximity and numbers "free Africans and white people settling in Annapolis more regularly interacted than in other places in Nova Scotia."[114]

The conditions of enslavement within the Bonnell household at Digby are not known, although they most likely resembled those that had pertained in the family's former New Jersey home. Slavery there had begun under the Dutch and continued after the British gained hegemony. Enslaved workers were considered essential to the economy and some were imported from Africa directly through most of the eighteenth century. Laws pertaining to slavery were considered exceptionally harsh in New Jersey.[115]

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[110] Marriage and Burial Register, Trinity Anglican Church, Digby, marriages solemnized by Reverend Roger Viets, in MG 4 vol. 23, microfilm reel 15032, entitled Records of the Anglican Church, Digby, Nova Scotia, NSA.

[111] Judith Tulloch, "Tonge, William Cottnam," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed August 18, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/tonge_william_cottnam_6E.html. For the Maroon settlement concept see States, "Presence and Perseverance," 34n3; 40n32. For the family's literary accomplishments, see Beamish Murdock, *A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie*, vol. 3 (Halifax: J. Barns, 1867), 94, 98; Thomas B. Vincent, "Tonge, Grizelda Elizabeth Cottnam," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed July 4, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/tonge_grizelda_elizabeth_cottnam_6E.html. The Tonges' daughter Grizelda was a poet of some note, who died in Demerara in 1812.

[112] Copy of a memorandum from M. Tonge to Rev. W.C. King, Rector of Windsor describing the development of the community of Windsor, Nova Scotia, Jan. 11, 1814, Isaac Deschamps papers, NSA MG 1 vol. 258, no.11: pp. 28-31; online in the Isaac Deschamps exhibit, accessed June 30, 2020, https://novascotia.ca/archives/Deschamps/archives.asp?ID=11.

[113] Winks, *Blacks in Canada,* 41. This point was made in a paper by Aaron Bourdages entitled "Slavery in Annapolis: A Man Named Bonnett," for a course entitled "Race and Slavery in the Colonial Maritimes," that I taught at Acadia University in 2017. The paper is cited here with permission of the author. Aaron Bourdages, via email, 2019.

[114] Bourdages, "Slavery in Annapolis," 4.

[115] Graham Russell Gao Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613-1863* (Charlottesville: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 4-5, 25-27, 50-52, 58-74. For a more general treatment

As Whitfield's research shows, at the end of his life Bonnell expressed concern for the comfort and future well-being of the children he enslaved. In his will written in 1806, the year of his death, Isaac arranged for the eventual manumission of his "Black boys George, Tom and Bob." They were to be taught the Bible, and to "write a Legible Hand." They were to be freed at age twenty-four, with a set of "good new Cloathes of Every Description Beside their Common wearing apparel." He went on to note that "George [aged 16 at the time of Isaac Bonnell's death] Was Born in November 1790. Tom [aged 14] Was Born in May 1792. And Bob [aged 12] was born in February 1794." Whitfield dryly points out that the lads would still be serving the Bonnell family for many years before their manumission.[116]

Whether William Franklin Bonnell Sr. acted on the terms of his father's will and freed the young men at the age of 24, is not part of the formal record. However, such manumission should have taken place in 1814 for George, 1816 for Tom, and 1818 for Bob.

Like Isaac Bonnell, his son-in-law William Cottnam Tonge was a slaveholder, as were his brothers; they emigrated from Nova Scotia to Jamaica. William studied law. He was a member of the Church of England. In 1793, he and Elizabeth Bonnell were married in Halifax. Tonge claimed the service of at least one enslaved African Nova Scotian, for manservant, Walter, was listed in the Poll Tax for Windsor in 1794.[117]

Tonge was appointed Naval Officer for the province, a position he held until 1807. He was elected to the provincial legislature, first representing Hants County and later Newport. In the latter case he took the seat once held by his deceased father and also served as Speaker of the House of Assembly. For several years, the popular politician was chief opponent to the rather high-handed style of Lieutenant Governor Sir John Wentworth, who favoured Halifax merchants and their interests over the agricultural hinterland that Tonge and his faction represented. Wentworth was also a slaveholder who served on the King's College Board of Governors. Interestingly, as means of repairing his family's shattered fortunes, the younger Tonge offered to resettle three hundred Jamaican Maroons so his own tenant farmers could supply their immediate needs. Governor John Wentworth, who loathed Tonge, refused the offer.[118]

In 1801, William Bonnell's brother-in-law, William Cottnam Tonge, became personally involved in an attempt to confirm the legality of slaveholding in Nova Scotia in the face of judicial opposition from Attorney General Sampson Salter Blowers, amongst others. He responded to a proposal in the House:

> "[t]hat Commissioners should be appointed to enquire into the Rights which individuals in the Province have to the Service of Negroes and People of Colour, as Slaves; and also, to ascertain the Value of such Slaves, and that a Sum of Money be appropriated to pay such individuals for their Property in such Slaves."

Tonge moved:

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see Giles W. Wright, *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1988), 18-24.

[116] Will of Isaac Bonnell, 1806, Probate Records for Annapolis County, RG 48, NSA, cited in Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, 11n26, 147.

[117] Poll Tax, RG l, Vol. 444 1/2, #56, Township of Windsor, Eastern District, 179, NSA, cited in States, "Presence and Perseverance," 46n58. An interesting article linking William Cottnam Tonge's Anglicanism to the political support he garnered, at least amongst younger members of the House of Assembly, is Neil MacKinnon's "Loyal to His Earthly Sovereign Anglicans in the Nova Scotia Assembly during the Wentworth Years 1793-1808," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 37, no. 2 (Oct. 1995): 75-88.

[118] This is discussed in sect. 1, p. 41-42 of this report. See also Murdock, *History of Nova Scotia*, 171.

> that such commissioners be authorized to try such Rights in the proper Courts in this Province, and if necessary, to prosecute an Appeal to the King in Council [Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations]; and that the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Commander-in-Chief, be empowered to draw by Warrant on the Treasury, the amount of the expense of such Enquiry, Trial and Appeal.

The motion was deferred and never again discussed in the House.[119] Although not educated at King's College, the decidedly pro-slavery William Cottnam Tonge was on the college's Board of Governors from 1805-1806.[120] His wife Elizabeth Bonnell Tonge died in 1805, and after the replacement of Governor Wentworth, Tonge joined the new Nova Scotian Lieutenant Governor Sir George Prévost's expedition against the French island of Martinique in 1808 (part of the Napoleonic Wars in the West Indies). He afterwards moved to Demerara, now part of Guyana, serving as colonial secretary. As such, William Cottnam Tonge would certainly have held enslaved "servants." During his tenure, there was great pressure on enslaved plantation workers to increase sugar production. This coupled with multiple abuses resulted in outright revolt in 1823. While some 12,000 enslaved people were involved in the third largest such revolt in Caribbean history, there were no physical attacks on whites. However, the rebels were killed in large numbers and their ringleaders hanged. British abolitionist Thomas Clarkson sympathized with the rebelling plantation workers and wrote: "It is a fact that slavery and slavery alone . . . produced this insurrection." In 1829, there were some 69,368 enslaved men and women in Demerara. William Cottnam Tonge died at Georgetown on August 6, 1832. Bonnell Tonge stayed on in the colonial office of Postholder in the newly-constituted British Guyana.[121]

According to eminent Nova Scotian author Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, William's brothers made their homes in the sugar islands. Winckworth Tonge, Jr. (1765-1820) had served as Deputy Judge Advocate of the British forces in Jamaica. A dispute over his estate resulted in a notice placed in the *Jamaica Gazette* between "*Duffus, Wm., Gent., vs Winckworth Tonge, dec., in the hands of Wm. James Murphy, admor.: John Young, a Black, a field Negro; supposed age 35 years* ."[122] Another brother, Caleb Tonge, owned Gibraltar Plantation near the town of St. Mary. Caleb had begun with a total of 174 enslaved people, but by 1817 there were only thirty-three people remaining on this estate. Caleb was listed along with his family as resident in Windsor Township, Hants County, Nova Scotia, in the 1817 census of the province. He sold some more people in Jamaica in 1820. William Cottnam Tonge's youngest brother, William Sheriff Tonge, also owned a Jamaican plantation, receiving a total of more

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[119] Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges," 96-97.

[120] William Cottnam Tonge did not attend King's. He was born in 1754 and thus was already 25 years of age when King's was founded.

[121] Quoted in Gelien Matthews, *Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 82; K.E. Stokes, "Sir John Wentworth and His Times" (unpub. diss. King's College, London, 1938), 107; Judith Fingard, "Wentworth, Sir John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed July 4, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wentworth_john_1737_1820_5E.html; Bonnell Tonge to Hammil, Feb. 22, 1823, *Documents and Correspondence: Parliamentary Papers Relating to the Boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office [Great Britain], 1896), 180. For the statistics of slavery see Major-General Sir Benjamin Urban, "Demerara and Essequibo Population Return," *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons Relating to Diplomatic and Consular Establishments: Colonies*, no. 21 (1830), 639.

[122] Eaton, "Rhode Island Settlers, Part I," 38; Edmund Burke, *Annual Register* vol. 53 (London: W. Otridge & Sons, 1811), 154. For the court case over the enslaved John Young, see *Jamaica Gazette*, Oct. 16, 1824, quoted in the *Christian Observer*'s review of H.T. De La Beche's *Notes on the Present Conditions of the Negroes in Jamaica* (London: Cadell, 1825), *Christian Observer*, June 1825: 373-86, 379.

than £300 in compensation for his losses when slavery ended in the islands. [123]

Richard Leonard (1780-1833), son of George Leonard Esq. (1742-1827), Saint John, New Brunswick

Born in New York City in 1780, Richard Leonard migrated with his Loyalist parents to Sussex, New Brunswick in 1783. He studied at King's Academy in Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1790, but enlisted at age fourteen in the British Army as an ensign and joined the 54th Regiment. He would go on to an illustrious military career. The Leonards owned enslaved people, both while still in the Thirteen Colonies and in New Brunswick, although Richard himself does not seem to have been a slaveholder in his adult life.

Richard's mother Sarah (1744-1826) was the daughter of barrister Oxenbridge T. Thacher of Boston, Massachusetts, and great-granddaughter of noted Boston Anglican minister Reverend John Oxenbridge (1608-1670), of St. Peter's Church. Slavery was widespread in colonial Boston, a port deeply engaged in the Atlantic Slave Trade and which boasted nearly 4,500 enslaved Africans in 1754. While abolitionism was a rising sentiment by the 1760s, and some of Sarah's cousins would become leading figures in the movement, her father was a slaveholder, as had been his ancestors before him.[124] The Thacher family's relationship to the first published African American poet, Phyllis Wheatley (1715?-1784), is extremely significant. Congregational minister Reverend Jeremy Belknap recorded the first of her known poems in his diary in 1773. It had been written in 1765, commemorating the sad time when Sarah (Kent) Oxenbridge lost first the daughter of her first marriage, and then her stepson, a promising young attorney also named Oxenbridge, to smallpox. He and Sarah had married so Oxenbridge Thacher Jr. was both Mrs. Thacher's stepson and son-in-law.

Aged 11, the enslaved Phyllis wrote of the young couple's hope of heaven:

> Mr[s] Thacher's Son is gone
> Unto Salvation
> Her daughter too, so I conclude
> They are both gone to be renewed
> *Phyllis Wheatley, 1765*[125]

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[123] "Caleb Tonge, Profile and Legacies Summary," in the "Legacies of British Slave Ownership" database online, accessed Sept. 29, 2019, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146642421, and "William Sherriff Tonge, Profile and Legacies Summary," accessed June 14, 2020, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43027. See also Census of Windsor Township, Hants County—1817, Commissioner of Public Records NSA RG 1 vol. 445 no. 55, online at NSA, accessed Sept. 29, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/census/RG1v445/list/.

[124] According to Gloria McCahon Whiting, "Emancipation without the Courts or Constitution: The Case of Revolutionary Massachusetts," *Slavery & Abolition* (November 2019): 1–21, 18n32: "Almost all pre-Revolutionary inventories value the persons of black laborers rather than the time of those labourers. [However] see Oxenbridge Thacher's 1772 inventory . . . The inventory values 6 years and seven months of the 'Negro Cesar's time,' along with his 'Beding & apparel,' for nearly £27." For Oxenbridge Thacher and Boston slavery see Jared Ross Hardesty, "'The Negro at the Gate': Enslaved Labor in Eighteenth-Century Boston," *New England Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (March 2014): 72-98, 79. His will is Docket 15261, Suffolk Probate Records, Massachusetts State Archives. The Reverend John Oxenbridge had held enslaved Africans at Boston, as did his daughter who married Peter Thacher who owned an enslaved First Nations woman as well. The family also had interests in the plantation colony of Surinam. See George Sheldon, "Negro Slavery in Old Deerfield" (*New England Magazine*, 1893), 49-60, 49-50. Reproduced online at the American Centuries: View from New England exhibit, Memorial Hall Museum Online, accessed June 15, 2020, http://americancenturies.mass.edu/collection/search/index.jsp.

[125] "Phyllis Wheatley's Earliest Poem," Jeremy Belknap diary, 1773, inside back cover, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed June 10, 2020, https://www.masshist.org/objects/2011december.php.

Fig. 26 Oxenbridge Thacher (1720-1765), attributed to Robert Feke, ca. 1748. Maternal grandfather of King's College student Richard Leonard. Photo #1966.65, Yale University Art Gallery.[126]

Sarah Thacher Leonard's family was torn apart by the Revolutionary War. In fact, Sarah's father was an ardent American patriot who wrote a pamphlet entitled "The Sentiments of a British American" in 1764 in response to the Stamp Act. He was extremely learned, and John Adams said he could converse knowledgeably on "all subjects of religion, morals, law, politics, history, philosophy, belles lettres, theology, mythology, cosmogony, metaphysics,—Locke, Clark, Leibnitz, Bolingbroke, Berkeley," and many other subjects but "his favorite subject was politics, and the impending, threatening system of parliamentary taxation and universal government over the colonies."[127]

Richard Leonard's father, George Leonard (1742-1827), had been a leading corn and flour baron at Plymouth, Massachusetts, owning several enslaved African New Englanders along with a shipping line in Boston before the Revolution.[128] He converted from his father's Congregationalist faith to become a member of the Church of England, according to historian Ann Gorman Condon.[129] During the Revolutionary War, George Leonard was an ardent adherent to the Loyalist cause, and not only contributed substantially from his personal wealth but also fought in a series of battles. He outfitted several ships for raiding and transport purposes to aid the British forces. He and his childhood friend, Edward Winslow, who would go on to become such an important figure in New Brunswick history, both fought at Lexington in June 1775. George Leonard was evacuated from Boston in 1776, along with his family. Indeed, it was in Leonard-owned ships that a good many of the refugees from Boston in 1776, made their way to Halifax. Leonard's home and warehouses along with their contents were confiscated by the rebelling colonists.[130]

Richard Leonard's father had also been a large slaveholder by New England standards, with at least eight of his enslaved men and women listed in the marriage records of Bristol County, Massachusetts, over the years. In at least three cases, both members of the couple were enslaved by George Leonard.[131]

> Abinoh [int. Abinah] "a negro woman belonging to George Leonard Esqr," and Samuel

[126] Permission to use this image was granted by the Yale University Art Gallery, June 25, 2021.
[127] John Adams to Hezekiah Niles, Feb. 13, 1818, Founders Online website, US National Archives, accessed April 11, 2019, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6854; John Quincy, *The History of the Boston Athenaeum: With Biographical Notices of its Deceased Founders* (Cambridge, MA: Metcalf & Co., 1851), 45-48.
[128] Condon, "Leonard, George," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol. 6. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed June 12, 2019. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/leonard_george_6E.html.
[129] Condon, "Leonard, George."
[130] Condon, "Leonard, George."
[131] "Marriages - Tolman to Wyman, Unidentified & Negroes," in *Index, Vital Records of Norton, Bristol Co., MA, to the Year 1850*, Published at the Charge of the Eddy Town-Record Fund (Boston, MA: New England Historic Genealogical Society 1906), transcribed online by Dave Swerdfeger, accessed June 1, 2019, http://dunhamwilcox.net/ma/norton_m6.htm.

"Southerlin, a negro man of Capt Thomas Cobb of Taunton," Dec. 5, 1745.

Colle and Sukey, "Negro sarvants [*sic*] of the Hon. George Leonard Esqr.," Dec. 15, 1763.

Cuggo and Vilet, "negro sarvants [*sic*] to the Hon. George Leonard Esq.," int. Mar. 1, 1759.

Dinah and Robin, "negros [*sic*] of George Leonard Esqr.," Dec. 5, 1728.

Sukey, "a Negro woman belonging to the Hon. George Leonard Esqr.," and Lot Bowers "Negro man of Swanzey," May 25, 1775.

In 1745, George Leonard Sr. arranged to purchase a youth named Prince, aged about thirteen years, for £150 from Jonathan Dwight of Boston. The bill of sale survives, as shown in figure 27.

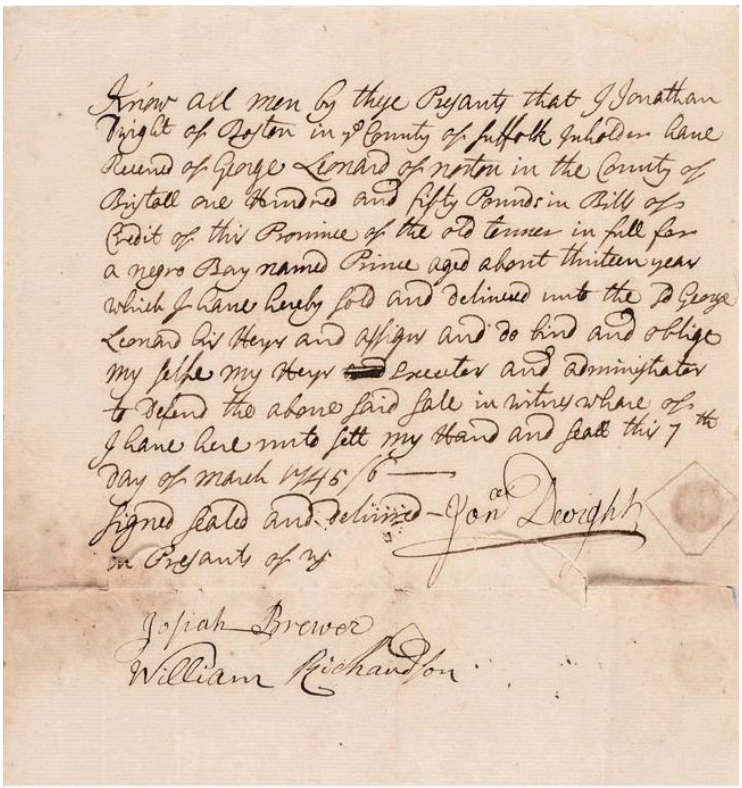

Know all men by these Presents that I Jonathan Dwight of Boston in the County of Suffolk Inholder have Received of George Leonard of Norton in the County of Bristoll one Hundred and fifty Pounds in Bill of Credit of this Province of the old tenner in full for a negro Boy named Prince aged about thirteen years which I have hereby sold and delivered unto the s^d George Leonard his Heirs and assigns and do bind and oblige my selfe my Heirs Executors and Administrators to defend the above said sale in witness whereof I have hereunto sett my Hand and Seall this 7th day of March 1745/6
Signed Sealed and delivered in Presents of us
Jon^a Dwight
Josiah Brewer
William Richardson

Fig. 27 "Early Colonial Massachusetts Receipt for Sale of an Enslaved Boy Named Prince to George Leonard, 1764." Private collection.[132]

George Leonard went to England in 1780 in hopes of recouping some of his fortune, and then to New York to again serve the Loyalist cause. He became a founding member of the Board of Directors for the "Associated Refugees and Loyalists" in that city. He spent the rest of the war serving under Sir Henry Clinton, first in Newport, Rhode Island, where the British military headquarters were located, and then in Long Island and along the New England coast, in association with two future settlers in Maritime Canada, Edward Winslow and Ward Chipman. He personally fitted up, armed and manned vessels for

[132] iCollector.com, online Collectible Auction, accessed June 2, 2019, https://www.icollector.com/1746-Early-Colonial-Massachusetts-Receipt-for-Sale-of-a-Slave-Boy-Named-Prince_i27325122. Please note: The title of the document is the one listed in the online sale catalogue.

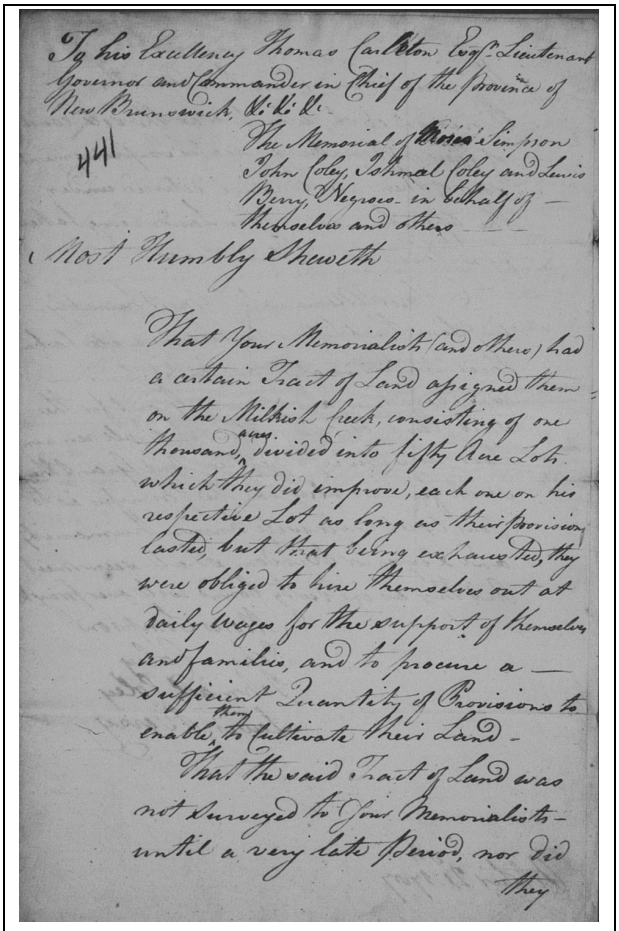
the protection of the settlements there, using his own funds to purchase supplies to ensure that the garrison along with the towns and villages of Rhode Island were victualled throughout, an action in which his friend Joshua Upham (a youth of the same name would one day attend King's College, Nova Scotia) was also engaged. George Leonard and his fleet also transported troops involved in raids on strongholds of the rebelling colonists, engaged in privateering, and ensured the British garrisons were supplied with firewood for the winters.[133]

After Rhode Island was evacuated using his vessels and others transferred to his command for the purpose, when the British surrendered George Leonard sold his ships at great loss, in excess of £15,443. Less the sale of the ships, his financial investment had been nearly £6,000.[134] In addition, when he filed his Loyalist claim at Saint John, New Brunswick, on November 9, 1796, he detailed his personal losses as being in excess of £4,793. General Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19, 1791; the handwriting was on the wall regarding the future outcome of the treaty being negotiated in Paris. Leonard resigned from the Board of Associated Loyalists because of his personal opposition to the British change in policy to one of appeasement towards the Continental Army commanded by General Washington. Eventually George Leonard would be awarded a personal income of £200 annually in recognition of his service.[135]

George Leonard and his family, along with enslaved servants and some Black Loyalists who were in his "possession" at the time, sailed with the spring fleet, arriving at Saint John harbour in May 1783. Despite his personal losses, Leonard managed to bring a good deal of wealth with him and would go on to gain more in the Maritime colonies. Since he had owned a line of merchant ships in Massachusetts, when Boston was evacuated, he had been able to take away more of his assets, including enslaved people, than most Loyalists could manage. He also carried with him to New Brunswick on the *Grand Duchess of Russia* six Black Loyalists who were listed in the "Book of Negroes" as follows:

> Moses Simson, 20 stout black, (George Leonard, Esq.) Formerly slave to William Sheppard, Virginia; left him about five years ago and came to New York with the troops. GBC.
>
> Lieut. Berry, 42, stout black, (George Leonard, Esq.). Formerly slave to James Berry, Frederick town, Virginia; left him about six years ago. GBC.
>
> Ishmael Colley, 23, stout black, (George Leonard, Esq.). Formerly slave to Ebenezer Colley, Connecticut, town Fairfield; left him about six years ago. GBC.
>
> Sarah Caesor, 25, squat wench, (George Leonard, Esq.). Free, formerly slave to Jonathan Vallantane, Hamstead Plains, made her free at his death.
>
> Lucey Lykes, 24, squat wench, (George Leonard, Esq.). Formerly slave to John Woodward, New Jersey, taken from thence about six years ago by Capt. Robinson, commanding a galley. GBC.
>
> George Kent, 30, tall stout fellow, (George Leonard, Esq.). Formerly slave to Mr. Lockart, Antigua. GBC.

[133] Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists in New Brunswick* (Windsor, NS: Lancelot Press, 1977).
[134] American Loyalist Claims, 1776–1835. AO 12–13, p. 406-9, The National Archives, Kew, UK; Ancestry.com, "UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013).
[135] Ancestry.com, "American Loyalist Claims, 1776–1835" database, AO 12–13, p. 438 (Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013).



To his Excellency Thomas Carleton Esqr. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of New Brunswick &c &c &c

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The Memorial of Thomas Simpson John Coley, Johnmal Coley and Lewis Berry, Negroes in behalf of themselves and others

Most Humbly Sheweth

That Your Memorialists (and others) had a certain Tract of Land assigned them on the Milkish Creek, consisting of one thousand, divided into fifty Acre Lots which they did improve, each one on his respective Lot as long as their provision lasted, but that being exhausted, they were obliged to hire themselves out at daily wages for the support of themselves and families, and to procure a — sufficient Quantity of Provisions to enable them to cultivate their Land —

That the said Tract of Land was not surveyed to Your Memorialists — until a very late Period, nor did they

Fig. 28 Petition for provisions on the part of Black Loyalist grantees at Milkish Creek, near Saint John. In the collection of Land Petitions, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.[136]

It is uncertain what actual status these men and women had, and how, in fact, they might be considered attached to the Leonard household. As discussed in section 1 (p. 16) of this report, the relevant column in the "Book of Negroes" is headed by the term "In whose Possession they now are," the meaning of which is unclear. Why would free Black Loyalists be "in the possession" of white Loyalists while being transported to their new homes in British North America? Some were likely indentured servants, but the numbers of people with white Loyalists' names listed beside their own suggests other reasons may have existed as well. In 1787, the Black Loyalists who had travelled to Nova Scotia on the *Grand Duchess of Russia* "in the possession of" George Leonard petitioned for provisions to enable them to work their land grants at Milkish Creek, outside Saint John, New Brunswick (figure 28).[137]

After moving to New Brunswick, George Leonard was appointed Justice of the Peace and provincial councillor. He was a very prominent man and it was at his elegant home at Dock and Union streets in Saint John that the new governor of the province, Sir Thomas Carleton, lived in the fall of 1784, when he first arrived in New Brunswick. Leonard had in fact been one of the agents entrusted with assigning land grants to Loyalist settlers, a task that produced much dissension as new arrivals accused the members of the Saint John elite of reserving the best lots and particularly the waterfront lands to their own use.[138]

In 1786, George Leonard was appointed "Superintendent of Trade and Fisheries" at Canso, Nova Scotia. The task of trying to stop American maritime smuggling into the province, a particular problem with respect to rum, was doomed to failure, but consumed much of his attention.[139]

The Leonards also continued to practice slaveholding while in New Brunswick. The Reverend W.O. Raymond, who provided an early account of Black New Brunswickers, wrote in his 1903 article, most likely for publication in the short-lived African Canadian publication at Saint John, *Neith*:

> The cool way in which human beings of the colored race were thus disposed of is shown in the following remarkable communication addressed by John Rapalje, a most

[136] Available online in Leah Grandy, "The Importance of the Book of Negroes," *Atlantic Loyalist Connections (blog)*, February 1, 2017, The Loyalist Collection online, accessed August 15, 2019, https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/atlantic-loyalist-connections/importance-book-negroes.

[137] For further discussion on this point, see sect. 1, pp. 15-16.

[138] Condon, "Leonard, George"; Lawrence, *Footprints*, 6-7.

[139] James Hannay, *The History of New Brunswick* (Saint John, NB: John A. Bowes, 1909), 302-5.

respectable citizen of Brooklyn, N. Y., to his friend the Hon. Geo. Leonard of New Brunswick:

> "Brooklyne, October 29, 1787.
>
> "Dear Sir, — I have taken the liberty at the desire of my father of sending to your care a Negro wench named Eve and her child named Sukey, in order to dispose of them to the best advantage. * * * * * * * * She is an excellent hand at all sorts of house work except cooking, and one of the best servants for washing we ever had; she is perfectly honest and sober and the only fault she has is being near sighted. Mr. Francis Pemart and his daughter Mrs. Stoothoff, Mr. Thomas Horsfield and family and Mr. John Guest know the wench and can prove the property.
>
> "Mama joins me in presenting our most respectful compliments to Mrs. Leonard and the family.
>
> "From your humble servant,
>
> "JOHN RAPALJE.
>
> "Geo. Leonard, Esq'r.
> Parr, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia."

In this letter a power of attorney was inclosed [*sic*], so worded as to admit of the disposal of mother and child to different purchasers if Mr. Leonard deemed it advisable. Inhuman as appears to us the separation of mother and child, instances in which it occurred were not uncommon.[140]

The term "be disposed of at advantage" means to be sold off for the highest possible profit. A respected man, and founder of the Masonic Lodge in Saint John, New Brunswick, George Leonard held numerous public offices including treasurer and chamberlain of the city of Saint John, and military posts such as that of lieutenant colonel for the King's County militia and later as the quartermaster of the New Brunswick Militia. He, along with Chief Justice Ludlow, Judge Allen, Jonathan Odell, Ward Chipman, Jonathan Bliss, William Paine and John Coffin, sat on the commission responsible for developing and managing schools for the education of First Nations children in New Brunswick. In 1791 George Leonard was elected to the New Brunswick legislature.[141]

As a magistrate, George Leonard was involved in a number of notable cases where enslaved men and women were trying to gain their liberty, including the famous "Nancy" case of 1800 discussed in section 1 of this report. This was the landmark court proceeding where Ward Chipman and his allies confronted Leonard's old friend from the Revolutionary War days, Judge Joshua Upham, along with Judge Isaac

[140] W.O. Raymond, "The Negro in New Brunswick," *Neith* (1903): 27-33, online at the PANB website, accessed June 16, 2019, https://archives.gnb.ca/exhibits/forthavoc/html/Negro-in-NB.aspx?culture=en-CA - link1.
[141] James H. Starke, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts and the Other Side of the American Revolution* (Boston: W.B. Clarke, 1907), 333-34; Condon, "Leonard, George"; Hannay, *History of New Brunswick*, 206-8.

Allen, Jonathan and John Murray Bliss, and Daniel Ludlow on the issue of whether the woman should or should not be freed.[142] An agriculturalist with a broad vision for the future, George Leonard invested heavily in improving his estate at Sussex, some 40 miles east of Saint John. He died in 1826 at his estate, known locally as "Sussex Vale."[143]

George Leonard's son, Richard, who was listed as a King's student in 1790, went on to a successful military career. He was in Ireland in 1798, and in 1801 in Egypt, serving as an engineer at the siege of Alexandria. In 1803, he was stationed in New Brunswick. With the New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry, which was renamed the 104th Regiment of Foot in 1810, he rose to the rank of major. During the War of 1812, Richard Leonard was a Captain of the Grenadiers a. He would go on to serve throughout the conflict, settling in the Niagara District in his later years.[144]

Whatever his upbringing and his father's attitudes towards issues of race and slavery, Richard Leonard fought alongside men of African descent in the British army and possibly even had some under his own command in his European service, as he certainly did during the War of 1812 in Canada. Many British regiments had "Turkish" musicians, usually men of African ancestry dressed up in exotic clothing as members of the band. Often, too, they served as drummers in the field. However, they were trained and fought as regular soldiers.[145] It was into this unit that Black Refugees who had fought in an all-Black unit of militia in Virginia late in the War of 1812 were integrated after they were transported to New Brunswick.[146]

Richard Leonard commanded one of two flanking companies, the No. 9 Grenadiers, of the 104th Regiment. This regiment, which included soldiers of African descent, marched an astonishing 1,200 kilometres in winter, on snowshoes and dragging their equipment behind them on toboggans. They first reached Quebec City, and then went on to Kingston, Upper Canada, to reinforce the fort there. Richard Leonard's Grenadiers were the first to leave Fredericton, departing February 16, 1813. They arrived at Kingston, Upper Canada, on April 12, 1813. Lieutenant Andrew W. Playfair, who was an officer of the Grenadiers, remembered the march in an 1862 account, stating, with distinctly racist overtones:

> Our poor fellows with empty stomachs had hard work hauling the toboggans up the steep hills, although the load was light, the provisions being nearly finished, and all of us on short rations for several days, yet in the midst of our privations we had some hearty recreation. Some of the men would slide down the hills on the toboggans, and capsizes were of frequent occurrences. Our big black drummer straddled the big drum, which was lashed on a toboggan, to try the experiment of a slide but it jumped the track shooting him off at a high velocity and the sable African came up some distance from

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[142] Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery"; Bell, "Slavery and the Judges"; Whitfield, *North to Bondage,* 1-2; Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 108-9. The account of the proceedings is provided in the *St. John Royal Gazette, and New Brunswick Advertiser*, Feb. 12 and 18, 1800.

[143] Jonas Howe, "Early Attempts to Introduce the Cultivation of Hemp in Eastern British America," Paper read before the New Brunswick Historical Society (ca. 1892), 5, Jordan Special Collections: Canadian Pamphlet Collection, Queen's University Archives.

[144] Condon, "Leonard, George"; "Richard Leonard Land Grant, 1818," record # b3139315, RG 671, catalogue entry and finding aid, Archives & Special Collections, Brock University, accessed Jan. 12, 2019, https://dr.library.brocku.ca/handle/10464/13857; James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography, 1600-1889*, vol. 3, Grinnell-Lockwood (New York: D. Appleton & Co.): 691-92.

[145] Ernest Green, "Upper Canada's Black Defenders," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 27 (1931), 366-70, 268.

[146] Wayne E. Kelly, "Race and Segregation in the Upper Canada Militia," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 78, no. 316 (Winter 2000): 264-77, 266.

where he disappeared a *white man* from head to foot.[147]

Richard Leonard also served for a time as Acting Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.[148] He went on to fight at Sackett's Harbour, where he was wounded, and then at Stoney Creek and Lundy's Lane. Major Richard Leonard was personally honoured for guarding General Drummond's extreme right flank in the Battle of Lundy's Lane, and succeeded him in command after the General's death. He was badly wounded at the siege of Fort Erie.[149]

Richard Leonard, therefore, would have also fought and commanded African Canadian recruits in the battles in the Niagara region. There were Black Loyalists settled in the Niagara District. When the War of 1812 broke out, Richard Pierpoint, an African-born veteran of British forces in the American Revolution, proposed a Black battalion be struck in defence of the province. First of all, the African Canadian community was manifestly loyal to King and Crown because Upper Canada had been the first place in the entire British Empire to legislate against slavery, paving the way for what by 1830 would be called the "Underground Railroad." Secondly, the last thing that African Americans and African Canadians wanted was to see an American flag flying overhead; they feared re-enslavement in case of American victory.[150] Many men enlisted in white-dominated regiments, but there were also militia units commonly known as "Coloured Corps" established both at Halifax and at Niagara. The Niagara soldiers served with distinction throughout the War of 1812, defending Fort George, building Fort Mississauga, and fighting at Stoney Creek, Burlington Heights, Queenston Heights, and several other battles.[151]

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[147] The emphasis was added by the authors of this report. This quote is found in Andrew W. Playfair, letter to the editor of the *British Standard* dated Jan. 20, 1862, entitled "Comparison between the March of the 43rd Light Infantry in 1837 and That of the Late 104th Regiment in 1813, from New Brunswick to Quebec. Also: Remarks on the Best Winter Route for Troops from the British Isles to Canada, in the Depth of Winter," cited in W.O. Raymond Scrapbook, "The Hundred and Fourth Regiment and Its Famous Winter March during the War of 1812," an article first published in the *Woodstock [NB] Dispatch*, ca. 1895, and available online through the PANB website, accessed June 14, 2019, https://archives.gnb.ca/Exhibits/FortHavoc/html/Raymond82.aspx?culture=en-CA. See also Kelly, "Race and Segregation," 264-77. On page 266 of the article, he quoted Governor John Coape Sherbrooke on the Coloured Company of the Halifax Militia, who stated that they were "fine young men, equal in every respect to the White Militia, both in Discipline and Appearance [and] of their loyalty and steady attachment to the Parent State there can be no doubt." See also Green, "Upper Canada's Black Defenders," 267-68.

[148] See letter from Richard Leonard, Acting Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, to General Sir George Prevost, with the "Return of Killed, Wounded, Prisoners and Missing of the Troops Engaged at York . . . 27th of April," dated May 5, 1813, in *The Historical Register of the United States*, ed. Thomas H. Palmer, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: G. Palmer, 1814), 223-24.

[149] Ernest Green, "Some Graves on Lundy's Lane," *Niagara Historical Society Publication No. 22* (1911), online at the Niagara Historical Society and Museum website, accessed June 14, 2019, https://www.niagarahistorical.museum/media/NHS22.pdf.

[150] *An Act to Prevent the Further Introduction of Slaves and to Limit the Term of Contracts for Servitude within This Province,* was passed in 1793 by the Upper Canadian government under Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe. He gained the political capital to push this controversial piece of legislation through his Executive Council because of the sale of a woman named Chloe Cooley by her Queenston, Upper Canada, owner across the river into upstate New York. Her struggles as she was dragged to a small boat, bound and gagged, to be transported over the Niagara River were witnessed by Black Loyalist veteran Peter Martin, who reported the incident to Simcoe.

[151] According to Kelly, there were Black men enlisted in the following: The 5th Regiment; the New Brunswick Fencible Regiment; the Nova Scotia Fencible Regiment; the Canadian Fencible Regiment; the Glengarry Light Infantry; the Canadian Voltigeurs; and the York Rangers. Several also had volunteered for the 3rd York Militia, but were transferred to the Coloured Corps once it came into being. See Kelley, "Race and Segregation," 266; Winks, *Blacks in Canada,* 150. For a full account of Richard Pierpoint's remarkable life, see David Meyler and Peter Meyler, *A Stolen Life: Searching for Richard Pierpoint* (Toronto: Natural History/Natural Heritage Books, 1999).

Richard Leonard would carry a bullet in his hip from the Battle of Lundy's Lane until the day he died.[152] Leonard settled in Upper Canada after his regiment was disbanded in 1817. Granted 200 acres of land at the battlefield site of Lundy's Lane, he constructed a fine home six years after he married Frances Poole England (1796-1873), formerly of Detroit, Michigan, in 1814. The wedding had taken place at Adolphustown in the Niagara District. Frances and Richard Leonard had several children, at least two of whom died as small children and their burials at Drummond Hill cemetery are recorded there. Drummondville would become home to a number of African Canadian families and the first church constructed by people of African descent in this area was built there.[153]

Leonard does not appear to have held enslaved servants in the Niagara District. The only record of "servants" related to the Leonard family that has been discovered so far is the marriage of "John Tindle, bachr., and Mary Bowman, spinr. (both of Stamford- Major Leonard's servants)," on November 29, 1818.[154] Their ethnicity is not mentioned. At a meeting held at Chippewa in the Niagara District on June 22, 1821, Richard Leonard was listed as a trustee for the new Church of England to be constructed at Chippewa, with funds provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and promised by the Bishop of Quebec. As discussed in section 1 in this report and at considerable length in section 6, the SPG was funded in part by slaveholders amongst its donors and membership, and the organization also owned Codrington Plantation in Barbados where hundreds of people were enslaved.[155]

Richard was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 1st Lincoln Militia. In 1818, he was awarded a further land grant in recognition of his military service. The particulars of the grant are indicated in the finding aid for the document, now located in Brock University's Archives in St. Catharines, Ontario:

> A military land grant for Richard Leonard of Stamford Township, a Major of the 104th Regiment. The grant is for 200 acres in the Township of Sidney, County of Hastings, Midland District, and is dated September 25, 1818. A seal is attached to the grant. There are several signatures on the grant, but most are illegible. One appears to be J.B. Robinson, [Att. Genl.].[156]

As noted above, Major Richard Leonard became Sheriff of the Niagara District, serving with distinction through the difficult years leading up to the Upper Canadian Rebellion.[157] As such, he would again have had extensive dealings with the district's African Canadian community. A substantial minority in the local populace, these represented descendants of people formerly enslaved to French, then British colonizers in the district, as well as formerly enslaved African Americans who regularly made their way across the

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[152] Jerome Smith, MD, ed., *The Boston News-letter: And City Record*, vol. 2 (Boston: Abel Bowen, 1826), 146.
[153] Green, "Some Graves on Lundy's Lane," accessed June 21, 2020. Green is mistaken in Richard Leonard's birthplace.
[154] "Nathaniel Dett Memorial Chapel British Methodist Episcopal Church," Ontario Heritage Trust website, accessed Sept. 29, 2019, https://www.heritagetrust.on.ca/en/pages/our-stories/slavery-to-freedom/partners/nathaniel-dett-memorial-chapel-british-methodist-episcopal-church. "Weddings at Niagara," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 3 (Toronto, 1901): 7-73, reproduced on Bill Martin's Genealogy Website, accessed June 15, 2019, http://my.tbaytel.net/bmartin/niag-mar.htm.
[155] "Meeting Held at Chippewa, for Fixing the Plan of a Church," Town Record Book, Township of Willoughby, Chippawa, 7th March, 1796, transcribed on Bill Martin's Genealogy Website, accessed June 15, 2019, http://my.tbaytel.net/bmartin/niag-pen.htm.
[156] Richard Leonard Land Grant, 1818, Record # b3139315, RG 671, Archives and Special Collections, Brock University.
[157] His actions as sheriff are discussed in Murray, *Colonial Justice*, 45-48. Murray cites extensive correspondence between Richard Leonard and various crown officials.

Niagara River to Upper Canada's Niagara peninsula in search of freedom. Both Sir Peregrine Maitland and Sir John Colborne, successively Lieutenant Governors of the province of Upper Canada under whom Leonard served, were markedly sympathetic to the freedom-seekers' cause, and provided protection and assistance during their tenures.

With several members of his family, former King's College student Richard Leonard lies in the Drummond Hill Cemetery; his grave and its inscription considered of sufficient interest to be included on tourist maps: "In memory of Major Richard Leonard, formerly of H.M. 104th Lt. Infantry, who died Oct. 31, 1833."[158] His daughter Caroline married into the family of Samuel Peters Jarvis, who served as Provincial Secretary and later as Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Upper Canada. His Loyalist father William Jarvis was a magistrate at the Town of York (Toronto) and held six enslaved African Canadians, one of whom, Henry Lewis, wrote him a now-famous letter from upstate New York asking to purchase his own freedom. Jarvis served as Executor and principal heir to Richard Leonard's estate.[159]

Fig. 29 Richard Leonard built this home in 1820 known as "Drummond Hill Farm" on the site of the Lundy's Lane Battlefield. Photo #95793, Niagara Falls Public Library.[160]

The Leonard home on Drummond Hill was used as a military barracks in the 1837 Rebellion, and then served as the Drummondville Grammar School (figure 29). This is fitting, for Richard Leonard was named as a trustee of the Niagara District schools in 1824.[161] The Grammar School stood north of the NW corner of Drummond Road and Lundy's Lane, behind the school, later the Stamford Collegiate. In 1963 the Leonard House, as it was known, was demolished to allow for the expansion of the high school.

It is of note that Drummond Hill, or Drummondville, attracted an African Canadian settler population after the War of 1812. These included veterans of the war, joined by freedom-seekers who arrived from the United States in the era of the Underground Railroad. Many of these individuals are buried in the Drummondville Cemetery. The British Episcopal Church constructed by the local Black community, and the former church home of noted composer Nathaniel Dett, is now named the Nathaniel Dett Chapel and is a National Historic Site.[162] Drummondville will soon be renamed the "Wilma Morrison Drummondville Historic District," after a local historian who committed more than five decades of her life to preserving the African Heritage of Niagara Falls. Wilma Morrison, who was awarded the Order of Ontario in 2008 and an honorary

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[158] Janet Carnochan, "Inscriptions and Graves in the Niagara Peninsula," No. 19, *Niagara Historical Society Publications* (Niagara-on the Lake: Niagara Advance Print, 1928), 59.
[159] Henry Lewis letter to William Jarvis, 1798, William Jarvis Papers, Reference Code: S109 B55, 56-57, Special Collections, Archive & Digital Collections, Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library; Douglas Leighton and Robert J. Burns, "Jarvis, Samuel Peters," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed September 7, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/jarvis_samuel_peters_8E.html.
[160] We appreciate the permission given by the Niagara Falls Public Library to publish this photograph.
[161] George J. Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* [. . .], vol. 1 (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Printers, 1892), 1999.
[162] "Nathaniel Dett Memorial Chapel," in the Our Stories: Remembering Niagara's Proud Black History exhibit, Norval Johnson Heritage Centre, Niagara Falls, ON. Hosted online at Community Stories, Virtual Museum of Canada, accessed July 5, 2020, http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_stories/pm_v2.php?id=record_detail&fl=0&lg=English&ex=00000659.

doctorate by Brock University in 2010 was a dear personal friend of author Karolyn Smardz Frost, and fell victim to the Covid-19 epidemic in 2020.[163]

Joshua Upham (1775-1805?), son of Major Upham, Saint John, NB (Judge Joshua Upham)

Joshua Upham appears to be the son of a Major Upham on the 1790 table of the first students at King's College written in 1790.

The identity of the King's student named Joshua Upham is somewhat confusing. Judge Joshua Upham (1741-1808) was a well-known Massachusetts-born Loyalist and leading figure in New Brunswick history, particularly notorious for his role as a pro-slavery magistrate in the famous "Nancy" case that tested the legality of slavery in the colony in 1800.[164] Loyalist Judge Joshua Upham did indeed hold the rank of Major from his service in the Revolutionary War, and he did have a son named Joshua from his first marriage to Elizabeth Murray (1747-1782). Massachusetts records, however, indicate that Joshua Upham Jr. returned to Worchester, Massachusetts, and died in either 1805 or 1808.[165] Major Upham's brother, Jabez Upham, who settled at Woodstock, New Brunswick, also had a son of the same name and some genealogical sources conflate the two younger Joshua Uphams. However, the 1851 Census of New Brunswick for the Upham district of King's County lists Joshua, son of Jabez, aged sixty-seven, as having arrived in New Brunswick in 1795, too late to have attended King's in 1790.

For the purposes of this report, we are assuming that Major and later Judge Joshua Upham Sr. was the father of Joshua Upham Jr. by his first wife, Elizabeth, born at Brookfield, Massachusetts. He is listed as Joshua N(ichols) Upham in Lorenzo Sabine's volume on Loyalist biography, and moved to New Brunswick with his widowed father, Major Joshua Upham, his mother Elizabeth having died in 1782.[166] Major Joshua Upham had held enslaved African Americans before the Revolution and retained this status in Canada, so King's student Joshua Upham Jr. was brought up in a slaveholding household in both Massachusetts and then in New Brunswick.[167]

Joshua Upham Sr. had been born into a very wealthy family in Brookfield, Massachusetts in 1741. He was a graduate of Harvard University, having studied there with both Jonathan Bliss, the antislavery-minded future Chief Justice of New Brunswick, and Sampson Salter Blowers who went on to become

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[163] Ron Fanfair, "Wilma Morrison Was a Formidable Force" (May 1, 2020), RonFanfare website, accessed July 5, 2020, https://www.ronfanfair.com/home/2020/5/1/7pwgrqv5vqq3k1xwpqmf18d1v9p260.

[164] This is discussed in section 1 of this report, 47-49.

[165] The will of Judge Upham's father-in-law from his first marriage names Joshua Upham Jr., presumably the King's student, as his grandson. Will of John Murray, Saint John, New Brunswick, Jan. 14, 1794, proven Sept. 6, 1794, Ref. No. 8812, in "Wallace Hale's Early New Brunswick Probate, 1785-1835" index, PANB, abstract online, accessed Sept. 4, 2019, https://archives.gnb.ca/Search/MC3706/Details.aspx?culture=en-CA&abstract=8812&section=NameIndex. For Jabez Upham, see W.O. Raymond, "Progress of the Woodstock Settlement: Something About Jabez Upham and his Descendants, Capt. Joseph Cunliffe, etc.," PANB, accessed Sept. 1, 2019, https://archives.gnb.ca/Exhibits/FortHavoc/html/Raymond52.aspx?culture=en-CA.

[166] Ann Gorman Condon, "Upham, Joshua" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed September 5, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/upham_joshua_5E.html. For the death of Joshua Upham Jr. in 1805, see George Chandler, *The Chandler Family: The Descendants of William and Annis Chandler Who Settled in Roxbury, Mass., 1637* (Worcester, MA: Chas. Hamilton, 1883), 482-85.

[167] There are letters from Joshua Upham of Worcester, Massachusetts, to Major Upham of New Brunswick in the Harvard University Library Jabez Upham Collection. However, the finding aid gives the date of 1808 for the younger Upham's death. See "Upham, Joshua, 1741-1808. A.L.S. (Joshua Upham) to 'Major Upham'; Hampton Woods, 10 May 1805. 1805," Jabez Upham Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard College Library, accessed June 29, 2020, https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/24/archival_objects/557598.

first Attorney General, and then Chief Justice of Nova Scotia.[168] An attorney himself, Upham had sympathies for both sides in the Revolutionary War, but when required to swear the oath of allegiance to the new state of Massachusetts, he refused, and had his properties confiscated. Upham, with his wife Elizabeth and five small children, was left in a destitute state when they moved to New York in 1777, and he was forced to appeal to the British authorities for financial relief. Upham was made Deputy Inspector of Refugee Claims for Long Island and then raised a regiment of Associated Loyalists in the region, rising to the rank of major in the King's American Dragoons. Working closely with his old friend George Leonard (father of Richard Leonard, who also attended King's Academy in 1790), Major Upham distinguished himself in a skirmish with French forces at Lloyd's Neck on Long Island.[169]

Major Joshua Upham Sr. also served as aide-de-camp to British commander Sir Guy Carleton. Proscribed as a traitor, Upham went to Britain in 1783, but returned to North America when New Brunswick was created. He was appointed a Supreme Court judge and given a seat on the Executive Council. His finances much depleted by the war, Judge Upham settled on 1,000 acres near Fredericton. He remarried in 1792. His bride was Mary Chandler, daughter of Loyalist Joshua Chandler, of New Haven, Connecticut. Joshua Chandler was a slaveholder, and there survives in the collections of the New Haven Historical Society a bill for "Damon" whom Chandler had purchased from J. Ingersoll in 1764. Mary, had come to the marriage with "six or more slaves" according to the author of *The Blacks in Canada: A History,* Robin W. Winks.[170]

Upham's new brother-in-law was New Brunswick's Speaker of the House of Assembly, Amos Botsford.[171] Botsford's son, William Botsford, whose mother was Mary (Chandler) Upham's sister, had volunteered as council on behalf of the enslaved "Nancy" in the 1800 case over which Judge Upham presided, and in which he sided with the slaveholder. However, Botsford was also a slaveholder. He purchased an unnamed enslaved woman from Charles Dixon around 1794, according to Harvey Amani Whitfield's upcoming volume, *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes*, the manuscript for which he has generously shared with us for the purposes of this report.[172]

To further complicate matters, in 1792, Sarah Green Upham who was Joshua Nichols Upham's sister,

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[168] George E. Ellis, "Memoir of Charles Wentworth Upham," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 15 (Boston: Published by the Society, 1878): 182-220, 184.

[169] "Mr. Upham's Petition for Relief," AO 13: American Loyalists Claims, Series II, Piece 075: Temporary Assistance. G. I. J. M-W., Massachusetts, page 431. Joshua Upham's *very* substantial Loyalist claim regarding the Patriot confiscation of his property does not request compensation for lost "Negroes" so apparently, he was able to salvage his own servants despite the loss of all other goods.

[170] Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 108; "Afro-American Collection" in the library of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, manuscripts 119 (May 1980), 5. Typescript online at New Haven Museum website, accessed Sept. 2, 2019, https://www.newhavenmuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/MSS-119.pdf. The receipt is part of the Ingersoll Papers, Collection #68. Joshua Chandler who had been wealthy and well-respected as a member of the bar at New Haven before the war, sacrificed both property and family for his loyalty to the Crown. His wife died upon their arrival at Annapolis in 1783, and he lost both his life and those of a son and daughter when returning from England to settle his Loyalist claim. Their ship ran aground, at Musquash Point during a snowstorm. See Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College: With Annals of the College History* [. . .] (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1895), 108-10.

[171] Condon, "Upham, Joshua," accessed Jan. 1, 2019; Sharon M. Dubeau, *New Brunswick Loyalists: A Bicentennial Tribute* (Ontario: Generation Press, 1983), 147-48; Ellis, "Memoir of Charles Wentworth Upham," 185-86.

[172] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 100-105. For discussion and further references see sect. 1, p. 45. Also, Document No. 1085, cited in Whitfield, *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* (forthcoming). See also his important article, "The Struggle over Slavery in the Maritime Colonies," for further details on the "Nancy" case where Judge Upham sided with the slaveholder.

married attorney John Murray Bliss, who took the side of the slaveholder Caleb Jones in the celebrated 1800 freedom case in which Judge Upham had played so central a role. Her new husband was also her first cousin, his mother being a daughter of John Murray. His father Daniel Bliss (1739-1805) was the Loyalist son of fiery New Light minister the Reverend Daniel Bliss (1716-1764), who had been a slaveholder before the Revolutionary War in Concord, Massachusetts. Sarah (Upham) Bliss and John Murray Bliss's son, George Pigeon Bliss, would go on to attend King's College, at Windsor, Nova Scotia.[173]

Joshua Nichols Upham who was enrolled at King's in 1790 had therefore been brought up in a household where the profits gained from the unwaged labour of enslaved "servants" contributed substantially to the family's prosperity. What was more, his father consistently took the side of the slaveholder in cases where an enslaved person's right to liberty was in dispute. Judge Upham's role as a judge in the famous "Nancy" case needs no reiteration here except to confirm that he ruled on the side of Caleb Jones, the slaveholder, on the grounds that slavery was, in fact, legal in New Brunswick.[174] Harvey Amani Whitfield cites an earlier case of *Gunter vs. Dixon*, where Judge Upham also favoured the rights of a slaveholder. The issue centred around whether or not an enslaved man named Joe, whom Dixon had purchased and who subsequently fled his service, could retain his freedom. Joe was at the time living as a wage-earning employee of Abraham Gunter, who had taken Joe to Nova Scotia with him. According to Whitfield: "The issue for Upham was not whether Joe was a slave, but whether Gunter had stolen the property of Dixon." Judge Upham ruled that George Dixon had the right to retrieve and re-enslave Joe.[175]

A tale survives regarding one of Judge Upham's own enslaved servants. Luke Hamilton often accompanied Judge Upham as he made the circuit of his district. In September 1798, Luke was accused of murdering a woman by the name of Alice West. She had been picking berries, and he was believed to have encountered her while he was travelling on horseback to Judge Upham's residence at Hammond

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[173] Phillip Buckner, "Bliss, John Murray," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, 2020, accessed July 5, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bliss_john_murray_6E.html. The story of Reverend Daniel Bliss's enslaved "servants" is told in some detail in Elise Lemire, *Black Walden: Slavery and Its Aftermath in Concord, Massachusetts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), Chapter 3. The sentiments towards slavery held by John Murray Bliss's father Daniel are unclear; to him is attributed the earliest anti-slavery epitaph found on a Massachusetts gravestone, that of the enslaved man Jack whose will he administered. It is found in the Hill Burying Ground at Concord and reads: "God wills us free: man wills us slaves. I will as God wills; God's will be done. Here lies the body of John Jack, a native of Africa, who died March, 1773, aged about 60 years. Though born in a land of slavery he was born free. Though he lived in a land of liberty, he lived a slave, till by his honest (though stolen) labours he acquired the cause of slavery which gave him his freedom, though not long before Death — the grand tyrant — gave him his final emancipation and put him on a footing with kings. Though a slave to vice he practised those virtues without which kings are but slaves." Smith, in his important "The Slave in Canada," 103n1 adds: "John Jack, a slave to Benjamin Barron, of Concord, must have saved one hundred and twenty pounds, which was the price of his freedom."

[174] Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery," 137-85; on pages 140-52 Jack includes transcriptions of the letters between Ward Chipman and Salter Sampson Blowers in this matter. An appendix to the article includes the entire legal brief. See Jack, 155-85.

[175] G. Dixon v. A. Gunter, 1798, RS 42, Supreme Court Original Jurisdiction Records, PANB, cited in Whitfield, *Slave Lives Matter*, n.p. Used with kind permission of the author. See also "Supreme Court Case 'Nancy,' New Brunswick, 1800," Document 62, in Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, 114. Whitfield describes the case in reference to Document No. 572, in his *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* (forthcoming). It is of note that Judge Upham's grandson, son of his daughter Susan Green Upham, was George Pidgeon Bliss, who also attended King's College, matriculating in 1815. His father was John Murray Bliss, who had also taken the slaveholder's side in the "Nancy" case.

River. The case came before Judge Isaac Allen. Luke was convicted on the evidence that the prints left by his horseshoes matched those on the river bank near where the girl was found. Luke was executed.[176]

Joshua Nichols Upham who had attended King's College, Nova Scotia studied for the bar and moved back to the United States, settling in Massachusetts. He married Mary Field, daughter of Robert Field of Enfield, in the same state. Joshua N. Upham predeceased his father, dying on July 11, 1805 at Greenwich, Massachusetts. His obituary appeared in the *St. John Gazette* of August 26, 1805.[177]

Judge Joshua Upham died in London, England, in 1806. He was there to argue the right of New Brunswick superior court judges to the same income as those of Upper and Lower Canada. He was 66. There is no specific mention of enslaved individuals in Judge Upham's will; he left to his "wife Mary all real and personal estate" designated for the education of the children of his most recent marriage. No inventory apparently was done, so the fate of those enslaved African Americans he brought with him to New Brunswick is unknown. Joshua Nichols Upham, who attended King's College in 1790, a son by the judge's first marriage, was not mentioned in the will, although, as noted above, he was named in the will of his maternal grandfather, John Murray. In fact, no bequests were designated for Upham's children by his first and second wives.[178]

Sadly, nothing has been discovered regarding what became of the people enslaved by the Uphams after Judge Joshua Upham passed away. Nor is there information about son Joshua Upham Jr.'s status as a slaveholder in the period subsequent to his father's demise. In fact, little detail regarding the biography of the younger Joshua Upham has come to light in the course of this research, so further investigations of original documents in New Brunswick and perhaps communication with the surviving descendants of Judge Upham may well turn up more information.

Conclusion

The individuals profiled here represent a small sample taken from the 1790 table of the first students at King's Academy and King's College sent by Bishop Charles Inglis to Lord Grenville. It is clear that both slaveholding and profiting from the West India trade significantly to the support of the Loyalist families who were able to send their sons to this new Church of England educational institution. This had also often been the case before the Revolutionary War, while those same families had resided in the Thirteen Colonies. We very much wish that more data could have been discovered, collected, analyzed and interpreted to help identify and outline the biographies of the enslaved African peoples claimed by those same Loyalist families.

In the introduction to this section of the report, we describe the complicated pathways that must be taken to uncover information about the individual lives of those enslaved in Britain's Maritime colonies. The fact that white Loyalists who sent their sons to King's addressed their enslaved "servants" only by

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[176] Lawrence, *Footprints,* 58. The tale of Luke also appears in Dorothy Dearborne, *The Gallows of New Brunswick* (St. John, NB: Neptune, 1999), 22.
[177] F.K. Upham, *The Descendants of John Upham of Massachusetts* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1892), 15.
[178] Will of the Hon. Joshua Upham, Sept. 12, 1806, proven March 24, 1809, in Wallace Hale's Early New Brunswick Probate, 1785-1835, PANB, accessed Jan. 15, 2019, https://archives.gnb.ca/Search/MC3706/Details.aspx?culture=en-CA&abstract=9433&section= NameIndex. Joshua Upham Jr. was also mentioned in the will of his maternal grandfather, John Murray, dated Jan. 1, 1793 and proven Sept. 6, 1794, but no bequests of slaves are mentioned. Accessed Jan. 15, 2019, https://archives.gnb.ca/Search/MC3706/Details.aspx?culture=en-CA&abstract=8812&section=NameIndex.

their first names, the lack of firsthand documentation on the part of enslaved men, women and children who experienced human bondage in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the elusive quality of clues to their own experiences of slavery as it was practised in this part of what today is Canada, do contribute fascinating interpretive fragments. But it has proven all but impossible based on sources accessible to us in the course of this research to develop a more comprehensive narrative regarding people of African descent enslaved by students, faculty, members of the clergy and other white Loyalists associated with King's Academy and King's College

In every case we have worked to tease out biographical details regarding the African Nova Scotians and African New Brunswickers enslaved by the families of the King's students profiled here. While some information has been recovered, the result is far from what we set out to accomplish in our work on "King's and Slavery: A Scholarly Inquiry." However, as noted earlier, it is most often in records created by white slaveholders that one must look for information about those they enslaved. We hope that these profiles of the first King's students and of their families, with a particular focus on the period of the American Revolution when they were most likely to have lost, sold or acquired enslaved people of African descent, will offer future researchers an opportunity to seek out the elusive Black voices at each stage of their lives. Thus, the biographies of King's first students, as outlined in the preceding pages, may offer a means for further investigation of the experiences, and the ultimate fate, of the people whose service they and their families claimed.

Gaining access to private collections of documents and other materials is an essential step in furthering our investigations into the lives and experiences of African Nova Scotians and African New Brunswickers. This is particularly true of those whose service was claimed by the Anglican Loyalists who sent their sons to King's, or were otherwise associated with the institution. This must be a major priority for future expansion of this highly significant program of research, as is a thorough investigation of extant sources in repositories located in Canada, the US, Britain and the West Indies.

The next section of this report consists of two much more lengthy essays. These demonstrate the level of information that can be found regarding the connections between the first students at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, and slavery, through communication with descendants and also through more extensive archival research than has been possible in the cases above.

Section 4. The First Students: Sample Essays – Benjamin de St. Croix and Robert C. Barclay

Fig. 30 King's College, Windsor. Photo courtesy University of King's College Archives.

This section of the report is intended to demonstrate the level of detail that can be discovered regarding direct connections between the institution of slavery and individuals associated with King's College, Nova Scotia.

The 1790 list of students prepared by, William Cochran, President of King's Academy and the nascent King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia, (see sect. 3, table 4, pp. 83-84) named students enrolled in each of the two sections of King's, gave the names of their fathers and location of their families' residences, and specified their courses of study. Two of those students, one in the Greek and Latin School and the second in the English School, were Benjamin de St. Croix and Robert C. Barclay. Following are two essays outlining the lives of these men and their connections with slavery.

Throughout our study, we have discussed the difficulty inherent in attempting to construct a coherent narrative regarding the biographies and experiences of individual enslaved African Nova Scotians. Personal accounts by enslaved African Nova Scotians are extremely rare, surviving only in legal petitions for freedom and other such accounts, transcribed by sympathetic whites.[1] While an exploration of oral history preserved within the African Nova Scotian and African New Brunswick communities may one day shed further light on direct connections between King's College and slavery, a full research program in this important area remains to be undertaken.

[1] See for instance Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, Document 43: Petition of Zimri Armstrong about Re-enslavement (1785), 76-77 and Document 54: Petition of Isaac Willoughby, Former Slave, Nova Scotia (1834), 97-98. With thanks to Dr. Whitfield for bringing these two very rare documents to our attention. George Leonard, father of King's student Richard Leonard, was named in the former petition. See section 3 of this report.

The problem is exacerbated by the fact that a considerable amount of primary data in respect to slavery and slaveholding in Maritime Canada has either been destroyed over the years, or remains inaccessible in private collections located both within the province, and elsewhere. Because of the Covid-19 pandemic, coupled with limited funds, we have only been able to access collections in Nova Scotian repositories, and those digitally available online.

That said, we have been remarkably fortunate in our investigations into slaveholding on the part of the de St. Croix and Barclay families. In the first case, local historian Janetta N. Dexter included in her remarkable study of historic families in Annapolis County the stories of two men formerly enslaved by the de St. Croix family. Tracing their African Nova Scotian descendants has led to some real discoveries in the field of African Nova Scotian history. In respect to the Barclays, direct descendant Dr. Rebecca Barclay has shared a wealth of her own research into the family's history, a history that includes details regarding the enslavement of people of African descent over at least three generations.

We are grateful for the work of the Annapolis Valley Mapping Project. Their generosity in sharing the precious results of their own studies has been very much appreciated, and has contributed materially to the completion of our report. Academic historians all too often neglect to consult data compiled by community and family historians. As the essays in the following pages demonstrate, we would have missed data essential to our ongoing research into the direct connections between King's College and slavery had we done so here.

The two essays presented below are intended to provide guideposts for future scholars. By piecing together fragmentary evidence that exists in official and court records, archives, historical society collections and in the work of both family genealogists and local historians, a truly remarkable level of detail has been recovered. We are confident that even more information remains to be discovered, however, given sufficient time, and the ability to travel to distant archives.

Benjamin de St. Croix (1776-1848); Student before the Charter & Honorary DCL

Our study of Benjamin de St. Croix, an early student at King's, provides a rare insight into the later lives of two of the three enslaved people his parents had carried with them to Nova Scotia. As noted above, this is found in a remarkable resource compiled by local historian Janetta N. Dexter, who passed away at the age of 96 in 2017. Entitled "Pioneers of the Mountain," the undated typescript report fills three binders at the Nova Scotia Archives. It includes an impressive amount of data about African Nova Scotian families who lived on the North Mountain in Annapolis County in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Especially enlightening for our purposes here were her notes regarding the lives of two enslaved African American brothers with the surname "Tallow".

John and Newport Tallow were brought to Nova Scotia in the sailing vessel of Loyalists Joshua F. and Leah de St. Croix in 1783.[2] Their descendants can be traced through the early twentieth century in the area, living mainly in Inglewood which is a community located north of Bridgetown in Annapolis County. Newport Tallow's son, George Tallow, became a deacon at Granville Mountain Baptist Church. Not only is his family history of great interest in its own right, but he was almost certainly present when the African United Baptist Association (AUBA) was founded. This highly significant organization was established at a meeting by visionary clergyman the Reverend Richard Preston and twelve African Baptist Church ministers on September 1, 1854 at the Granville Mountain Church (also known as the

[2] Janetta M. Dexter, "Pioneers of the Mountain," vol. 1, typescript MSS, MG4 Vol. 293, #1-3, NSA.

North Mountain Church).[3] AUBA continues to serve African Nova Scotians to this day (see figure 31).

Fig. 31 Reverend Richard Preston, by Dr. J.B. Gilpin

ca. 1850 Nova Scotia Museum P149.29
The study presented here sheds light on the formation of the African United Baptist Association by the Reverend Richard Preston. Formerly enslaved in Virginia, he paid the price of his own manumission and moved to Nova Scotia in 1816.

Ordained in 1832, he founded many churches in Nova Scotia over the course of his long career. Reverend Preston was the founding minister at the former Cornwallis Street Baptist Church in Halifax, now New Horizon Church. Established in 1832, Reverend Preston pastored this landmark in African Nova Scotian church history until he passed away almost thirty years later.

The de St. Croix family of Granville, Nova Scotia, whose son Benjamin attended King's Academy in 1790, imported enslaved Africans from New York in 1782. Their descendants were active in the establishment of the Granville Mountain Baptist Church. It was in meetings held at this church that Reverend Preston and his associates laid the groundwork for the African United Baptist Association (AUBA) in 1854.

Iconic African Nova Scotian poet George Elliott Clarke immortalized AUBA's founding, speaking on this occasion in Reverend Preston's own voice:

> *XX -- Granville Mountain*
> after the glare and fire
> of sunrise water in a creek
> where speckle-spotted, ring-streaked,
> fat-fleshed kine shimmered in sacrifice;
> after this ritual and others,
> water-lily, flame-flowers, illuminating
> the Annapolis River:
> after ruminating of rocks and clefts,
> and speaking the prayer of exile
> and the lover's cry,
> guttural songs,
> i toiled up Granville Mountain
> guided by a secret, silent voice,
> and, burning in the sun,
> standing at a stone-summit,
> proclaimed the African United Baptist Association.[4]

[3] P.E. McKerrow, *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1895), 27; African Baptist Association of NS, *Minutes of the Fifth Session of the African Baptist Association, Held at Granville Mountain Church* (Halifax: W. Cunnabelle, 1858), in the Records of the African United Baptist Association, Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University, accessed Aug. 17, 2019, https://chipmanscorner.acadiau.ca/islandora/object/special%3A583.

[4] George Elliott Clarke, *Saltwater Spirituals and Deeper Blues* (Porter's Lake, NS: Pottersfield Press, 1983), 8. This

Benjamin de St. Croix was one of the first seventeen students enrolled at King's Academy. He studied in the Greek and Latin School, with classes in Latin Grammar, Grecian History, and Arithmetic. Benjamin's parents were Joshua Temple de St. Croix (ca. 1734-1804) and Leah (Gallaudet) de St. Croix (ca. 1736-1811). Both descended from Huguenot refugee families who had emigrated to New York. As historian Harvey Amani Whitfield notes, given their history of persecution in France, it is odd that so many Huguenots, including the de St. Croix and DeLancey families who sought refuge first in the Thirteen Colonies and then in Nova Scotia, were committed slaveholders. The DeLanceys also sent sons to King's College.[5]

Leah (Gallaudet) de St. Croix was the daughter of Pierre Elisee Gallaudet (1690-1788), a surgeon and prominent resident of New Rochelle, New York, and his second wife, Magdalaine Gendron (1714-?). The Gallaudet family had arrived in the Thirteen Colonies as early as 1711, settling on Staten Island. Leah was born there in 1769, before her family moved to New Rochelle.[6]

Dissenting Protestants forced to leave France due to religious persecution, many Huguenot families established homes at New Rochelle, north and east of Manhattan in 1688. More joined them over the years in what would remains for decades a largely French-speaking community. Enslaved African Caribbean people imported from Haiti made up a portion of the population. Slavery was both a status symbol and a source of wealth for Huguenot families in British North America, a substantial proportion of whom joined the Church of England over the years. According to the *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* "Huguenots purchased enough slaves to make New Rochelle 18.9 percent black [*sic*] by 1698 and they held those slaves past 1800."[7] Whether Leah's parents owned enslaved people has not been ascertained, but her brother, Thomas Gallaudet (1724-1772), advertised a "likely Negro boy" for sale in the *New York Gazette* of April 21, 1766, along with the rest of his Manhattan property.[8]

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evocative poem is reproduced here through the generosity of poet, George Elliott Clarke, who gave permission to quote "Granville Mountain" via email on Sept. 7, 2019.

[5] With thanks for this important observation to Harvey Amani Whitfield, via email, April 23, 2020. For the DeLanceys as slaveholding Loyalists, see Whitfield, *North to Bondage,* 25, 50, 68, 82, 102. James DeLancey initiated one of the most notorious court cases relating to slavery in Nova Scotian history, *DeLancey vs. Woodlin*, in 1803. See also Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges," 98-104.

[6] Charles Washington Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America,* vol. 1 (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1885), 301-2.

[7] Randall M. Miller and John D. Smith, eds., *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery* (New York: Greenwood Publishing, 1997), 347. For the Huguenot conversion to the Church of England at New Rochelle, see Paul Wheeler Carlo, "Playing Fast and Loose with the Canon and Rubrick': French Angicanism at New Rochelle, New York," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 44 (2002): 35-50. Indeed, the first missionary sent to New York to educate and catechise enslaved Africans was Huguenot Elias Neau (1662-1722). A member of Trinity Church from 1714 on, he operated his school in the church building, despite several of his pupils being implicated in the 1712 slave revolt in New York City. See Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan* (NY: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2007); Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 55-63.

[8] "Thomas Gallaudet," in the "New York Slave Records Index" online, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY, accessed Aug. 24, 2019, https://nyslavery.commons.gc.cuny.edu/; George A. Thompson, "New-York Slavery Notes," (n.d.), accessed Aug. 24, 2019, typescript online at https://nyslavery.commons.gc.cuny.edu/wpcontent/blogs.dir/3171/files/2019/06/Thompson_Notes_Combined.pdf. Thomas Gallaudet lived at "Fresh Water" which was the pond in Southern Manhattan between Canal and Chambers Streets, east of Broadway. A collateral descendant of Leah's family was Thomas H. Gallaudet (1785-1851) who co-founded the American School for the Deaf. Interestingly, he played a role in the abolitionist movement in the United States when he became interested in the story of the kidnapped African prince,

Benjamin's father's family, the de St. Croix, were also French Huguenots. After the Edict of Nantes, they had first found refuge on the Island of Jersey. The branch from which Benjamin descended migrated to Britain's American colonies sometime before 1734, when son Joshua was born in New York state.[9] Joshua Temple DeBerry de St. Croix became a well-to-do merchant, and a ship captain trading out of Newport, Rhode Island.[10] He married Leah Gallaudet in 1759 at New York, and in 1766 the couple joined his wife's family in New Rochelle.[11] Many Huguenots supported the British cause during the Revolutionary War, and Joshua was a captain in a Loyalist regiment. His two eldest sons, Thomas and Joshua Jr., also served. Joshua and his wife lost their property due their loyalty to the Crown; Joshua was convicted under a writ of attainder and banishment, a means for confiscating the lands of Loyalists during and after the Revolutionary War. The writ was dated July 15, 1798.[12]

In 1783, Joshua and Leah, along with their children, son-in-law Caleb Fowler and daughter Marie (or Mary) (de St. Croix) Fowler, left for Nova Scotia and settled near Bridgetown. According to Dexter, Joshua de St. Croix "sailed for Nova Scotia in one of his own vessels, with his family and slaves." Together, these Loyalists and the people they enslaved were amongst the 399 individuals listed in the first Muster Roll taken at Granville in June 1784 (see table 8). Some slaveholders there had imported as many as six enslaved "servants" with them. As discussed earlier in this report, the fact that enslaved people and free white servants were both listed as "servants" in most accounts of the era, greatly confuses attempts to identify those of African descent in contemporary records.[13] The Muster Roll

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Abdulrahman Ibrahim Ibn Sori. Known as "Sori," he spent more than four decades enslaved in the United States. President John Quincy Adams himself intervened to free Sori and return him to Africa. In 1828, Gallaudet famously wrote up his astonishing life story in a pamphlet entitled *A Statement with Regard to the Moorish Prince, Abduhl Rahhahman,* a publication intended to raise the funds to purchase Sori's enslaved children, and which contributed significantly to the rise of American antislavery thought. Thomas H. Gallaudet*, A Statement with Regard to the Moorish Prince, Abduhl Rahhahman* (New York: D. Fanshaw, 1828), electronic edition at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina, accessed Aug. 19, 2019, https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/gallaudet/gallaudet.html.

[9] "Deed of Daniel Bonnet to Cornelius Tienhoven 1722, 14 acres of land in New Rochelle bounded Northerly by Docteur Gallaudet, Westerly to Alexander Allaire, Southerly and Easterly to Boston Road etc.," New Rochelle Land Records cited in Jean Taylor Kimball Wilson, "Account of the Gallaudet Family," (1953), accessed Aug. 19, 2019, online at http://gallaudetfamily.com/files/gallaudet%20book.pdf. This genealogical data should be checked against the records of New Rochelle, New York. For the Huguenots at New Rochelle, see Baird, *Huguenot Emigration*, 211, 292-3, 301-2.

[10] In the Hudson River Valley and Dutchess County, New York, Manuscript Collection donated by Theodore D. Roosevelt Collection to the FDR Presidential Library is a receipt for goods sold by Joshua de St. Croix at Newport, Rhode Island, to Archibald George, May 16, 1770. See Document #31, Calendar of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Historical Autographs and Manuscript Collection, finding aid, FDR Library online, accessed Aug 29, 2019, http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/archives/pdfs/findingaids/findingaid_roos_histmanuscripts.pdf. Also, there is a document in the Aaron Lopez Papers, outlining activities of one of the largest slave-trading enterprises in Rhode Island, and naming "Captain Joshua de St. Croix" of New York. See Aaron Lopez Collection, Series I: Shipping Records, undated, 1752-1794, Box 11, Folder 19, finding aid online, accessed Aug. 20, 2019, https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/3/archival_objects/89142. Most of these records deal with shipping between the West Indies and Rhode Island, including the importation of enslaved people. The collection is preserved in the American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History, in New York City.

[11] A.W. Savary, *Supplement to the History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 67.

[12] Edwin Burritt Smith and Ernest Hitchcock, Reports of Cases Adjudged and Determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature and Court for the Trial of Impeachments and Corrections of Errors of the State of New York, vol. 1 (Newark, NY: Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Co., 1883), 266ff; "Joshua Temple de St. Croix," in Dexter, "Pioneers of the Mountain," vol. 1, n.p.

[13] See sect. 1, p. 14.

included Joshua de St. Croix, with a household of seven, three of whom were "servants." Joshua de St. Croix Jr. and Thomas de St. Croix were also named.[14] The younger Joshua and his brother Thomas were granted land in the Township of Wilmot, Annapolis County.[15]

Table 8 Muster Roll of Loyalists settled in Annapolis County taken June 1784. Last line – J(oshua) T(emple) de St. Croix, "settled in Granville"; his wife, one child under ten, one child over ten, and three servants. Ward Chipman Papers, Library and Archives Canada.[16]

The de St. Croix Family in the Annapolis Valley

The de St. Croix family's youngest son, Benjamin who would go on to attend King's. had been born in the future United States, just as the American Revolution was getting underway. After the war, Benjamin's parents made a home with their younger children on a large property near Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, in 1783.[17] They settled at Mount Pleasant Farm, on Ruffee Hill west of Bridgetown. They clearly had considerable means at their disposal, and purchased the land from earlier settlers by the name of Pineo. The acreage had originally been part of the Acadian settlement of the Gaudet family, who settled in 1640 at was subsequently known as Gaudet Village.[18]

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[14] Elizabeth Ruggles Coward, *Bridgetown, Nova Scotia: Its History to 1900* (Kentville, NS: Kentville Publishing Co., 1955), 30-31, and 33, also cited in Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 34, and 148n120. Dexter erroneously states that there were four servants accompanying the de St. Croix family. However, the "Muster Roll of Disbanded Officers, Discharged and Disbanded Soldiers and Loyalists taken in the County of Annapolis betwist the 18th and 24th of June 1784," Ward Chipman Papers, MG 23 D1, Series 1, reel 9818, LAC, shows only three servants above the age of ten years in the de St. Croix household. The three servants would have been John, Newport and Bess. Online in the LAC "Loyalists in the Maritimes: Ward Chipman Muster Master Office, 1777-1785" database, item "J.T. de St. Croix," item no. 670, accessed August 5, 2019, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/loyalists/loyalists-ward-chipman/pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=670&.

[15] See "De St. Croix, Joshua and Others – 1784 – Annapolis County," online in the "Nova Scotia Land Papers, 1765-1800" database, NSA, accessed Sept. 16, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/land-papers/archives/?ID=268&Doc=draft&Page=201101098.

[16] "Muster Roll of Disbanded Officers, Discharged and Disbanded Soldiers and Loyalists taken in the County of Annapolis betwist the 18th and 24th of June 1784," (see sect. 4, p. 136, n. 14).

[17] New York (State). Supreme Court, William Johnson, ed., *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Judicature of the State of New York*, vol. 1, From January Term 1799, to January Term 1803 (Banks, Gould and Co., 1848), 266-73. There does not appear to have been a Loyalist claim in either the name of Joshua de St. Croix, or that of Caleb Fowler, his son-in-law who also settled near Bridgetown, but further research may turn up documentation in this regard.

[18] William Inglis Morse, *Old Tombstones of Acadie* (London: A. Smith & Co., 1929), 14-15, cited in "Old Tombstones

The farm consisted of some 1,500 acres running from the Bay of Fundy as far as the Annapolis River. The modern St. Croix Cove echoes the family's surname. There was apparently an existing log house on the property, and it was said to have been both comfortable and spacious. Benjamin de St. Croix grew up being waited on by enslaved servants. They included two men named Newport Tallow (perhaps named after de St. Croix's father's sometime place of business, Newport, Rhode Island?), his brother John Tallow, and a woman whose name is recorded only as "Bess."[19]

Fig. 32 The home near Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, where the de St. Croix family settled in 1784. Elizabeth Ruggles Coward, *Bridgetown, Nova Scotia: Its History to 1900* (1955).[20]

Joshua de St. Croix was appointed to a number of local offices and was a pillar of the local Church of England. Indeed, Bishop Charles Inglis was a regular visitor to the de St. Croix home during his travels in the province, starting with his first Visitation to his Nova Scotian and New Brunswick episcopal See. On July 25, 1788, Inglis "called on general Ruggles [*sic*], Major Barclay and Capt. Joshua Temple de St. Croix, friends of happier days in New York." All were slaveholders, and Bishop Inglis seems to have been perfectly comfortable being waited upon by enslaved "servants" in the Ruggles, Barclay and the de St. Croix households.[21]

Joshua and Leah de St. Croix also hosted the Duke of Kent, on at least one occasion, and it was perhaps this visit that inspired the duke to send young Benjamin off to King's Academy in Windsor. According to community historian Elizabeth Ruggles Coward, Benjamin's education would in fact be sponsored at King's College by the duke, the future Queen Victoria's father:

> Captain De St. Croix's two eldest sons died unmarried, and his youngest son, Benjamin, was given an education at King's College by the Duke of Kent and became a surgeon in the Army. He had a position in Prince Edward Island where he married and where some

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of Acadie," Acadian and French-Canadian Ancestral Home website, accessed Aug. 19, 2019, http://acadian-home.org/frames.html. With thanks to Lois Jenkins of the Annapolis County Historical Society for her help in locating this reference.

[19] W.A. Calnek, Francis F.W. Archbold, and A.W. Savary, *History of the County of Annapolis: Including Old Port Royal and Acadia* (Toronto, W. Briggs, 1897), 236, 282.

[20] Coward, *Bridgetown, Nova Scotia*, facing page 32.

[21] Coward, 33.

of his descendants still live. The Captain's son, Peter, inherited the bulk of the estate.[22]

Benjamin de St. Croix entered King's Academy sometime before the 1790 list of students made by President William Cochran, shown in table 4 (section 3, pp. 83-84). He was fourteen in 1790, and had clearly had some earlier education, for King's required previous training in the Classics to enter the Greek and Latin school. His first teacher was Bishop Inglis' nephew, the Reverend Archibald Paine Inglis. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, Reverend Inglis was the first principal of the King's Academy, leaving his post in May or June, 1790. He served until William Cochran could be hired away from his job as head of the Halifax Grammar School to become principal to both King's Academy and the new King's College at Windsor.[23]

In the Weldon Collection of Loyalist china held at King's College are pieces of tableware once belonging to this family (see figures 33 and 34).[24] The enslaved Bess would almost certainly have handled these pieces while undertaking her domestic duties for Leah and Joshua De St. Crox and their children.

The Tallow Brothers and their Descendants in Nova Scotia

Interestingly, information regarding John Tallow, who had been forcibly migrated to Nova Scotia with his brother Newport by the de St. Croix family, is recorded in the hand of Reverend Archibald Paine Inglis. After his time at King's, Inglis became the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) missionary to the Granville area. He first ministered to the community in a church that had originally been built for the Congregationalists amongst the "old settlers," as the Loyalists called pre-Revolutionary War era immigrants from the British Isles as well as New England Planters, who came at the invitation of Governor Charles Lawrence between 1759 and about 1768.[25] A new Church of England would be consecrated at Granville Centre by Bishop Charles Inglis in 1791.[26]

Listed in the marriage book for the Anglican church at Granville Centre, about eight kilometres east of Annapolis, is the 1795 marriage of John Tallow. His legal status at the time was not mentioned, although that of his bride was listed as being enslaved. This suggests Tallow may already have been informally manumitted and was working for wages, most likely for the de St. Croix family since he and his immediate descendants remained in the area. On March 26, 1795, this entry appeared: "John Tallow and Hanna Roberts, slave to the heirs of Caleb Fowler, both Negroes, were joyned in holy Matrimony with the consent of Joshua de St. Croix executor to Mr. Fowler, the banns being published as the Rubrick directs."[27] The wedding ceremony between Hannah Roberts and John Tallow was conducted by

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[22] Coward, 33.

[23] Hind, *University of King's College*, 19-20; Harris, *Charles Inglis*, 113.

[24] Marie Elwood, "'Specimens of China Brought to the Colonies' and 'Household Wares of Colonial Times': The Weldon and Trumball-Prime Collections," *Material History Bulletin* 10 (Spring 1980): 97-107, 102-3.

[25] Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, "Bishop Charles Inglis and his Descendants," *Acadiensis* 8 (July 1908): 183-202, 202.

[26] Reverend Thomas Wood, a SPG missionary who arrived in 1753, was responsible for organizing this building for his congregation. Reverend Wood continued his labours in the Annapolis region until his death in 1778. After that, the minister at Annapolis was responsible for both churches until Reverend Archibald Paine Inglis was assigned to Granville. Charles William Vernon, *Bicentenary Sketches and Early Days of the Church in Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Halifax Chronicle Printing Co., 1910), 148, 234. See also Rev. Canon Vroom, "The Founding of the Academy and King's College at Windsor," in Vernon, *Bicentenary Sketches,* 121-30.

[27] Register of Baptisms and Marriages for the three districts of the Township of Granville from June the first 1790 [to 1800], Arch. Paine Inglis, Missionary to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, MG 4 vol. no. 185g, NSA; online at FamilySearch, "Nova Scotia Church Records, 1720-2001" database, images therein at Annapolis > Granville Centre > Church of England in Canada All Saints > Baptisms, marriages, burials 1779-1933 > image 1 of 301;

Reverend Archibald Paine Inglis, and it was to his meticulous record-keeping that we owe the notations regarding enslaved individuals in the Granville area who received the offices of the Church of England during Inglis's tenure.[28]

The owner of Hannah Roberts had been the late Caleb Fowler (1752-1793), who had married Joshua's daughter Marie de St. Croix (1762-1833) in 1781. Fowler was a Loyalist originally from North Castle, Westchester, New York. He had been a captain in the Queen's Loyal American Company during the Revolutionary War. Caleb Fowler was therefore Benjamin de St. Croix's uncle by marriage. Fowler and his wife had imported to Nova Scotia one servant above age ten, likely the enslaved woman named Hannah who went on to marry John Tallow in 1795. Caleb Fowler and Marie had six children, of whom five survived their father. Fowler named his father-in-law Joshua as one of the executors of his estate. The younger man died in 1793, aged forty-one, two years before the enslaved Hannah's marriage to John Tallow.[29]

Fig. 33 de St. Croix family tea caddy

Brought from New Rochelle, NY
Weldon Collection Catalogue No. W24
King's College, Nova Scotia

Date: c.1760
Country of origin: China
Measurements: 11.2 cm wide; 5.7 cm diameter

Tea caddy and lid, porcelain painted in famille rose enamels. Ovoid body with short neck, foot applied scroll work at base: lid is low, domed with in-fitting flange—the finial is missing. Painted around sides with design of tree-peony and other flowers; traces of gilding.

Provenance/use: "This tea-caddy was used by the St. Croix family when the Duke of Kent had the command in Halifax."

Catholic Church and Church of England parishes, Nova Scotia, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-8BCK-TXY?cc=1925428&wc=M6PF-9WR%3A219773801%2C219773802%2C219773803%2C21977380, May 21, 2014; this is also reproduced in Vroom, "Founding of the Academy," 78. However, Vroom mistakenly states that the marriage date was March 26, 1774. See also Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 75, and his forthcoming *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* (see sect. 3, p. 90, n. 25). The story of Hannah is listed as No. 446, page 103 of the manuscript.

[28] "Memoirs of Bishop Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to Mr. Cumberland," Halifax, May 5, 1790, reprinted in Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 21-22. See also Hind, *University of King's College,* 8, and Eaton, "Bishop Charles Inglis," 183-202, 202.

[29] "Muster Roll of Disbanded Officers, Discharged and Disbanded Soldiers and Loyalists taken in the County of Annapolis betwist the 18th and 24th of June 1784," Ward Chipman Papers, MG 23 D1, Series 1, reel 9818, LAC. His name is mistakenly spelled "Failer" in Savary, *Supplement to the History of the County of Annapolis*, 109.

Fig. 34 de St. Croix family tea caddy, covered milk jug and spoon bay

Brought from New Rochelle, NY
Weldon Collection Catalogue No. W24
King's College, Nova Scotia

Date: c.1775
Country of origin: China
Porcelain painted in enamel colours and black and gold.

a., b. Tea caddy and cover, ovoid in shape with short tapering beck, and a high spreading foot encircled by scroll work in applied relief; the inside of the foot glazed with domed spreading cover having a simple knob finial. Painted with scene of boy with falcon and woman in purple robe in garden.

c., d. Milk jug with lid, porcelain, painted in enamel colours and black (en suite), pear shaped with a rather small mouth; v-shaped spout and loop handle; low foot, low domed spreading cover with simple knob finial.

e. Spoon bay of oval, lobed shape with flat unglazed base.

Card/label: "China for many years in the St. Croix family when the Duke of Kent was in Annapolis."

Hannah (Roberts) Tallow, bequeathed to Mary (Marie) Fowler, Caleb's widow, already had a child named Diana. She was born after the family's arrival in Nova Scotia and thus did not appear in the 1784 muster roll for the district. There is no mention of Diana's paternity in documents consulted so far. Captain Fowler's will, dated 1793, said that the "Negro Wench Hannah and her Child Diana shall remain in my Family if they are disposed of before my son Caleb is Eighteen years old . . . and in case the said Hannah does not behave herself well after my decease, I order her to be sold at the discretion of Executors." Diana was to stay with her mother until the age of ten. After that she was to go with whichever of Caleb and Mary Fowler's two daughters was willing to give up a reasonable share of her inheritance to acquire the child. (These were Leah and Anna Fowler). However, either Hannah or her child, or both, could also be sold under the terms of the will, the monies so raised becoming part of the overall estate. Evidently Hannah remained in the family, but what may have become of young Diana is a topic for further research.[30]

On January 26, 1796, Benjamin's father Joshua de St. Croix gave permission for his still-enslaved manservant, Newport, to be baptized in the Church of England. Newport Tallow was listed in church records as an adult man when he received the sacrament of baptism.[31]

Neither John nor Newport Tallow were mentioned in the will when Joshua de St. Croix died in 1804, so both brothers must have been living as free people by that time. He did provide for Bess, his "faithfull servant [*sic*]," giving her the opportunity of manumission, "should [she] choose to have her freedom" (figure 35). If that were the case, Benjamin de St. Croix and his brothers were required to pay Bess £10

[30] Caleb Fowler, to whose estate Hannah Roberts belonged, died in 1793 at Granville, in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. See Will of Caleb Fowler, 1793, Annapolis County, RG 48, Probate Records, NSA.; Granville Township Book, also cited in Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes,* 141 and Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 75. Both Caleb and Marie (de St. Croix) Fowler are buried at Bridgetown, Nova Scotia.
[31] Register of Baptisms and Marriages for the three districts of the Township of Granville (see sect. 4, p. 138, n. 27).

per year for life.[32] No records have been found to show what became of Bess after that point, or whether or not the younger members of the de St. Croix family honoured their father's wishes in the matter.

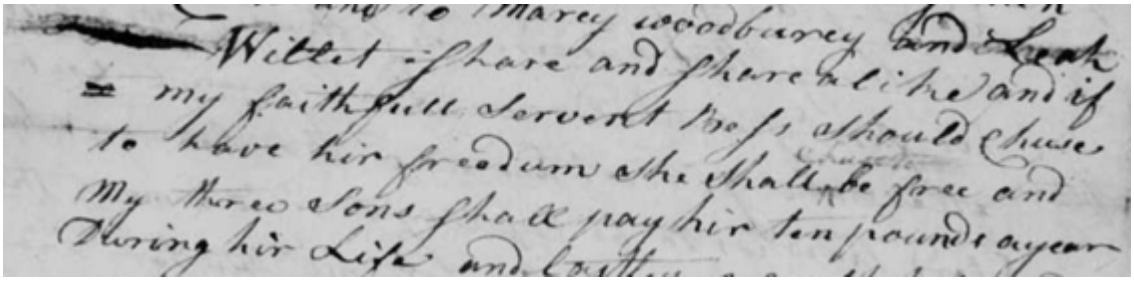

Fig. 35 Excerpt from the Will of Joshua T. de St. Croix, 1804: "and if my faithful Servant Bess should choose to have her freedom . . ."[33]

Benjamin and Margaret (DesBrisay) de St. Croix: Colonial Slavery in Prince Edward Island

Benjamin de St. Croix moved to Prince Edward Island, where he married and lived for the rest of his life, so this study opens the door to exploring the history of colonial slavery there. However, Benjamin de St. Croix seems to have been living at the family home near Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, when his father died. After leaving King's College, Nova Scotia, Benjamin de St. Croix apprenticed in Halifax with another Loyalist, Dr. John Haliburton who was Surgeon in the Naval Hospital and Physician to the Naval Dockyard, and then trained in England as a surgeon, obtaining a diploma from the British Royal College of Surgeons in 1801.[34] It may have been Dr. Haliburton's influence that set the path for his future career serving the military, for Dr. Benjamin de St. Croix then moved to Prince Edward Island where he served as a hospital mate to the military staff. His posting was under the direct command of the Lieutenant Governor of the Island, Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres (1721-1824). Benjamin de St. Croix married Margaret DesBrisay (1781-1870) in 1805 and their only daughter, Margaret Leah de St. Croix was born in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia, later that same year. The couple moved back to Prince Edward Island to rejoin Margaret's family and so that Benjamin could resume his career as a military physician.[35]

Dr. Benjamin de St. Croix was commissioned as surgeon general and a medical superintendent of the PEI militia on November 1, 1812.[36] By the end of the War of 1812, in 1814, he had been appointed to the position of Surgeon to the Royal Kent Corps of Horse and Foot Artillery.[37]

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[32] Whitfield, *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* (forthcoming).

[33] Will of Joshua F. de St. Croix, Annapolis County, RG 48, Probate Records, NSA, Nova Scotia Probate Records, Annapolis County, Estate Files 1763-1860, no. D1-D60; online at FamilySearch, "Nova Scotia Probate Records, 1760-1993" database with images, accessed Aug. 12, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-89ZY-P9ZW-Z?i=103&wc=SN1P-GPF%3A1411409702%2C1412877401&cc=2134302.

[34] Allen Everette Marble, *Surgeons, Smallpox, and the Poor: A History of Medicine and Social Conditions in Nova Scotia, 1749-1799* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 310n14; Gordon MacKay Haliburton, "Surgeon in the Naval Hospital and Physician to the Naval Dockyard," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 16, (2013): 190-212.

[35] Donald W. Lowe, "The Descendants of Dr. Benjamin de St. Croix and Margaret DesBrisay," Gallaudet Family History website, accessed Aug. 26, 2019, http://gallaudetfamily.com/files/DSC.pdf.

[36] Lowe, "Descendants"; D.A. MacKinnon and A.B. Warburton, eds., *Past and Present of Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown: B.F. Bowen & Co., ca. 1906), 145.

[37] Mary Brehaut, ed., *Pioneers on the Island*, pamphlet (Charlottetown: Historical Society of Prince Edward Island, n.d. ca. 1955), cited in Robert A. Gordon, "An Outline History of Freemasonry in Prince Edward Island since 1758,"

Both sides of Margaret (DesBrisay) de St. Croix's family had been slaveholders, and probably continued to be so during at least the early part of her marriage. Margaret had been born at Campbelltown, Kintyre, Scotland, in 1762. Margaret's mother was Margaret (Stewart) DesBrisay (1762-1851).[38] Her maternal grandfather was Peter Stewart (1725-1805), Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island. His brother had been responsible for the settlement of some of the Scottish Highlanders on the Island, and Peter Stewart himself had received the appointment as Chief Justice through his brother's influence. The Stewarts arrived with at least nine children in tow in the winter months of 1775.[39] The legal status and ethnicity of the four servants the Stewarts brought with them is not known; however the Stewarts did acquire the enslaved Peter, a man of African ancestry, once they were living on the Island.[40]

The father of Benjamin de St. Croix's wife, Margaret, was the Reverend Theophilus DesBrisay (1735-1819). Her grandfather on her father's side was Thomas DesBrisay (ca. 1733-1819), also of Huguenot ancestry. DesBrisay served in the Royal Irish Artillery, and was commissioned Lieutenant Governor of what was then St. John's Island on July 31, 1769. (This was an English translation of the French "Ile St. Jean" and was so named until 1798, when it was dubbed Prince Edward Island in honor of the Duke of Kent. He was the fourth son of King George III, and is the same man who had sponsored Benjamin de St. Croix's education at King's College, Nova Scotia).[41]

Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, Reverend Theophilus DesBrisay had been the Church of England chaplain to the garrison there, and was appointed the first rector of Charlottetown in 1774, taking up his post in 1777. His family lived on the north shore at Cove Head, and he held services in Charlottetown homes as well as in a tavern before the building of a proper church, a practice that won the disapprobation of Bishop Charles Inglis, although he considered the minister himself a decent, sensible young man." St. Paul's Church was completed in 1801, after which the DesBrisays moved to Charlottetown.[42]

While her own parents did not apparently hold people in bondage, as the SPG missionary Margaret's father had slaveholders amongst his congregants. He also baptized enslaved individuals, including the Virginia-born Amelia Byers and her three children by her husband "Black Jack." Considered the first Black couple in PEI, the service of the Byers family was claimed by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Robinson, a Virginian Loyalist who had lived in the Carolinas. Because of the Revolution he settled his family first in eastern Florida, then Jamaica and later New Brunswick before coming to reside in Prince Edward Island. The Byers baptism took place in 1795. The Robinson and DesBrisay families were related by marriage,

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in *The Papers of the Canadian Masonic Research Association,* vol. 2, paper no. 55, accessed Aug. 19, 2019, http://www.franc-maconnerie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/THE-PAPERS-OF-THE-CMRA-55.doc.

[38] Robert Critchlow Tuck, "DesBrisay, Theophilus," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed Aug. 24, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/desbrisay_theophilus_6E.html.

[39] J. M. Bumsted, "Steward, Peter," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed Aug. 24, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/stewart_peter_5E.html. The Stewarts had lost almost all their personal effects when their ship ran aground off the coast of Prince Edward Island.

[40] Hornby, *Black Islanders*, 2.

[41] F. L. Pigot, "DesBrisay, Thomas," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed Aug. 24, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/desbrisay_thomas_5E.html. Thomas DesBrisay did not take up his governorship for a period of some ten years, and arrived under something of a cloud, being accused of mortgaging the lands he had been granted and then selling worthless deeds to unsuspecting immigrants.

[42] Harris, *Charles Inglis,* 165. The Charles Inglis quotation is cited in Tuck, "DesBrisay, Theophilus," accessed Oct. 26, 2019.

and Colonel Robinson's was the only known slaveholding on the island sufficiently large that his enslaved "servants" lived in "quarters" separate from the family home. There were four cabins located on a corner of his property, housing enslaved workers, including the Byers and a long-time family "servant" named Sancho and Elizabeth (Smallwood) Campbell who were attached to the household. Sancho who had accompanied Mrs. Robinson on her peregrinations during the Revolutionary War lived to be over 100 years old.[43]

There is no sign that Benjamin and Margaret de St. Croix held enslaved servants after their marriage. However, they certainly lived in a society with slaves. Slavery had previously existed under the French on Prince Edward Island and continued under British rule. British colonial slavery in Prince Edward Island, unlike the situation in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, was almost exclusively the preserve of government officials and the well-to-do. More a status symbol than a source of labour, the usual slaveholding was between one and five people in size.[44]

Prince Edward Islanders generally practised "family slavery" with relatively small numbers of enslaved persons in the homes of those who claimed their service. (This was common in New England and the Middle Colonies, as discussed at length in sections 1 and 2 of this report). As former Assistant Provincial Archivist for Prince Edward Island H.T. Holman pointed out in a 1982 article, this could hardly be considered a "benign" form of bondage, as historian Robin W. Winks suggested it to have been in his sweeping study, *The Blacks in Canada: A History,* first published in 1971. Enslaved people living in close proximity with whites were under constant scrutiny and on call twenty-four hours a day. Also, slavery was always accompanied by the threat of physical violence, and more often than not, that threat became reality. Women were coerced into sexual liaisons with white owners, husbands and wives were forcibly separated by sale, and children were sold away from their parents.[45] There were little children recorded in Prince Edward Island slave sales, just as they were everywhere else in the Americas, with no mention made of their parents. Perhaps the most potent threat of all, the enslaved could be sold away to the eastern seaboard of the United States, or to the Caribbean, yet another casualty of the West Indian trade in which Britain's Maritime colonies participated at great profit.[46]

Harvey Amani Whitfield and Barry Cahill in their important article, "Slave Life and Slave Law in Colonial

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[43] Hornby, *Black Islanders*, 34-35; Smith, "Slave in Canada," 69. See also Amelia Byers, Baptismal Record, St. Paul's Church of England, Public Archives and Records Office of Prince Edward Island (PAROPEI), cited in Whitfield and Cahill, "Slave Life and Slave Law in Colonial Prince Edward Island, 1769-1825," *Acadiensis* 38, 2009: 29-51, 35n21. For Sancho and the Byers, see Stephen Davidson, "God Bless You Please, Mrs. Robinson," *Loyalist Trails UELAC Newsletter* (July 25, 2008), accessed July 19, 2021, http://www.uelac.org/Loyalist-Trails/2008/Loyalist-Trails-2008.php?issue=200828.

[44] Although Jim Hornsby in his introduction to PEI's African Canadian history suggests that there was no enslavement of Africans under the French Regime on Ile St. Jean, as it was known, this has been disproven. The baptisma of enslaved Africans were recorded in Registres des Baptemes, Mariages et Sepultures de la Paroisse de Saint-Pierre-du-Nord, dans l'Ile Saint-Jean, Serie GG, Cultes (Nos. 225-257), Archives Departementales d'lIIe-et-Vilaine, Rennes, France (NAC, MG 6, A4, Microfilm Reels F-817 and C-2970). This is the modern town of St. Peters on the north shore of Prince Edward Island. See Earl Lockerby, "Discovering Local History through Church Records of Saint-Pierre-du-Nord (1724-1758)," *Petite Souvenance* 17 (2003): 19-26; W. Earle Lockerby, "Black Heritage," letter to the editor, *The Island Magazine* 33 (Spring/Summer 1993), 2. Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 64; H.T. Holman, "Slaves and Servants on Prince Edward Island: The Case of Jupiter Wise," *Acadiensis* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1982): 100-104.

[45] As noted earlier, Piersen coined the term in his seminal volume, *Black Yankees*; also Melish, *Gradual Emancipation*, 27-31. For Nova Scotia, see Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 72-80, which also deals with such mistreatment in some detail.

[46] Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 44-45; Holman, "Slaves and Servants," 100.

Prince Edward Island, 1769-1825," ask, "why did the Maritime colony with the smallest number of slaves and slaveholders pass the only law relating to black [*sic*] slavery?" In fact, PEI was the only one of Britain's Maritime Colonies that had a specific law legalizing human bondage.[47] Legislation confirming the status of enslaved African people on the Island was passed in 1781: "An Act, declaring that Baptism of slaves shall not exempt them from bondage." The piece of legislation was probably authored by Chief Justice Peter Stewart, Margaret (DesBrisay) de St. Croix's maternal grandfather, and possibly in concert with Lieutenant Governor Thomas DesBrisay. The latter was both Margaret's grandfather, and ex-officio president of the Council in its legislative capacity."

The law addressed a conundrum: could Christians hold other Christians as slaves? While this was a thorny issue that had been raised again and again, in North America, property rights usually won out over the rectitude of slaveholding in such cases, just as they did in Prince Edward Island. However, as Whitfield and Cahill point out, it was this issue that ultimately brought an end to slavery in Scotland. The matter is discussed in detail in the venerable, but still cogent, article by Upper Canadian Justice William Renwick Riddell in "The Baptism of Slaves in Prince Edward Island," published in 1921.[48] The law regarding slavery was repealed by the Prince Edward Island legislature in 1825.[49] According to Robin W. Winks:

> the act of 1781 was repealed in 1825 and, since the original had sanctioned slavery, the new act added that slavery, being at variance with the laws of England, "should be forthwith repealed, and Slavery for ever hereafter abolished in this Colony." A desire to be in harmony with English law had produced British North America's most forthright nullification of slavery.[50]

However, as Whitfield shows, there were still enslaved people in Prince Edward Island in 1828. He cites the register of enslaved people owned by the Ormsby family, some of whom resided in Monserrat and the rest in Prince Edward Island.[51]

Margaret and Benjamin de St. Croix were high society in Prince Edward Island. As regimental surgeon, Dr. de St. Croix held a series of public and military offices, and became a well-respected resident of Charlottetown; he was, for instance, a long-time member of the public school board. Benjamin was also an early member of the local Masonic Lodge, St, John's, and was made Worshipful Master in 1811.[52]

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[47] *An Act, declaring that Baptism of SLAVES shall not exempt them from BONDAGE*, Statutes of Prince Edward Island, 1781, c. 15, PAROPEI cited in Whitfield and Cahill, "Slave Life and Slave Law in Colonial Prince Edward Island, 1769-1825," 29.

[48] Whitfield and Cahill, "Slave Life and Slave Law," 43; William Renwick Riddell, "The Baptism of Slaves in Prince Edward Island," *Journal of Negro History* 6, no. 3 (July 1921): 307-9. See also Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The Struggle to End Slavery in the Maritime Colonies," *Acadiensis* 41, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2012): 17-44, 38-9; D.G. Bell, J. Barry Cahill, and Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery and Slave Law in the Maritimes," in Walker, *African Canadian Legal Odyssey*, 395-402.

[49] Whitfield and Cahill, "Slave Life and Slave Law," 29. The legislation is reproduced in Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes,* Document No. 69, 125.

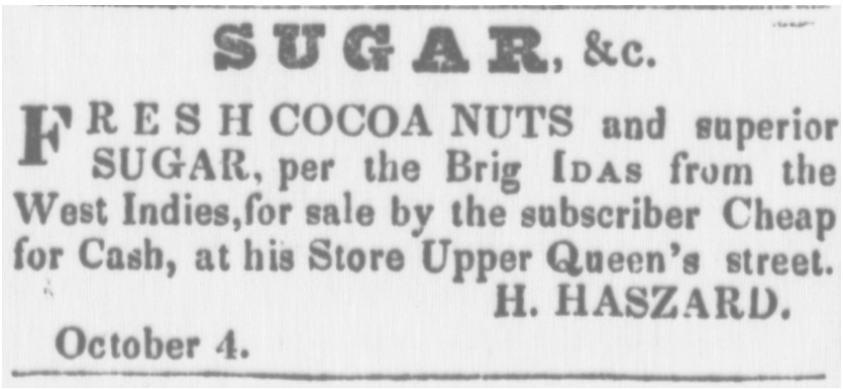
[50] Robin W. Winks, "Negroes in the Maritimes: An Introductory Survey," *Dalhousie Review*, 48 (1968–69): 467–69, 462.

[51] Declaration of Matthew William Blake, Dec. 13, 1828, Monserrat Slave Register, Kew T_71_450, 285, British National Archives quoted in Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes,* Document. No. 75, 133.

[52] As noted in section 2 of this report, up until the time of the American Revolution, one had to be a freeborn man, and not enslaved, to join the Masons. However an African Lodge was founded by Revolutionary War Black soldier Prince Hall. African Lodge 459 was chartered by the Grand Lodge of England, and was established at Boston on

Benjamin also served as a medical officer for the island's colonial government. As a port city, Charlottetown was particularly susceptible when cholera was spreading throughout North America, and Dr. de St. Croix was appointed a medical officer of health to protect Islanders against the danger. He reported to the government that cholera was not present on the Island, as his letter in the August 19, 1834, issue of the *Royal Gazette* published at Charlottetown, confirmed. By the time the 1836 Prince Edward Island Directory was issued, Dr. de St. Croix was also a Justice of the Peace for Queen's County, Prince Edward Island; a Justice for the Trial of Petty Assaults and Batteries; a Commissioner for the Punishment of Small Offenders; and of course, the Assistant Staff Surgeon in Charge of the Sick for the Detachment of Rifle Brigade, Charlottetown Garrison. [53]

As noted earlier, Margaret and Benjamin de St. Croix had one daughter, Margaret Leah de St. Croix (1805–1878). She was born at her father's family home in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. Brought up amongst the Prince Edward Island elite, as a child she was surrounded by people who either held enslaved 'servants' themselves or who traded in slave-produced goods with the West Indies (see figure 36). In 1826, she became the wife of John Brecken (1800-1847). Son of a Loyalist family who had first settled at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, his family brought no enslaved people with them to PEI.[54] John Brecken lost his wealthy father at an early age. He was a banker and businessman, and also had a long career in politics. He and Margaret had three sons, one of whom was Frederick de St. Croix Brecken, an attorney and businessman who followed in his father's political footsteps.[55]


SUGAR, &c.

FRESH COCOA NUTS and superior SUGAR, per the Brig IDAS from the West Indies, for sale by the subscriber Cheap for Cash, at his Store Upper Queen's street.

H. HASZARD.

October 4.

Fig. 36 Advertisement for "Sugar, &c." *Morning News and Semi-Weekly Advertiser* (Prince Edward Island), November 6, 1844, p. 4.

As for Benjamin de St. Croix himself, he went on to become an honorary degree recipient at King's College in 1827; Dr. Benjamin de St. Croix received a DCL (Doctor of Civil Laws) degree in that year.[56]

September 24, 1784. See Peter P. Hinks and Stephen Kantrowitz, eds., *All Men Free and Brethren: Essays on the History of African American Freemasonry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013). With thanks to historian Bonnie Huskins of the University of New Brunswick for references and helpful commentary in this regard. For Benjamin's activities as a Mason, see Freemasons, Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia*, Proceedings* [. . .] *of the Grand Lodge of the Most Ancient and Honorable Order of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, Wm. McNabb, 1888), 505; Gordon, "Outline History of Freemasonry."

[53] He is listed as such in *The Prince Edward Island Calendar for the Year of our Lord 1836* [. . .] (Charlottetown: J.D. Hazard, 1836), unpaginated, accessed Aug. 12, 2019, https://archive.org/details/princeedwardisla00unse/page/n43.

[54] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 67.

[55] H. T. Holman, "Brecken, John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed Aug. 28, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brecken_john_7E.html.

[56] Holman, "Brecken, John."

When this former King's College student died twenty-one years later, his obituary in the local paper read:

> The *Islander*, September 15, 1848, p. 3
>
> Died, on Sunday morning, the 10th inst., at half-past two o'clock, in the 73rd year of his age, universally esteemed and regretted, BENJAMIN DE SAINT CROIX, ESQ., M.D., and D.C.L., formerly Assistant Sergeon [*sic*] of the 24th Regt., and for a period of nearly Forty years attached to the Medical Staff of this island. He endured the brief but painful illness which terminated his life with christian [*sic*] patience and resignation to the Divine Will.

The widowed Margaret (DesBrisay) de St. Croix, followed him to the grave in 1811. Both are buried in the Old Protestant Burying Ground in downtown Charlottetown (figure 37).

Fig. 37 Gravestone of Dr. Benjamin de St. Croix
Old Protestant Burying Ground, Charlottetown.
Photo by Linda Crump[57]

The Tallows/Tylers of Granville Mountain and the Founding of the African United Baptist Association

Fortunately for the purposes of this report, and most unusually, the history of at least some of the people once enslaved to Benjamin De. St. Croix's parents, Joshua and Leah de St. Croix, is, in part, preserved. This is largely thanks to the work of the late local historian Janetta M. Dexter of Hampton, Annapolis County. There survives an intriguing amount of information regarding both John Tallow and Newport Tallow, the first of whom married Hannah Roberts in 1795, and the second of whom had been baptized as an adult by Reverend Archibald Paine Inglis on January 26, 1796. Indeed, given sufficient time, one could trace their descendants to the present day. Some of the grandchildren of the Tallow brothers took the name "Tyler" sometime between the recording of the 1871 and 1881 Canadian

[57] Linda Crump, kind permission to use the image received via email, Aug. 24, 2019.

census, and so appear in records for Inglewood, in Annapolis County, and elsewhere.[58]

The Tallow brothers and their families, as well as Lewis Fowler who had likely once belonged to Caleb Fowler and his wife Marie (Benjamin de St. Croix's older sister), were, over several generations, residents of Black farming settlements on Granville and Hampton Mountains. These were located to the west and south of St. Croix Cove.

Some of the African Nova Scotian families there were descended from formerly enslaved people and others from Black Loyalists who had settled in the area. According to Dexter, the Tallows "lived on an old road which went from the Mitchell fiels [*sic*] to the old Chute Road and on to the old Phinney Mountain Road. Old cellars are all that remain to show that people once lived there. There is said to be a Negro graveyard at Phinney Cove, location not now known." The families at the "Granville Mountain Settlement" to the west and south of Young's Cove, farmed, mainly subsistence agriculture along with crops of potatoes for market. Many of them later moved to Inglewood.[59]

The history of land ownership at both Phinney's Cove and at Granville Mountain is described in "Mapannapolis: Mapping Our Stories, Discovering Ourselves," a recently developed, web-based Annapolis Community Mapping Project, by the Centre for Geographic Sciences at Lawrencetown, Nova Scotia. The section of the website on "Phinneys Cove/Hampton" reads as follows:

> The earliest black settlement at Phinney Cove/ Hampton can be traced to early purchases of portions of Lots #123, 124, 125, 127, and 128 in Granville Township. Black Loyalists Dempsey and Venus Slaughter and George and Nancy Black bought parts of Lot #128 in 1785 from Solomon and Lucy Farnsworth. And in 1794 John Tallow (Tyler) purchased 150 acres, part of Lot #123 from John and Mary Chute for £10. John Tallow and another black man, Lewis Fowler, were the recently freed slaves of prominent Loyalist families, the De St. Croix's and the Fowlers. Alexander and Dinah Scarborough were other early residents. Beginning in the 1850s, many of the community's people moved to Lynn, Massachusetts and surrounding towns in search of work. Remnants of the community survived until the first half of the 20th century.[60]

In a recent environmental review related to a wind farm development, archaeologists Dr. Stephen Davis and his team also provided the following information regarding the formerly enslaved man named Newport and the Tallow family's connection to the area:

> The Tallows reportedly lived in the area to the west of Hampton Mountain Road, 'near what is commonly called the 'Mitchell Field,' and were descendants of a man who had been a slave to Joshua T. De St. Crox named Newport Tallow. Some of the family is said to have been buried in the Mitchell Field.' Unfortunately the exact location of the

[58] Dexter, "Pioneers on the Mountain," vol. 1, 1-2.
[59] Dexter, "Pioneers of the Mountain, vol. 1, and Davis, McIntire & Associates, *Hampton Mountain Wind Power Project, Bridgetown, Nova Scotia: Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment*, Appendix 1 (Oct. 2010), 8, accessed Aug, 28, 2019, https://novascotia.ca/nse/ea/hampton.mountain.wind.power/Hampton_Mountain%20EA_Appdx_I_to_IV.pdf.
[60] Permission to use the text and image had been kindly granted by the Annapolis Community Mapping Project. Heather LeBlanc, Project Manager, permission received via email, Aug. 28, 2019. This remarkable project won the 2017 Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Community Programming. It is online at Mapannapolis website, accessed Aug. 25, 2019, http://mapannapolis.ca/black-loyalists/.

Mitchell Field is unclear.[61]

Newport Tallow, formerly enslaved by Dr. Benjamin de St. Croix's father and mother, was himself probably buried in Mitchell's Field. This site, now lost, might well be located through a land registry search for the property belonging to the African Nova Scotian Mitchell family. There was a Samuel Mitchell of Granville Parish who married the widowed Rose Thurber of the same place in 1821, according to the records of St. Luke's Anglican Church, in Annapolis Royal.[62]

Fig. 38 Counties of Annapolis and Queens, Nova Scotia (Roe Brothers Philadelphia: Worley & Bracher, 1878). St. Croix Bay is shown, top centre right, Phinney's Cove and Young's Cove lie to the west of St. Croix Bay.

No record has been found so far for the death of George Tallow who had been deacon at the African United Baptist Association (AUBA) church on Granville Mountain. His widow, whose name was Hannah, moved to Massachusetts in 1878, taking children George, aged 12, and Fanny who was 18 with her. She left behind at least one son, Watson Tallow, who had been born at Annapolis in 1844 and who married Hannah Carvie (Carvery?) of Preston on October 13, 1865. Watson's mother, the widowed Mrs. Tallow, was listed as having been born in 1818 and was aged 60 at the time of her removal from Nova Scotia. The reason she left Nova Scotia was presumably to join family and to find better educational and employment opportunities for her children than were available in rural Nova Scotia. There was a general exodus of Nova Scotians, both white and Black, in these years, with the emigrants seeking employment in the mills and factories of New England. The Tallows travelled on the schooner the *SS Forest*. Several other members of the Tallow family moved to Massachusetts in these years as well.[63]

[61] Davis, McIntire & Associates, *Hampton Mountain Wind Power*, 9.
[62] Dexter, "Pioneers on the Mountain," vol. 1, 3.
[63] FamilySearch, "Massachusetts, Index to Boston Passenger Lists, 1848-1891," database with images, https://www.familysearch.org/, Nov. 8, 2016. Corresponds with the US National Archives and Records

Although further information about Newport and John Tallow's later lives remains to be discovered, there were several families of that surname who lived in the area and at Annapolis, including either a son or possibly a grandson born in 1835. According to the 1881 Census for Annapolis County, his name was Henry Tallow and he farmed near Granville Ferry in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. In 1881, he was 46 years-of-age, of African ancestry and a Baptist in religion. Henry Tallow and his wife Sally (aged 44) had three children and further research as well as contacting living descendants may well reveal more of the family history. Henry Tallow was listed in "Muster Roll of the "Coloured" Members of #2 Company of the Annapolis Militia dated 13 February 1872" as being forty-five years of age and a John Tallow, perhaps his brother, aged forty-eight, appeared in the same document.[64]

NORTH MOUNTAIN, ANNAPOLIS 1853

In the year of 1853 Rev. Preston organized and worked with the people in the Western section of the Province. During this year his plan of an African Baptist Association was promoted. In the Western area, as in the Halifax area, his plan was greeted with enthusiasm and as he worked with the people in the west arrangements were made to have the first sessions meet in this area. North Mountain, also known as Granville Mountain, holds the honor of entertaining the first sessions of this Association. During his visit of 1853 Rev. Preston left the following officers in charge: Deacon Charles Jackson, Elders George Tallow and Daniel Brown. J. Kimbers was appointed the first trustee. The years following found this community suffering through the migration of its people to the United States. Those who remained united with the church at Granville Ferry, some also went to Inglewood and in 1874 united with the church there. The church at North Mountain thereafter became extinct.

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Fig. 39 Description of the African United Baptist Association's establishment in 1854, with mention of Elder George Tallow. Pearleen Oliver, *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1782-1953*

The settlements of which the Tallow families were founders played a seminal role in the development of the African Baptist Church in Nova Scotia. Newport's grandson, George Tallow, was an Elder. Reverend Richard Preston (ca. 1790-1861), who inspired the establishment of a number of churches serving the African Nova Scotian community, helped set up the North Mountain Baptist Church at Granville Mountain in 1853. "During his visit of 1853, Rev. Preston left the following officers in charge: Deacon Charles Jackson, Elders George Tallow and Daniel Brown." In 1854, Preston called a meeting of a dozen ministers of the African Baptist Church at the church on Granville Mountain, which led to the creation of the African United Baptist Association.[65]

A second such meeting was held at the Granville Mountain Church on September 6-8, 1858. Delegates included George "Taller", or Tallow, who was the formerly enslaved Newport Tallow's son. The congregation consisted of thirty-two people that year. George Taller was listed as a deacon of the Granville Mountain Church in the *Minutes of the Fifth Session of the African Baptist Association, Held at Granville*

Administration (NARA) publication M265: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Boston, Massachusetts, 1820-1891. For the Tallow-Carvery marriage, see "Marriages Solemnized in the County of Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1864-1870," 32-33, NSA, available online at FamilySearch, "Canada Marriages, 1661-1949" database with images, https://www.familysearch.org/, June 14, 2016. Index based upon data collected by the Genealogical Society of Utah, Salt Lake City. For emigration to New England from the Canadian Maritimes, see Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Press, 2006), 116-18; Alan A. Brookes, "Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860–1900: Some Preliminary Considerations," *Acadiensis* (Spring 1976): 8-29.

[64] Transcription online at "Muster Roll of 'Coloured' Members," Annapolis Heritage Society website, accessed Sept. 10, 2019, http://annapolisheritagesociety.com/genealogy/miscellaneous-documents/muster-roll-coloured-members/.

[65] Frank S. Boyd Jr., "Preston, Richard," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed Aug. 27, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/preston_richard_8E.html.

Mountain Church . . . published in 1858.[66] The church at Granville Mountain lost membership in succeeding years "though the migration of its people to the United States," and ultimately the congregation joined the African Baptist Church at Granville Ferry.[67]

In 1861, Tallow were listed in the Census of Canada as living at Arlington East: George Tallow, aged 50-60; his wife, aged 40-50; three males 20-30; one man and one woman aged 15-20; two girls, 10-15; one little boy aged 5-10; and one little girl, 2. There was also a man named John Tallow of similar age nearby along with his family and Dexter suggests this may have been George's brother. She wrote:

> George Tallow moved to Inglewood, where he was one of the first Elders of the Inglewood Baptist Church. A John Tallow also bought one of the first lots when Inglewood was settled. In 1871, the census showed a John Tallow there aged 33; his wife Mary, age 30; Amanda, 11; William H., 9; Emma, 8; George, 6; Elijah, 3; and John Jr., 2. . . . The family seems to have changed the name to Tyler between 1871 and 1881. The records of St. James Anglican [Church] stated that a John Tallow married on Jan. 7, 1841, Elizabeth Dalton, both of Annapolis Township . . . The 1881 Census gave, apparently at Inglewood, John Tyler, age 40; Canadian Methodist religion; African; farmer; wife, Mary, 36; [son] George, 16; Elijah, 13; John, 14; Sarah, 12; Emma, 9; Annie, 3; Fanny, 2. Although the ages of the parents do not quite match with those given in 1871, it is obvious that this is the same family . . . The last record I found of this family was from a Bridgetown Monitor of 1897, which recorded that "John Tyler, aged and respected colored man of Inglewood, died age 64." This was November of 1897.[68]

The relevant map from the Mapannapolis website is reproduced in figure 40.

As noted above, the lives of Benjamin de St. Croix and the enslaved "servants" his parents brought with them to their new Nova Scotian home in 1783 offer a rare opportunity to discover what became of the transplanted African Nova Scotians whose labour, creativity and talent contributed to the support of a student who once attended King's College, Nova Scotia. Further investigations may well provide a fuller picture of their lives, and those of their descendants.

The biography of Robert Barclay, the second student profiled here, also sheds light on aspects of slavery associated with King's College, Nova Scotia. In this case is demonstrated an ongoing and lifelong commitment to the institution of slavery, as practised in the American South.

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[66] Minutes of the Fifth Session of the African Baptist Association, 1858, accessed Aug. 17, 2019, https://chipmanscorner.acadiau.ca/islandora/object/special%3A583.

[67] Pearleen Oliver, *A Brief History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1782-1953* (Halifax: McCurdy Printing, 1953), 26.

[68] Dexter, "Pioneers on the Mountain," 2.

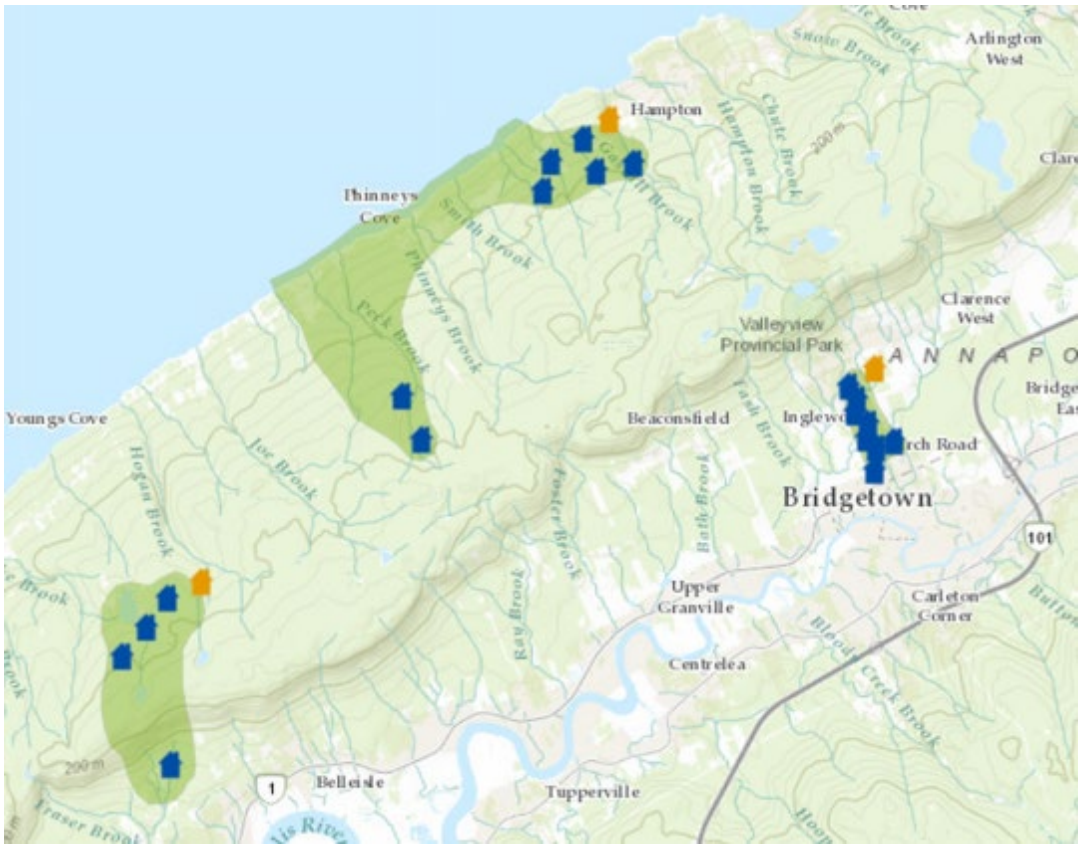

Fig. 40 Map showing location of the Tallow and Fowler family estates near Phinney's Cove. The green area around Phinney's Cove is where the Tallow and Fowler families lived, both formerly enslaved to the interrelated white Loyalist families of de St. Croix and Fowler. Granville Mountain, or the North Mountain Settlement is the green area to the west, where the African Nova Scotian North Mountain Baptist Church was founded in 1853.[69]

Robert Barclay (1772-1847), son of Andrew Barclay (1738-1823), Shelburne, NS

Robert Barclay was enrolled at King's College, Nova Scotia, in 1790, and appears in Principal William Cochran's list of the students (see sect. 3, table 4, pp. 83-84). Aged eighteen in 1790, he was documented there as "Robt. Barclay" son of "Andw. Barclay" of "Shelburne, N. Scotia" and was studying Arithmetic, Writing and Reading in the lower, "English School."[70]

Born in Boston in 1772, Robert Barclay migrated with his family, first to New York after the evacuation of Boston, and later to Shelburne, Nova Scotia. A student at King's College before the Charter, he then moved to Halifax temporarily, worked in the West Indies for a time, and in or before 1802, settled down in the city of Portsmouth, Virginia. There he married twice and raised his family. He was a slaveowner throughout his life in Virginia, although at least one of his sons would be influenced by the rise of abolitionism in the United States. Andrew Barclay passed away in the summer of 1823, survived by two

[69] Permission to use the text and image has been received from the Annapolis Community Mapping Project, Heather LeBlanc at contact@mapannapolis.ca, permission received via email, Aug. 28, 2019.
[70] "Appendix B (Students at King's College, 1790)" (see sect. 1, p. 46, n. 168, and sect. 3, table 4).

sons and a daughter, as well as his second wife, Selina (White) (Dickson) Barclay.[71]

Fig. 41 Portrait of Robert Barclay (1772-1847)[72]

Robert Barclay's father was Loyalist Andrew Barclay, a slaveholder, Freemason and member of the Port Roseway Associates.[73] Andrew Barclay was an immigrant from Cleish, Scotland, who settled at Boston before 1761. He married Mary Bleigh (d. June 30, 1829), a woman of old Dutch stock. They opened a prestigious and lucrative book-binding business. Notable for the fact that Andrew Barclay identified his volumes with a distinctively engraved bookplate bearing his name, he also sold books mainly imported from England and Scotland. The Barclays remained loyal to the Crown when the Revolution broke out.[74] Andrew and several of his colleagues in the business joined the Loyal North Regiment in 1775, and ended up in New York, which was crowded with Loyalist refugees. Andrew Barclay reopened his book business and advertised his wares in the pages of the *Royal American Gazette.* However, in December 1782, he advertised the auction of contents from his shop, as he was preparing to move his wife and family from New York to Nova Scotia.[75]

In 1783, Andrew Barclay and his wife, Mary, came to Port Roseway (Shelburne) in a company including fifty-seven enslaved people, five of whose service they claimed.[76] According to Whitfield's research, the Minute Book of the Port Roseway Associates states that Andrew Barclay had with him five "servants." They are assumed to have been enslaved Africans. The servants also had four children between them, when they arrived with the Barclays.[77] The Provisional Return for the Numbers of Men, Women, and Children *Belonging* [the italics are ours] to Captain Andrew Barclay's Company of Associated Loyalists

[71] His death was noted in the *Acadian Reporter* of July 2, 1823.

[72] Permission to publish the portrait was provided by Rebecca Barclay, received via email June 5, 2019.

[73] An extensive biography of Andrew Barclay is available in Eleanor Robertson Smith, author and compl., and Kimberly Robertson Walker, ed., *Founders of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, Who Came, 1783-1793, and Stayed* (Shelburne, NS: Privately printed for Shelburne County Archives and Genealogical Society, 2008), 4-5.

[74] Hannah D. French, "The Amazing Career of Andrew Barclay, Scottish Bookbinder, of Boston," *Studies in Bibliography* 14 (1961): 145-62.

[75] Andrew Barclay, "Catalogue of Books, Lately Imported from Britain; and to be sold by A. Barclay, second door north of the Three King's Corn-hill, Boston" (Boston: Published by A. Barclay, 1765?), 1 sheet, American Antiquarian Society: Early American Imprints, Series 1, no. 41516. The description of their arrival suggests that the Barclays owned fifty-seven enslaved people; however, this was actually the compliment of enslaved African Americans transported to Shelburne with all the families in his company of Loyalists. See Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 40.

[76] Barclay's adherence to Freemasonry is noted in Bonnie Huskins, "'Ancient' Tensions and Local Circumstances: Loyalist Freemasons in Shelburne Nova Scotia," *Journal for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism* 5, no. 1 (2014): 47-72, 54.

[77] Some sources state he had four, but the Minute Book of the Port Roseway Associates, 1783, clearly shows Barclay came to Shelburne with 1 man, 1 woman, 7 children, 5 servants totalling 14 people. See Minute Book of the Port Roseway Associates, 1783, Shelburne Historical Records Collection, MG 9, B6, LAC. Rebecca Barclay, who is the family genealogist in her excellent article "Before Cradock: Barclay's Grove" (unpaginated MSS, used with the kind permission of the author) says there were four children who were the offspring of the five servants.

says he had seven in 1783.[78]

As a member of the Port Roseway Associates, Andrew Barclay had been active in planning for the settlement of Port Roseway (later renamed Shelburne). With a beautiful natural harbour on Nova Scotia's South Shore, this settlement was expected to become a second New York within a few years, although the grandiose plans for its elevation would not materialize.[79] According to historians Charles Wetherell and Robert Roetger, who take rather a more positive view of the Associates' actions than some other scholars do: "The future the associates saw for Shelburne was that of a commercial, urban economy supported by a productive agricultural hinterland. They envisioned a port town, supplied with food from outlying farms as well as the sea, connected to other towns in the province by a network of roads, and fully engaged in trading in the abundant natural resources of fish and lumber."[80]

Andrew Barclay was commissioned as a captain by Sir Guy Carleton, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in North America, and chosen to lead one of the Loyalist groups to Port Roseway when they departed in the spring of 1783. He would also act as a magistrate.[81] His group of Associates arrived in May, and the Barclays were granted one town lot and one water lot, totaling fifty acres.[82] Andrew and Mary Barclay brought with them at least six children. According to T. Watson Smith's "The Slave in Canada," "with Captain Andrew Barclay's company of fifty-five men and women and forty-nine children were no less that fifty-seven servants, thirty-six of these being *owned* by four families."[83]

The "Book of Negroes" is the register ordered by Sir Guy Carleton and listing the names of Black Loyalists, along with indentured servants and some still-enslaved African Americans who were leaving New York for British North America. It shows several Black Loyalists who came with Andrew Barclay as well:

> Adam Jones, 26, stout black fellow, (Andrew Barclay). Says he was born free on the Estate of Thomas Vandexter, Goldmine, Virginia; left that place about 6 years ago.
>
> Charles, (Andrew Barclay). Came from Jamaica, can't understand him.
>
> Francis Bruff, 18, stout fellow, black, (Andrew Barclay). Born at Grenada, West Indies, from whence he was taken by General [Benedict] Arnold about 12 years past, that he left the General at Quebec & is now free.

As noted in section 1 of this report, the column in the "Book of Negroes" in which Andrew Barclay's name appears alongside the above-named Black Loyalists is entitled "In the Possession of." The column heading's meaning is ambiguous; it may refer to people under the protection of powerful white Loyalists such as Barclay himself, or it may mean that they were bound to him in service, as indentured servants. One might also speculate that, where limited space for transporting refugees existed, slaveholders pretended their still-enslaved servants were free Black Loyalists in order to secure a place for them on

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[78] Cited in Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 141n17.
[79] This is discussed at length in Robertson, *King's Bounty*, 32-40.
[80] Wetherell and Roetger, "Loyalists of Shelburne," 78.
[81] Robertson, *King's Bounty*, 43.
[82] French, "Amazing Career of Andrew Barclay," 154.
[83] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 23. Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 40, however, states that Barclay brought fifty-seven enslaved people to Nova Scotia, suggesting they were his personal property. See Raymond, "Founding of Shelburne," 256. Marston had been a magistrate in Massachuetts prior to being assigned the post of Deputy Surveyor, one he took up at Port Roseway (Shelburne) in May 1783. See MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil*, 17. The italics in the quotation were added by the authors of this report.

the boats. This had certainly been the case in the evacuation of Savannah, as noted by James W. St. George Walker in his groundbreaking work, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* first published in 1976.[84]

Once settled in his new Nova Scotian home, Andrew Barclay again took up his book-binding trade and also sold books from his shop "on Water Street, a little north of King." He served, too, as a candlemaker, undoubtedly seizing an opportunity offered by a gap in local services.[85] The Barclays and their seven children were relatively affluent among the Loyalist settlers at Shelburne, building, with the help of their enslaved "servants," an elegant four-storey house. According to the journal of surveyor William Booth, a British Royal Engineer who was present at Shelburne in these years, by 1787 the Barclays were hosting balls and assemblies in their front parlor.[86]

However, the Barclay family wanted more land, and tried to acquire it. According to surveyor Benjamin Marston, who was charged by the Crown with laying out land grants in the Shelburne area from May 1783 through July 1794, Andrew Barclay was among a group of Loyalists at Shelburne who hired their own surveyor in an attempt to claim land laid out for the Black Loyalists at Birchtown, on the northwest arm of the bay. The plan was foiled by Marston, who contacted Crown Surveyor William Morris to inform him of the ruse. This is eloquently described in Steven Kimber's volume, *Loyalists and Layabouts: The Rapid Rise and Faster Fall of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1783-1792*. He writes that on Friday, September 19, 1783, Andrew Barclay commanded Benjamin Marston to attend him at his fine home, but that Marston declined and told Barclay's "emissary" he would be in his own tent-come-office until ten that night should Barclay wish to meet him there.[87] Andrew Barclay in the end had to be content with the additional fifty acres he would later receive on McNutt's Island. He in 1811 purchased 200 or more acres on the east side of the Jordan River, naming his estate "Barclay Valley" and farming the land.[88]

The Barclay family had been slaveholders in Boston and continued to be so once they reached Nova Scotia. Not only did Andrew and Mary Barclay import the five "servants" with them to Port Roseway in 1783, but according to his obituary in the *Yarmouth Herald* newspaper, their eldest son John Barclay moved to Jamaica where he acquired a plantation. The current research on West Indian slave ownership conducted at the University of London shows three John Barclays, the most likely connection may be with John Barclay of St. David's parish, who received compensation for the loss of his enslaved workers in the amount of £2,288 18s 6d. The funds were awarded to him as owner of both Woburn and Windsor plantations with at total of 107 enslaved people on November 9, 1835.[89]

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[84] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 9-10.

[85] Assessment Return for Shelburne, Shelburne County, Nova Scotia, Commissioner of Public Records NSA MG 1 vol. 957 no. 1518, 3. It says the shop was on King, but Robertson, *King's Bounty,* gives this location.

[86] Huskins, "'Remarks and Rough Memorandums,'" 106. According to some sources, it was from the Barclay family's balcony that Governor Parr announced the change of the name of Port Roseway to "Shelburne" on Tuesday, July 22, 1783. The date is clearly stated in Benjamin Marsden's diary, and he was an eyewitness. See Kimber, *Loyalists and Layabouts*, 143; Raymond, "Founding of Shelburne," 223-24. The Nova Scotia Archives has a postcard of the "Old Firth House," which was mistakenly believed to have been the house at which the announcement took place. It was the home of Commissary Edward Brindley and wasn't built until 1785. NSA Walter Deinger Collection, 1995-4, 57. See ''Old Firth House built 1785 it was in this house that Gov. Parr named Shelburne, NS," Gideon White Family Papers, NSA website, accessed May 18, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/white/exhibit/?ID=7.

[87] Kimber, *Loyalists and Layabouts*, 146-47.

[88] Smith and Walker, *Founders of Shelburne*, 5.

[89] George S. Brown, compl., *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia: Genealogies Transcribed from the Yarmouth Herald* (Baltimore,

John Barclay's brother, James, married a Loyalist woman named Catherine Bingay at Christ Church in Shelburne on January 24, 1813 and resided there, leaving descendants.[90] There was yet another potential connection with slavery in the family for there was another brother, Andrew, who became a shipbuilder and merchant. He was for many years Sheriff of Shelburne (1815-1865), but moved to St. Domingo (the modern Dominican Republic a major sugar-producing island, complete with thousands of enslaved people of African descent) in his later years, dying there in 1865.[91]

Andrew Barclay passed away at his estate at Jordan Falls, Nova Scotia, on July 2, 1823. His home was about 10 km north and east of Shelburne, at the delta of the Jordan River.[92] The probate of Barclay's will on August 2, 1823, including the will itself which had been written on October 2, 1815, contains no specific mention of leaving enslaved servants to his heirs. There is, in fact, no detailed bequest at all: Andrew Barclay simply left everything he had to his wife. The appraisement of the estate listed no "negroes", suggesting that Barclay either freed his formerly enslaved servants before this time, or had passed them on to his wife and children while he was alive. Son George Barclay administered the estate.[93]

There has to date been no information discovered as to what became of the enslaved servants Andrew and Mary Barclay had imported with their family when they came to Nova Scotia. There were others with the Barclay surname amongst the free Black Loyalists so it is difficult to identify the formerly enslaved Barclay family "servants" among them. In any case, the enslaved men and women may well have had surnames that differed from that of the Barclay family before they came to Nova Scotia. However, even their first names do not seem to have been set down in any surviving records. An examination of the Barclay family papers might be fruitful in this regard and is recommended for future research.[94]

What of King's College student Robert C. Barclay? According to family records, Robert had been born in Boston harbour aboard his father's ship *Prince Madoc.* Robert Barclay himself moved to Halifax after his

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MD: Genealogical Publishing Co, Inc., 1993). See the "Legacies of British Slave-Ownership" database, which shows James Barclay as Custos of St. David in 1851. According to this source, James A. Delle, *The Colonial Caribbean: Landscapes of Power in Jamaica's Plantation System* (2014), 127-8, James Barclay began as a bookkeeper on the Whitfield Hall plantation starting in 1802, established the Woburn Lawn plantation in St. David's Parish which he operated with enslaved workers, and then bought Mavis Bank, a coffee plantation. This he subdivided, selling off some of the enslaved workers. He held the Custos office after Emancipation. This James Barclay received compensation for the loss of 107 pieces of enslaved human "property" at Woburn Lawn and Windsor, in the amount of £2,288 18S 6D on November 9, 1835. This was claim Number 138, accessed June 6, 2019, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/24338.

[90] Smith and Walker, *Founders of Shelburne*, 5. However, this same source states that Robert Barclay, son of Andrew and Mary Barclay, died at age 4, in 1823. That would have meant Mary Bligh Barclay had a child 36 years after her arrival as an adult woman with children at Shelburne in 1783. It seems more likely that this was a son of either James or George Barclay, and that this Robert Barclay was a grandson of Andrew and Mary.

[91] Brown, *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia Genealogies*.

[92] Smith and Walker, *Founders of Shelburne*, 4.

[93] "Estate of Andrew Barclay, Shelburne, August 2, 1823," No. A225, Nova Scotia Probate Records, Shelburne District, NSA.

[94] The "servants" may well have had their own surnames and never used that of the Barclays. See the discussion on nomenclature regarding the enslaved in section 1 of this report. Also Leah Grandy, "Naming Culture in the Book of Negroes," *Atlantic Loyalist Connections* (blog), The Loyalist Collection website, Feb. 21, 2018, accessed August 8, 2019, https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/atlantic-loyalist-connections/naming-culture-book-negroes. The classic work on the subject of slave naming is Herbert G. Gutman, *Black Family in Slavery*, 185-256. For a discussion of surnames and their endurance between generations in enslaved populations, see Smardz Frost, *I've Got a Home*, xx-xxi.

For Freight or Charter,

THE SHIP

PRINCE MADOC,

ROBERT BARCLAY, MASTER,

Burthen 300 Tons or 400 Hhds. Tobacco.——For terms, apply to

GEORGE VEALE,
Campbell's Wharf.

Who offers for Sale,

40 Barrels choice Isle of Wight Brandy
3 Tons Hoop Iron
72 Tons Spike Rods
20 M Spanish Cigars
30 M Rough Hhd. Staves
20 M do do Barrel
10 M Drawn Red Oak Staves
100 pieces Square Pine Timber

Jan. 30. tf

Fig. 42 Advertisement for "The ship Prince Madoc." *American Beacon*, Norfolk, VA, Tuesday, January 30, 1816.

education at King's College, Windsor, and then joined his brother John in the West Indies. According to family historian Rebecca Barclay, who is Robert's direct descendant, there he became acquainted with the well-to-do Tatem family of Norfolk County, Virginia. Originally settlers in Bermuda who had arrived there in 1626, they were mariners and ship owners who traded extensively in Jamaica and other islands, as well as Europe, and both Central and South America. The Tatems invited young Robert C. Barclay to join them in business.[95]

It is not known exactly when Robert Barclay moved to Portsmouth, Virginia, but in 1802, he married Catherine (Caty) Tatem there on February 21, and resided in the Portsmouth area for the rest of his life. The Tatems owned a number of ships and Robert Barclay's father also gave the *Prince Madoc* to the couple as a wedding present, according to family lore (see figure 42).[96]

Caty's father, Solomon Tatem, was a slaveholder and West Indian trader. Although he left enslaved people to various family members in his will, he did not bequeath any to his daughter, Robert Barclay's wife. Instead he left his town house and grounds to "Caty." Instead Solomon Tatem's widow, Sarah, retained the enslaved men, women and children that were her husband's legacy, until her death. Then they were to be transferred to the ownership of Caty's brothers.[97]

Some of Robert and Caty Barclay's six children were born at the Gosport Plantation, Virginia, the family home they made together. Others were born in Portsmouth, where Caty's mother lived until she passed away in 1825. Gosport was a fashionable district on the west bank of the Elizabeth River, south of

[95] The Tatems had settled in Bermuda about 1626 and had extensive interests there and in Barbados. Nathaniel Tatem moved to Norfolk, Virginia, in 1711, and this is the part of the family from which Catherine, or "Caty" Tatem descended. According to the family genealogy, "From the ports of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Hampton, they shipped tobacco, pork, lumber, and manufactured American goods in exchange for sugar, spices, rum, salt, and slaves from Bahamas and Barbados. In Norfolk, they became suppliers of lumber and wood products." See "Nathaniel Tatems of Bermuda, Barbados & Norfolk County, Virginia and Their Descendants, A Family Reconstruction of the Mariner Tatems," genealogical research by R.J. Murphy (rev.6 December 2016), online at planetmurphy.org, accessed June 4, 2019, http://www.planetmurphy.org/content/body/TatemMariners1.htm. Please note that these data should be checked against primary source materials in repositories in Norfolk, Bermuda and elsewhere.

[96] "Ancestors of Lynn Hopewell," Hopewell Family Center website, accessed May 19, 2019, http://hopewell.org/Genealogy/genealogy%20database%20manning%20hodges%20and%20allied%20families/i33.htm. This extensive and well-researched genealogy shows Robert Barclay to have been engaged in the life of both his church and his adopted hometown throughout his lifetime. However, these data should be checked against primary source materials.

[97] *Norfolk Herald*, Feb. 27, 1802, 3: "Married: On Thursday, at Portsmouth, by Rev. Young, Capt. Robert Barclay, to Miss Catharine Tatem, both of that place." See also Will of Solomon Tatem dated Jan. 27, 1795, Norfolk County, Virginia Abstracts, filed July 20, 1799.

Portsmouth, below Crab Creek and this was where the naval yards were located, both in colonial times and later.[98] According to family historian Rebecca Barclay:

> As the Barclay family and Robert's fortunes grew, he bought a large house, the former Masonic lodge on Crawford St. in Portsmouth. From his second-storey office, he could observe his berthed ships and all the related waterfront activities, and he realized another opportunity lay before him. On March 10, 1813, Robert paid John and Sarah Nivison $2,000 for two parcels of land –170 acres – on Paradise Creek, land that Robert would farm and from which he would harvest and sell timber to build ships as he had seen his brothers Andrew and James do in Nova Scotia. He also bought 80 adjacent acres from Arthur Emmerson. Robert named his property Barclay's Grove for the extensive timber holdings. His family spent their summers there to avoid the diseases that summers often brought to Portsmouth while Robert continued to sail to and from the West Indies.[99]

According to Rebecca Barclay, "Robert and Catherine's two eldest children, Eliza Ann and Andrew, died within three months of each other in 1830, probably of consumption. Andrew, a physician, acknowledging his [own] imminent death, instructed that his horse and medical supplies be sold and his estate divided among his father's slaves." This suggests that at least one of Robert Barclay's children was rather less in favour of slaveholding than the previous generation had been.

After the death of Robert Barclay's first wife, the former Caty Tatem, in 1833, he married Selina (White) Dickson. She was the widow of a sea captain who had been Robert's friend and fellow-churchman in the Episcopalian church at Portsmouth (figure 43). Barclay and Captain Dickson had both been active in the revitalization of the old Trinity Church at Portsmouth, which had been built in 1762 but suffered from the same loss of parishioners that plagued so many former Churches of England in the wake of the American Revolution. In fact, Trinity was all but abandoned from 1809 to 1820.[100]

Fig. 43 Trinity Episcopal Church, Portsmouth, Virginia. Stucco over brick, built 1762.

According to the Trinity Episcopal Church website, the "pews were painted black in this portion of the nave [near the entrance] for the free and slave African Americans in the congregation." This segregation of church pews is mentioned in a quotation regarding the original church building from Mederic Moreau de St. Méry, who wrote in his volume *American Journeys, 1793-1798*: "Next to the door on both sides are two benches painted black. These are for blacks [*sic*] who are not allowed to mix with the white."[101] Apparently when the church was rebuilt in 1828 and consecrated in 1830, a process in which Robert C. Barclay was very

[98] "Obituary of Mrs. Sarah Tatem, who died 17 September in her 68 years, relict [widow of] Capt. Solomon Tatem, a widow for 30 years," *American Commerical Beacon & Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advisor*, Sept. 24, 1825.
[99] Barclay, "Before Craddock: Barclay's Grove," unpaginated.
[100] See "Our History: Over 250 Years in Our Community," Trinity Episcopal Church website, accessed May 20, 2019, https://trinityportsmouth.org/about-us/history/.
[101] Kenneth and Ann Roberts, eds., *Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey, 1793-1798* (Garden City, NY:

much involved, the same custom was followed and the benches nearest the church door were set aside for enslaved and free Black parishioners. Captain Robert C. Barclay continued on as a vestryman of Trinity Episcopal Church for many years.[102]

Selina (Dickinson) Barclay brought with her to the marriage a number of enslaved people: Miles, Henry, Nelly and Martha were all adults, and there was a young girl named Sally whom Robert Barclay later sold.[103] Captain Barclay made most of his income as a sea captain trading with the planters of the West Indies. Thus he profited not only from the unwaged labour of his and his wife's enslaved servants at home in Virginia, but he also transported and sold merchandise that was the product of enslaved labour. Barclay commanded a series of ships in the first decade of the 19th century. For instance, the Brig *Elizabeth* was advertised as being available for charter, November 12, 1803, in Portsmouth (city), Virginia, USA, under "Robert Barclay, master, burthen 1300 bbls" (figure 44). In 1805, he was commanding the *Madoc*, out of Portsmouth, and in 1811 he was captaining the *John and Adeline.*[104] Whether or not he employed African American crewman, free or enslaved, has not yet been discovered but such was commonly the case in Virginian commercial shipping and the question would bear further scrutiny.[105]

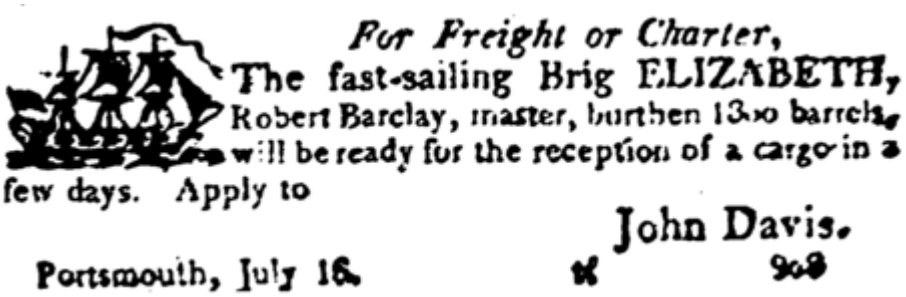
For Freight or Charter,
The fast-sailing Brig ELIZABETH,
Robert Barclay, master, burthen 13[illegible] barrels,
will be ready for the reception of a cargo in a
few days. Apply to
John Davis.
Portsmouth, July 16. [illegible] 908

Fig. 44 Advertisement for "the fast-sailing Brig Elizabeth." *Norfolk* [VA] *Gazette and Publick Ledger*, Monday, September 22, 1806.

It seems curious that Boston-born, Nova Scotia-raised Loyalist Robert Barclay fought on the American side in the War of 1812, as is evidenced by Selina Barclay's War of 1812 pension application after her

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Doubleday, 1947), 64. The church is on the National Historic Register, and the quote comes from the 1973 report: "National Historic Register Nomination Form: Trinity Episcopal Church, Portsmouth, VA." Report No. VLR 4/17/73 (1973), accessed May 20, 2019, https://web.archive.org/web/20130813202340/http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/Cities/Portsmouth/124-0028_Trinity_Episcopal_Church_1973_Final_Nomination.pdf.

[102] Ancestry.com, "Virginia, Compiled Marriages, 1740-1850" database (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 1999), accessed May 20, 2019, https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=3723&h=123983&ssrc=pt&tid=36515966&pid=19603704814; For his involvement in Trinity Church, see John Cloyd Emmerson, Jr., compl., *The Emmerson Papers 1737-1965; A Record of Eight Generations of the Emmerson Family in Virginia*. *Compiled from Original Documents and Letters, Contemporary Newspaper References, Personal Recollections and Local Historical Works* (Portsmouth, VA, 1966), Trinity Vestry Book, July 4, 1822, File folder 1822, multiple citations.

[103] Robert Barclay will (1846); Norfolk County Will Book 6: 237-38; Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court, Chesapeake, VA., cited in "Ancestors of Lynn Hopewell," accessed Sept. 10, 2019.

[104] Col. William H. Stewart, ed. & compl., *History of Norfolk County, Virginia and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1902), 383; John Cloyd Emmerson, Jr., compl., "The Emmerson Papers 1737-1965," *Herald* newspaper, Feb. 11, 1811, File folder 1811, p. 2, cited in "Ancestors of Lynn Hopewell."

[105] W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 25-26, 196. Bolster states that of the 608 male freedom-seekers from Norfolk between 1815 and 1832, 13% were mariners. See page 273n54.

husband's death. He served as a private in Captain Arthur Emerson's Company, Virginia Militia. However, it would appear that he only enlisted on August 22, 1814, very near the end of the war, when his home of Portsmouth and surrounding area were threatened (see figure 45).[106]

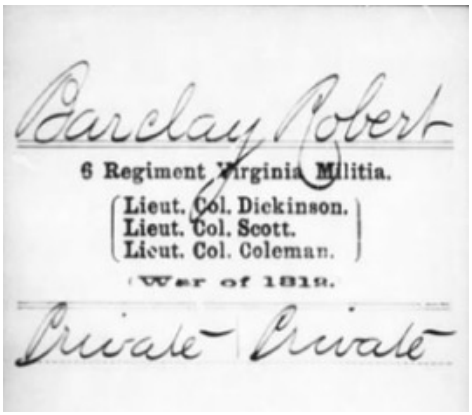
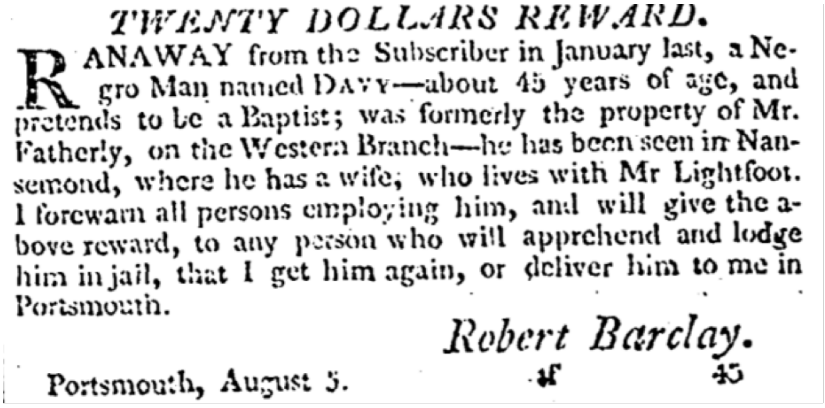

Barclay Robert
6 Regiment Virginia Militia.
Lieut. Col. Dickinson.
Lieut. Col. Scott.
Lieut. Col. Coleman.
War of 1812.
Private Private

Fig. 45 Robert Barclay's enlistment as a private in Colonel Arthur Emmerson's Company, Sixth Virginia Militia, August 22, 1814. He was discharged October 25, 1814.[107]

After the conflict was over, Robert C. Barclay again captained the *Madoc.*[108] Little more regarding his slaveholding can be uncovered from available records—barring a trip to the Library of Virginia, the Virginia Historical Society, and other local repositories—but it is clear that Robert C. Barclay not only held enslaved servants himself, but also both of his wives brought enslaved people with them when they married him.

For instance, Robert. C. Barclay placed a notice in the local newspaper in 1805 offering a reward for the return of a runaway (figure 46). According to this source, Captain Barclay had purchased the 45-year-old man from Mr. Fatherly, who lived on the Western Branch of the Elizabeth River near Norfolk. Barclay thought Davy might have been in the Nansemond area, since that was where Davy's wife resided. She was enslaved to a Mr. Lightfoot. The comment "pretends to be a Baptist" is interesting, suggesting that Barclay either considered the enslaved Davey insincere in his profession of faith, or else had a personal contempt for the Baptist Church, or at least that of which enslaved servants might be adherents.


TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.

RANAWAY from the Subscriber in January last, a Negro Man named DAVY—about 45 years of age, and pretends to be a Baptist; was formerly the property of Mr. Fatherly, on the Western Branch—he has been seen in Nansemond, where he has a wife, who lives with Mr Lightfoot. I forewarn all persons employing him, and will give the above reward, to any person who will apprehend and lodge him in jail, that I get him again, or deliver him to me in Portsmouth.

Robert Barclay.

Portsmouth, August 5. 45

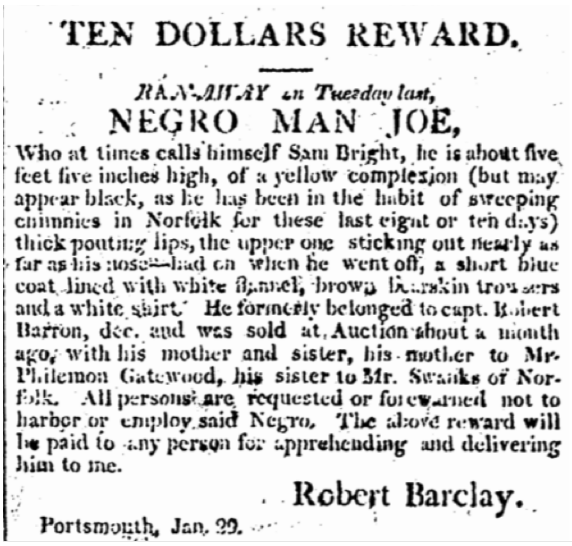
Fig. 46 "Twenty Dollars Reward" for runaway "Negro Man named Davy." *Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger*, Tuesday, July 16, 1805

In 1813, another such ad appears in the Norfolk newspaper, this time for a man named Joe (see figure 47). This enslaved African American had been purchased only a month earlier by Robert C. Barclay from

[106] War of 1812 Pension Applications. RG 15., Reel 5, Microfilm Publication M313, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, NARA, Washington D.C.

[107] War of 1812 Records, NARA M602. Alphabetical card index to the compiled service records of volunteer soldiers who served during the War of 1812, Microfilm Reel M602_0010; online at Fold3.com, accessed June 6, 2019, https://www.fold3.com/image/307508869.

[108] *American Beacon*, Jan. 1, 1816, 1.



TEN DOLLARS REWARD.

RAN AWAY on Tuesday last,

NEGRO MAN JOE,

Who at times calls himself Sam Bright, he is about five feet five inches high, of a yellow complexion (but may appear black, as he has been in the habit of sweeping chimnies in Norfolk for these last eight or ten days) thick pouting lips, the upper one sticking out nearly as far as his nose—had on when he went off, a short blue coat lined with white flannel, brown linsey trowsers and a white shirt. He formerly belonged to capt. Robert Barron, dec. and was sold at Auction about a month ago, with his mother and sister, his mother to Mr. Philemon Gatewood, his sister to Mr. Swanks of Norfolk. All persons are requested or forewarned not to harbor or employ said Negro. The above reward will be paid to any person for apprehending and delivering him to me.

Robert Barclay.

Portsmouth, Jan. 29.

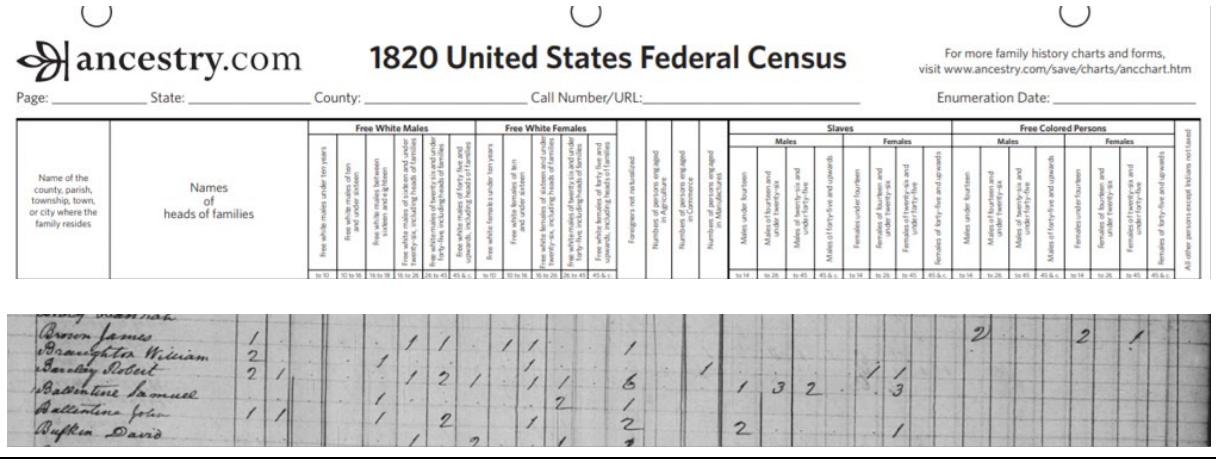
Fig. 47 "Ten Dollars Reward" for runaway "Negro Man Joe." *Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger,* Friday, January 29, 1813.

the estate of a Captain Barron of Norfolk. Joe was a chimney sweep by trade. He, his mother and sister had been auctioned off following Barron's death; Joe's mother was sold to Philemon Gatewood and his sister to a Mr. Swanks, both at Norfolk, Virginia.

Interestingly, Barclay noted in his ad that Joe had a name he preferred for himself, including a surname. He "at times calls himself Sam Bright." This bears out the contention that enslaved people claimed by white Loyalist families associated with King's College had surnames they used amongst themselves. These often differed from the surnames of their putative "owners," even if their owners did not recognize such nomenclature, or, as was commonly the case, chose to bestow their own surnames upon their enslaved human property on the very rare occasion that a surname might be required, such as a legal case or in an advertisement for the return of an absconding "servant." The ad was still running on February 10, 1813. There is no record as to whether or not Joe was retrieved, but Robert Barclay did leave a man named Joe to his youngest son Solomon in his will, as noted below.

The US Census for 1820 (table 9) shows the household of Robert Barclay including 1 enslaved male under fourteen, 3 between 14 and 26, 2 between 26 and 45, along with 3 women between 26 and 45. In the 1830 census, he owned seven people, including a little boy under 10, two men between 24 and 35, two men aged 36 to 45, as well as a young girl between 10 and 23, and 1 between 36 and 54. The one for 1840 for the same place shows that he and his second wife, Selina, claimed ownership of 11 people, including a little boy and a little girl, both less than 10 years of age.[109]

Table 9 1820 US Census for Portsmouth, Virginia, showing the Barclays as slaveholders



ancestry.com **1820 United States Federal Census**

For more family history charts and forms, visit www.ancestry.com/save/charts/ancchart.htm

Page: _____ State: _____ County: _____ Call Number/URL: _____ Enumeration Date: _____

Name of the county, parish, township, town, or city where the family resides	Names of heads of families	Free White Males	Free White Females	Foreigners not naturalized	Numbers of persons engaged in Agriculture	Numbers of persons engaged in Commerce	Numbers of persons engaged in Manufactures	Slaves		Free Colored Persons		All other persons except Indians not taxed
								Males	Females	Males	Females	
		to 10 | 10 to 16 | 16 to 18 | 16 to 26 | 26 to 45 | 45 & c.	to 10 | 10 to 16 | 16 to 26 | 26 to 45 | 45 & c.					to 14 | 14 to 26 | 26 to 45 | 45 & c.	to 14 | 14 to 26 | 26 to 45 | 45 & c.	to 14 | 14 to 26 | 26 to 45 | 45 & c.	to 14 | 14 to 26 | 26 to 45 | 45 & c.	
	Brown James	1										
	Broughton William	2		1	1		1	1				
	Barclay Robert	2	1	1	2	1	1	6				
	Ballentine Samuel			1			2	1				
	Ballentine John	1	1	1	2	1		2				
	Bufkin David			1		2	1		1			
								1	3	2	1	2
									3			1

[109] Ancestry.com, 1820, 1830 and 1840 "United States Federal Census" databases online (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010).

The will of Robert Barclay was dated December 22, 1846, at Portsmouth, Virginia:

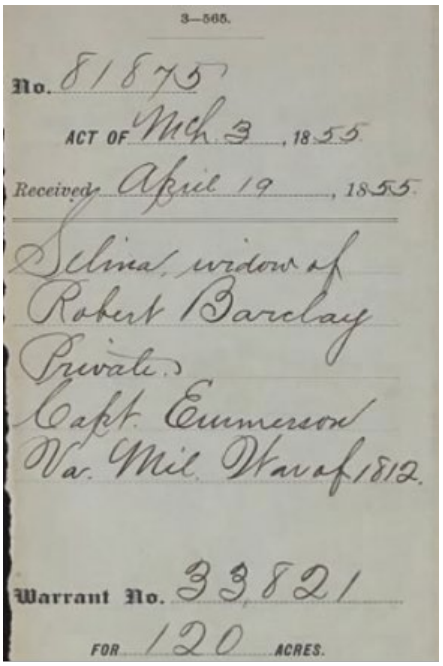
> In the Name of God, Amen, I, Robert Barclay being sound in mind and memory, but knowing that it is appointed for all men to die, Do make and declare this instrument of writing to be my last will and testament, written with my own hand.
> first--**I give or return to my loving wife Selina Barclay at my death all her negroes that came unto my possession by our marriage if alive and under my control of the following names viz: Miles and Henry men and women Nelly and Martha and their increase, likewise give up all right to five hundred dollars received for girl Sally sold and the amount loaned to Alexander G. Pendleton for which my wife Selina Barclay has his note** [my emphasis] also her plate and furniture, provided the said Selina Barclay relinquishe or does not claim any part of my estate as dower or in any other way.
> Secondly--I give **unto my son Robert Charles Barclay** my part of lot of land No. 32 on Crawford street in the town of Portsmouth with the houses thereon forever, likewise, a silver tea pot, sugar dish and milk pot and one share in the Capital stock of the Jersey Little Falls Manufacturing Company of the State of New Jersey and **negro man George**.
> Thirdly, I give to my son **Solomon T. Barclay** my land which I bought of John Nivison on Paradise Creek and that on the road leading to Deep Creek bought of Arthur Emmerson as trustee also my eight day clock a silver soup ladle five table spoons six silver spoons and sugar tongs and **negro men Joe and john** [*sic*]and one share with above stock.
> Fourthly I give to my **daughter Sarah Jane Riell my negro man Jim and woman Sarah** also I give all my right and title to lot of land and house on King and Dinwiddie Streets on Portsmouth given to her by her mother's will; also all articles of household furniture in her possession and five silver table spoons six silver tea spoons a easy chair and washstand a looking glass with gilt frame and one share in the Capital stock of the Jersey Little Falls Manufacturing Company of the State of New Jersey.
> Fifthly I desire that all my debts be paid and the balance of my personal property disposed of as follows to my wife Selina Barclay I give one feather bed bed room carpet front room carpet and passage carpet the new sopha [*sic*] and mantle looking glass.
> And I do hereby appoint my sons Robert Charles Barclay and Solomon T. Barclay or either of them executes or executors to this my last will and testament without giving security. In witness I have here unto set my hand and seal in Portsmouth Norfolk County this twenty second day of the year one thousand eight hundred and forty six 1846.
>
> Witness
> Robert Barclay
>
> At a Court held for Norfolk County the 15th day of November 1847. A writing purporting to be the last will and testament of Robert Barclay decd was produced in Court and their being no subscribing witnesses thereto Lewis Boutwell and Chas. Etheredge were sworn and severally deposed that they were well acquainted with the testator's handwriting and verily believe the said writing and the name thereto subscribed to be wholly written by the Testator's own hand. Whereupon the said writing is ordered to be recorded as the true last will and testament of the said Robert C. Barclay dec'd and on the motion of Robert C. Barclay one of the executors therein named who made oath thereto and entered unto and acknowledged a bond in the penalty of $8,000 with condition according to law without security agreeably to the directions of the will, the Court being satisfied that the personal estate of the testator is more than sufficient to pay his debts. Certificate is granted the said Robert C. Barclay for obtaining a probate of the said will in

due form.

Teste: Arthur Emmerson, c.c.[110]

One of the first students to attend King's College, Nova Scotia, Robert C. Barclay lived at Portsmouth, Virginia, until the time of his death on October 19, 1847 (figure 48). He was seventy-three years old when he passed, while his widow Selina lived well into her nineties, dying in 1887. A long series of petitions survive where she applied first for the bounty lands due her husband's estate because of his military service in the War of 1812, and then for his military pension (figure 49).

Fig. 48 Robert C. Barclay House, Portsmouth, Virginia, built 1770, purchased by the Barclays in 1822, located at 112 Crawford Street, between Glasgow and North Streets[111]


3—565.

No. 81875

ACT OF March 3, 1855

Received April 19, 1855.

Selina, widow of
Robert Barclay
Private
Capt. Emmerson
Va. Mil. War of 1812.

Warrant No. 33821

FOR 120 ACRES.

Fig. 49 Award of Bounty Lands due Robert C. Barclay, to his widow Selina in 1855[112]

Interestingly, Robert and Caty (Tatem) Barclay's son Robert Charles, who inherited the Crawford St., Portsmouth, home and "Negro man George," was a bookbinder and bookseller as his grandfather Andrew Barclay had been before him.[113] Likewise, Solomon Tatem Barclay (1818-1874), their youngest

[110] Robert Barclay will (1846); Norfolk County Will Book 6: 237-238; Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court, Chesapeake, VA., cited in "Ancestors of Lynn Hopewell." [All emphases in the quotation were added by the authors of this report.]

[111] Virginia Works Progress Administration (WPA), survey report of Captain Robert C. Barclay home, Nov. 19, 1937, research by Sarah F. Moore. Historical Inventory Project, sponsored by the Virginia Conservation Commission (Library of Virginia: Richmond, 1937), cited in "Ancestors of Lynn Hopewell," accessed May 20, 2019, http://hopewell.org/Genealogy/genealogy%20database%20manning%20hodges%20and%20allied%20families/i33.htm.

[112] Robert C. Barclay, "Ward of 1812 Pension Files," "Virginia," NARA Military Pension Files, accessed May 20, 2019, https://www.fold3.com/image/286971309.

[113] Robert Charles Barclay did not appear as a slaveholder in the slave schedules for Norfolk, Virginia, in 1860. Ancestry.com, "1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules" database online (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010).

son, had a large and lucrative bookbinding business in Richmond, Virginia. Solomon inherited Barclay's Grove along with "Negro Men James and Joe," and returned to Gosport to take up the reins of both the family farm, and the lumbering business. He would effectively sacrifice his family's fortune when he sided with the Union during the Civil War. He was not, however, an abolitionist. The listing for his household in the slave schedules for Portsmouth, Virginia, in 1860 shows Solomon T. Barclay as the owner of five enslaved people. These included a man aged 60, a 38-year-old woman, and three children, a boy of 12 and two little girls aged 10 and 7, possibly comprising a single family. Solomon's service in the Union army put him in direct opposition to his neighbours in Norfolk County, which was a Confederate naval stronghold.[114]

A little is known about what became of African Americans previously under the ownership of the Barclay family, after the Civil War. Documentation survives showing that some individuals who were probably either enslaved to the Barclays or had been manumitted by the 1850s, succumbed to yellow fever, which reached epidemic proportions at Portsmouth in 1855. Reported in the Richmond, Virginia paper the *Daily Dispatch* were the deaths of Sarah "Barckley" [*sic*], whose death at Portsmouth was noted on September 22, 1855. She was most likely the woman "Sarah" left in Robert C. Barclay's will to his daughter who shared her first name, Sarah Jane (Barclay) Rielle. There was also an unnamed "Negro woman at R. C. Barclay's, Main St., Norfolk," reported dead on August 29, 1855. She would have been part of the household of Robert C. Barclay Jr., who inherited the family's Crawford Street home in Portsmouth.[115]

Oral history also provides additional details, for Robert's descendant Rebecca Barclay told historian Karolyn Smardz Frost that some of the people who had once formed part of the Barclay family slaveholdings continued to live on the rural estate at Gosport. They and subsequent generations of these families were employed by the Barclays, and were paid wages well into the twentieth century.[116]

Conclusion

The two essays that make up this section of the report demonstrate the amount and types of information that still remain to be discovered regarding the lives and experiences of African Americans and African Canadians once enslaved by individuals associated with King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.

In the case of Benjamin de St. Croix, church records have provided invaluable data regarding the lives of the enslaved brothers John and Newport Tallow. Well-documented information compiled by local historian Janetta M. Dexter helps fill in the biographies of their descendants, and particularly that of George Tallow (Taller). He was a deacon at the Baptist church founded on Granville Mountain by the local Black community, in concert with the charismatic clergyman Reverend Thomas Preston. Vital statistics and other documentation respecting their descendants survive in census, birth, death, marriage and travel records, many of which are accessible through Ancestry.ca.

It is of note that Benjamin's wife came from slaveholding families on both her maternal and paternal sides. Thus the couple, while not slaveholders themselves, clearly benefited in multiple ways from the unwaged labour of people of African descent. Robert C. Barclay, on William Cochran's 1790 list of the first students at King's, had been raised in a slaveholding household at Shelburne and continued to be a

[114] Barclay, "Before Cradock: Barclay's Grove," unpaginated.
[115] "The Yellow Fever in Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia, 1855," as reported in the *Daily Dispatch* of Richmond, Virginia, accessed May 31, 2019, http://files.usgwarchives.net/va/norfolkcity/yelfever2.txt.
[116] Personal communication, Rebecca Barclay, 2019.

slaveowner throughout his life, as were both of his wives. After studying at King's College, Nova Scotia, he had travelled to the West Indies to join his brother, a plantation owner documented in the University of London's recent study of those compensated at the time slavery was abolished in most of the British Empire. There he became engaged in the West Indian trade in slave-produced goods, married the daughter of a major trading family, and settled at Portsmouth, Virginia, where he acquired enslaved people of his own. When his first wife died, Barclay married the widow of another sea captain, one who brought enslaved human 'property' into the marriage as well.

The family fortunes rested on their participation in the West Indian trade, for Robert C. Barclay profited from the transport and sale of slave-produced goods over the entire course of his career. Former King's College student Robert C. Barclay bought, sold and exploited the forced labour of enslaved people of African descent throughout his life, as did both of his wives. Several of the Barclay children continued to be slaveholders right through the time of the American Civil War.

These two King's students were hardly alone in their engagement in both slavery and in profiting from the products thereof. This extended study of the lives of Benjamin de St. Croix and Robert C. Barclay shows how much data can be gleaned about both slaveholding and the lives of the enslaved through a more intensive and extensive approach to the scholarship.

Section 5. Selected Students Before the Charter and Slavery

Fig. 50 King's College, Nova Scotia, from Saul's Brook. Drawn from Nature May 1803 by Benjamin Gerrish Gray. Benjamin Gerrish Gray, Librarian, *Catalogue of the Books in the Library at King's College*, 1803. Unpub. MSS in University of King's College Archives, UKC.LIB.5.4.1.

King's Academy opened on November 1, 1788, and King's College began teaching students in 1790. Great Britain's Slavery Abolition Bill was passed in 1833, to be made effective August 1, 1834. So King's College was in operation for almost a half century before slavery was abolished in most of the British Empire.[1]

Inevitably, given the centrality of slavery and the trade in slave-produced commodities to the economies of the Atlantic World during those four decades, some members of both the faculty and student body of King's College were associated with the institution of slavery. Presented here are half-a-dozen short biographies of King's students whose families profited, in one way or another, from it.

Each such biography presents an opportunity for more in-depth investigation on the part of future researchers. Many more King's students had direct connections with slavery than can be named in this report. The examples presented here offer clues that can serve as guideposts for future research. For instance, the DeLancey story was chosen not only because of the family's prominent role in New York before the American Revolution, but also because its members were involved in a landmark court case relating to slavery after they moved to Nova Scotia. The Fairbanks family had multiple connections with African Nova Scotians; they were both slaveholders and played a part in the resettlement of Black Refugees after the War of 1812. Church of England minister Benjamin Gerrish Gray studied at the new Nova Scotian King's College and then joined the faculty, as well as serving as the university's first librarian. The story of Timothy Ruggles represents a rare example where archaeological excavation and analysis has been used to locate possible sites where his enslaved workers were housed on his North Mountain estate in Annapolis County. In the case of the Sheys, who had arrived well before the

[1] This is a revised version of section 5 (December 4, 2020).

Loyalists, not only is there a sales document detailing their acquisition of an enslaved woman from a prominent Church of England clergyman, but there survives a rare tombstone commemorating an enslaved man who had been imported to Nova Scotia by Peter Shey. Finally, studying Reverend George O'Kill Stuart, the first Rector of York (Toronto), offers an opportunity to explore slaveholding by people who attended King's College, Windsor, but went on to careers outside Atlantic Canada.

These short biographies demonstrate both the types of research questions that may be asked, and sources that may be used to enhance our understanding of the direct connections that existed between individual King's College students and the institution of slavery. Furthermore, each of the former King's students discussed in these pages cries out for an expanded program of research into their direct and indirect connections with slavery.

James DeLancey (1789-1813)

Colonel James DeLancey (1746-1804), father of King's College student James Tippett DeLancey (1789-1813), was the former Sheriff of Westchester County, New York, and a scion of one of New York's wealthiest families. Descended from Huguenots who had arrived in 1686 following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, during the Revolutionary War Colonel DeLancey was the leader of "DeLancey's Cowboys," one of the most feared Loyalist military units.[2] Dubbed "the Outlaw of the Bronx" for his success in raiding patriot positions, the senior DeLancey was proscribed under the New York Act of Attainder and forfeited his extensive properties, including most of the family's enslaved labour force.[3]

The DeLancey family went first to England to press their Loyalist claim for compensation, and then, according to historian R.S. Longley, in 1784 they set sail for Nova Scotia:

> James DeLancey was accompanied to Annapolis Royal by his wife and baby; his brother Stephen with his wife and three children; and his sister Susan, with her husband, Thomas Barclay, and their three children. These with a number of servants made a company of twenty. Many of those who came with them had lost everything and were completely destitute. The DeLanceys however, were by no means indigent. They had lost their lands, but they had considerable personal property.[4]

Barry Cahill in his biography of Colonel DeLancey in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, goes on to say that, "with his young wife, infant child, and six slaves, DeLancey settled on his 640-acre land grant at Round Hill in Annapolis County, where his other nine children were born"[5] (see figure 51). The "young wife" comment references the fact that James DeLancey was 36 years of age and Margaret Tippett more

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[2] Colonel James DeLancey is not to be confused with his cousin James DeLancey (1732–1800), the son of the Lieutenant Governor of New York. Both were Loyalist officers but only the James DeLancey discussed here settled in Nova Scotia.

[3] James DeLancey, Ancestry.com, American Loyalist Claims Series II, Nov. 7, 1783; Whitfield, "American Background"; Hanger, "Life of Loyalist Colonel James DeLancey," 49; Ranlet and Morris, "Richard Morris's James DeLancey, 185-210.

[4] R.S. Longley, "The DeLancey Brothers, Loyalists of Annapolis County," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 32 (1959): 55-77.

[5] For information on Mrs. Susan (DeLancey) Barclay's treatment of those she enslaved, see sect.1, p. 39 of this report. Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 79-80; Barry M. Moody, "DeLancey, James," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol.5, University of Toronto/Universite Laval, 2003-, accessed Feb. 5, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/DeLancey_james_5E.html.

Fig. 51 "Round Hill," Annapolis County home of the DeLancey family[7]

than 20 years his junior. She became a mother for the first time soon after her fourteenth birthday.[6]

James Tippett DeLancey, born in April 1789, was the fourth child of Colonel James and Martha (Tippett) DeLancey, and the third born in Nova Scotia. Along with his brothers and Barclay cousins he would attend King's College, and then go on to a military career.

James DeLancey's father, Colonel DeLancey became both a justice of the peace and a judge in Annapolis County. He was elected to the Nova Scotia House of Assembly in 1790, and in 1793 was elevated to the Executive Council by Governor Sir John Wentworth. The governor was a member of the King's College Board of Governors and also a slaveholder.

In the September term of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, 1801, two years before his death, Colonel DeLancey was involved in a court case regarding an enslaved man named Jack, who had run away to Halifax and eventually found employment there. This case, in reality, centred on the question of the legality of slavery in Nova Scotia at this period in the colony's history. Jack had first been hired by John Umlach of St. Margaret's Bay, near Halifax, and subsequently was employed by William Woodin in Halifax. Colonel DeLancey's attorney, Thomas Ritchie, was directed to inform Mr. Woodin that Jack belonged to the Colonel and therefore Jack's wages should be paid to Colonel DeLancey rather than to Jack himself. When Mr. Woodin's attorney told DeLancey that he would not comply with his demand to hand both Jack and his wages to DeLancey, the slaveholder had Mr. Woodin "summoned to appear to answer to James DeLancey on a plea of trespass," at the September term of the Supreme Court at Annapolis in 1803.[8]

After much legal wrangling and conflicting opinions provided by lawyers in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia on both sides of the legality of slavery question, Colonel DeLancey demanded damages of £500. DeLancey had the former Attorney General of Prince Edward Island, Joseph Aplin, prepare a detailed legal defence of slavery. Attorney General Richard John Uniacke (a member of the King's College Board of Governors from 1797 until 1830) argued that Jack was a free man because Nova Scotia did not have an explicit law to make him otherwise. This was essentially the same reasoning used by Lord Mansfield in his landmark 1772 decision in the British Court of King's Bench to free James Somerset, although that had applied only to Great Britain.[9] With respect to Jack, Aplin countered

[6] Longley, "Delancey Brothers," 64. According to an article entitled "Colonel James Delancey" on the Annapolis County Heritage Society website, there is some question about when James and Margaret DeLancey were wed. Their marriage was recorded in 1796 by Reverend Joseph Bailey, the Church of England minister at Annapolis. It is however possible the DeLanceys had an earlier military ceremony, blessed by the church at this later date. See the Annapolis Heritage Society website, accessed Nov. 1, 2020, https://annapolisheritagesociety.com/community-history/notable-personalities-past/colonel-james-delancey/.

[7] Photograph used with the kind permission of Marie Chantigny, via email.

[8] The Woodin case is discussed in Whitfield's *North to Bondage,* 34, 86, 102. See also "Document 61: James DeLancey's Complaint Against William Woodin, 1803," in Harvey Amani Whitfield's *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, 112-13.

[9] Lord Mansfield's landmark decision is discussed sect. 1, pp. 27-28 of this report.

Uniacke with the argument that:

> as several Acts of the British Parliament do make Slaves of Negroes; and as all His Majesty's subjects (whether British or Colonial) are made equal sharers in the profits of the African or Negro traffic, the Colonial Traders might carry their Slaves, either to the West-Indies, or to any other of His Majesty's Colonies on the Continent. Consequently, if Negroes, so imported into the West-Indies, were legally held as Slaves *there*, they cannot, when imported into any of the Continental Colonies, be in a better state than they would have been, had they been imported into the *West-Indies*.[10]

Colonel James DeLancey was to receive damages in the amount of £70. Richard John Uniacke launched an appeal. This resulted in the trespassing charges against Woodin being dismissed. To add insult to injury, from DeLancey's point of view at least, Jack was not returned to the man who claimed his service. The formerly enslaved Jack presumably was considered a free man from that point forward.[11]

Aplin's argument was published in 1802 as *Opinions of Several Gentleman of the Law, on the Subject of Negro Servitude, in the Province of Nova Scotia* which effectively presented the viewpoint of pro-slavery Nova Scotians. Whitfield makes the important point that, with respect to slavery, both legislators and slaveholders looked to British law for precedent. Countering Uniacke's reference to the need for articulated positive law, Aplin contended that there was in fact a Nova Scotian law recognizing slavery in the colony. The 1792 "Act for Regulating of Inn-Keepers" explicitly stated that liquor was not to be sold to enslaved people. Aplin maintained that since this law noted the existence of slavery in the province, DeLancey's claim for compensation was indeed justified in law.[12]

Whitfield, in his forthcoming book *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* mentions that a second enslaved man named Charles, was mentioned in DeLancey's will. He was valued by the estate at £18.[13] Colonel James DeLancey died on May 2, 1804 at his farm near Round Hill, Annapolis County, at age 56. Jack was not included in the inventory of his personal estate.[14] Historian Barry Cahill in his important 1994 article on slavery and the Nova Scotian judiciary references a long-held DeLancey family belief that the Colonel died as the result of poison administered by an enslaved woman in the household, although Cahill does note that corroborating evidence for DeLancey's murder is otherwise lacking.[15]

According to lists of early students compiled in the *Memoranda Respecting King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia* by John Inglis in 1836, James DeLancey, his brothers and Barclay cousins attended King's College, Nova Scotia sometime before 1802, when the Royal Charter was granted.[16] James Tippett DeLancey went on to a military career with the New Brunswick Fencibles, 104th Regiment. He attained the rank of lieutenant and died near Kingston, Upper Canada, on December 11, 1813, likely from wounds sustained fighting in the War of 1812. It will be noted that Richard Leonard, one of the first students at the King's Academy, was a captain of the Grenadiers with the same regiment, which

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[10] *Opinions of Several Gentlemen of the Law on the Subject of Negro Servitude in the Province of Nova Scotia* (Saint John: John Ryan, 1802), 6-12. NSA, MFM 3934; Supreme Court of Nova Scotia — Annapolis County case files NSA RG 39 C (AP) vol. 1 file 2.

[11] "Biographies," the Eassons and the Hoyts exhibit online, NSA, accessed Feb. 5, 2019, https://archives.novascotia.ca/easson/biographies/.

[12] Cited in Whitfield, *North to Bondage,* 72, 160n9; and Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges," 87. See also sect. 1, pp. 7-8 and p. 8, n. 19 of this report.

[13] Whitfield, *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* (see sect. 3, p. 90, n. 25).

[14] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 111.

[15] Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges," 113.

[16] John Inglis, *Memoranda Respecting King's College*, 23.

included African Canadian recruits and famously marched on snowshoes, in the depths of winter from New Brunswick to Kingston, Upper Canada.[17]

Charles Rufus Fairbanks (1790-1841)

Charles Rufus Fairbanks was a student at King's College before the charter was passed in 1802. He was not of Loyalist stock. His father, Rufus Fairbanks Senior, had been an early migrant from New England to Nova Scotia in the first years after the founding of Halifax. Born in Connecticut, Rufus Sr. came at the invitation of his uncle, Joseph Fairbanks. Joseph Fairbanks was a native of Sherborn, a town about twenty miles south of Boston, Massachusetts. In 1745, Joseph had been commissioned a lieutenant by Massachusetts Governor William Shirley and served in the New England forces at the first siege of the French fortress of Louisburg. After the founding of Halifax in 1749, Joseph Fairbanks removed there. He was elected to Nova Scotia's first House of Assembly in 1758 as one of nineteen men serving under Governor Charles Lawrence.[18]

Joseph Fairbanks was a successful merchant. He was also a slaveowner, as attested by his will. T. Watson Smith informs us, "Joseph Fairbanks, of Halifax, in 1790 by his last will and testament directed that 'my old and faithful servant, Richard Fortune, shall be emancipated and made free immediately after my decease', and made provision for giving him five pounds annually so long as he should live."[19] Since Joseph Fairbanks and his wife had no children, his nephew Rufus Sr. was one of several people who received bequests from his large estate. The inheritance that Rufus Sr. received was therefore undoubtedly connected to the slaveholding background of his uncle.

Rufus Fairbanks Sr. had been born in Killingy, Windham County, Connecticut, to Joseph's brother Eleazer Fairbanks III and Prudence (Crary) Fairbanks on October 20, 1759, and died in Halifax on July 7, 1842. A genealogy of the Fairbanks family in North America describes Rufus Sr.:

> He was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1784, and then joined his uncle Joseph Fairbanks in Halifax, Nova Scotia. A man of much ability and force of character, he was a useful and public-spirited citizen of the young city by the sea, and a prominent magistrate. He inherited a large property from his uncle, on which he erected several buildings. He gave his numerous family every advantage in the way of education that was within his reach, and left his children the heritage of an upright and loveable name."[20]

Rufus Fairbanks Sr. had followed in his uncle's footsteps and became a Halifax merchant and a justice of the peace for the County of Halifax, Nova Scotia. He permitted at least six families of Black Refugees from the War of 1812 to settle on lands he owned at Porters Lake (figure 52). Fairbanks hired the men to cut wood for him, and wrote a letter to Henry H. Cogswell describing the impoverished conditions in which he found their families. He also questioned the intentions of officials who were charged with overseeing their welfare and with distributing any government assistance that might be provided.

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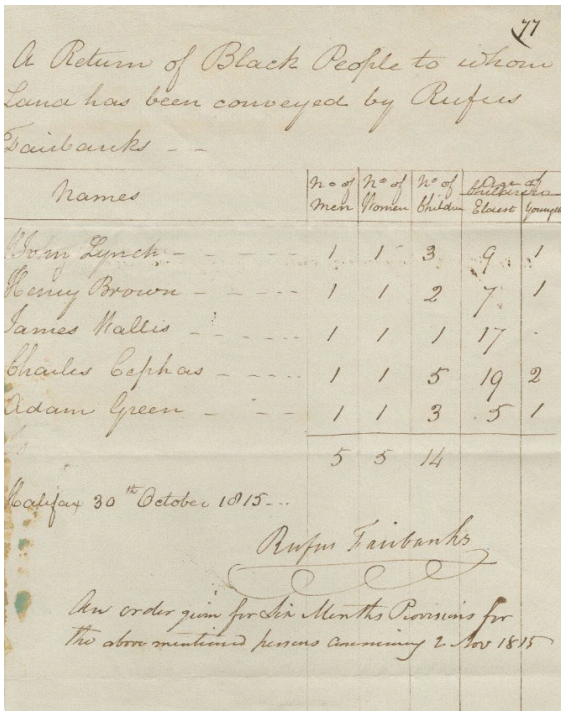
[17] See sect. 1, p. 43 of this report for further details.

[18] Lorenzo Sayles Fairbanks, *Genealogy of the Fairbanks Family in America, 1633-1897* (Boston: The American Printing and Engraving Company, 1897), 62.

[19] Smith, "Slave in Canada," 84. The original will may be found in the Estate Papers of Halifax County, (1750-1841), Microfilm 19403, F-2.

[20] Fairbanks, *Genealogy of the Fairbanks,* 169.



A Return of Black People to whom Land has been conveyed by Rufus Fairbanks – –

Names	No. of Men	No. of Women	No. of Children	Ages of Children Eldest	Youngest
John Lynch – – – – –	1	1	3	9	1
Henry Brown – – – –	1	1	2	7	1
James Wallis – – – –	1	1	1	17	
Charles Cephas – – –	1	1	5	19	2
Adam Green – – –	1	1	3	5	1
	5	5	14		

Halifax 30th October 1815 – –

Rufus Fairbanks

An order given for Six Months Provisions for the above mentioned persons commencing 2 Nov 1815

Fig. 52 "A Return of Black People to whom Land has been conveyed by Rufus Fairbanks," October 30, 1815[21]

In fact, he suggested that it was incumbent on all men of property to provide aid when they saw the need:

> The Blacks I have at the Lake consist of Six Families, viz, Six Men, Six Women and fifteen Children . . . I first agreed with two of the men to cut wood for me their families then being in the Poor House where I supposed they would remain for the winter—Just as they were embarking for the Lake the wife of one of the men came to me with four children the eldest about six years of age the youngest in Arms all in the extreme of poverty, with scarcely a Dud to cover them by Day or Night, sick and ematiated [*sic*] to that degree they could scarcely stand on their feet in that situation the Woman beged [*sic*] I would permit her to go with her Husband saying she had much rather go into the woods and perish with her Husband than to be left in the Poor House with her Children to be devoured by Vermin and die there which she was sure would soon be their fate—under those circumstances I allowed them to go . . . I have not given the above report to blazon my humanity or to expose my folly tho some have been kind enough to insinuate it has been done with a view to private Emolument I have given it to shew that I have done what I conceive every man in the Community ought to do according to their abilities when public burthens may be alleviated.[22]

[21] "A Return of Black Refugees to Whom Land Has Been Conveyed by Rufus Fairbanks," Oct. 30, 1815, Commissioner of Public Records collection, NSA RG 1 vol. 420 no. 77. Online in the NSA's African Nova Scotian Diaspora exhibit, https://archives.novascotia.ca/diaspora/archives/?ID=208. Fairbanks' treatment of the Black Refugees is more negatively interpreted by Alan Taylor, in *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia* (NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 2013), 374-75.

[22] Rufus Fairbanks to L.M. Wilkins, March 8, 1815, Commissioner of Public Records Collection, NSA RG 1 vol. 305,

Despite his own family's history of slaveholding, Rufus Fairbanks Sr. seems initially to have sympathized with the plight of the Black Refugees. Dr. Bonnie Huskins of the University of New Brunswick compares this to the sentiments of military engineer William Booth, who, in a diary kept from 1787 to 1789 and preserved in the Esther Clark Wright Archives at Acadia University, expressed sympathies for the plight of the Black Loyalists of Birchtown. Dr. Huskins writes: "[Booth] saw them as industrious (unlike, in his mind, some of the white Loyalists in Shelburne) and amongst those who had not received what they had been promised by the British and local authorities. To what degree this was a 'sincere' feeling for them or part of a compulsion to feel compassion for the poor as part of the tenets of polite society, is uncertain."[23]

Rufus Fairbanks Sr. later sold lots of land to five Black Refugee families. The deed was signed by Rufus and his brothers Charles Rufus Fairbanks and Samuel Prescott Fairbanks.[24] However, the properties were poor and swampy, and there were disputes over amounts owing for provisions he had offered to provide to the families. Ultimately, the Lynches and Henrys decided to move to the Preston area, although the other families did settle at Porters Lake.[25]

Rufus Fairbanks Sr. and his wife Ann Prescott, daughter of Jonathan Prescott of Chester Township, Nova Scotia, had ten children, and among these ten, at least four sons attended King's Academy and King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia. These were Charles Rufus Fairbanks (1790-1841), Samuel Prescott Fairbanks (1795-1882), John Eleazer Fairbanks (1793-1860), and William Bladgen Fairbanks (1796-1873).[26] Each one of these sons used their substantial educational training to become successful and prominent in their occupational pursuits after they had graduated from King's College. They were very influential in the development of the Shubenacadie Canal.

Charles Rufus Fairbanks was born in Halifax in 1790, son of Rufus Fairbanks Sr. He attended King's Academy. At the age of fourteen he was deemed qualified to enter King's College, but was not permitted to do so since college students were limited to those sixteen and older. Instead, he graduated from the Séminaire de Québec, studied law in the offices of Simon Robie and was admitted to the Bar of Nova Scotia in 1811. In 1824, Fairbanks was elected to the House of Assembly for Halifax. He was later appointed Solicitor General in 1832, and Master of the Rolls in 1834, a post that meant he presided over the Court of Chancery. He also served as Judge of Vice Admiralty, a position which, among many other duties, dealt with breaches of the Slave Trade Abolition laws.[27]

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no. 22. For discussion see C.B. Fergusson, *A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia Between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government*, publication no. 8 (Halifax, NS: The Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1948), 18-19.

[23] Bonnie Huskins, via email, Dec. 23, 2020. See also her "'New Hope' in Shelburne," 109-18.

[24] "Deed of Rufus Fairbanks to John Lynch and others. Land at Lake Porter," Commissioner of Public Records Collection, NSA RG 1 vol. 419, no. 106.

[25] Fergusson, *Documentary Study*, 55-6. For discussion regarding the disputes that arose between Fairbanks and the settlers, see Selena Ronshaye Sanderfer, "For Land and Liberty: Black Territorial Separatism in the South, 1776-1904" (unpub. PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 2010), 29-30, accessed Dec. 4, 2020, https://ir.vanderbilt.edu/bitstream/handle/1803/13681/ForLandandLiberty.pdf? sequence=1&isAllowed=y. However, Sanderfer mistakes twenty-seven individuals in seven families for twenty-seven families of Black Refugees who settled on Fairbanks' lands.

[26] Fairbanks, *Genealogy of the Fairbanks,* 169.

[27] David A. Sutherland, "Fairbanks, Charles Rufus," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–2020, accessed Dec. 1, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/fairbanks_charles_rufus_7E.html; Fairbanks, *Genealogy of the Fairbanks,* 319. For the Admiralty Court under Fairbanks, see Arthur J. Stone, "The Admiralty Court in Colonial Nova Scotia" *Dalhousie*

Rufus Sr. and Ann Fairbanks' son and former King's student John Eleazer Fairbanks was a prominent Halifax merchant dealing in fish, timber and ships in partnership with James McNab. He became a member of Legislative Council of Nova Scotia. He owned multiple ships, and his estate, called "Woodside," extended for a mile along the harbour at Dartmouth.[28] Samuel Fairbanks matriculated from King's College on September 3, 1810, became a barrister, member of the Nova Scotia Bar and was a member of the Legislative Assembly for Queens County for ten years. He was appointed Treasurer of the Province in 1845 and later served as Commissioner of Crown Lands for Nova Scotia. His wife, Charlotte Ann Newton, was the granddaughter of well-known merchant Simeon Perkins of Liverpool, Nova Scotia.[29] Another son, William Blagden Fairbanks, after leaving King's College in 1810 also became a Halifax-based merchant, founding the firm of Fairbanks and Allison, at the time one of the largest shipping firms in the world. He owned more than thirty vessels in the West Indian and international trade.[30]

Benjamin Gerrish Gray (1768-1854)

Fig. 53 Reverend Benjamin Gerrish Gray (1768-1854). Dalhousie University Art Gallery.[31]

Benjamin Gerrish Gray was an Anglican clergyman born in Boston, Massachusetts in 1768. His father was John Gray and his mother Mary Gerrish, the daughter of Halifax-based Joseph Gerrish and his wife, who was the former Mary Brenton. Benjamin Gerrish Gray would attend King's College, Nova Scotia, and go on to become a member of the faculty at King's as well as the College's first Librarian.

The Gerrishs were an old Boston family that emigrated to Halifax prior to the American Revolution. Joseph Gerrish, along with his brother Benjamin Gerrish and sister Mary Gerrish Gray, were the children of Captain John Gerrish, a Boston merchant and shipowner. He served in the 3rd Massachusetts Regiment in the capture of Louisbourg in 1745, the defence of Annapolis Royal, and later fought at Grand Pré. He moved his family to Halifax soon after its founding in 1749. There, after some unsuccessful business ventures, he became the naval storekeeper at the Halifax Naval Yard, a justice of the peace, a judge, and then in 1758, along with Joseph Fairbanks, a member of Nova Scotia's first House of Assembly.[32]

Law Journal 17, no. 2 (1994): 362-429.

[28] John E. Fairbanks, as a young man, wrote a journal of travels to the Netherlands, England, Ireland, Scotland, and Sweden as well as to Liverpool, Nova Scotia aboard the HM Sloop *Swallow*; John E. Fairbanks' Journal . . . (1825), NSA 1998-141/001-03.

[29] John G. Leefe, "Fairbanks, Samuel Prescott," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed Dec. 4, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/fairbanks_samuel_prescott_11E.html.

[30] Fairbanks, *Genealogy of the Fairbanks,* 321-24.

[31] We are grateful for permission to reproduce this portrait received from the Dalhousie University Art Gallery.

[32] Stephen E. Patterson, "Gerrish, Joseph," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed Dec. 4, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gerrish_joseph_4E.html; Arthur Hamilton Wentworth Eaton, "Old Boston Families, Number Two: The Family of Capt. John Gerrish," *New*

John Gerrish's son, Joseph Gerrish, owned at least five enslaved men: Samuel Hazard, George Marshall, Cato Harris and John Fame and one known only as Joe.[33] The will of Joseph Gerrish was proved in Halifax in June 1774. He left his estate in trust to close friends Henry Newton, John Burbidge and Philip Knaught, with instructions to look after his heirs. According to Eaton, he bequeathed:

> one-third of his estate to his wife Mary, one-third to his grandchildren, the children of his daughter Mary Gray and his son-in-law Joseph Gray, namely Elizabeth Brenton, Joseph Gerrish, Mary, Amelia, Ann, **Benjamin Gerrish**, Lydia Hancock, and such other children as they may have for their use, support, maintenance and education, and the remaining third to his daughter Susannah, wife of Ephraim Stannus, for her and her children's use and support. After his wife's decease her share of the estate is to go, one-half to the children of his daughter Mary, share and share alike, when the youngest has attained the age of twenty-one years or after the decease of their parents, and the other half to his daughter Susannah and her heirs. To his wife he leaves **his negro man Joe**, and his gold watch.[34]

According to Smith, "In 1770 the executors of Joseph Gerrish of Halifax lost £30 on the sale of three Negroes for £150 to Richard Williams and Abraham Constable, the Negroes having been appraised at £180: and a Negro boy named John Fame was not then sold."[35] What happened to the other enslaved men named above is not known.

Benjamin Gerrish Gray was not only one of his grandfather Joseph Gerrish's heirs, but also received an important legacy from his great-uncle, the Honourable Benjamin Gerrish. He was a prosperous merchant enjoying the fruits of government contracts in collaboration with his partner Joseph Gray, justice of the peace at Halifax. He was also Indian Commissary, which meant he was responsible for handling all business, including the lucrative fur trade, between the government and First Nations in Nova Scotia. One of the commodities he traded was West Indian rum, made from slave-produced sugar, as noted by Shirley Tillotson in her own article for the King's College and Slavery project.[36] He was later elected to the House of Assembly and then the Council. Dying childless in 1772, his legacy to his clergyman great-nephew included Dudley Park, a thousand-acre farm granted to him by the Nova Scotia government and located near Falmouth, in Hants County, along with "sundry pieces of land lying near it, including sixty acres of marsh which he had dyked."[37] His own home, Gerrish Hall, Benjamin Gerrish left to his wife, Rebecca, who later remarried. Her second husband was also a slaveholder, John Burbidge of Cornwallis, who is discussed elsewhere in this report.[38]

Benjamin Gerrish Gray went to school in England prior to being educated at King's College, Windsor. A Church of England clergyman, over the years he ministered to several groups of people of African descent in the Maritimes. Gray was ordained in September 1796, and that same year was appointed King's Chaplain by Lieutenant Governor Sir John Wentworth. Both the governor and Bishop Charles Inglis

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England Historical & Genealogical Register 67 (1913): 105–15.

[33] NSA, RG 48, Reel 405, n.p.

[34] Eaton, "Old Boston Families"; emphasis added. Accessed March 4, 2019, https://archive.org/details/gerrishfamilyfam00eato.

[35] Riddell, "Slavery in the Maritime Provinces," 362.

[36] Tillotson, "How (and How Much)."

[37] Eaton, "Old Boston Families," 11.

[38] See sect. 6, p. 201; Stephen E. Patterson, "Gerrish, Benjamin," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed March 21, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gerrish_benjamin_4E.html.

equated loyalty to the Crown with conversion to the Church of England, and the newly-minted minister was charged with overseeing the religious welfare of some 500 Jamaican Maroons.[39] These had been brought to Nova Scotia for resettlement, a venture doomed to fail. Descendants of escaped slaves who had formed their own colonies over several generations in the mountainous Jamaican interior, and both talented and strategic warriors the Maroons had successfully resisted colonizers until the Second Maroon War, after which the British tricked them into emigrating. They mainly settled near Preston, and those who were willing to join the Church of England and have their children Christianized through their education also were located on land at Maroon Hill (Boydville) in the Sackville, Halifax County area. They were employed in building the third Halifax Citadel. With multiple complaints about Nova Scotia's cold climate as well as attempts to convert them to the Church of England, end their practice of polygamy, and encourage them to take up farming, by 1800 they had petitioned the British government to transport them to the West African colony of Sierra Leone.[40]

Following the departure of the Maroons, Gray was employed in 1801 as English master KIng's Academy, sometimes called the collegiate school, operated at Windsor by King's College, where he was also a fellow of the college and its Librarian. Five years later Reverend Benjamin Gerrish Gray became a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) at Sackville, near Halifax. In this latter position he ministered to the Refugee Blacks of the War of 1812 who were settled in the Hammond Plains district of Halifax County. In June 1825, Reverend Gray went to St. John, New Brunswick as the new Rector at Trinity Church, a post he held through his retirement in 1840. He was succeeded by his son, the Reverend John William Dering Gray, who had an MA (1818), BD (1826) and DD (1846), all earned at King's College, Nova Scotia.[41]

Timothy Amherst Ruggles (1781-1838)

Timothy Amherst Ruggles, a student at King's in the initial years (1789-1803), was the grandson of Brigadier General Timothy Dwight Ruggles, a Loyalist of the American Revolution who settled in Wilmot Township, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. There had been some question as to which Timothy Ruggles—for there were several members of the family named "Timothy"—attended King's. However, Timothy Amherst Ruggles was the only one to go on to a military career, and that is what King's College's own records show as the occupation of the Timothy who had attended King's. His grandfather had served under Lord Amherst in the Seven Years' War, which is likely the source of the younger Timothy's middle name.[42]

Born on Staten Island (then known as "Long Island") in New York harbour during the Revolutionary War,

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[39] Chopra, *Almost Home*, 93-94.

[40] Ruma Chopra, "Maroons and Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia, 1796-1800," *Acadiensis* 46, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2017): 5-23, accessed Dec. 2, 2020, https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/Acadiensis/article/view/25748/29846; Mavis C. Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655–1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration, and Betrayal* (Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1988) and *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: A Documentary History*, Studies in Third World Societies, Publication No. 41 (Williamsburg, VA.: Dept. of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, 1990); Lennox O'Riley Picart, "The Trelawny Maroons and Sir John Wentworth: The Struggle to Maintain Their Culture, 1796–1800," *Collections of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 44 (1996): 165-87.

[41] D. Murray Young, "Gray, Benjamin Gerrish," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 4, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gray_benjamin_gerrish_8E.html.

[42] "Ruggles, Timothy," in Hathaway, "Spreadsheet King's College" (see sect. 1, p. 39, n. 138); W.E. Chute, *A Genealogy and History of the Chute Family in America: With Some Account of the Family in Great Britain and Ireland* (Salem, MA: privately published, 1894), clxxviii-clxxix.

Timothy Amherst Ruggles was two years of age when he came to Nova Scotia. The family group included his parents John Ruggles (1742-1822), Hannah (Sackett) Ruggles (1758-1839), his father's younger brother Richard Ruggles (1744-1832), and his grandfather, Brigadier-General Timothy Dwight Ruggles (1711-1795). It was Brigadier-General Ruggles who brought his extended family first to Annapolis Royal and then to Wilmot on the North Mountain in Annapolis County following the British evacuation of New York in 1783.[43]

Brigadier-General Ruggles was a prominent Loyalist, known during the Revolutionary War as "the most noted Tory in Massachusetts." Born in Rochester, Massachusetts in 1711, he graduated from Harvard University, became a lawyer and carried on his practice in Rochester. He moved to Sandwich and then to Hardwick, Massachusetts. In 1756, he became a judge of the Court of Common Pleas and later Chief Justice of the same Court of Common Pleas. He was an officer in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) for which service he attained his high military rank. He was also involved in politics for much of his career and in 1762 was elected a member of the House of Representatives. Ruggles presided over the First Colonial Congress, called in 1765 to protest the Stamp Act, but resigned when the delegates chose revolt over loyalty to the Crown. At the outbreak of the American Revolution, he went first to Boston, where he raised a loyal troop on behalf of the British colonial governor. His wife, three daughters, several stepchildren and his own brother sided with the patriot cause and remained behind. His eldest son, also named Timothy, remained in Hardwick, Massachusetts, until his mother's death in 1787, at which time he joined his father and brothers and made a new life for his family in Nova Scotia.[44]

Brigadier-General Ruggles and his sons John and Richard were evacuated to Halifax, where he joined with British forces fighting against the rebels. He resettled on Staten Island and raised a troop of horse to fight the revolutionaries. Evacuated from New York along with the rest of the Loyalists after American victory was confirmed, he was stripped of all his properties and enslaved workers in retribution for his loyalist stance.[45]

Brigadier-General Ruggles, who was 72 years of age when he arrived in Nova Scotia, was a hale and hearty man, though reportedly rough in his manners. Farming his 10,000-acre estate on the North Mountain in Annapolis County, he continued his interest in agricultural matters and experimented with different crops and soil improvements. In particular he planted the first orchard in the Annapolis Valley, a region still known for its fine apples. Working with Bishop Charles Inglis and the tenants on the bishop's estate "Clermont" at Aylesford, Ruggles and Inglis are credited with the grafts that produced the iconic Annapolis Valley "Bishop's Pippin" apple, still a popular variety today.[46] Ruggles had a mixture of enslaved African Nova Scotian labour, free Black Loyalists, indentured servants and hired white labour. Archaeologist and historian Catherine M.A. Cottreau-Robins wrote her PhD dissertation on the results of archaeological investigations undertaken at what once was Ruggles's Annapolis County estate at Ruggles (now known as Phinney) Mountain. As she noted, Brigadier General Ruggles also enslaved several people:

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[43] Cottreau-Robins, "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia," Chapter 2, 44ff. This important dissertation summarizes the known sources for Ruggles family history relevant to our study of slavery. See also Calnek, Archbold, and Savary, *History of the County of Annapolis*, 584-95.

[44] Cottreau-Robins, "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia," 79-80. See also Henry Stoddard Ruggles, *General Timothy Ruggles, 1711-1795* (Wakefield, MS: privately printed, 1897), 19-23.

[45] Cottreau-Robins, "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia," esp. Chapter 2, 44ff.

[46] Brian McConnell, UE, "Clermont & a Nova Scotia Heritage Apple—The Bishop's Pippin," UELAC Newsletter, accessed Dec. 14, 2020, http://www.uelac.org/PDF/Bishop-Charles-Inglis-Clermont-and-a-Nova-Scotia-Heritage-Apple.pdf.

> *The Book of Negroes* provided a Loyalist case study . . . of Brig. Gen. Timothy Ruggles. The ledger holds evidence of slaves noted as "the General's Property." Specifically, an entry for April 23-27, 1783, lists the brig *Ranger* bound for Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The vessel had aboard Hester Ruggles, age seven, "fine wench," the property of General Ruggles, Jeffrey Ruggles, age six, "fine boy," and the property of General Ruggles; Prince, age nineteen, "stout B[lack]," for the general's son Richard Ruggles of Annapolis.[47]

Two other enslaved workers of Brigadier General Ruggles are mentioned in an article by Stephen Davidson, entitled "The Story of the Loyalist's Slave and the Carpenter's Revenge." Davidson tells the story of Jasper and Hettie Jenkins, imported by the Ruggles when they departed New York. According to the article, Hettie served as the family cook while Jasper was Ruggles's hostler. When Ruggles passed away, the local carpenter, with whom he had a difficult relationship, left only a plain pine box in which to bury one of the county's most prominent men. But he was outsmarted by Jasper, who set the household to preparing soot with which to blacken the coffin, giving it the appearance of having been finely painted. With Hettie preparing the funeral feast, the couple saved the day.[48]

Actually, Whitfield's forthcoming *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* notes that the "Book of Negroes" named only two enslaved people as attached to Timothy Ruggles household:

> Hester Ruggles, 7, fine wench, (General Ruggles). The General's property.
>
> Jeffery Ruggles, 6, fine boy, (General Ruggles). The General's property.

The similarity of the names of these enslaved children to those of the couple referenced in Davidson's tale recounted above suggests that they are the same individuals, especially since the story of Ruggles's coffin includes the detail that the Jenkins had been brought with him from New York.[49]

Brigadier-General Ruggles died at the age of 84 on August 4, 1795, and is buried at the rear of Old Trinity Anglican Church at Middleton, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. It is possible some of his enslaved workers had assisted in the construction of that church, which had been established under Bishop Inglis's direction and was pastored by SPG missionary Reverend John Wiswall (1731-1812), a Loyalist and slaveholder from Massachusetts. Both the Brigadier-General and his son John (Timothy Amherst Ruggles's father) were involved in organizing the church construction.[50] In his will, made sometime

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[47] Catherine M.A. Cottreau-Robins, "Exploring the Landscape of Slavery in Loyalist Nova Scotia," in the Book Preview of *The Consequences of Loyalism: Essays in Honor of Robert M. Cahoon* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2019), as well as her article entitled "Searching for the Enslaved in Nova Scotia's Loyalist Landscape," *Acadiensis* 43, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2014): 125-36.

[48] Stephen Davidson, "The Story of the Loyalist's Slave and the Carpenter's Revenge," in *Loyalist Trails*, ULEAC Newsletter, May 22, 2011, 1. Accessed March 10, 2019, http://www.uelac.org/Loyalist-Trails/2011/Loyalist-Trails-2011.php?issue=201120. In consultation with the author, we learned that Stephen Davidson learned the story of Jasper and Hettie Jenkins from a Ruggles descendant quoting an early 20th century newspaper article. Stephen Davidson, via email, Dec. 12, 2020. Cottreau-Robins also mentions the story in "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia," 47n115, citing a manuscript in the MacDonald Museum archives, Middleton, Nova Scotia. See also Cottreau-Robins, "The Loyalist Plantation: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Informing Early African-Nova Scotian Settlement," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 17 (2014): 32-56.

[49] We are indebted to Sarah Chute and Dr. Harvey Amani Whitfield of the University of Vermont for bringing the names of "Jeffrey" and "Hettie" as listed in the "Book of Negroes" to our attention. Sarah Chute and Harvey Amani Whitfield, via email, Dec. 18, 2020. See also "Book of Negroes," British Headquarters Papers (Carleton Papers or American Manuscripts). MG23 B1 Document 10427, p. 43, Microfilm Reel M-369, Items 2133 and 2134, LAC.

[50] John Wiswall was a Harvard graduate and originally a Congregationalist but converted while ministering to a congregation in Falmouth, Maine and went to England in 1765 for ordination in the Church of England. Upon his

before he died in 1795, there is no mention of those he had enslaved. This suggests that he had either gifted them to his heirs before his death, or that they were living as free people by that time. He left his land at Wilmot to his son John, who sold it soon after to the Phinney family.[51]

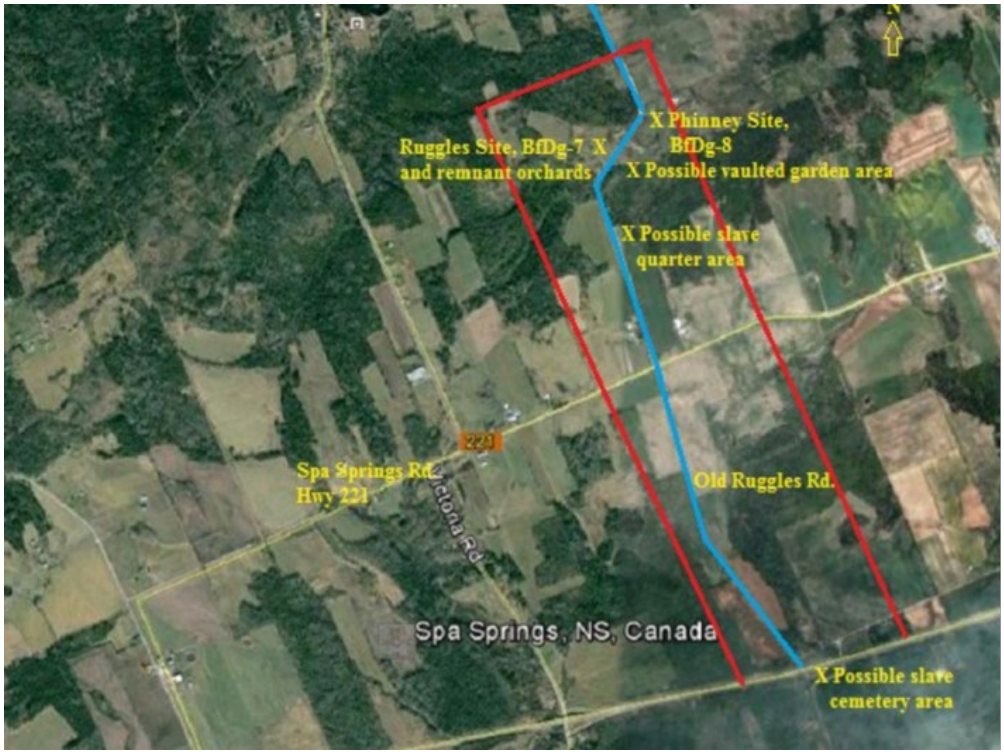

Fig. 54 Google Earth image overlaid with Brigadier-General Ruggles property, outlined here in red, with data from Catherine Cottreau-Robins's 2012 dissertation. Note the suggested locations of the slave quarters and slave cemetery. John Ruggles, father of Timothy Amherst Ruggles who attended King's College, lived on 800 acres to the north of his father's property.[52]

John and Hannah Ruggles had their own land near his father's estate at Wilmot. Cottreau-Robins states that there is evidence of John and Hannah arranging for the baptism of enslaved children born to their

return, he again took up his charge. There were at least three babies born to those he enslaved whom he baptized in that church before the Revolution. He served as a naval chaplain and then went to England during the Revolutionary War, and thence to Nova Scotia to take up the parish formerly held by Reverend Jacob Bailey. The enormous charge was later reduced to Aylesford and Wilmot. E.M. Saunders, "The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wiswall, MA, a Loyalist Clergyman in New England and Nova Scotia," *Collections of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 13 (1908): 1-73; Maud M. Hutcheson, "Wiswall, John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed Dec. 13, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wiswall_john_5E.html. Wiswall retained ownership of his enslaved "servant" Dinah for T. Watson Smith noted from his consultations of Wiswall's journal, now held in the collections of the Esther Clark Wright Archives at Acadia University, that he had "sent this message to his slave, Dinah, in a letter from Boston to a near relative: 'Remember me to Dinah. I allow her to live with you or where she pleases until she hears from me. I am determined not to sell her to anybody. This you can assure her from me.'" Smith, "Slave in Canada," 74. For John Ruggles' role in building the church, see Cottreau-Robins, "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia," 84.

[51] Cottreau-Robins, "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia," 138 and 139n309.

[52] Cottreau-Robins, 153. Printed here with permission of the author.

household.[53] Furthermore, as one of his father's heirs, John's family benefited from the profits accruing from exploiting the Brigadier-General's unwaged workers. There are no Ruggles listed on the 1808 petition presented to the Nova Scotia government by Annapolis County slaveholders seeking clarification as to the legal status of their human "property." However, those families listed were mainly from the Digby area.[54]

John and Hannah Ruggles' son, Timothy Amherst Ruggles, studied at King's College before the charter was granted in 1802 and went on to become a captain in the Nova Scotia Fencibles. The unit was formed in 1803; the term "Fencible" usually refers to local defence. The army list for 1805 shows Ruggles as a lieutenant. The unit was stationed first at Halifax and then at Annapolis, with a detachment also serving at Windsor, Nova Scotia. Although the Nova Scotia Fencibles served in Newfoundland at the beginning of the War of 1812, they later were garrisoned at Fort Henry in Kingston, Upper Canada.[55] In September 1816, Captain Ruggles was put on half-pay. He died in 1838 and is buried in the Garrison Cemetery there.[56] His obituary was published in the *Halifax Pearl*, September 21, 1838. He evidently never married because it reads:

> At his residence in Wilmot, county of Annapolis, on Sunday 2nd September, after a short but severe illness, in the 56th year of his age, Capt. Timothy Amherst Ruggles, of the late Nova Scotia Fencibles and only son of the late John Ruggles Esq.; he has left an aged mother and three sisters to lament the loss of an affectionate son and brother.

The Garrison Cemetery where Captain Ruggles was laid to rest remains the oldest intact British cemetery in North America.

William Shey (ca. 1770-1854)

Peter Shey (1748-1818), father of William Shey, student at King's College, was a native of Northern Ireland. He was an early settler of Newport Township, Hants County, Nova Scotia, where he received a grant of land in 1760. He gave the name "Mount Peter" to the estate. Shey later lived and farmed in Falmouth Township, Hants County, where he purchased an estate called "Green Grove."[57]

Peter Shey owned a number of enslaved people, two of whose names we are aware of: Dinah, and Juba Caesar. "On November 19, 1776, Peter Shey of Falmouth paid Reverend John Breynton of Halifax, £23,6.8 for a black slave named Dinah about twenty-five years of age."[58] The enslaved Juba Caesar has been referenced in at least three works relating to the history of Hants County. In Thomas F. Draper's

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[53] Wilmot Township Records from 1783-1856 in Annapolis County, MG 4, vol. 5, NSA, cited in Cottreau-Robins, "Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia," 47, and 47n114.

[54] Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia"; Whitfield's "Black Loyalists and Black Slaves"; and Document 53: Digby Slave-Owners Petition, Nova Scotia, 1807, in Whitfield's *Black Slavery in the Maritimes*, 93-96.

[55] Terrence M. Punch, "Nova Scotia Fencibles at St. John's Newfoundland, 1814-1816," *Nova Scotia Genealogist* 7, no.2 (Summer 1989): 70-73.

[56] Chute, *Chute Family.*

[57] John V. Duncanson, *Township of Falmouth Nova Scotia* (Belleville, ON: Mika Publishing Company, 1983), 397; "A List of Settlers Brought from Newport, Rhode Island, to Falmouth [Nova Scotia] [. . .] in the Sloop Sally and in the Sloop Lydia [. . .] in May 1760," in Ray Greene Huling, "The Rhode Island Emigration to Nova Scotia," *Narragansett Historical Register* 7, no.2 (April 1889): 101-36.

[58] This is discussed in sect. 6, pp. 215-16 of this report and includes an image of the sale documents held in the Nova Scotia Archives. "Bill of Sale for a Negro Woman, Revd. Dr. Breyton to Mr. Peter Shey," Nov. 19, 1776, NSA MG 100, vol.113, #51; Whitfield, *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* (forthcoming).

"Essay on the History of Hants County,"[59] written as a prize essay for King's College in 1865, he identified Juba as former King's student Colonel Williams's elderly Black servant. Juba was also mentioned in the writings of W.C. Milner in his book entitled *The Basin of Minas and It's* [*sic*] *Early Settlers*, in which Milner stated: "The Shey family of Falmouth Township brought with them Juba Caesar, to whom they erected a gravestone after his death in 1845 with the inscription: Juba Caesar. Died 1845, aged 76. His remains rest beside the family which he served for 63 years."[60] John Duncanson of Falmouth made a rubbing of Juba's headstone in the summer of 1982 which reads in full: "Sacred To The Memory Of Juba Caesar Who Departed This Life Feb 26th 1845 Aged 76. His Remains Now Repose Beside The Family In Which He Served 63 Years."[61]

Fig. 55 Headstone of Juba Caesar, Shey Family Burial Ground, Falmouth, NS. Photo by David W. States, October 5, 2017.

Juba is also mentioned in a scrapbook of newspaper clippings by Mrs. Marguerite Aylward of Falmouth, Nova Scotia, on file at the West Hants Historical Society Museum in Windsor. The scrapbook article is entitled "Old Time Reminiscences" and a quotation from the article reads thus:

> By the courtesy of Mr. Thomas Akins, of Falmouth, we were shown over this beautiful farm also through an extensive young orchard in full bloom. We came to an old family cemetery where the Shey family and a few others in the last century were interred and the lot is still cared for by Mr. Akins. The following are some of the inscriptions on the tombstones. Peter Shey died Sept. 7th, 1818, aged 80 years. Frances Shey, wife of Peter Shey, died April 22nd, 1799 aged 63 years. Jane, daughter of Peter and Frances Shey, died Nov., 1779, aged 6 years. John, son of Peter and Frances Shey, died April 23rd, 1802, aged 39 years. Colonel William Shey, son of Peter and Frances Shey, died Sept. 5th, 1854, aged 80 years. Juba Caesar died Feb. 26th, 1845, aged 63 years. The writer remembers well when Col. William Shey owned and occupied the abovementioned property, together with the buildings which were kept up in fine shape. Juba Caesar was a colored slave brought here by old Mr. Shey and at his death came into the possession of Colonel William Shey. Juba was a faithful servant, and when he died Colonel William Shey had his remains placed in the family lot.[62]

Peter Shey did not leave enslaved individuals in his will. His son, William Henry Shey or daughter Jane Frances Shey may, however, have been given Dinah or any other people whose service Shey claimed before his death. Colonel William Henry Shey, who attended King's College, Windsor, inherited most of his father's property, his mother already being deceased. His sister was left monies in trust, and it seems from the tone of the will that she may have needed some sort of care during her lifetime. There is no

[59] Thomas F. Draper, "Essay on the History of Hants County" (unpub. MS, University of King's College, Windsor, N.S., 1881), 127.
[60] W.C. Milner, *The Basin of Minas and It's* [*sic*] *Early Settlers* (Reprinted from the *Wolfville Acadian*, c1920), 116.
[61] "Biography: Caesar, Juba Cemetery Inscription," NSA MG5, vol.21, #33.
[62] Margaret L. Aylward Scrapbook, West Hants Historical Society, 13.

further mention of the Sheys connected with the institution of slavery.[63]

Colonel Shey farmed and collected rents on his father's extensive properties. He was an officer in the militia, and justice of the peace for Hants County. Elected to the Nova Scotia Assembly in 1809, he represented Falmouth until 1811, and then from 1826 to 1836, when there were several other former King's College students serving with him, including Charles Rufus Fairbanks.[64] William Shey passed away, aged 84, in 1851. Along with his parents and other family members he is buried in the Shey family graveyard near Falmouth, Nova Scotia.

George O'Kill Stuart (1776-1862)

Fig. 56 Reverend George O'Kill Stuart, first Rector of York, 1800-1812[65]

Dr. George O'Kill Stuart was the first Rector of the Town of York (Toronto). He only attended King's College from 1789-1794, as his father, SPG missionary the Reverend John Stuart, had several children and was unable to support his son's education in Nova Scotia. However, the younger Reverend Stuart would go on to a stellar career in the Church of England. George O'Kill Stuart received a Doctor of Civil Law (Honorary) from King's College, Nova Scotia, in 1827 and an honorary doctorate from Harvard, which was awarded in 1848. He left York for Kingston in 1812 to take over the pulpit left vacant by the death of his father, Rector of St. George's Church. He would go on in 1821 to be appointed Archdeacon of York and in 1828, Archdeacon of Kingston.[66]

Reverend John Stuart (1740-1811), born in Pennsylvania, was a Presbyterian who converted to Anglicanism while away at college, receiving holy orders in London, England, in 1777. Subsequently, he became a missionary for the SPG and was stationed at Fort Hunter, some 36 miles north of Albany, New York, where he was charged with the task of educating and converting the First Nations peoples of the area. He married Jane O'Kill, also of Pennsylvania, and the couple had eight children. Reverend Stuart translated a good part of the *Book of Common Prayer* and the New Testament into Mohawk, a project in which he collaborated

[63] Will of Peter Shey, Nova Scotia Probate Records, 1760-1993 Hants Estate files, 1816-1823, vol 2, 144A-200A, Ancestry.ca.

[64] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com), memorial page for William Shey (unknown–5 Sep 1854), Find a Grave Memorial no. 183644805, citing Shey Family Burying Ground, Falmouth, Hants County, Nova Scotia, Canada; Maintained by Hantsport & Area Historical Society (contributor 48644713), accessed Dec. 14, 2020.

[65] Image #14228, Reverend George O'Kill Stuart (1775-1812); 2nd Rector of York (1800-1812); Rector, Grammar School, York (1807-1812), Baldwin Collection, Toronto Public Library E 8-96.

[66] A. J. Anderson, "Stuart, George O'Kill (1776-1862)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed Dec. 12, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/stuart_george_okill_1776_1862_9E.html; Hathaway, "Spreadsheet King's College." Bishop Mountain wrote to the SPG on September 3, 1800, requesting the "usual Salary from the Government of £100 a year" for the Reverend George O'Kill Stuart as the Minister at York." Edith Firth, *The Town of York, 1793-1815* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Champlain Society, 1962), 193. See also A.H. Young, "The Rev'd George O'Kill Stuart, MA, DCL," *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society* 26 (1927): 512-34, and A.H. Young, *The Revd. [Reverend] John Stuart, D.D., U.E.L., of Kingston, U.C. and His Family; a Genealogical Study* (Kingston, ON: Whig Press, 1921).

with Mohawk Chief and Loyalist Joseph Brant, also a slaveholder, who, after the Revolutionary War would bring enslaved African Americans to his Burlington Bay property and also to the Mohawk reserve at what today is Brantford, Ontario.[67]

Like Joseph Brant, Reverend Stuart sided with the Crown when the American Revolution broke out. He fled first to upstate New York and then Quebec. He does not appear to have made a Loyalist claim, and the finding aid for his papers suggest that he was able to leave his American properties in trust with a colleague, the Bishop William White (1747-1836), who had been chaplain to the Continental Congress. Reverend John Stuart arrived in St. John, Quebec, with his family as a Loyalist in the fall of 1781. Appointed chaplain to the 2nd Battalion of the Kings Royal Regiment of New York he settled in Montreal and opened a school. In his memoirs he recorded that he brought those enslaved by him from the Mohawk Valley to Canada.[68]

Recommended by Governor Haldimand because of his "exemplary Character, good Understanding and Education, and [. . .] great influence with the Loyalists as well as the Indians," John Stuart relocated to Kingston in 1785, where he farmed to support his large family and served as chaplain to the garrison there. He established a second school, and, with two-thirds of his income provided by the British government and one-third by the SPG, he began his ministry. With "Richard Cartwright, Neil Maclean, Robert Macaulay, Joseph Herchimer, Michael Grass, Joseph Forsythe, Thomas Markland, Peter Smith, and David Brass," several of whom had imported enslaved servants with them when they left their former American homes, Reverend John Stuart built the second Anglican church in Upper Canada.[69] St. George's Church saw the inauguration of the Province of Upper Canada when in 1792, Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe took his own oath of office and proclaimed the Government Commissions from its front steps. Despite his personal aversion to slavery, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe appointed the slaveholding Reverend John Stuart chaplain to the Legislative Council of the province.[70]

Reverend John Stuart ministered to congregations across Upper Canada, with particular attention given to the Mohawk Grand Valley. He died at Kingston in 1811. As Sherry Lynn Edmunds recounts:

> It is told of the good Dr. [John] Stuart that his old black body servant used to precede him on Sunday evenings and light the tallow dips that stood in sockets at the end of the pews and served to illuminate the evening service. According to another source, he also acted as a beadle, or attendant to the minister during services in the Church.[71]

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[67] Ray F. Fleming, "Negro Slaves with the Loyalists in Upper Canada," *Ontario History* 45 (Ontario History 44 (1952): 27–30, 28, 29.

[68] Sherry Lynn Edmunds, "Slavery in Kingston, Ontario, and Bay of Quinte" (unpub. MA thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1988), 48-51. See also Hebb, "Bishop Charles Inglis," 64, and Thos, W, Casey, "Early Slavery in the Midland District: Old Time Records from the *Napanee Beaver*" (1902), online at Adolphustown-Fredericksburgh Heritage Website, accessed Nov. 12, 2019, http://www.sfredheritage.on.ca/Early%20Slavery.htm.

[69] Rev. Archdeacon McMorine, "Early History of the Anglican Church in Kingston," *Ontario Historical Society Papers & Records* 8 (1907): 90–102, 91-97; T.R. Millman, "Stuart, John (1740/41-1811)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed December 9, 2018, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/stuart_john_1740_41_1811_5E.html.

[70] Finding Aid: Stuart Family Papers, The Loyalist Collection, University of New Brunswick Libraries, accessed Dec. 15, 2020, https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4410. The originals are in the Archives of Ontario, AO MS 606.

[71] We are grateful to our colleague and friend Sherry Lynn Edmunds for sharing her excellent 1988 MA thesis with us, entitled "Slavery in Kingston, Ontario, and Bay of Quinte Region" for the purposes of this report. This quotation comes from page 49-50. George Lothrop Starr, *St. George's, Being the Story of a Church and Its Ministers in an Historic Centre of Upper Canada* (Kingston, ON: R. Uglow & Company, Publishers, 1913), 27. For the enslaved

Slavery was common in both upstate New York and in Kingston, Upper Canada, while Reverend John Stuart lived there. Loyalist Richard Cartwright and his family had imported their own enslaved servants with them.[72] Molly Brant, sister of Joseph Brant and consort of Sir William Johnson by whom she had several children, came to Kingston with three enslaved servants. Their names were Juba, Jane Fonda, and Abraham Johnson. The Fairfields were slaveholders, as were the Everetts. Captain Johan Jost Herkimer came from New York with seven slaves, two of whom were children.[73]

Despite his clerical status, Reverend John Stuart was not a benevolent slaveholder. Indeed, as Sherry Lynn Edmunds points out in her excellent thesis on slavery in the Kingston area, he described Africans in extremely denigrating terms. At least one of Reverend John Stuart's enslaved "servants" found a creative way to escape his service, as this letter to his son James, the future Solicitor General of Upper Canada, who was being educated there, reveals:

> Kingston, March 6, 1802
>
> Dear James,
>
> A Domestic occurrence has deranged us very much. On 22 of the last month, the coldest day experienced here for several years, my Negro Boy, without any pretended reason whatever, ran away. He went on skates by the way of Carleton Island. —On the 3rd I heard that he was at a house about 30 miles distant, with a hand and foot frozen. I dispatched a person to bring him back—the people where he was, told my messenger, that they would neither prevent nor assist him in bringing the negro back. Upon this, he returned here and took a horse and slay, as the fellow could not walk. But a few of the bandits of the place collected and said that if the Negro would not go voluntarily back, they would not allow him to be compelled. Of course, he said he was not willing and the man returned without him. And what mortifies me more than the loss, I hear that the fellow is at work publicly with the republican [American] Rascal who keeps the Ferry in sight of Carleton Island. I have advertised and written to a magistrate on the Black River [New York] on this subject, but I have very little expectation that I shall ever recover the fellow—these democratic villains are not contented with ruining me once.[74]

George O'Kill Stuart was born in 1776 during his father's tenure at Fort Hunter, at Albany, New York, in 1776. He started his education at his father's academies in Montreal and Kingston. Then John Stuart and his wife Jane sent their eldest son to Union College in Schenectady, New York, circa 1789, after which he

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man's participation in services, see Stuart Ryan, "Loyal History Ex Parte John Anderson," Special Collections, Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1, cited in Edmunds, 50n202.

[72] The *Kingston Chronicle & Gazette*, Nov. 2, 1842 carried the obituary of Joseph Gutches, enslaved to the Vrooman family near Schohary. He was brought to Canada and sold at Niagara. Cartwright purchased him and he arrived with the family when they moved to Kingston in 1785, remaining in the service of Richard's son John Solomon Cartwright (1804-1845), Member of the Legislative Assembly for Upper Canada, for many years. Born in upstate NY, he died at the age of 79. Richard Cartwright's estate listed only a single slave when he died in 1799 (?). Richard Cartwright at Cataracqui to Commissioners Collins and Powell, Aug. 16, 1787, regarding the ownership of Joseph Gutch cites an application for the return of his enslaved man presented by the Vrooman family to Reverend John Stuart. Richard Cartwright Jr. papers and John Solomon Cartwright Papers, Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, also cited in Edmunds, "Slavery in Kingston," 50-53.

[73] Nelson Green, "The Home and Name of General Herkimer," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 14 (1915): 365-402; Rick Neilson, "George Mink: A Black Businessman in Early Kingston," *Historic Kingston* 46, 1998: 111-29.

[74] "Stuart Family Papers 1778-1833," MS 606, Reel 1, Ontario Archives: 112-13.

attended King's College, in Windsor Nova Scotia. With insufficient funds to continue, in 1794, George left to enroll in grammar school in Quebec, after which he opened his own academy in Kingston, Upper Canada. Travelling to Boston, he graduated from Harvard with an AB in 1801, studied for the Anglican priesthood and was ordained by the Bishop Mountain of Quebec in 1800. In 1801 Reverend George O'Kill Stuart (1776-1862) was sent by the SPG to be a missionary at Simcoe's new capital on Lake Ontario, the Town of York (Toronto). Lucy Brooks, whose father would later become governor of Massachusetts, became his bride in 1803, and they had two sons and two daughters. After her death, he wed Alice Ellice Robison of Portland, Maine, in 1816.[75]

Reverend Stuart's services were held in the first provincial Parliament Buildings at the foot of Berkeley Street until subscriptions had been accumulated to construct York's first Church of St. James. A small frame building begun in 1807, it would not be completed until 1809 (today's St. James Cathedral is the fourth church of that name on the King Street site). However humble the structure, the elite of Upper Canada sat in its pews on Sundays, and with the ear of the Lieutenant Governor, Reverend Stuart was one of the most influential people in the town. Reverend George Stuart soon replaced his father as chaplain to the Legislative Council of Upper Canada.[76]

Although Reverend Stuart had been brought up in a slaveholding household himself, he followed SPG guidelines and conducted baptisms for the children of free Black Loyalist parents, including six children of John and Sarah Long on May 1, 1801. The parish register for St. James Church includes the notation "The six children in the above registry are the offspring of parents who are Africans."[77]

The younger Reverend Stuart also was a very talented educator. He opened the Home District Grammar School in a room added to the Rectory in 1807, which was a two-storey stone house located at the south-east corner of King and George Streets. The Home District Grammar School was later erected on the College Square, bounded by Adelaide, Richmond, Jarvis, and Church streets. Painted blue, it came to be known as "the old Blue School."[78] Toronto's Jarvis Collegiate traces its history in an unbroken line from this venerable educational institution.[79]

In 1811, George O'Kill Stuart left York to his successor, the Reverend John Strachan, who would in 1839 become the first Bishop of York. Stuart returned to Kingston to take up his father's former charge, which extended up the Ottawa River and included every town and village between Newcastle and the Quebec border. George did not, however, inherit any slaves from his father's estate when Reverend John Stuart died in 1811. Instead, the enslaved Lucy and her two children were left to his mother, Jane, under the terms of his father's will.[80]

After he was installed at St. George's Church, Kingston, the younger Reverend Stuart farmed and constructed a beautiful mansion called "Summerhill" on lands left him by his father, the same fields

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[75] Young, "Rev'd George O'Kill Stuart," 516.

[76] "Church and Cathedral," in John Ross Robertson, *Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto*, vol. 1 (Toronto: John Ross Robertson, 1894): 501-10, 501.

[77] St. James Church Parish Register, Microfilm Reel 186, Anglican Diocese of Toronto Archives. We are indebted to Toronto genealogist Guylaine Pétrin for this information. See also "St. James Cathedral,"*Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto,* vol. 3 (Toronto: John Ross Robertson, 1898), 346-596 - entry 22, 377.

[78] Rob Pihl, *Gardiner Expressway and Lake Shore Boulevard East Reconfiguration Environmental Assessment*: *Archaeological Baseline Conditions Report - 2014*. Report presented by Archaeological Services Inc., to the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport, March 28, 2014, 55.

[79] For further information about the original school, see Henry Scadding, *Toronto of Old,* 2nd ed., ed., Frederick H. Armstrong (Toronto: Dundurn Group, 1987), 125-26.

[80] Ray F. Fleming, "Negro Slaves with the Loyalists in Upper Canada," *Ontario History* 45 (1953): 27–30, 28.

once worked by people his parents had enslaved. Reverend Stuart also followed in his father's footsteps as missionary and later Chaplain to the Tyendinaga Mohawk in the Bay of Quinté area of Prince Edward County in what is now Ontario. He oversaw the rebuilding of St. George's Church, Kingston, in 1825, and in 1840 its enlargement prior to it becoming the first diocesan cathedral. He served on the Council of Trinity College, Toronto, from the time of its establishment. Reverend Stuart founded several churches and trained up a number of young men to be clergymen. In his 86th year just before he died in 1862, Reverend George O'Kill Stuart was appointed Dean of the See of Ontario. He was laid to rest with his parents at the Stuart mausoleum in St. Paul's Churchyard, Kingston, Ontario.[81]

Conclusion

This section of the report offers six examples of individuals whose families profited from slavery in some fashion. Each of the biographies presented here cries out for further research, once pandemic restrictions are lifted and travel to repositories in Canada, the US, Great Britain, and the West Indies is again possible. The obvious link between these men is that each was, at least in part, able to gain higher education because of their respective families' wealth. That wealth, in turn, derived in one way or another from the unwaged labour of one or more generations of enslaved Africans. Thus, King's College benefited from connections between these students, and in the case of Benjamin Gerrish Gray, a member of the King's faculty, with the institution of human bondage.

There are literally dozens more students, members of faculty (fellows), donors, members of the Board of Governors and other people associated with King's College, Windsor, whose connections to slavery and the trade in slave-produced commodities should be explored. Names like Almon, Bonnett, Cunningham, DeWolf, DeBarres, Fitch, Haliburton, Van Courtlandt and Van Norden come to mind, and there are others.

It is our intention that, each of the tales told here should offer a sort of roadmap to further investigations, as well as a series of sources that can be employed to flesh out the historical bones, as it were, of slaveholding families associated with King's College. More resources are to be found in the bibliography and in footnotes contained throughout our report.

The excellent paper provided by Hannah Barrie and Dr. Jerry Bannister, entitled "University of King's College and Slavery: A Scholarly Inquiry Literature Review, February 2019," offers many additional references, as do the citations in both Dr. Henry Roper's fascinating paper, "King's College, New York, and King's College, Windsor: Their Connection in Fact and Legend" and Dr. Shirley Tillotson's masterful article, "How (and How Much) King's College Benefited from Slavery in the West Indies, 1789 to 1854." All are available on the King's College and Slavery website.[82]

Finally, we refer students and scholars to the comprehensive spreadsheet provided by King's College Archivist Janet Hathaway. This document includes the names, titles and years of involvement for every person found to have been associated with King's College between the founding of the King's Academy in 1788 and the end of slavery in most of the British Empire in 1834.

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[81] Agnes Maule Machar, *The Story of Old Kingston* (Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1908), 69, 222-23, 247-49; Young, "Rev'd George O'Kill Stuart," 512–34; Anderson, "Stuart, George O'Kill,"accessed December 9, 2018. For his role at Trinity College see *Caverhill's Toronto City Directory for 1859-60* [. . .] (Toronto: W.C.F. Caverhill, 1859), 258. Summerhill, on the 200-acre property granted Reverend John Stuart when he arrived in Kingston, was sold to Queen's University in 1854 and remains a beloved part of the campus. See "Summerhill," Queen's University website, accessed Dec. 12, 2020, https://www.queensu.ca/encyclopedia/s/summerhill.

[82] https://ukings.ca/administration/public-documents/slavery-scholarly-inquiry/academic-research/.

Section 6. King's College and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—Connections with Slavery

Fig. 57 View of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia showing main building with chapel at right, ca. 1870
University of King's College Archives

Introduction

A fascinating document is preserved in the King's College Archives. It is the King's College Account Book for the period 1803 through 1841.[1] Indeed, this worn, leather-bound ledger contains a veritable goldmine of detail about the early history of King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia.[2] Along with letters, reports and other contemporary documents, the King's College Account Book 1803-1841 demonstrates how much King's benefited from funding from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (variously referenced as "the SPG" or "the Society"). Its pages chronicle SPG subsidies to "scholars on the foundation" (scholarship students), along with wages paid to the College chaplain, Masters (teachers) at King's College Academy and to the President, Vice President and Fellows (professors) at the College. It also cites payments to those who were involved with cleaning and repairing the College, and in providing supplies and services.

In its first decades of operation, King's College, Nova Scotia, had three main sources of funding. The first was the £400 annual grant from the Nova Scotia Legislature, drawn from tax revenues levied on imported sugar, the cane for which was grown on West Indian plantations operated with enslaved

[1] This is a revised version of section 6 (October 28, 2020). Major sources for this section include Rev. H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950* (London, UK: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1951), and the earlier Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G*. There appear to be no detailed histories of the SPG that were not produced by the Society itself.
[2] King's College Account Book, 1803-1841, Financial Records Collection, UKC.FIN.4.1.1, University of King's College Archives, Halifax.

labour.[3] The second was £1,000 received annually from the British Parliament, starting in 1802 when the college was granted its Royal Charter (this was halved in 1834). The third was income, earmarked for a variety of purposes, that came from the SPG.[4] This section of our report explores the financial relationship between SPG and King's College, and details some of the sources from which those funds may have been drawn.

The amount of SPG funding varied over time, but underwrote everything from faculty salaries, to student scholarships, books for the college library and general expenses. Between 1825 and 1846, the SPG gave King's College a grant of £500 each year, a sum that Shirley Tillotson's research shows was essential to the ongoing operation of both King's College and the associated preparatory school, referred to as King's College Academy, or "the collegiate school." Indeed, Tillotson writes that without the SPG grant, King's 1847 income proved woefully inadequate to meet basic expenses.[5]

Also sometimes known as the "Venerable Society," the SPG was the Church of England's missionary arm, and a highly influential organization. Founded in 1701, its governance and membership included men in the uppermost ranks of government, nobility, high society, the clergy, manufacturing, trade, banking and commerce. King's College, Nova Scotia, was connected to the SPG from the time of its inception. In fact, nearly all the Church of England ministers who gathered at New York in 1783 to call for the creation of a new Nova Scotian King's College had been SPG-funded missionaries in the Thirteen Colonies before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. King's founder Charles Inglis, who would be appointed the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, had become a Society member while serving in his first clerical post as an SPG missionary in Delaware. Furthermore, SPG membership lists included men of prominence in the government of Nova Scotia, including colonial Governor John Parr who was on the Board of Governors at King's until the time of his death; members of the provincial Council and House of Assembly; several Church of England ministers; and many prosperous merchants. Such individuals would play a role in allocating monies for both the creation of King's and the college's ongoing support. Indeed, they would be involved in the College's governance for decades to come.[6]

Given the centrality to Atlantic World economies of the Atlantic Slave Trade and the plantation societies it supplied, it is inevitable that monies coming to the Society from subscribers, members, major donors and those who left significant bequests were derived from slavery in one way or another. Indeed, the SPG itself became a slaveholding institution in 1710, when well-to-do planter Christopher Codrington III bequeathed to it two large and productive Barbadian sugar plantations, complete with hundreds of enslaved men, women and children. The Society would go on to operate the plantations through

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[3] Rounded off to £400, this was defined in 29 Geo. III, c.4, ss.1 and 5d, the Act that created the college as "£444, 80 s and 10½ d in perpetuity," cited in Roper, "King's College," 13, accessed June 12, 2020.

[4] Hind, *University of King's College*, 55-56, 74.

[5] There were also student fees, although they did not contribute to the overall college budget. They did help underwrite salaries for the president and faculty, and also helped support the library. Tillotson, "How (and How Much)," 16, 22n1, 23n10, accessed June 10, 2020. The provincial government supplemented the amount they had set aside for King's for ongoing operations. In 1811, at the urging of the Bishop, Lieutenant Governor George Prevost recommended that monies accumulated in the Arms and Accoutrement Fund flowing from duties on distilled liquors—produced, of course, with sugar grown by enslaved Africans on West Indian plantations—should be transferred to the church. One quarter was set aside for the King's College building expansion; however, it does not appear to be recorded in the King's College Account Book, 1803-1841. See Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 80. This was, of course, yet another indirect benefit to King's College based on profits derived from slavery.

[6] For a list of members in 1785, see John Ross and the SPG, *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at Their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday February 18, 1785* (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1785), 69-84.

absentee managers from 1712 (when legal disputes regarding the Codrington's estate were finally settled), until the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies. This means that people kidnapped from the African continent and transported to Barbados were bought, sold, traded and exploited by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel over a period of some 123 years.

Therefore, given the SPG's long involvement in colonial Britain's slave-based West Indian economy, the pressing question for the purposes of this report is: "Exactly what proportion of the funding provided by the SPG to King's College represented proceeds of slavery"? Our pursuit of an answer has been complicated by the fact that SPG accounts contained in British archives are currently inaccessible due to the Covid-19 pandemic. However, we have discovered a great many clues in sources ranging from the SPG's published financial reports, through recent studies conducted by University College London (UCL) researchers in their ground-breaking Legacies of British Slave-Ownership project.[7] These latter are available online and document the beneficiaries of the astonishing £20,000,000 the British government borrowed to pay off the losses sustained by some 46,000 slaveholders after the Slavery Abolition Act was passed in 1833, effective August 1, 1834.

Investigations conducted by the UCL team show that between five and ten percent of the British elite received enough of their wealth from slavery to be eligible for, or otherwise benefit from, the compensation funds. About half of the money paid out by the government went to people living in the British Isles.[8] Furthermore, the British public was paying off the loan, the modern equivalent of £17 *billion* pounds, for more than 180 years, and was only freed from the debt in 2015.[9]

As it turns out, income from the Codrington Plantations does not appear to have materially contributed to the actual building of King's College, in part because the profits were earmarked for the establishment and maintenance of a college in Barbados under the terms of Christopher Codrington's will. The plantations were also far from profitable at the time King's was being constructed, in part due to damage sustained in a 1780 hurricane. Furthermore, Dr. Tillotson's exhaustive research has shown that the SPG kept the Codrington Plantations budget separately from the SPG General Fund. It is from the latter that King's College drew its support. However, it must be noted that according to leading authority on the SPG and slavery Dr. Travis G. Glasson, monies were borrowed back and forth between the two budgets multiple times over the years, clouding the issue.[10]

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[7] Legacies of British Slave-Ownership project, University College London, accessed June 20, 2020, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/.

[8] Nicholas Draper, "Slave Ownership and the British Country House: The Records of the Slave Compensation Commission as Evidence," in *Slavery and the British Country House*, eds. Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (London: English Heritage, 2013), 17-28, 19-20; Nicholas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery*, Cambridge Studies in Economic History, 2nd ser. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[9] *1837: 1 Victoria c.3: Slavery Compensation Act*. Transcribed in full at The Statutes Project: Putting Historic British Law Online, accessed August 24, 2020, http://statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/nineteenth-century/1837-1-victoria-c-3-slavery-compensation-act/. By entering two *Freedom of Information Act* requests, journalist Naomi Fowler discovered that the British Treasury paid off the loans in 2015. See Naomi Fowler, "Britain's Slave Owner Compensation Loan, Reparations and Tax Havenry," June 6, 2020, *Tax Justice Network* (blog), accessed June 29, 2020, https://www.taxjustice.net/2020/06/09/slavery-compensation-uk-questions/. See also David Olugosa, "The Treasury's Tweet Shows Slavery is Still Misunderstood," *The Guardian*, Feb. 2, 2018, accessed June 29, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/12/treasury-tweet-slavery-compensate-slave-owners. The latter article references a rather tone-deaf Twitter entry by British Treasury staff reading "Millions of you helped end the slave trade through your taxes."

[10] Travis F. Glasson, an authority on the Society and its relationship with slavery, kindly consulted with us via email

While the Codrington Plantations with their enslaved workforce do not therefore seem to have been a major funding source for King's College, Nova Scotia, the conditions under which people enslaved by the SPG laboured at the Society's Barbados properties certainly shed light on the Church of England's own attitudes towards slavery. It also shows the Church's degree of comfort with allowing profits derived from generations of the most abject human misery to swell its own coffers. Thus, we have appended to the end of this report a brief discussion of the operation and management of SPG-owned sugar plantations in the British West Indies.

History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

The SPG was chartered by King William III on June 16, 1701. It was the inspiration of the Reverend Dr. Thomas Bray (1656-1730), a Church of England minister dispatched to the Thirteen Colonies to investigate the state of the Faith there. Bray was appalled at the lack of available religious instruction, and the paucity of books and treatises for Church and missionary purposes. He was especially concerned about the future of the Church of England in the colonies, given the presence and early proselytizing by the Roman Catholic Church in the New World. Too, there was the threat posed by the growing popularity of dissenting denominations in colonial North America, a cause of great concern to the Church of England that would only escalate with time.[11]

Returning to England, Bray worked with a small circle of clerics and lay supporters to found two new missionary organizations; these would ultimately span the globe. The first was the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPK), established in 1698. The SPK focused on spreading the Word among the nations. The second, created three years later, was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). This was established for the express purpose of saving souls.[12]

The Society's three original goals were:

1. The maintenance of an orthodox clergy in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain beyond the seas, for the instruction of the King's loving subjects in the Christian religion.
2. Other provisions necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts.
3. Reception, management and disposition of the charity of His Majesty's subjects to those purpose.[13]

A fourth goal was soon added: the SPG would "send priests and schoolteachers to America to help provide the church's ministry to the colonists and to take the message of the gospel to the slaves and native [*sic*] Americans."[14] Indeed, the Society and its members would come to profess the belief that enslavement, in and of itself, helped spread the Gospel message to the nations, and thus the institution

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for the purposes of this study. We are most grateful for his help. See Glasson's *Mastering Christianity*, 147.

[11] Samuel Clyde McCullough, "Dr. Thomas Bray's Trip to Maryland: A Study in Militant Anglican Humanitarianism," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1945): 15-32; John H. Seabrook, "The Establishment of Anglicanism in Colonial Maryland," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 39, no. 3 (Sept. 1970): 287-94.

[12] Travis F. Glasson, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," *Oxford Bibliographies Online*, accessed July 9, 2019, DOI: http://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199730414-0067; Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 41.

[13] Cited in Samuel Clyde McCullough, "The Foundation and Early Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (May 1945): 241-58, 245.

[14] Finding aid, "Papers of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," Bodleian Library online, Oxford, accessed July 9, 2019, http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/blcas/uspg.html.

was beneficial rather than detrimental to those enslaved. For the purposes of this report, the focus of our study is the relationship between the SPG and the enslavement of African peoples.[15]

With respect to the education and "conversion" of African peoples in the Americas, the SPG was apparently sincere in its aims, if somewhat less successful in its accomplishments. The Society maintained that the "Negroes were very capable of receiving Instruction." The problem was gaining permission from those who claimed their service, and the provision of sufficient time away from their labours for their education. SPG missionaries were to discover that either educating or converting enslaved Africans was not generally seen as desirable by slaveholders, at least some of whom maintained that Africans were inherently inferior, intended by God for servitude and indeed all the better for it.[16] At least some professed that "they are a different Species, as they are of a different Colour from the rest of Mankind." In 1727, the Bishop of London, who was responsible for "plantations" abroad, wrote a letter to slaveholders throughout the Americas urging them as good Christians to encourage religious education amongst their enslaved populations, to little avail.[17]

The overseas efforts of the SPG increased throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, encompassing the West Indies and Africa by the 1750s, and extending to British North America and Australia. Over the course of the nineteenth century, missionaries were sent to India and the rest of the British Empire, as well as Japan, Korea, Borneo and the Cape Verde Islands. Proselytizing and colonizing proceeded hand-in-hand: it was considered a duty of the Church of England to both teach and "convert" the multitudes, and this conversion, in turn, was viewed as a means for extending Great Britain's colonial reach to all parts of the globe. This is reflected in the symbolism of the SPG's Great Seal, adopted in 1701 (see figure 58).

According to American historians William A. Bultmann and Phyllis W. Bultmann, founding SPG member Archbishop of York John Sharpe thus "clearly viewed [the SPG] as an instrument through which the Church could serve the rapidly-expanding English trading community throughout the world, and build up associations with foreign churches, as well as promote religion."[18]

In 1723 an ancillary missionary organization was founded by Bray to minister to enslaved Africans in the Caribbean and Thirteen Colonies. It was known as "The Associates of Dr. Bray," and was chartered in 1730. The first American school was opened by the Associates in Philadelphia in 1758, and others followed. The Associates would also have a long history in Nova Scotia, where it would go on to establish schools and supply teachers and books for the education of Black children, including some who were still

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[15] William Knox, *Three Tracts Respecting the Conversion and Instruction of Free Indians and Negro Slaves in the Colonies. Addressed to the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (London: J. Debret, 1789).

[16] See for instance, Francis Brokesby, *Some Proposals Towards Promoting the Propagation of the Gospel in Our American Plantations. Humbly Offered in a Letter to Mr. Nelson. A Worthy Member of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. To Which Is Added a Postscript* (London: G. Sawbridge, 1708).

[17] David Humphrys, *A Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Containing Their Foundation, Proceedings, and the Success of Their Missionaries in the British Colonies, to the Year* 1728 (London: Printed by Joseph Downing, 1730), 232. The Bishop of London's letter is quoted in full, 257-75. For the quote regarding the reluctance of slaveholders to view Africans as human beings see John Williams and the SPG, *A Sermon Preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at the Parish-Church of St. Lawrence Jewry, February 15, 1705/6* (London: Downing, 1706), cited in Naomi Johanna Taback, "A Mission to Reform Manners: Religion, Secularization, and Empire in Early Modern England" (unpub. PhD diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 2013), 246.

[18] William A. Bultmann and Phyllis W. Bultmann, "The Roots of Anglican Humanitarianism: A Study of the Membership of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G., 1699-1720," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 33, no. 1 (March 1964): 3-48, 20.

enslaved. Certain of these schools, such as the one at Grand Joggins (modern Acaciaville) were led by African Nova Scotian teachers supported by the Associates.[19]

Fig. 58 Great Seal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701), the emblem's meaning described as follows:

"A ship under sail making towards a point of land, upon the Prow standing a Minister with an open Bible in his hand, People standing on the shore in a Posture of Expectation, and these words Transiens Adjuva Nos [Come over and help us]."[20]

The SPG and King's College, Nova Scotia: Founding and Funding

Although the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was active in Nova Scotia long before the American Revolution, its presence in the province increased exponentially with the arrival of the Loyalists. This coincided with the termination of the SPG's mission to the former Thirteen Colonies, which had been extensive.[21] Re-establishing the Church of England on Canada's eastern seaboard was considered essential to maintaining allegiance to the Crown on the part of colonists in what remained of British North America. To this end, the first colonial bishopric was created. This post was filled by the Right Reverend Charles Inglis, albeit with limited powers compared to those accorded bishops in Great Britain. As the last rector of Trinity Church before the evacuation of New York City, Inglis had boasted amongst his congregants prominent Loyalist families who also emigrated to Nova Scotia. A number of

[19] See "Return of Schools in the County of Digby for the Year Ended the 30th Nov. 1838," NSA RG 14 vol. 12 no. 73 (1838) (microfilm no. 21875), online at the African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition exhibit, NSA, accessed Oct. 19, 2019, https://novascotia.ca/archives/africanns/archives.asp?ID=110&Page=200402244&Language=; Associates of Dr. Bray, *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Associates of Doctor Bray for the Year 1785* (London: Associates of Dr. Bray, 1785), 15. The King's College library preserves the Bray Collection, comprised of three separate libraries sent by the organization to Nova Scotia for the benefit of SPG missionaries and their respective flocks. The first came from Christ Church, in Windsor, Nova Scotia, the second from Trinity Church, Digby, and a third was found at Trinity Church, Liverpool, Nova Scotia. See Special Collections online, University of King's College Library, accessed Nov. 12, 2019, https://ukings.ca/campus-community/library/special-collections/. For enslaved children at the Halifax school, see Walker, *Black Loyalists,* 41.

[20] McCullough, "Foundation and Early Work," 246.

[21] Brian Cuthbertson, *A Journey Just Begun: A History of the Diocese of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island* (Halifax: Diocese of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, 2010), 1. For instance, SPG records show that Anglican minister Richard Watts, who served at Annapolis Royal in 1727, requested funding to provide for the schooling of the children there, opening his schoolroom to some fifty students at Easter, 1728.

these, including Inglis himself, were—or at least had been—slaveholders.

As a minister in New York City, Inglis had enslaved at least two people as personal servants. Glasson informs us that "Charles Inglis, a minister in New York, offered a reward in 1773 for the capture of his slave Dick, 'a likely, well-made fellow,'" whom Inglis suspected "has been seduced by bad Company during the late Holidays."[22] This advertisement appeared in *The New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury* on January 11, 1773."[23] The second person whose ownership was claimed by Reverend Inglis was the enslaved Pyrmus [Prymus], who fled in January 1779. This runaway slave advertisement appeared in the New York paper, the Rivington's *Royal Gazette* of December 12, 1778: "Prymus, Negro, age 15, late the property of the rev. Mr. Inglis—runaway from John Pollock, N Dock St. New York City." Inglis also very likely owned a large rural workforce by virtue of his very wealthy wife's inheritance from her Dutch relations in upstate New York.[24] Inglis forfeited it all due to his loyalty to the Crown, and there is no evidence that he held enslaved people during his time as Bishop of Nova Scotia.

Inglis along with many of his Church of England colleagues believed that a new King's College in Nova Scotia was necessary, not only to train young men for the colonial clergy, but also to help maintain the assumed connection between faith and fidelity to the Crown. As highly respected Halifax-based historian Judith Fingard notes:

> officials in London tended to envisage the English Church as the partner of Government in the colonies and as an agency for cementing the loyalty of the inhabitants of British North America to the imperial connection. It was widely accepted that there was a close relationship between religion and politics, and recent experience in revolutionary New England seemed to suggest that political radicalism was the product of uncontrolled religious dissent.[25]

The creation of a new King's College in Nova Scotia therefore meshed perfectly with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's mission for education, conversation and colonization. King's College historian Henry Roper notes that hard upon his return to Nova Scotia following his 1787 consecration at Lambeth Palace Bishop Charles Inglis "rapidly prepared 'A brief Sketch of the plan on which it is proposed to Conduct the Academy of Nova Scotia,' proposing the establishment of a school with two streams: a Latin school to prepare men for a college, and an English school centred on reading, writing and practical mathematics."[26]

Offering higher education for the sons of the Nova Scotian elite would keep young men close to home rather than sending them off to the nascent—and so recently revolutionary—United States to attend college. Inglis hoped King's would attract students of multiple Christian faiths. He, along with most churchmen of his day, believed that the proliferation of dissenting Protestant faiths had contributed to the rebellion on the part of Britain's former American colonies. As Taunya J. Dawson explained in a recent paper: "The tensions between the vision of an Established Church headed by the sovereign and the competing Protestant faiths that came to predominate in the Thirteen Colonies were both cause and

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[22] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*, 104.

[23] Also cited in Graham Russell Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1994), 167.

[24] Also cited in Ruma Chopra, *Unnatural Rebellion: Loyalists in New York City during the Revolution* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 144. Richard J. Jensen and John C. Hammerback, *In Search of Justice: The Indiana Tradition in Speech Communication* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1987), 122.

[25] Fingard, *Anglican Design,* 2, 29-38.

[26] Fingard, 25-26; Roper, "King's College," 10-12.

effect of the clash between classes and interests that resulted in the birth of the United States."[27]

This was of special importance in Nova Scotia. The larger proportion of "old settlers," and especially those who had come as New England Planters to take up abandoned farms and fisheries in the wake of the Acadian Expulsion of 1755, were Congregationalists, although some of the more politically and socially ambitious families had since found it expedient to support the official colonial denomination, and joined the Church of England.[28] Attracting their sons as students was a significant factor in Bishop Inglis' plans for turning out well-educated, faithful and above all, loyal graduates of the new King's College. The new bishop's hopes for an expansive, interdenominational student body at King's College, however, would be dashed due to conservative theological views held by certain members of the institution's Board of Governors.

Roper describes Sir Alexander Croke, who presided over the powerful Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax and dominated the King's College Board for years, as "an Oxonian who was determined to make King's resemble his alma mater as closely as possible." Croke insisted that degrees only be granted to young men willing to sign the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England faith. This discouraged enrolment by adherents of dissenting faiths and even students with Low Church leanings. According to Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, enrolment was limited as a result, to "from 1803 to 1810, twenty-one; from 1810 to 1820, fifty-one; from 1820 to 1830, sixty-nine; and from 1830 to 1840, forty-eight. Of this number, fifty-four, in all, became clergymen." Despite Charles Inglis' objections and even a revised order from the Archbishop of Canterbury to make the college accessible to less rigidly dogmatic Church of England adherents, Admiral Croke's exclusionary requirements were not altered until 1821.[29]

One of Bishop Inglis's objectives in founding King's was realized, though, and that was that King's would provide for the education of a colonial clergy. His son, John, who had been the first student to enroll at King's Academy, would go on to be consecrated as the third Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1825. A staunch supporter of his alma mater, when he gathered together Nova Scotian Church of England ministers at St. Paul's Church, Halifax, on May 18, 1837, he discovered that twenty-six of the thirty clergymen present had been educated at King's College, Windsor.[30]

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was integral to King's early history on a variety of levels, including its founding. The committee that gathered at Windsor on May 18, 1790, to sign a five-year lease to house King's College Academy, included: Governor John Parr; Bishop Charles

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[27] Taunya J. Dawson, "Keeping the Loyalists Loyal in Post-Revolutionary Nova Scotia: The Preaching and Writing of Reverend Jacob Bailey," *Historical Papers*: *Canadian Society of Church History* (May 2014): 17-28.

[28] Alexandra L. Montgomery, "An Unsettled Plantation: Nova Scotia's New Englanders and the Creation of a British Colony, 1759-1776" (unpub. MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 2012), 64-66; 100-101. The Congregational Church was disrupted by the American Revolution with a number of the ministers in Nova Scotia returning to the American colonies. The New Lights under Reverend Henry Alline attracted many of the disaffected Congregationalists, some of whom later became Baptists. Others joined the Methodists and Presbyterians.

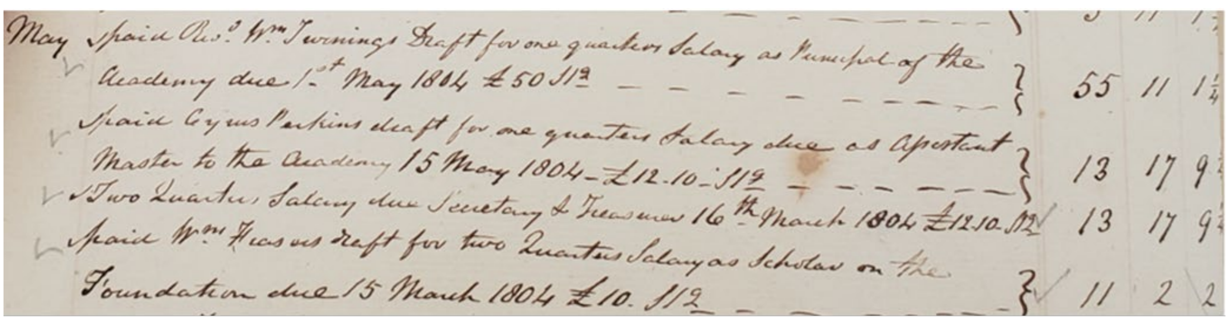
[29] Roper, "King's College," 14. The Board of Governors of King's College was established at the time the Royal Charter was received in 1802 as follows: Lieutenant Governor Sir John Wentworth; Bishop Charles Inglis; Chief Justice Blowers; Alexander Croke, Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty; Richard John Uniacke, Speaker of the House and Attorney General; Benning Wentworth, Provincial Secretary; the President of King's College; and three others who would serve as elected members. See Eaton, *Church of England*, 201, 205. Benning Wentworth (1757-1808) was John Wentworth's brother-in-law; John's wife was his own first cousin, Frances (Wentworth) (Atkinson) Wentworth. According to the above account by Eaton, he was provincial treasurer from 1793 on, then provincial secretary (1796) and finally was made master of rolls and register in chancery in 1801 (p. 267). See Fingard, *Anglican Design,* 152-53.

[30] Hind, *University of King's College,* 82-83.

Inglis; Richard Bulkeley who was on the Council and in 1791 would take up the mantle of Lieutenant Governor of the province; Attorney General Samuel Salters Blowers; and R. J. Uniacke, who was Speaker of the House of Assembly. All were, of course, SPG members since that was one pathway to success for men of their era and aspirations. That is, except for Richard John Uniacke, who was apparently not a member although his son, Robert Fitzgerald Uniacke, would one day graduate from King's College and become an SPG missionary. Likewise, the first President of the Academy, Reverend Archibald Paine Inglis, was both Bishop Inglis' nephew and an SPG-funded missionary, as was William Cochran, first President of King's College.[31]

College regulations required that all the presidents of King's College Academy and King's College be formerly ordained Church of England ministers. Since the SPG paid the wages of its missionaries in Nova Scotia, supported schoolteachers it dispatched to the colony, and contributed to the construction of churches, this greatly benefited King's, especially in its early years. The King's College Account Book, 1803-1841 shows that the Reverend Dr. William Cochran not only received wages for his services, first as president and professor, and after Oxford graduate Dr. Charles Porter supplanted him, vice president. Cochran also was accorded an additional stipend as the clergyman responsible for the parishes of Newport and Falmouth. In fact, the latter was expressly created in 1813 to provide further SPG financial support for Cochran.[32] The SPG also paid a salary to the King's College chaplain and Fellows (professors), as well as to the Masters (teachers) at the Academy, as the notation for paying Reverend Cyrus Perkins on May 15, 1804, shown below, demonstrates.

Considerable student support was provided over the years in the form of scholarships or "exhibitions," especially for sons of SPG missionaries. The SPG underwrote fees and board more generally for divinity students starting in 1811. Being a "scholar on the foundation" (see illustration below) was an honour, the grants being highly competitive. Books and other supplies were also subsidized.[33]



May By paid Revd. Wm. Twinings Draft for one quarters Salary as Principal of the Academy due 1st May 1804 £50 Stg.	55	11	1¼
By paid Cyrus Perkins draft for one quarters Salary due as Assistant Master to the Academy 15 May 1804 – £12.10.– Stg.	13	17	9
By Two Quarters Salary due Secretary & Treasurer 16th March 1804 £12.10. Stg.	13	17	9
By paid Wm. Hearsons draft for two Quarters Salary as Scholar on the Foundation due 15 March 1804 £10. Stg.	11	2	2

Fig. 59 Excerpt from entries for May 1804, King's College Account Book, 1803-1841. Special Collections, University of King's College Archives, Halifax.

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[31] The first house rented for the purpose a year before had proven inadequate, although Hind seems to have been unaware of the fact that the widowed Susannah Francklin's former home was the second rented for the purpose. See Hind, *University of King's College,* 20. For the SPG membership list to date, see Horsely and the SPG, "A List of Members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," in *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* [. . .](1795), 59-73. Donations to King's from the Uniacke family to King's College are detailed in Tillotson's "How (and How Much),"10-12. We are indebted to Uniacke House staff for their assistance with respect to SPG connections with the Uniacke family. Joanne M. Stevenson, via email, Sept. 3, 2020.

[32] Fingard, *Anglican Design,* 53.

[33] See sect. 1, p. 6, n. 14 of this report.

Although King's College received its annual £400 grant from the Nova Scotia Government until 1853 and a stipend of £1,000 each year from the British Government from 1802 to 1835, low enrolment and high costs meant that King's might not have survived had the SPG not "from 1809-66 contributed over £28,000 in the form of endowment of Divinity Scholarships and Exhibitions and annual grants."[34] Sporadic reports show how such funds were disbursed. For instance, the SPG established four scholarships in 1808. These were earmarked for the education of students intending on a career in the ministry, "the Exhibitions to be held for seven years; the degree of B.A. to be taken in the College at Windsor; the annual value of each Exhibition to be £30 Stg."[35]

In 1818-1819, in a note subjoined to a letter from Dr. John Inglis, son of Bishop Charles Inglis (deceased in 1816), to Mr. James Walton Nutting, who was Secretary to the King's College Nova Scotia Board of Governors, Inglis informed Nutting: "My Dear Sir, - There are 12 Divinity Scholarships in the academy and 12 at the College, each £30 sterling per annum. Those in the School are held for four years; those in the College seven years, of which four years must be spent in the College. The Scholars are all nominated by the Bishop, subject to the approbation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. No age is fixed for admission to these Scholarships. The Candidates must be designed for Holy Orders, and a preference is given to the sons of Missionaries from that Society."[36]

Sometimes a visit to the offices of the SPG in London helped garner additional support to assist King's in meeting its financial obligations. According college chronicler Henry Youle Hind, Dr. John Inglis's trip to England in the spring of 1824 was commissioned by the Board of Governors to raise funds for King's College, Nova Scotia. His negotiations resulted in the allocation of "SPG, £500 sterling for general purposes; this grant was continued for twenty years, or until 1846."[37] Hind summarized the funding as follows: "Exhibitions granted by the SPG to the College and Collegiate School, including £50 to the Chaplain of the University, averaging for ten years, £600 sterling. Foundation scholarships, four in number, £20 each, £80."[38] These annual grants usually contained the following wording: "12 scholars at King's College, Windsor. 12 exhibitioners at the Collegiate School."[39]

The amount expended by the SPG in 1827 was an impressive £664 for scholarships (24 scholars at £30 each) and exhibitions at both King's Academy and College. That same year, King's also received its usual £500 SPG annual grant, plus the requisite Parliamentary funding and a small amount in student fees. The Society's supplements to wages of Church of England ministers on the faculty of the two linked institutions were not broken down separately, but rather were included in the amount of £4,653 for missionaries and £640.8s.4d to schoolmasters in Nova Scotia. This was out of the expenditure of some £23,152.6s.6d, from a total income of £24,067.12s.8d reported by the SPG, not counting the Codrington Plantations budget. [40]

SPG funding lessened soon after that; a summary of SPG affairs entitled "Parliamentary Grant for North American Clergy," appeared in the *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser* published in St. John's, on September 17, 1833. It discussed new and serious financial constraints on the SPG, and how much of

[34] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.,* 776-77.
[35] Hind, *University of King's College,* 44-45.
[36] Hind, 48.
[37] Hind, 68.
[38] Hind, 68.
[39] Hind, 90.
[40] "Report for the Society for the Year 1827," in John Banks and the SPG, *Annual Sermon Preached Before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* [. . .] (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1828), 251. See also Hind, *University of King's College,* 55.

its North American mission would have to be curtailed in consequence. In particular, the SPG would be "diminishing the sum paid . . . to Scholars and Exhibitions at King's College, Nova Scotia." Hind provides the following details: "The scholarships had been sustained by the liberality of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, but were discontinued in 1834, when the Parliamentary grant was withdrawn. The scholarships were renewed by the SPG in 1841 and continued until 1871, when the annual grant to King's College was reduced from £300 sterling to £200 sterling per annum. In 1886 the grant for scholarships was wholly discontinued by the SPG."[41]

Despite the chronological coincidence, the Society's monetary difficulties were apparently not contingent on the anticipated loss of its enslaved workforce at Codrington Plantations due to the passage of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833. Rather, the British government had, as a result of changes in social and economic conditions brought about by the Industrial Revolution, found it necessary to change the channels by which the public purse was expended. In January 1832 it began to cut back on funding provided to private organizations, including missionary and charitable endeavors. As a result, by 1833 the SPG was forced to find alternative means for supporting its overseas educational and proselytizing efforts, and to reduce its internal expenditures.[42]

By November 1845, the Society, again experiencing cash-flow problems, informed the King's College Board that it "would be compelled to withdraw the grant of £500 per annum, and the allowance of £50 for a chaplain, after the close of the year 1846, owing to the deficiency in their funds"[43]

The SPG and Slavery: Early Funders and Membership

The connections between the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and King's College with respect to funding derived from slavery reflects how deeply entwined were the profits of slave-trading and slaveholding with the Church and the causes it espoused. Profits from the Atlantic Slave Trade, from the ownership of West Indian plantations, and from the sale, transport and manufacturing of slave-produced goods permeated British society. So, it followed that most of the well-to-do individuals and organizations assisting the SPG in furthering its aims, in one way or another derived wealth from the transportation, trade or forced labour of people kidnapped from the African continent.[44]

Some of these direct and indirect profits from slavery were funneled into King's College's coffers by way of the SPG grants, faculty salaries, scholarships and exhibitions. This was especially true in the period between the founding of King's College Academy in 1788, and the first cutbacks to SPG funding from the British government in 1833.

The Society acquired and expended an extraordinary amount of money in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the summary shown in figure 60 demonstrates. The first money for the establishment of the SPG in 1701 had come from subscriptions, including a generous financial gift from the Archbishop of Canterbury, who would also become the first president. Memberships were also a source of income. According to historians William A. and Phyllis W. Bultmann: "A formal method of proposal and election was worked out very soon after the S.P.G. was founded, with a requirement that

[41] Hind, *University of King's College,* 78.
[42] James B. Healey, "The Educational History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Newfoundland, 1703-1850" (unpub. PhD dissertation, Memorial University, 1993), 75-76.
[43] Hind, *University of King's College,* 90.
[44] McCullough, "Foundation and Early Work," 248-49.

new members must enter an annual subscription."[45]

Although there were quite a number of ministers, doctors and lawyers on the early membership rolls, the SPG from its earliest incarnation targeted rich men, and particularly those engaged in the Atlantic Slave Trade and affiliated forms of commerce. In fact, according to historian Samuel C. McCullough, "when subscription collectors were sent out, they were particularly asked to direct their attention towards 'eminent bankers of the city of London'- especially those who traded in the plantations."[46]

The SPG was very successful in attracting influential members, as well as donors and those who left bequests, some astonishingly generous, to the Society. These included the Royal Family and British nobility, members of the peerage, politicians, high-ranking prelates of the Church of England, bankers and investors, along with myriad individuals and organizations who either took part in the slave trade, or otherwise received profits from the sale, transport or manufacturing of goods produced with enslaved labour. On occasion, enslaved individuals were even gifted directly to the SPG.[47]

The SPG's income came from the subscriptions of its members, dividends, donations and church and government grants. In 1801 its total income was £6,457 which supported 78 missionaries and school teachers. In 1851 its income was £147,476 which supported a total of 1,160 missionaries, school teachers and students. For most of the period of this microfilm the Church of England in the diocese of Nova Scotia was largely financed by the SPG: £4,000 a year in 1824; £12,000 a year in 1825. The day-to-day operations of the Society were run by its secretaries in London, notably between 1778 and 1819 by Dr. William Morice. Morice's successors were the Rev. Anthony Hamilton (1819-33), the Rev. Archibald Montgomery Campbell (1833-43) and the Rev. Ernest Hawkins (1843-64). The SPG exercised a general fiscal and administrative control but otherwise believed in local autonomy.

Fig. 60 Summary of SPG income. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Collections, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, London.[48]

There were also many small donations—some as little as a pound or two. Queen Anne began a tradition, continued by her successors, of sending out a Royal Letter to solicit donations from congregations throughout the British Isles. The fact that the contributions from each parish were published in the SPG annual report served as an added inducement to congregations to make a good showing of their generosity to the Church's missionary efforts abroad. The sale of books and tracts also bolstered the SPG budget. The highlight of the Society's year was the celebrated annual sermon at the Church of St. Mary-Le-Bow in London; being invited to deliver it was the greatest honour the Church could bestow on one of its clergymen. The published text of each sermon was made available for sale as a fundraising effort. Such volumes varied in additional content but often included the SPG annual report, complete with membership lists and names of donors. The first of these was published in 1704. Annual reports also recorded budgetary contributions from legacies and investments, including multiple shares of the notorious South Sea Fund, much of the profits of which accrued from transporting people forcibly taken

[45] Bultmann and Bultmann, "Roots of Anglican Humanitarianism," 3-48.
[46] McCullough, "Foundation and Early Work," 249. He cites the "SPG Journal," vol. 1, 38, as his source. The Journal is an unpublished manuscript in the SPG Collections, now at the Rhodes House Library, Oxford University.
[47] Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 178-79.
[48] Society for the Propogation of the Gospel, "The Nova Scotia Records for the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1722-1860," in the Archives of the SPG, London (Wakefield, West Yorkshire: Microform Academic Publishers, 1985), 2.

from the African continent to the Caribbean, there to be enslaved.[49]

As noted earlier, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel itself became a slaveholding institution in 1710. As mentioned at the start of this section, the immensely wealthy and devout Christopher Codrington left the SPG two highly profitable sugar plantations in Barbados, with strict instructions to use the proceeds from their operation to establish a college in their benefactor's name. The legacy included Codrington's enslaved workforce. The SPG was hardly a benevolent slaveholder; Halifax-based scholar and journalist El Jones detailed the cruel and highly exploitative conditions that prevailed at the Codrington plantations in the important article "The Slippery Slope," which appeared in the *Halifax Examiner* of August 19, 2017. The SPG's treatment of slaves is further discussed in the Appendix to this section of our report.

While Shirley Tillotson quite rightly notes that the accounts for Codrington were kept separately from other monies accruing to the Society, research conducted by Travis F. Glasson shows that money was loaned back and forth between the SPG General Fund and the Codrington accounts over the years.[50] We have not been able to ascertain how much, if any, of the compensation paid to the SPG for the loss of their enslaved "property" after the passage of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833/4 entered the General Fund, the budget out of which support was drawn for King's College, Nova Scotia. This is a subject that calls for further research.

There were, for instance, individuals involved with founding and supporting the SPG who were associated with slavery in multiple ways. Amongst them were politicians engaged in managing international trade, including the slave trade, along with public figures responsible for governing and administering Britain's North American colonies, all of which had enslaved African populations by this time. Men with commercial interests also joined and supported the SPG. These ranged from shipping company owners, import/export mavens, factory owners and liquor distillers, to bankers, real estate magnates, brokers and insurance companies. Again, given the centrality of the Atlantic Slave Trade and the fruits of enslaved labour to the British economy, very few of these individuals could be said not to be profiting from slavery at some level. There were also some SPG members and honorary members from other countries, such as the German theologian and humanist August Herman Franke. Moreover, women had been donors since the Society's early years and were allowed to subscribe by the 1780s.[51]

Ex-officio members also played a role, "including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of London and Ely, the Lord Almoner, the deans of Westminster and St. Paul's, the archdeacon of London, and the two Regius Professors and two Margaret Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge universities." Investment in West Indian plantations was common amongst senior members of the clergy, who almost invariably came from well-to-do families.[52] Furthermore, an inordinate number of lesser churchmen or their wives either had interests in West Indian plantations or claimed the service of enslaved people themselves. This was also true of SPG missionaries in the Thirteen Colonies, as has been amply demonstrated elsewhere in this report, and the British West Indies. Eminent Caribbean historian Sir Hilary Beckles points out that following the passage of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833, 128 Church of England clergymen would receive compensation from the British government for the loss of their human "property." More than half of these made claims for people whom they enslaved in the richest

[49] Humphrys, *Historical Account*, 8, 19.
[50] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*, 147.
[51] Bultmann and Bultmann, "Roots of Anglican Humanitarianism," 7. For women members, see Ross and the SPG, *Sermon Preached* (1785), 86.
[52] Bultmann and Bultmann, "Roots of Anglican Humanitarianism,"18.

and most productive of the British sugar islands, Jamaica.[53]

Although the clergy dominated the membership rolls, in practice most senior Churchmen did not regularly attend SPG meetings, especially those whose seats were far distant from London, where gatherings were held. Operational oversight therefore devolved upon the SPG secretary. He depended heavily upon local men active in politics and trade, and particularly those whose skills lay in administration and the management of supply lines for dispatching both missionaries and needed books and other religious materiel to the overseas colonies. Thus, merchants with shipping and commercial interests spanning the Empire gained ascendancy in administrative matters relevant to maintaining the SPG's missions abroad.[54]

A few examples of early SPG members help illustrate the points made above. A founding member was Francis North, the second Baron Guilford (1673-1729). He along with fifty-two members of the clergy, and thirty-seven laypeople came together to help establish the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701. Lord Guilford was the Lord of Trade and Plantations, responsible for administering Britain's overseas colonies and for overseeing the slave trade that fuelled the imperial economy from 1713 to 1714. He actually followed another powerful SPG member in the post, Thomas Thynne, also a representative of the peerage as the first Viscount Weymouth of Longleat. Thynne had presided over the Lords of Trade and Plantations from 1702 to 1707. Slavery was the lifeblood of the Atlantic World and the Lords of Trade, more commonly known in the eighteenth century as the Board of Trade, forged ever-stronger ties between Britain, the Caribbean, Britain's North American colonies, and as the Atlantic Slave Trade escalated, the African coast. This process, too, was intimately connected to the Church. Bishop Henry Compton (1632-1713), the powerful Bishop of London who had sent Thomas Bray to the colonies, was both a member of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and the prelate responsible for the clergy in Britain's American and West Indian colonies.[55]

Another early SPG member was Francis Nicholson (1655-1728), a man Glasson calls "one of the society's most active and generous lay members."[56] A favourite of Queen Anne's, he was also destined to play an important role in early Nova Scotian history. Nicholson was a British military officer appointed lieutenant governor of the Dominion of New England in 1688 (it included New York at the time) and then Virginia in 1690 and from 1692 to 1698.[57] He was responsible for furthering the British government's interests in its Chesapeake Bay colonies in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This was the crucial period in which enslaved Africans eventually replaced indentured white labour. In each post, he contributed generously to the establishment of churches and educational facilities, using SPG missionaries as a means for extending Britain's colonial interests. Nicholson was consulted in 1706 when the SPG was trying to decide whether conversion to Christianity required immediate emancipation

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[53] Hilary McD. Beckles, *Britain's Black Debt: Reparations for Caribbean Slavery and Native Genocide* (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2014), cited in F.S.J. Ledgister, "Grandfather's Backpay," review of *Britain's Black Debt,* by Hilary McD. Beckles, *The Caribbean Review of Books* (Aug. 2015), accessed June 20, 2020, http://caribbeanreviewofbooks.com/crb-archive/reviews/grandfathers-backpay/.

[54] Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 8-10.

[55] Andrew M. Koke, "Limitations of an Episcopal Empire: The Church of England in the British Atlantic, 1675-1761" (unpub. PhD. diss., Indiana University, 2013), 17ff. For more information on the power held by the Bishop of London with respect to the American colonies, see Edward Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop: Being the Life of Henry Compton, 1632-1713, Bishop of London* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), 255; Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1902).

[56] Travis F. Glasson, "Baptism Doth Not Bestow Freedom": Missionary Anglicanism, Slavery, and the Yorke-Talbot Opinion, 1701-30," *William and Mary Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (April 2010): 279-318, 314.

[57] Eaton, *Church of England*, 11-12, 111, 289-90.

of the enslaved following baptism into the Christian faith. His opinion was that, while this had originally been the practice in Virginia, it was a "grave error," and he opposed such manumissions. He also reinforced laws governing slavery to ensure stable tobacco production for the benefit of the Mother Country.[58] In the winter of 1709/10, Nicholson led the largely New England force in taking Port Royal, which was the French capital of Acadia (Nova Scotia). He subsequently deployed a fleet of British ships to subdue any possible resistance on the part of the Acadian population. He governed the newly-acquired colony from 1713 to 1715. In 1721, Nicholson was appointed South Carolina's first governor, presiding until 1725 over a society where enslaved Africans greatly outnumbered European immigrants.[59]

As the SPG's influence grew, various governors of Pennsylvania, New York, New England, New Jersey, the Carolinas, Virginia and Maryland became members, as did merchants, shipping company owners, distillers, manufacturers and bankers, along with investors in insurance and other commercial interests. Most, again, were in one way or another profiting from the slave trade and the products of enslaved labour. The notorious John Hangar, an active SPG member, was a London banker and member of the Royal African Company (RAC) that held the monopoly on the African Slave Trade. According to historian William Pettigrew, the RAC "shipped more enslaved African women, men and children to the Americas than any other single institution during the entire period of the transatlantic slave trade."[60]

Another SPG member who had many connections with slavery was Dudley Woodbridge. As Director General of the Royal Asiento Company he managed trade with Latin America, and particularly the tens of thousands of enslaved men, women and children transported from the West African coast to Spanish ports by the British-based South Sea Company, shares of which were sometimes given to the SPG by wealthy donors.[61] In 1704, Edward Colston, the immensely wealthy slave trader whose statue was recently torn from its mounting and thrown into the river at Bristol, became a member of the SPG.[62] Colston would have agreed with colleague and business associate John Cary, whose damning words attesting to the importance of the slave trade to the British economy ring down through the centuries:

> [This is] a trade to the most advantage to this kingdom of any we drive, and as it were all profit, the first cost being little more than small matters of our own manufactures, for which we have in return, gold, elephant's teeth, wax and negroes, the last whereof is much better than the first, being indeed the best traffic the kingdom hath, as it doth occasionally give so vast an employment to our people both by sea and land. These are the Hands whereby our Plantations are improved, and 'tis by their Labours such great

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[58] Glasson, "Baptism Doth Not Bestow Freedom," 314.

[59] Bruce T. McCully, "Nicholson, Francis," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed July 20, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/nicholson_francis_2E.html; Stephen Saunders Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," *William and Mary Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (Oct., 1966): 513-48. See also Louis B. Wright, "William Byrd's Opposition to Governor Francis Nicholson," *Journal of Southern History* 11, no. 1 (Feb. 1945): 68-79.

[60] Bultmann and Bultmann, "Roots of Anglican Humanitarianism," 22; William Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013). Cited in "Legacy of Slavery: Working Party Recommendations," Jesus College Legacy of Slavery website, Jesus College, Cambridge, accessed July 4, 2020, https://www.jesus.cam.ac.uk/articles/legacy-slavery-working-party-recommendations.

[61] Bultmann and Bultmann, "Roots of Anglican Humanitarianism," 25.

[62] Mark Landler, "In an English City, an Early Benefactor Is Now 'a Toxic Brand,'" *New York Times*, June 14, 2020, accessed June 11, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/14/world/europe/Bristol-Colston-statue-slavery.html?searchResultPosition=2.

> Quantities of *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, *Cotten*, *Ginger*, and *Indigo*, are raised, which being bulky Commodities imploy great Numbers of our Ships for their transporting hither, and the greater number of Ships imploys the greater number of Handecraft Trades at home, spends more of our Product and Manufactures, and makes more Saylors, who are maintained by a separate Imploy [*sic*].[63]

On the other side of the Atlantic, one early member stands out because of the current focus on connections between slavery and North American universities. Elihu Yale whose surname is memorialized in the prestigious educational institution he funded so generously at New Haven, Connecticut, made significant donations to the SPG. For instance, in 1718 Yale not only contributed £105 towards the purchase of a building in London to serve as the Society headquarters, but also loaned the Society an additional £500 until the rest of the monies could be raised through subscription. He donated another £100 in 1722. This is perhaps £18,000 today, although equivalencies in buying power over so great a temporal distance are difficult to ascertain with exactitude.[64] Yale profited from slave-dealing while employed by the East India Company, a fact which is currently causing much soul-searching on the part of his eponymously named institution.[65]

Turning to the individuals involved in the founding and operation of King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia, a considerable number of them were both SPG members and in some manner reaped rewards from the institution of slavery.[66] Bishop Charles Inglis had of course been an SPG member since 1768. Richard Bulkeley (1717-1800), who was a member of the King's Board from the time of its founding until he passed away in 1800, had joined the SPG in 1765. Arriving at the time of the founding of Halifax in 1749, and a dear friend of Governor Edward Cornwallis, his home (now "The Carleton"), is still standing in Halifax at the corner of Argyle and Prince streets. It is the oldest house in the city and was constructed in 1760. Several men and women enslaved by the Bulkeley family resided there, and the marriage of his enslaved "servant" James was recorded at Halifax on May 20, 1794. Bulkeley was arguably the most influential administrator in Nova Scotia for nearly six decades, holding a host of official posts and serving under three successive governors, Cornwallis, Parr and Wentworth.[67]

After Governor John Parr died unexpectedly in 1791, Richard Bulkeley served temporarily until a new governor could be installed (figure 61). He therefore personally cooperated with British abolitionist John Clarkson to organize the emigration of 1,192 Black Loyalists. Disillusioned with "Nova Scarcity," and the highly discriminatory treatment they had received, these Loyalists of African descent boarded fifteen

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[63] John Cary, *An Essay on the State of England, In Relation to its Trade, Its Poor, and Its Taxes* (Bristol: W. Bonny, Printers for the Author, 1695), unnumbered.

[64] Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, *The Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Report for the Year 1840, with the 139th Anniversary Sermon* (London: Printed for the Society, 1840), 21.

[65] The name of the university and some of its buildings has caused a great deal of controversy in recent years, because of the slavery connection. See for instance, Noah Remnick, "Yale Grapples with Ties to Slavery in Debate over a College's Name," *New York Times*, Sept. 11, 2015, accessed June 30, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/12/nyregion/yale-in-debate-over-calhoun-college-grapples-with-ties-to-slavery.html; Sean O'Brien, "Yale Must Change Its Name," *New Haven Independent*, June 26, 2020, accessed June 30, 2020, https://www.newhavenindependent.org/index.php/archives/entry/yale_must_change_its_name/.

[66] The 1795 proceedings of the SPG published in tandem with the annual sermon for that year contains a list of members of the Society up that that time. See Horsely and the SPG, "List of Members," 59-73.

[67] Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Bulkeley, Richard," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed June 10, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bulkeley_richard_4E.html.

ships in Halifax harbour, and sailed for Sierra Leone on January 15, 1792.[68]

Another important SPG member in the province was John Burbidge (ca. 1718-1812) of Cornwallis who had joined in 1784. He had been Richard Bulkeley's clerk but moved to King's County, where he became a justice of the peace, and co-funded the building of St. John's Church, Port Williams (still standing). He famously freed those he enslaved in 1790, requiring that they be taught to read and be provided with a good set of clothes upon their emancipation. Burbidge remained childless, and so had no sons to send to King's. However, he is linked to King's College through his marriage to the widow of Halifax merchant Benjamin Gerrish, whose fortune was made in the fur trade and in rum distilling, of course using slave-produced sugar.[70] Gerrish's heir was Reverend Benjamin Gerrish Gray (1768-1854), who studied at King's and became an SPG missionary in 1797.[71] Gray was appointed Master at the King's College Academy in 1803. Gray was also a Fellow of King's College and served as the College Librarian for five years, producing a magnificent, illustrated catalogue of the library. In 1825, he became the rector of Trinity Church, St. John, New Brunswick. His family's connections with slaveholdings are discussed in section 5 of this report.[72]

Fig. 61 Richard Bulkeley (1717-1800)[69]

Another slaveholding SPG member associated with King's in its earliest years was John Butler Dight (ca. 1760-1834), who later changed his name to John Butler Butler to claim an inheritance. Butler was a British-born member of the Nova Scotian Council and a protégé of Joshua Mauger, a Halifax merchant who operated ships with crews of enslaved sailors, and advertised enslaved people for sale in the pages of the *Halifax Gazette*. Mauger owned his own distillery where he made vast profits from the production of rum. Butler personally benefited from slavery for he managed the distillery on Mauger's behalf.[73] A commission agent supplying the garrisons at Halifax, Butler's association with King's College, Windsor, was as the treasurer to the Board of Governors. His staunchly High Church views allied closely to those of Alexander Croke. His home is still standing, known down to the present day as Martock House in Hants County (figure 62). He joined the SPG in 1793.[74]

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[68] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 14, 58n7.

[69] Image of Richard Bulkeley, from his portrait, by E.M. Bollinger, NSA Photograph Collection: People: Bulkeley, Hon. Richard / negative no.: Bollinger neg. 5224.

[70] Allan C. Dunlop, "Burbidge, John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed August 6, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/burbidge_john_5E.html.

[71] Tillotson, "How (and How Much)," 10.

[72] D. Murray Young, "Gray, Benjamin Gerrish," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed August 6, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gray_benjamin_gerrish_8E.html. See also Tillotson, "How (and How Much)," 10; Akins, *Brief Account*, 14-15; 64-65. For the most recent comprehensive discussion of the Maroons, see Chopra, *Almost Home*. For Reverend Benjamin Gerrish Gray in this context see 93ff.

[73] Gwyn, "A Slave to Business All My Life," 38, 49-50.

[74] D. A. Sutherland, "Butler, John Butler," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed Aug. 6, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/butler_john_butler_6E.html.

Fig. 62 Martock House in Hants County, built by John Butler Butler, ca. 1820. Nova Scotia Archives Photo Collection, N-184, photo ca. 1865.

The SPG and Slavery: Donations and Bequests

The Codrington Trust was by far the largest, but donations and bequests tainted with the stain of slavery poured into the Society coffers. Some of these contributions came from the well-off widows of West Indian planters, others from churchmen with financial investments in the Caribbean, and still more from powerful organizations representing Caribbean sugar interests in Parliament, such as the London Society of West India Planters and Merchants, a precursor to modern lobbyists. There would in future also be interest on investments as well. For instance, in 1783, the year that the first plans were laid for a new Nova Scotian King's College, a Mrs. Harriet Arundel left the SPG a very generous legacy. In addition to £1,769 in direct funding, she bequeathed £8,866 divided between "3 percent Consols" (perpetual government bonds), and Exchequer Annuities, paying out at 42/ per annum. Her total bequest amounted to what today would be close to 2 *million* pounds.[75]

Most donations to the Society were quite minor, some as low as £1, but other donations and bequests were much more substantial. For instance, in 1712, the enormous sum of £1,000 was left to the Society by founding member, Sir John Chardin, a Huguenot jeweller who wrote travelogues of his business trips to Persia and India and was court jeweller to Charles II (figure 63). Also an agent of the French East India Company, Chardin left the largest legacy of all the Huguenot bequests to the SPG, and his affiliations with slavery were such that he chose to have his portrait painted with the youthful African he had enslaved by his side.[76] Of course, a number of Loyalist families who removed to Nova Scotia after the

[75] Bultmann and Bultmann, "Roots of Anglican Humanitarianism," 21; Joseph Yannielli. "Elihu Yale Was a Slave Trader," *Digital Histories @ Yale* (blog), accessed July 9, 2019, http://digitalhistories.yctl.org/2014/11/01/elihu-yale-was-a-slave-trader/; Antony Dugdale, J.J. Fueser, and J. Celso de Castro Alves, *Yale, Slavery and Abolition* (New Haven: The Amistad Committee, 2001), accessed July 9, 2019, http://www.yaleslavery.org/YSA.pdf; Gauri Viswanathan, "The Naming of Yale College: British Imperialism and American Higher Education," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, eds. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, UK: Duke University Press, 1993), 85-100. By 1840, for instance, the interest on investments reported by the SPG amounted to £2,727.10, which would have the purchasing power of well over £250,000 in today's money. See SPG, *Report for the Year 1840,* 4, 28.

[76] Anne Winterbottom, "Hybrid Knowledge in the Early East India Company World," *Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): 163-95. See also Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2011), 45-47.

Revolutionary War were also Huguenots, including the prominent slaveholding DeLancey clan which sent several sons to King's College, and Joshua de St. Croix whose son Benjamin is discussed in detail in section 4 of this report.

Fig. 63 Portrait of Sir John Chardin (1643-1713), ca. 1711 by an unknown artist. National Portrait Gallery, NPG 5161.[77]

Closer to the time of King's founding is the legacy of army officer Lieutenant Colonel Richard Isaac Starke. His large fortune was inherited from his grandfather, Thomas Starke (1649-1704), who had been a British-born Virginia merchant trading in tobacco in the Chesapeake. After re-settling in Britain in about 1675, Thomas Starke also engaged directly in the Triangular Trade. His ships were the *Endeavour, African Galley* and *Two Brothers*. They carried goods to the African coast, where they were loaded with human cargo destined for enslavement in the Caribbean, as well as in the tobacco fields of Virginia and Maryland. It was Thomas Starke who owned the ill-fated *Henrietta Marie,* licensed as a slaver under the Royal African Company. After depositing nearly 200 Africans for sale in Barbados, the ship foundered off the Florida coast. The year was 1700. Treasure hunters discovered the wreck in 1972, and the findings of subsequent archaeological excavations are housed in their own museum in Key West.[78] Discoveries included trade beads and other goods, along with shackles, including tiny ones clearly intended for little children. Thomas Starke's son, John, sailed for India in about 1710 and spent much of his career as a merchant dealing with the East India Company. His own son, Richard Isaac Starke, was born in Madras but the family moved to England 1727, and purchased Hylands House, near Epsom. Both John Starke and Richard Isaac Starke left impressive legacies to the SPG, John £2,000 in 1765, the modern equivalent of about £200,000, and Richard Isaac Starke £2,140 when he died in 1776.[79]

A donation recorded in the 1795 Annual Report of the SPG shows a relatively modest bequest of "£196, 19s (stamp deducted)" from Mrs. Elizabeth Newton. One of the few lesser slaveholder legacies that can be traced without access to the SPG financial records in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Newton's bequest has an interesting connection to an Upper Canadian fugitive slave case. Mrs. Newton was the daughter of Samuel Newton (d. 1684) and Elizabeth (Fowler) Newton. In 1783, Mrs. Newton and her first cousin

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[77] Sir John Chardin (1643-1713) was a Huguenot émigré, a jeweler of some reputation, who settled in England. He travelled extensively in Persia, publishing renowned accounts of his voyages as symbolized by the map held by his young "servant." He settled in England in 1681 but continued to have commercial interests in the Middle East and India, representing the East India Company in the Netherlands for a time. He has a memorial in Westminster Abbey. See John Emerson, "Chardin, Sir John," in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Dec. 15, 1991, updated Oct. 13, 2011, accessed June 20, 2020, https://iranicaonline.org/articles/chardin-sir-john. For the donation, see SPG, *Report for the Year 1840,* 20. The image is used with the kind permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

[78] David D. Moore, "Seventeenth-Century Vehicle of the Middle Passage: Archaeological and Historical Investigations on the 'Henrietta Marie' Shipwreck Site," *International Journal of Archaeology* 12, no. 1 (March 2008): 20-38.

[79] Elizabeth Crawford, "Mariana Starke: Grandfather Spurns Virginia for India," Sept. 14, 2012, *Woman and Her Sphere* (blog), accessed Aug. 21. 2020, https://womanandhersphere.com/tag/thomas-starke/.

Lady Sarah Holte inherited the Barbados plantations of Seawells and Newton. There were various legatees to the two women's estates, but John Newton Lane and his brother Thomas, both attorneys, received by far the lion's share.[80]

A relative of the two women was Lady Elizabeth Louisa Bagot, whose son would one day be appointed to a senior administrative position in British North America. Lady Bagot regularly donated small amounts to the SPG in the late 1790s and early 1800s, the period contemporary with the founding and early years of King's College. Elizabeth Louisa St. John (c.1740-1820) married Sir William Bagot, the first Baron Bagot, on August 20, 1760. Their granddaughter, the Honourable Agnes Bagot (1809-85), married John Newton Lane (1800-69) in 1828. He, as noted above, was partial heir to two Barbados plantations, and received £4,746.1s.10d in compensation for his losses when Britain abolished West Indian slavery. In 1836, Richard, his cousin, received £5,538.8s.1d for his share of land and enslaved plantation workers.[81]

Baron William and Lady Elizabeth Louisa Bagot's son was Charles Bagot (1781-1843). An otherwise able administrator, Bagot was notorious as the first Governor General of Canada to return a freedom-seeking African American to his US "owners." Nelson Hackett fled Arkansas bondage riding his owner's racehorse, and had also taken a gold watch and other items later deemed unnecessary to his escape. The Americans demanded his extradition on criminal grounds to stand trial. Newly arrived in Canada in January 1842 and unaware of the political ramifications, Bagot ordered the rendition of Hackett, who was ferried back over the Detroit River. When the news reached Britain, Whitehall was furious at what it considered pandering to American slaveholding interests, and the case caused an uproar amongst abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. Bagot's reputation suffered further when it was reported that Hackett was never tried for his supposed theft, but rather returned forthwith to the Arkansas slaveholder who claimed his service. Flogged unmercifully, he was sold south away from his family and friends. The aftermath of the Hackett case directly influenced the wording of the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty between Britain and the US, which among other agreements decided the border between Maine and New Brunswick. Because of Hackett's plight, horse theft was omitted as grounds for criminal extradition between Britain and the United States.[82]

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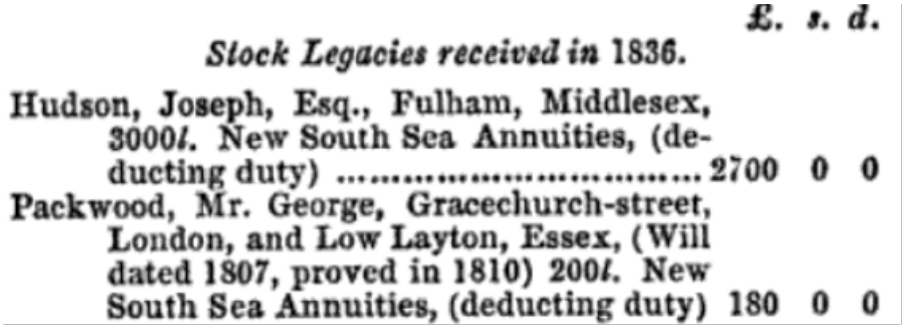
[80] "Seawells [Estate]: Barbados/Christ Church," in the "Legacies of British Slave-Ownership" online database, University College, London, accessed July 14, 2020, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/599.

[81] "John Newton Lane: Profile & Legacies Summary," in the "Legacies of British Slave-Ownership" online database, University College, London, accessed July 14, 2020, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2927. Allan King, "The Anti-Slavery Debate around Lichfield Anna Seward, the Clapham Sect, the Lunar Society, Yoxall Lodge and Kings Bromley," King's Bromley Historians' website, accessed July 24, 2020, http://btckstorage.blob.core.windows.net/site16164/The Anti Slavery Debate Around Lichfield.pdf.

[82] The Hackett case was especially embarrassing to the British government since it took place at the same time as the *Creole* crisis, when a shipload of enslaved African Americans rose up against the captain and crew and sailed for the British colony of Nassau, where they found asylum. Roman I. Zorn, "An Arkansas Fugitive Slave Incident and Its International Repercussions," *American Historical Quarterly* 16 (Summer 1957): 139–49; A. L. Murray, "The Extradition of Fugitive Slaves from Canada: A Re-evaluation," *Canadian Historical Review* 43 (1962): 298–314; Bryan Prince, "The Illusion of Safety: Attempts to Extradite Fugitive Slaves from Canada," in *A Fluid Frontier: Slavery, Resistance and the Underground Railroad in the Detroit River Borderland,* ed. by Karolyn Smardz Frost and Veta Smith Tucker (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2016), 67-79, 71-72. See also Elizabeth Abbott-Namphy, "Hackett, Nelson," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed June 10, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hackett_nelson_7E.html. Most sources list Hackett's fate as unknown, but *The Anti-Slavery Reporter,* July 1, 1851, reported the consequences of his attempted flight, as described by a freedom-seeker previously living on the same Arkansas plantation. This he told to missionary Hiram Wilson. The account was also published in the *Emancipator and Republican,* Jan. 19, 1843, 146; and the *Voice of the Fugitive* of June 18, 1851. The authoritative volume on the Webster-Ashburton Treaty remains Howard Jones,

Multiple—and very substantial—legacies to the SPG sometimes came in the form of annuities from the South Sea Company (see figures 64 and 65). Some of these were in "Old" South Sea Annuities (from before 1720) and others in "New" South Sea Annuities, representing the later period of the company's operations. For example, in the 1793 Annual Report for the SPG, the Society was left "The produce of 50l. [*sic*] in new South Sea Annuities (brokerage and stamps deducted), the Legacy of the late Mrs. Anne Swinsco of Islington, by her Executrix Mrs. Sarah Robson, £45.7s.0d."[83] The company's principal and most profitable business had been transporting enslaved Africans to the West Indies.



	£.	s.	d.
***Stock Legacies received in* 1836.**			
Hudson, Joseph, Esq., Fulham, Middlesex, 3000*l.* New South Sea Annuities, (deducting duty)	**2700**	**0**	**0**
Packwood, Mr. George, Gracechurch-street, London, and Low Layton, Essex, (Will dated 1807, proved in 1810) 200*l.* New South Sea Annuities, (deducting duty)	**180**	**0**	**0**

Fig. 64 South Sea Company annuities totalling £2,880 were received by the SPG from two donors in 1836[84]

The South Sea Company had been founded in 1713 to help buoy up the British economy during the War of Spanish Succession (1702–1713). It later served to help manage the British government debt. Creditors were paid in shares. Supported by the Crown, it was through Queen Anne (1665-1717) that the South Sea Company first acquired the coveted *Asentio* (Royal permit from the Spanish crown) to deal in enslaved Africans and transport them from the continent to Portuguese and Spanish colonies in South America. Some 4,300 enslaved people were to be traded annually on British ships commissioned by the South Sea Company under this agreement.[85]

In 1713, the company received permission to join with Britain's Royal African Company (which had lost exclusive rights to the trade in 1698) and transport "new" Africans to the sugar island of Jamaica. A fixed fee was to be paid: an adult male would be £10, youths between 10 and 16 would be £8.[86] Two-thirds of each extremely valuable cargo were expected to be male, and ninety percent of all those transported were to be adults. Ships were protected on the high seas by the Royal Navy, giving the company considerable advantages over private enterprises. It is estimated that over 34,000 people were forcibly migrated from Africa to the Americas by the South Sea Company. About 30,000 of them survived the

To the Webster-Ashburton Treaty: A Study in Anglo-American Relations, 1783-1843 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

[83] "Proceedings of the Society," in John Douglas and the SPG, *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: At their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on February 15, 1793* (London: S. Brooke, 1793), 31.

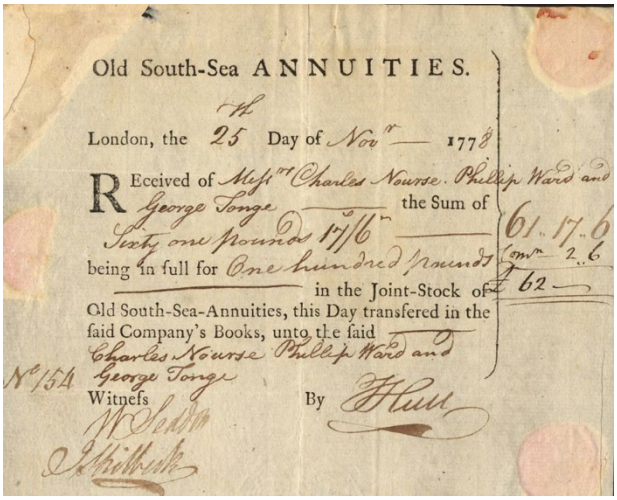
[84] "The Report for the Society in the Year 1836," in James Henry Monk and the SPG, *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, May 27, 1836* (London: J. & F. Rivington, 1836), 76.

[85] The sum of £200,000 was raised through sales of stock to underwrite the company's activities, including sending a single, 500-ton ship full of duty-free goods from England to Spanish ports which were normally closed to trade except with the Mother Country.

[86] Helen Julia Paul, "Suppliers to the Royal African Company and the Royal Navy in the Early Eighteenth Century," in *War, Entrepreneurs, and the State in Europe and the Mediterranean, 1300-1800*, ed. Jeff Flynn-Paul (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 131-50.

journey on a total of ninety-six slaving voyages.[87]

There was considerable corruption. Politicians invested in the South Sea Company, as did King George III? and the Prince of Wales. The company took over more of the government debt over time. Insider trading was rampant and stock prices skyrocketed far beyond the company's capacity to pay. Eventually the whole house of cards came crashing down. Once traded for £1,000 per share, stock value fell sharply to £100. The South Sea Bubble burst in 1720. Many small holders went bankrupt, and losses amongst the well-to-do investors were staggering. The South Sea Bubble is considered the first stock market crash of the early modern world.[88]


Old South-Sea ANNUITIES.

London, the 25 Day of Novr 1778

Received of Messrs Charles Nourse. Phillip Ward and George Longe the Sum of Sixty one pounds 17/6 61. 17. 6
being in full for One hundred pounds Comn 2. 6
in the Joint-Stock of £ 62
Old South-Sea-Annuities, this Day transfered in the said Company's Books, unto the said Charles Nourse Phillip Ward and George Longe

N°154

Witness By

Fig. 65 South Sea Company annuity, sold on Nov. 25, 1778 for £100[89]

The king became governor of the company, and was succeeded by George II in the same office, and then by George III. George IV took over, followed by Queen Victoria in 1837. The South Sea Company survived its celebrated crash and continued trading in its most successful commodity, that is, human beings. Indeed, until 1739 the Atlantic Slave Trade comprised most of the South Sea Company business. A secondary line was whaling in the North Atlantic, starting in 1724. It lasted until 1732 but was never a profitable venture. The company's engagement in the slave trade ended before 1750. "Old South Sea Annuities" continued to be bought, sold and traded through most of the nineteenth century.[90] The role of the company in managing the National Debt was discontinued in 1853 when an act was passed to redeem the long and short annuities sold under the South Sea Company plan, although the company itself was in operation through the early decades of the twentieth

[87] Helen Julia Paul, "The South Sea Company's Slaving Activities," Discussion Papers in Economics and Econometrics, Discussion Paper 0924, School of Social Sciences Economics Division, University of Southampton, accessed July 14, 2020, https://www.southampton.ac.uk/economics/research/discussion_papers/author/helen_paul/0924_the_south_sea_company_s_slaving_activities.page; Paul cites David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade - A Database on CD-Rom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), CD-ROM with booklet.

[88] There are several good works on the subject: Helen J. Paul, *The South Sea Bubble: An Economic History of Its Origins and Consequences,* Routledge Explorations in Economic History (London: Routledge, 2011); Julian Hoppit, "The Myth of the South Sea Bubble," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 141-65; Ann M. Carlos, Erin K. Fletcher, Larry Neal, and Kirsten Wandschneide, "Financing and Refinancing the War of the Spanish Succession, and Then Refinancing the South Sea Company," in *Questioning Credible Commitment: Perspectives on the Rise of Financial Capitalism*, eds. D'Maris Coffman, Adrian Leonard, and Larry Neal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 147-68.

[89] Permission to use this image had been kindly provided by Spink London, via email from Rita Ariete, Chief Client Officer, Spink, on July 24, 2020. For the image see Spink: Where History Is Valued website, accessed July 24, 2020, https://www.spink.com/lot/17017000227.

[90] Paul, "South Sea Company," 4. See also Helen Julia Paul, "Joint-Stock Companies as the Sinews of War: The South Sea and Royal African Companies," in *War, State and Development: Military Fiscal States in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. R. Torres (Navarre: University of Navarre, 2008), 277-94.

century.[91]

Both at the time the South Sea Bubble burst and in later years, there were multiple satirical cartoons, songs, and other works making fun of the investors who had been so foolish as to commit their fortunes to the scheme. A poem written in 1720 by an anonymous gentleman with the initials J.B. referenced the conscienceless quest for gold on the part of South Sea Company investors, stating that a "thousand swarthy slaves do daily sweat / beneath the precious Ingots pond'rous Weight," and identifying high-ranking clergymen as seeking riches through purchase of the stock: "The Mitred Honour is no more his Care / Far greater Things are expected here / Titles for ever for himself and Heir / Vast Sums of Gold gain'd without Toil or Care.[92]

It must be noted, too, the SPG continued to derive financial benefits from slavery, long after its abolition in most of the British Empire. Insurance, mortgages and credit extended on the lives and productivity of enslaved Africans were foundational to the rise of financial capitalism in Great Britain starting in the eighteenth century. According to Kish and LeRoy's seminal article, "Bonded Life: Technologies of Racial Finance from Slave Insurance to Philanthrocapital," published in 2015:

> Thus the slave trade's greatest contribution to the English economy was not the circuit of trade itself, which consisted of buying slaves in Africa, transporting them to the Americas and shipping sugar and cotton back to England. It was the evolution of financial institutions whose innovation and persistence was due to the fact that their use was not restricted to the slave trade; they could be applied to any kind of industry in a credit economy.[93]

Furthermore, once in the Americas, enslaved individuals could be mortgaged just as real estate was. By the early nineteenth century, such mortgages were being collected and sold as bonds, as was the debt incurred by planters against collateral in the form of future crops, a precursor to the modern stock market. This resulted in the commodification of enslaved labour and its products in forms that could be bought, sold and traded by organizations and individuals with no personal involvement with slavery itself, and well beyond the time of the passage of the British Imperial Act abolishing slavery in the British Caribbean. British and Dutch banking institutions were innovators and leaders in this process. In North America, by 1830, the Consolidated Association of the Planters of Louisiana had been founded to exploit the possibilities of collective speculation on commodified Black labour. The SPG throughout its history accepted both gifts of money and stocks representing profits from what American scholar Edward E. Baptist in his controversial volume, *The Half Has Never Been Told,* calls the "financialization of slavery." Such business was conducted in much the same way as those modern bankers who famously sold securities based on high-risk mortgages in US real estate in the late twentieth century.[94]

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[91] Act 16. Vict., c. 23, cited in Paul, *South Sea Bubble,* xix, 115n10.

[92] J.B. Gent., A *Poem Occasion'd by the Rise and Fall of South-Sea Stock. Humbly Dedicated to the Merchant-Adventurers Trading in the South-Seas* (London: Samuel Chapman, 1720), 12, 16.

[93] Zenia Kish and Justin LeRoy, "Bonded Life: Technologies of Racial Finance from Slave Insurance to Philanthrocapital," *Cultural Studies* 29, nos. 5-6 (2015): 630-51, 643-45. See also Calvin Schermerhorn, "Slave Trading in a Republic of Credit: Financial Architecture of the US Slave Market," *Slavery & Abolition* 36, no. 4 (2015): 586 –602.

[94] Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 247-8. Baptist was far from the first to discuss the capitalization of slavery, a concept at the heart of Eric Williams' masterful work, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944) discussed earlier. While Baptist's work has aroused a storm of criticism, modern historical scholarship on the topic is burgeoning. See, for instance, Calvin Schermerhorn's *The Business of Slavery and the Rise of American*

In relation to King's College Academy and King's College, Windsor, some SPG members living in Nova Scotia can also be counted amongst the donors to the College, as Tillotson's report shows. For example, crucial funding in the amount of £100 was provided by immensely wealthy Halifax businessman and Loyalist Alexander Brymer (ca. 1745-1842), for "fitting up" a room at King's as a library. He joined the Society in 1796, while serving on the Nova Scotia Council, and is profiled in some detail in Tillotson's report. Both at Boston and later in Halifax Brymer was deeply involved in, and profited from, the West India Trade. Before the Revolution he had been the North American agent for the Scottish-based firm of Grant and Brymer, supplying rum—made from sugar produced by enslaved Africans in the West Indies—for the Royal Navy based at Boston. Brymer also had strong trade and shipping connections with the French sugar island of Martinique.[95] He was agent for ships captured and brought before the Admiralty Court as prizes, either by the Royal Navy or by privateers, and held onto the very lucrative post after leaving for Halifax. In fact, he owned at least one privateer, the *Halifax Bob*. Intriguingly, once in Nova Scotia he went into business with Andrew Belcher, son of Jonathan Belcher (1710-1776), the latter of whom was also an SPG member. The elder Belcher's father had been the colonial Governor of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, and dealt in enslaved Africans. A close associate of Richard Bulkeley's and of Governor Parr's, whose widowed daughter Brymer married in London in 1796, Brymer's elegant stone house stood on the site of the 1840 Morses's Tea Building on the Halifax waterfront.[96]

The SPG, King's College, Attitudes Towards Slavery and the Rise of Abolitionism

The fact that so much of the SPG's income derived in one way or another from slavery troubled the Society's administration little. Bishop William Fleetwood in his 1710 annual SPG sermon thanked God for the munificent Codrington bequest, and early on the SPG took a pragmatic approach to the thorny issue of whether Christians could enslave other Christians. The matter had already been debated in the Roman Catholic Church during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Now Great Britain worked out its own understanding of what the oh-so lucrative enslavement of Africans meant in the context of

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Capitalism, 1815–1860 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), which focuses on the antebellum slave trade and its contribution to the rise of modern capitalism, and Beckert and Rockman, *Slavery's Capitalism*, which emphasizes that America's economic development rested on a foundation built by the blood, sweat and toil of the enslaved.

[95] For Brymer's Martinique connections, see Patricia L. Rodgers, "'Unprincipled Men Who Are One Day British Subjects and the Next Citizens of The United States': The Nova Scotian Merchant Community and Colonial Identity Formation, C. 1780-1820," vol. 1 (unpub. PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2001), 171n14, 292, 472n8. Also, Tillotson, "How (and How Much)," 11.

[96] Mark Peterson, "The Selling of Joseph: Bostonians, Antislavery, and the Protestant International, 1689-1733," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 4, Race and Slavery (2002): 1-22, 14-16. The younger Jonathan had been chief justice and also lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia. Alexander Brymer (ca. 1745-1822) was a Loyalist, and formerly agent for Grant and Brymer Co. of London which held the victualling contract for the British forces sailing out of Boston. According to J. Barry Cahill, "In 1791 and 1792 [Brymer] served on a committee of the Council which supervised the embarkation of the free blacks for Sierra Leone." J. B. Cahill, "Brymer, Alexander," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed July 1, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brymer_alexander_6E.html. For Brymer as supplier of rum to the British navy, see Vice Admiral Molyneaux Shuldham to Philip Stephens, May 10, 1776, electronically reproduced from US Navy records in *Naval Documents of The American Revolution*, Vol. 5, American Theatre: May 9, 1776–July 31, 1776, Part 1 of 8 (Bolton Landing, NY: American Naval Records Society, 2012), 23. Alexander Brymer married Catherine Parr Dobson, the widowed eldest daughter of deceased Governor John Parr on New Year's Day, 1796. See James S. MacDonald, "Memoir of Governor John Parr," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 14 (Halifax: Wm. McNab & Sons, 1910): 40-79, 77.

Christianity.[97] Rationales for slaveholding included the argument that the Israelites of the Old Testament kept people in slavery, apparently according to God's will, and that enslavement actually benefited the Indigenous peoples of the Americas and imported Africans because it exposed them to the teachings of Christ. The prospect of wealth trumped quibbles of religious conscience, and this self-serving sophistry also held sway in the Thirteen Colonies. One after another, starting with Maryland, the colonies instituted laws that baptism on the part of the enslaved did not require their emancipation on the part of the slaveholder.[98]

As Glasson explains, "the position of the Society evolved into one that went far beyond the simple acceptance of slavery. The Society came to embrace the position that slavery and conversion to Christianity were compatible, and indeed could be mutually beneficial." Furthermore, the Society "believed that church and state should support each other in the reformation of the Atlantic world, [and thus] the SPG became an advocate for laws that tightened colonial slave codes and removed legal ambiguities that it saw as potential barriers to slave conversion."[99] As one reviewer said of Glasson's work on the SPG, it demonstrates:

> the degree to which economic, worldly realities forged the environment of empire and influenced religious beliefs, often in ways that contradicted and corroded Christian ethical precept, and in the eighteenth century, reinforced the emergence of new racial hierarchies while providing support for the institution of slavery.[100]

It should be mentioned here that the very concept of "conversion" is, of course, highly problematic. In *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Atlantic World*, Katharine Gerbner points out that the verb "to convert" meant something quite different to the SPG and other missionaries than it did to the enslaved Africans who chose to listen to their message. For the latter, the experience was likely to have been a syncretic one, in which they added ideas drawn from the Christian Bible and theology to their existing beliefs and traditions rather than abandoning their own faith altogether for the one presented by the SPG's white missionaries.[101] In any case, starting in 1664 colony after colony instead affirmed the

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[97] 8 William III, cap. 2, sece. 40(1696), *An Act for the Better Order and Government of Slaves*, Acts of Assembly passed in the Island of Jamaica 1681-1737 (London, 1738), cited in Robin Worthington Smith, "Slavery and Christianity in the British West Indies," *Church History* 19, no. 3 (Sept. 1950), 171-86, 172n2; Klingberg, "Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York," Publication No. 11. *Philadelphia: Church Historical Society*, 1940, 121-22.

[98] The 1667 Virginia Law, for instance, "declaring that baptisme [*sic*] of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage," is transcribed online at "The Slave Experience: Religion," Slavery and the Making of America documentary website, accessed Nov. 19, 2019, https://www.thirteen.org/wnet/slavery/experience/religion/docs.html. See also Marcus W. Jernegan, "Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies," *American Historical Review* 21, no. 3 (Apr., 1916): 504-27 for an excellent early discussion of this, citing related case law from both British and American courts.

[99] Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 108-9, 122. Dr. Glasson kindly responded by email to a series of questions we had for the purposes of this report, and we are most grateful for his assistance.

[100] Steven S. Maughan, Review of *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World*, by Travis F. Glasson, *Journal of Early Modern History* 18, no. 6 (October 2014): 614-16, 614.

[101] Katharine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 6-7; also, Peter H. Wood, "'Jesus Christ Has Got Thee at Last': Afro-American Conversion as a Forgotten Chapter in Eighteenth-Century Southern Intellectual History," *Bulletin of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture and Religion* 3, no. 3 (1979): 1–7. It was extensively discussed by Sterling Stuckey in his ground-breaking volume, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory & the Foundations of Black America* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2014) and John B. Boles, *Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015). This is obviously a topic for an entire essay and is only touched on here to show the one-sided and misguided perceptions underpinning SPG

conditions of enslavement on racial rather than religious grounds. Virginia was explicit in its 1667 law, which stated that people enslaved from birth were not emancipated by the act of being baptized. However, the law was later modified to prohibit importing those born or converted to Christianity prior to being enslaved.[102]

Despite the Society's attempts at conversion, most slaveowners in the West Indies and in the Thirteen Colonies refused to permit their enslaved workforce to be educated and catechized. According to an article by Robin Worthington Smith, "planters feared that the New Testament, as enthusiastically expounded by the dissenters, would give Negroes the idea that a Higher Law condemned slavery."[103] There was little slaveholders feared more than revolt, and they resisted the idea of educating those they enslaved, even for the purpose of encouraging them to become Christians.[104] At the same time, the Church of England abjured a series of colonial governors in the Thirteen Colonies to support efforts to bring both enslaved Africans and Native Americans into its fold. The principal means at their disposal for so doing were missionary efforts on the part of the Society, after its founding in 1701.

By the 1760s, all this was taking place against the backdrop of rising abolitionist agitation in Great Britain, due in part to the efforts of Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), a Huguenot educator and convert to The Society of Friends based in Pennsylvania.

> He was the first person to define the problem (of slavery) in its full dimension, the first to pinpoint the enormous significance of race prejudice in the social system, and the role of acquisitive greed in the economic structure underlying it, the first to propose a plan for integrated gradual emancipation, the first to explore certain political pressure, the first to synthesize and articulate the full range of religious and natural rights arguments against the system.[105]

Benezet's focus on the horrors of the slave trade had a marked effect on the Quakers, particularly in Pennsylvania, but his attack on the SPG had little effect. As Carolyn Williams comments: "He asked the Society to condemn the trade as the greatest impediment to the spread of the Gospel. The Society refused on the ground that such teachings were contrary to the 'precepts of the Gospel,' and that they spread notions which were dangerous to society."[106]

Indeed, to counter escalating antislavery efforts in the later part of the 18th century, West Indian planters and their agents living in Britain wrote proslavery tracts, defending bondage on both economic and "Christian" grounds. At the same time the powerful West Indian planter lobby in Whitehall argued

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missionary endeavours in the British West Indies and the Thirteen Colonies.

[102] There are multiple volumes dealing with religion and slavery. For extensive discussion see Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South,* updated ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Of the recent volumes, Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood's seminal work, *Come Shouting to Zion: American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), of which chapter 3, "The Anglicans, Early Attempts at Conversion," 63-79, is perhaps the most salient for our purpose here.

[103] Smith, "Slavery and Christianity," 185.

[104] Smith, 174.

[105] Nancy Slocum Hornick, "Anthony Benezet and the Africans' School: Toward a Theory of Full Equality," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 99 (1975): 399-421, quoted in Carolyn Williams, "'Am I Not a Man and a Brother?' 'Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?': The Trans Atlantic Crusade against the Slave Trade and Slavery. (Undetermined)," *Caribbean Quarterly* 56, no. 1-2 (2010): 107–74, 115.

[106] Roger Bruns, ed., *Am I Not a Man and a Brother: The Antislavery Crusade of Revolutionary America, 1688-1788* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers in association with R.R. Bowker Company, 1977), 137-39.

for the benefits slavery brought, both in terms of the vast wealth it generated and with respect to the value of the institution in providing Christian guidance to those who were enslaved.[107] Eric Williams demonstrated in his seminal 1944 volume, *Capitalism and Slavery,* that sugar profits fueled Britain's Industrial Revolution. Vastly wealthy West Indian planters had inordinate influence in Great Britain, not only because of their often extremely conspicuous consumption, but also because the trade based on sugar commodities created both manufacturing employment in the British Isles, and a ready market for British-made goods.[108] Some Caribbean planters living in Britain were elected to public office, and they and their stunningly rich friends pressured the government to favour plantation interests. There were at least forty-eight individual members of the House of Commons by 1781 who were directly interested in and influenced by West Indian planter concerns.[109]

Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy's research shows that during the American Revolution the planters gained major concessions from the British Government to counter threats to their commercial prosperity. Privateering, blockades to shipping and the loss of the American rum and sugar markets during that period cut into the profits of Caribbean planters and those in ancillary shipping, wholesaling and manufacturing trades.[110] Seymore Drescher maintains, however, that the profits from British slavery had never been higher than at the time the Abolition Act was passed and that this move, while driven by public opinion and very popular overall, was "econocide," and in fact highly detrimental to the British economy.[111] It is of some interest that the Standing Committee of West Indian Planters and Merchants contributed £1,000 to SPG coffers in 1836, in the immediate aftermath of the abolition of slavery, some of which might be traced to the £20,000,000 in compensation paid slave holders out of the public purse.[112]

Throughout the eighteenth century and the first decade or two of the nineteenth, SPG missionaries purchased enslaved "servants" for their own households, preached the benefits of enslaving Africans from the pulpit, and sometimes even defended slavery in print. Respected missionary Reverend Thomas Thompson joined the SPG on February I6, I770. He would go on to employ powers of argumentation learned as a fellow at Cambridge to defend slavery. He had spent five years of his ministry in New Jersey, which included duties as a teacher and catechist to enslaved Africans. He then transferred to the "Guinea Coast," arriving in 1751. Thompson was the first Church of England missionary to serve in West Africa, where the SPG with the support of British slave trading interests had established a mission. Thompson was both chaplain to the slave traders and missionary to the Africans, operating out of the infamous Cape Coast Castle, which was a temporary holding site for kidnapped Africans prior to their

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[107] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*, 219.

[108] Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 52, 94-95. This is succinctly discussed by John Fout, "The Explosive Cleric: Morgan Godwyn, Slavery, and Colonial Elites in Virginia and Barbados, 1665-1685" (unpub. Hon. BA thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2005), 11n21, accessed June 30, 2020, https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2516&context=etd.

[109] Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy, "The Formation of a Commercial Lobby: The West India Interest, British Colonial Policy and the American Revolution," *American Historical Review* 40, no. 1 (March 1997): 71-95, 72-74.

[110] O'Shaughnessy, "Formation of a Commercial Lobby," 72-74. For the nascent West Indian planter lobby, see Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planters Class in the English West Indies*, *1624-1 713* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 102-3. For its evolution into a political force see Matthew Parker, *The Sugar Barons: Family, Corruption, Empire and War* (London: Windmill Books, 2011), esp. Ch. 25.

[111] Seymore Drescher*, Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition,* 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). Drescher's thesis is a counterpoint to the one Eric William's espoused in *Capitalism and Slavery*, which suggested that the centrality of slavery to the British economy was declining at the time the practice was abolished in most of the British Empire in 1833, effective August 1, 1834.

[112] For their 1836 donation, see SPG, *Report for the Year 1840,* 32.

boarding ship. He first mentored and then was followed in his mission by the first Black Church of England missionary, Philip Quaque, who trained in Britain and then spent a half century working for the SPG on the African continent.[113]

Thompson wrote two volumes based on his journals. In a tract published one year before his death [in 1772] he argued that the institution of slavery was Biblically ordained, and went further, to maintain that it was a legitimate trading process, since the Europeans purchased people already enslaved and simply transported them for sale to the Americas. Furthermore, enslavement historically had been a manifestation of mercy, since otherwise captives taken in warfare would have been slaughtered. He admitted that everyone was born free, but that "absolute freedom is incompatible with civil establishments." Finally, as a trade conducted on "true mercantile principals" it must be held blameless.[114] The publication inspired the infuriated—and vociferous—abolitionist Granville Sharpe, himself an active member of the Society, to pen "An Essay on Slavery" in 1776. This was purported to be an "extract from a letter to a gentleman in Maryland wherein is demonstrated the extreme wickedness of tolerating the slave trade.[115]

Of course, the SPG owned a large and enslaved workforce. Gerbner states baldly that accepting the legacy of the Codrington Plantations turned the most senior prelates in the Church into absentee owners of sugar plantations, worked by hundreds of enslaved individuals. Churchmen thereby gained intimate knowledge of, and profited directly from, both slaveholding and the Atlantic Slave Trade itself.[116] The fact that the Society took on such a role eventually became a matter of controversy within the SPG, and discord increased over time. William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, in the 1766 SPG annual sermon in London showcased his vehement opposition to the Atlantic Slave Trade, if not slavery itself. He attacked the morality and religious commitment of American plantation owners who resisted efforts to Christianize those they enslaved, calling them "Worshippers of Mammon" concerned only with worldly gain: "Gracious God! to talk (as in herds of Cattle) of Property in rational Creatures! Creatures endowed with all our Faculties, possessing all our qualities but that of color; our Brethren both by Nature and Grace, shocks all the feelings of humanity, and the dictates of common sense." [117] Samuel Horsely, as Bishop of Rochester and then St. Asalph, also presented speeches opposing the slave trade in the House of Lords at the turn of the nineteenth century, and undoubtedly the parish priests under their aegis shepherded many of their own congregants into the abolitionist fold.[118]

Debate within the SPG over the morality of slavery had in part been sparked by Lord Mansfield's famous 1772 decision in the Court of King's Bench, a judicial matter in which prominent abolitionist and SPG

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[113] This included the Grain Coast, Gold Coast, Slave Coast and the Kingdom of Benin, lining the north shoreline of the Gulf of Guinea. Today it includes the southern coastline of Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Benin and Nigeria. For Thompson's connections to the slave trade see Ty M. Reese, "'Sheep in the Jaws of So Many Ravenous Wolves': The Slave Trade and Anglican Missionary Activity at Cape Coast Castle, 1752-1816," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34, no. 3 (Aug., 2004): 348-72, 349, 352-56.

[114] Reese, "So Many Sheep in the Jaws of Ravenous Wolves," 366.

[115] Cited in Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *A Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History, 1763-1834: Including the Abolition and Emancipation Movements*, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1932), 549.

[116] Gerbner, *Christian Slavery*, 132-37.

[117] Klingberg, "Anglican Humanitarianism," 37-40; Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 407. For the quotation, see Denzil T. Clifton, "Anglicanism and Negro Slavery in Colonial America," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 39, no. 1 (March 1970): 29-70, 29-70, 55. The development of African American religious faith and the opposition of slaveholders to conversion is discussed by Albert J. Raboteau in his classic work *Slave Religion*, section 2, especially 96-127.

[118] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*, 222.

member Granville Sharpe took a leading role. Drawn to his attention by a formerly enslaved African in London named Olaudah Equiano, whose own antislavery activism included publishing an account of his personal experiences, Sharpe took on the case of James Somerset, an enslaved man who had been transported to Britain in 1769 by Virginian slaveholder Charles Stuart. Somerset fled in 1771, when he learned he was to be sold off to Jamaica but was captured and imprisoned on a ship in the Thames to ward off attempts at rescue. As discussed earlier in this report, Lord Mansfield ruled that since there was no articulated British law that permitted slavery, Somerset could not be held in slavery nor could he be forcibly removed from England to be sold in the West Indies. The ruling greatly influenced the end of African slavery in Britain, despite the fact the Mansfield's ruling only pertained in Somerset's case.[119]

The discomfort of at least some SPG members with the ongoing connections between the Society and slavery affected both tone and content of the annual sermon delivered at London's St. Mary-le-Bow Church in 1783 by the Bishop of Chester, Beilby Porteus. He was the son of former Virginia plantation owners and from his parents gained knowledge of, and distain for, human bondage. Delivering his fiery condemnation at the Society's annual sermon, Porteus upbraided the Church of England and plantation owners alike for leaving their enslaved Black populations in ignorance of both their letters and of the faith. Mindful of the immense profitability of the sugar trade (both to British interests and likely to the SPG as well), he maintained that conversion followed by gradual emancipation of the enslaved would result in recreating African Caribbean people as a "devout and dignified peasantry," ever tied to the land. Even Bishop Porteus did not suggest the SPG immediately emancipate its hundreds of enslaved workers in the Caribbean. Instead, he laid out what venerable church historian Frank Klingberg called a "blueprint" for a "more advanced regime at the Codrington estate." Neither the sermon nor its subsequent publication and sale had any marked effect on the Society's ownership of enslaved workers, or on its treatment of them. [120]

Bishop Porteus delivered his SPG Annual Sermon in the same year that eighteen SPG missionaries met in British-occupied New York to suggest the founding of a new King's College in Nova Scotia. In 1798, as Bishop of London, Porteus would later join with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Horsley of Rochester, abolitionist MP William Wilberforce, Sir S. Bernard Moreland, MP John Eardly Wilmot, and others to raise funds for the King's College library. This committee came about a result of efforts by former King's College student the Reverend John Inglis while visiting England to further the interests of the institution. The committee, headed by Joseph Planta, librarian at the British Museum, went on to collect books for the library.[121]

Bishop Porteus would go on to support the Clapham Sect's efforts to reform society, particularly with respect to ending Britain's economic dependence on the proceeds of human bondage.[122] Granville

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[119] (1772) 98 ER 499, 20 State Tr. 1 (1772) Lofft 1, accessed Oct. 24, 2019, http://www.commonlii.org/int/cases/EngR/1772/57.pdf; William M. Weicek, "Somerset: Lord Mansfield and the Legitimacy of Slavery in the Anglo-American World," *University of Chicago Law Review* 42, no. 1 (Autumn 1974): 86–114.

[120] Brycchan Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment, and Slavery, 1760-1807* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 151-53; Bob Tennant, "Sentiment, Politics, and Empire: A Study of Beilby Porteus's Antislavery Sermon," in *Discourses of Slavery and Abolition: Britain and Its Colonies, 1760-1838*, eds. Brycchan Carey, Markman Ellis, and Sara Salih (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 158-74; Klingberg, "Anglican Humanitarianism," 45-48.

[121] Akins, *Brief Account*, 22-23.

[122] These concepts would ultimately lead to the founding of Sierra Leone as a West African homeland for both London's "Black Poor," and the often destitute Black Loyalists who had been transported to England at the end of the American Revolution, and whose hopes for a better life could not be realized on British soil because of

Sharpe (1735-1813) and MP William Wilberforce (1759-1833) were both Evangelical Anglicans associated with the Clapham Sect, which believed in activism both within and outside the established Church as a positive means for reform.[123] It goes without saying that William Wilberforce was the most outspoken opponent of the Atlantic Slave Trade and slavery itself in the House of Commons and remained so for forty-five years (1780-1825). He was indeed a member of the Church of England. Yet when Wilberforce's first bills proposing the abolition of the slave trade were defeated in Parliament in 1791, church bells pealed in celebration in the belfries of churches in Bristol and other British cities that had been built on the profits of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Only thirteen Church of England bishops out of dozens voted with the abolitionists in 1807, when the Imperial Act terminating Britain's role in the Atlantic Slave Trade was finally passed.[124]

Slavery, the SPG and Nova Scotia

When the American Revolution began in 1775, there were only eight SPG missionaries in Nova Scotia. Two had been sent out with Edward Cornwallis in 1749 when he arrived to establish Halifax, along with a schoolteacher to benefit the new British colony being established in the province. Interestingly, the new Nova Scotian Governor Cornwallis's twin brother, Frederick, was at the time presiding over the SPG on behalf of the Church. He would soon be appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, a position he would hold from 1768 to 1783.[125] The latter year was also when the Reverend Charles Inglis left for Britain to be consecrated the first Bishop of British North America.

According to early Nova Scotian historian Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton:

> In the [SPG] report presented in 1750, the Lords of Trade are said to have lately declared their intention of setting apart in each of the new townships to be formed in Nova Scotia, four hundred acres of land for a church, and two hundred for a school, these grants to be further increased by grants of two hundred acres to every clergyman as his own private property, and one hundred to every school-master, with thirty acres over for each person belonging to their respective families, these lands to be subject to no quit rent.[126]

Reverend William Tutty, a Cambridge graduate ordained in 1748, was the SPG missionary sent with Governor Edward Cornwallis in 1749. It was he who oversaw the establishment of St. Paul's Church, Halifax. He doesn't seem have held enslaved people in his household, and respected Nova Scotian historian John Reid suggests that Tutty disapproved of Cornwallis's notorious bounty on First Nations' people's scalps in 1749. He remained in the province only two years.[127]

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discrimination.

[123] Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement, 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), 42n60, 61. It is of interest that William Wilberforce collected volumes from the personal libraries of friends and acquaintances to send to King's in Windsor, Nova Scotia.

[124] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*, 224. The note regarding Bristol church bells comes from *Public Advertiser* [Bristol, UK], no. 17724 (April 27, 1791), 4, cited in Fryer, *Staying Power*, 64-65.

[125] This is noted in El Jones, "The Slippery Slope," *Halifax Examiner*, Aug. 19, 2017. See also Eaton, *Church of England,* 294.

[126] Eaton, *Church of England*, 191.

[127] William Tutty to SPG, Sept. 29, 1749, in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 7 (1891), 101, cited in John Reid, "The Three Lives of Edward Cornwallis," *Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* (Jan. 16, 2013); 19-45, 24, 40n24, accessed June 23, 2020, https://www.rnshs.ca/wp-

SPG missionary Reverend John Breynton followed Tutty at St. Paul's Church, Halifax. He had ministered to the congregation at Louisburg from 1745 to 1749.[128] His records include the marriages of several enslaved African Nova Scotians, and Breynton himself was a slaveholder.[129] As illustrated in the bill of sale shown in figure 66, he would sell his enslaved "servant," Dinah, to Peter Shey of Falmouth, Nova Scotia in 1776. Shey's son, William, would go on to attend King's College as a student "on the foundation."[130]

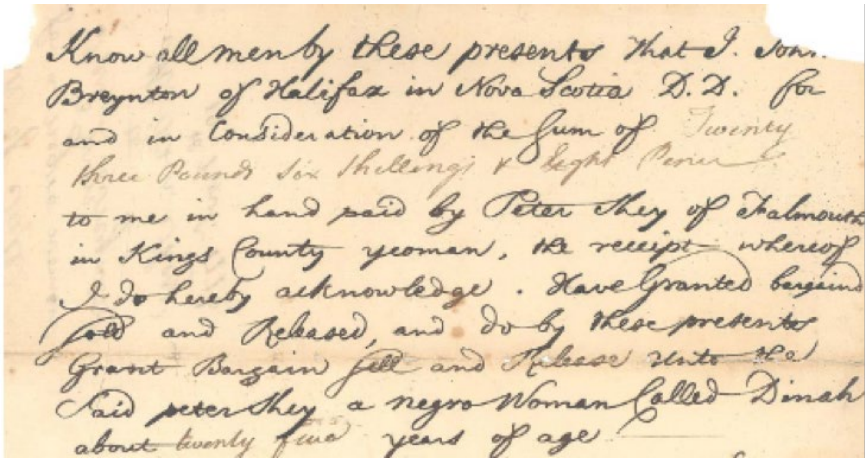
Know all men by these presents that I John Breynton of Halifax in Nova Scotia D. D. for and in consideration of the sum of Twenty three Pounds Six Shillings & Eight Pence to me in hand paid by Peter Shey of Falmouth in Kings County yeoman, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge. Have Granted bargained sold and Released, and do by these presents Grant Bargain sell and Release unto the said peter Shey a negro Woman called Dinah about twenty two years of age

Fig. 66 Bill of sale showing Peter Shey's purchase of Dinah from Church of England Minister and SPG Missionary Reverend John Breynton for £23.6.8d on November 19, 1776[131]

By 1760, SPG ministers began ministering to some 8,000 settlers known as the New England Planters. They had been invited to take up lands left untended in the wake of the Acadian expulsion. A number of families such as the Sheys, who purchased Dinah, had brought enslaved African New Englanders with them to Nova Scotia and also to what would become New Brunswick in 1784. Most planters were Congregationalists, but there were members of the Church of England among them as well. These SPG missionaries included Reverend Joseph Bennett at Windsor and Falmouth. Reverend Bennett established the first congregation at Fort Edward, and travelled between missions from Newport to Cornwallis. According to L.S. Loomer, Bennett was a slaveowner and "used a small schooner to reach his congregations. About 1778, his vessel and a thirteen-year-old black servant boy were taken from him by the Americans. In reporting the incident to the SPG, Bennett valued the boy at £40, and said the losses

content/uploads/2018/02/RNSHS_ThreeLivesEdwardCornwallis_JohnGReid_2013.pdf; C. E. Thomas, "Tutty, William," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed Aug. 19, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/tutty_william_3E.html.

[128] Cuthbertson, *Journey Just Begun,* 3.

[129] St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, 1774-1795. See also States, "Presence and Perseverance," 43.

[130] "A List of Settlers Brought from Newport, Rhode Island, to Falmouth [Nova Scotia] [. . .] in the Sloop Sally and in the Sloop Lydia [. . .] in May, 1760." See Huling, "Rhode Island Emigration." Peter Shey and his wife were New England Planters from Rhode Island, and sent their son, William Shey (1769-1854) to King's College. Listed as a student before the charter, he attended sometime between 1789 and 1802, and went on to become a member of the Legislature. For Dinah, see also Whitfield, *Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* (see sect. 3, p. 90, n. 25).

[131] NSA MG 100, vol. 113 no. 51 (microfilm 15169); "Bill of Sale of Slave Named 'Dinah,'" online at the African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition exhibit, NSA, accessed July 10, 2019, https://novascotia.ca/archives/Africanns/archives.asp?ID=12.

put him £200 in debt."[132]

In 1775, the SPG dispatched Reverend William Ellis to the province to travel amongst the townships of Horton, Falmouth, Newport, Cornwallis and Windsor.[133] By 1783 there would be six missions funded by the Society in Nova Scotia.[134]

Following the migration of the Loyalists to Nova Scotia and the mouth of the St. John River, the number of Church of England clergymen and schoolteachers in the province—and, from 1784, in the newly-created province of New Brunswick, as well as in Prince Edward Island—would increase dramatically. As has been demonstrated in section 2 in this report, a good many of them were slave owners, or at least had been before their migration into what remained of British North America. Thirty-one clergymen supported by the SPG accompanied the Loyalists to Nova Scotia; some moved on to England or returned to the new United States. Eighteen remained in the province. Bishop Charles Inglis after his ordination at Lambeth Palace on August 12, 1787, returned to take up his post as the first colonial bishop. He consolidated some of the parishes and divided others, adding schoolhouses as SPG-funded schoolmasters became available, such that, by 1800 there were nineteen missions in the province.[135]

Of the committee of thirteen ministers who met at New York in 1783 to urge the creation of an institution of higher learning in Nova Scotia on behalf of the Church of England, nearly all were SPG missionaries and several, as we have seen, were slaveholders. Continuity between the University of King's College in New York and the University of King's College in Windsor Nova Scotia is implied by F.W. Vroom: "If King's College New York, ceased to exist, the principles for which it stood lived on; and it was upon these principles that the founders of King's College, Nova Scotia, undertook to build their College." However, Dr. Henry Roper's essay for the King's and Slavery Project makes clear, King's College Nova Scotia is not the direct heir to the New York college.[136]

In 1783 the SPG annual report shows that the Society continued to pay salaries to nineteen missionaries who remained at their posts in the independent States, and gives a list of seventeen, "who had fled to Nova scotia [*sic*] or England, to whom, being unemployed, the Society continued an allowance."[137] Some of the Nova Scotian clergy profited directly from the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. One was SPG missionary Rev. Mather Byles, who ministered to the congregation at Saint Paul's in Halifax, before May 1789 when he was appointed Rector of Trinity Church in Saint John, New Brunswick. A son of Loyalist attorney Mather Byles of Boston, he had previously served a congregation at New London, Connecticut, and then one at Boston. He had four daughters, one of whom married William Almon. William Almon is listed as a "scholar on the foundation" in the King's Account Book, 1803-1841, on December 11, 1804, receiving the sum of £5.11s.1¼ d, and a similar sum was paid him on April 14, 1805. As we learn from the Report issued in September 2019 by the *Lord Dalhousie Scholarly Panel on Slavery and Race,* his brother-in-law, John Johnston, would in 1837 be awarded £500 for the loss of his enslaved property at Mount Salus plantation, Jamaica. Almon and his wife thus became beneficiaries of monies from the British compensation fund paid to former slaveholders when Almon's brother-in-law died. There are a number of additional connections detailed in UCL's Legacies of British Slave Ownership project website,

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[132] L.S. Loomer, *Windsor. Nova Scotia: A Journey in History* (Windsor, West Hants Historical Society, 1996), cited in States, "Presence and Perseverance," 40.
[133] Cuthbertson, *Journey Just Begun,* 5; Fingard, *Anglican Design,* 58, 189-90. These posts Ellis did not serve with stellar grace, neglecting his charge and feuding with Bishop Inglis following his appointment.
[134] Fingard, *Anglican Design,* 52.
[135] Fingard, *Anglican Design,* 52.
[136] Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 10; Roper, "King's College," 10-12.
[137] Hind, *University of King's College*, 18.

referenced here.[138]

The Byles name figures prominently with respect to Nova Scotia and slavery:

> Mather Byles Almon, member of Dalhousie's Board of Governors (1842-1848) and King's College, (1854-1868/1867-1871), was a co-awardee of slave compensation money paid by the British government to slave owners and their agents for the loss of slave property, due to West Indies slave emancipation in 1834. Almon was one of the executors of the estate of his brother-in-law John Johnston. The estate received over £500 in compensation for the loss of property in enslaved African bodies, on Mount Salus slave plantation in St. Andrew, Jamaica.[139]

Mather Byles Almon was SPG missionary Reverend Byles' grandson and two generations of the Johnston family also attended King's College.[140] The family's involvement in slavery continued. It is of note that William Johnston Almon was also a King's College graduate. He became a doctor, taking his medical education in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Lord Dalhousie report goes on to state:

> Dr. William Johnston Almon, nephew of Mather Byles Almon, and first head of Dalhousie's Faculty of Medicine (1868-1875), was a "rabid supporter of the Confederacy." He gave large sums of money to the cause and assisted Confederates who took refuge in Halifax. He was involved in both the Chesapeake and Tallahassee cases. He instituted a prize at King's College for the best essay, composed in Latin and English, to the memory of Confederate general Stonewall Jackson.[141]

No one knows exactly how many enslaved African Americans came to Canada with the Loyalist migrations; the use of the term "servant" rather than "slave" in governmental and other records

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[138] "Mather Byles Almon: Profile and Legacies Summary," in the "Legacies of British Slave Ownership" online database, University College, London, accessed Nov. 14, 2019, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46485. Some of the Johnston clan had migrated from Georgia to Jamaica as Loyalists after the American Revolution and were plantation owners there. See for instance D. A. Sutherland, "Johnston, James William," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed Sept. 6, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/johnston_james_william_10E.html. James William Johnston was from this branch and had been born in Jamaica but grew up with relations at Annapolis Royal. He did not attend King's himself. Emerging as an important political figure in Nova Scotia, he also married into the Almon family, became a Baptist and assisted in the foundation of both Acadia University and the Bank of Nova Scotia. Johnston also served on the Acadia Board of Governors for many years.

[139] Afua Cooper et al., *Report on Lord Dalhousie's History on Slavery and Race* (Halifax: Dalhousie University, Sept. 2019), 21. The report expands on this (108n10):

> The property was owned by Kingston merchant Walter Brett, with John Johnston of Nova Scotia as an assignee. According to Nicholas Draper, John Johnston's "compensation was awarded to William Bruce Almon, Mather Byles Almon [his brothers-in-law] and his brothers James William Johnston and Lewis Johnston." The Johnstons were Loyalists and had Jamaican roots. The family migrated to Nova Scotia where they became prominent in law, banking, and politics.

[140] These were John Johnston, a student in 1824, and James William Johnston, who as the provincial Solicitor General was an ex-officio member of the King's Board of Governors from 1834-41.

[141] Dalhousie University Scholarly Panel, "Report of the Findings of the Scholarly Panel to Examine Lord Dalhousie's History on Slavery and Race" (PowerPoint presentation at Dalhousie University, December 10, 2018), slides 4 and 6, accessed Nov. 14, 2019, https://cdn.dal.ca/content/dam/dalhousie/pdf/dept/ldp/2019-06-28%20-%20Lord%20Dal%20Top%20Findings.pdf.

precludes precise enumeration, but the numbers were certainly in the thousands.[142] Hannah Barrie and Jerry Bannister quote Dr. Catherine Cottreau-Robins in their comprehensive "Literature Review" for the *King's College and Slavery: A Scholarly Enquiry*, "the Loyalist period should be considered Nova Scotia's age of slavery." These enslaved individuals entered a well-established society with slaves, largely owing to the earlier forced migration of enslaved individuals with the New England Planter migrations of the 1760s.[143] A great many of the Black Loyalists were baptized in the Church of England, but their treatment in local faith centres, where they were forced into segregated seating and prevented from taking up any church office, meant that a majority were attracted to dissenting faiths instead. Indeed, Reverend Breynton, whose white Halifax congregation filled St. Paul's Church, prevailed upon his Black parishioners to establish their own congregations led by Black preachers. Many became Baptists or Methodists as a result.[144]

Bishop Charles Inglis, himself a former slaveholder, was not particularly sympathetic to African Nova Scotians, enslaved or otherwise. Barrie and Bannister point out in their excellent analysis for the *King's and Slavery Project* that in 1791 Inglis refused to ordain a devout and very competent Black Loyalist lay preacher and a schoolteacher employed by the Associates of Dr. Bray. Joseph Leonard had served with distinction at Brindleytown near Digby since 1785, but made the mistake of undertaking to baptize, marry and bury members of his flock, without having taken Holy Orders. A former slaveholder himself, Bishop Inglis argued that Leonard tended towards Methodism. As bishop his own sympathies clearly lay with members of his former New York congregation who had settled in the area, most of whom, including the Barclays and DeLanceys, had brought enslaved "servants" with them to Nova Scotia.[145]

There were also SPG members who opposed slavery associated with King's College, Nova Scotia, of course. Each has been discussed earlier in this report, but because of their relationship to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, they merit at least brief mention here.

In Nova Scotia, Chief Justice Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange (1756-1841) was a member of the Board of Governors at King's College from 1789 to 1797, and an SPG member from 1790 on. Strange set the tone for the gradual ending of slavery in the province. He and his successor, Sampson Salter Blowers, ruled against slaveholders in case after case where enslaved men and women sued for their freedom. Eventually the institution became untenable. Interestingly, Strange may have been the natural son of Lord Mansfield whose famous decision in the James Somerset case set the stage for the manumission of enslaved Africans in the British Isles.[146]

Another leading figure in Nova Scotian judicial opposition to slavery was Boston-born jurist Sampson Salter Blowers (1742-1842). Attorney General of the province from 1784-1797, he was involved in the

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[142] James W. St. George Walker gives the number as 1,232, but as noted in section 1 of this report, this is based on the 1784 census taken by Colonel Robert Morse, which did not include Shelburne County. Shelburne was home to the largest number of enslaved servants brought by the Loyalists. For a discussion of both terminology and numbers of slaves brought into Maritime Canada by Loyalists, see Smith, "Slave in Canada," 23; Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, 34; Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia," 24. The "Book of Negroes" lists 333 enslaved African Americans who were taken to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by their Loyalist owners, but this omits those brought independently by Loyalists who travelled on their own vessels, for instance.

[143] Cottreau-Robins, "Searching for the Enslaved," 125, cited in Barrie and Bannister, "Literature Review," 19-21, accessed June 10, 2020.

[144] Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 67-69, 81-83; States, "Presence and Perseverance," 84-85.

[145] Barrie and Bannister, "Literature Review," 12; Walker, *Black Loyalists,* 68-69.

[146] Donald F. Chard, "Strange, Sir Thomas Andrew Lumisden," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed Aug. 6, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/strange_thomas_andrew_lumisden_7E.html.

governance of King's College from the time the Academy opened in 1788.[147] Blowers was appointed to work with Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court Alexander Croke to develop the rules for the operation of King's College, Nova Scotia, when it was chartered and thus became a degree-granting institution. Blowers was an active member of King's Board of Governors up to the time of his death in 1833. He became a member of the SPG in 1794. Blowers succeeded Judge Strange as Chief Justice of Nova Scotia in 1797. Like his predecessor, Blowers influenced decisions in cases involving slavery, so that they consistently went against the interests of slaveholders. Ultimately slavery itself faded from common practice. [148]

Of paramount importance at King's College with respect to his antislavery sentiments was its first president, William Cochran (c. 1757-1833). Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, Cochran had emigrated to colonial Pennsylvania. He taught classics at King's College in New York starting in 1785, and wrote a series of newspaper articles hostile to slavery, as Professor Henry Roper has pointed out in his report for the King's and Slavery Project.[149] Cochran left the US in 1788 because he would not live with the continued fact of slavery there. Arriving at Halifax in 1789 he started a newspaper called the *Nova-Scotia Magazine and Comprehensive Review of Literature, Politics, and News* in which he published speeches of the great British abolitionists of the day.[150]

William Cochran was first employed as President of the Halifax Grammar School but took up the post at King's in 1790. He was ordained a Church of England minister in 1791. A popular teacher and well-liked by the students, he undoubtedly took opportunities to pass on his antislavery sentiments to those who were willing to hear his message. Cochran was supplanted as president by the Oxford-educated Reverend Thomas Cox because of Judge Croke's insistence that the president of King's be a minister educated at either Oxford or Cambridge. Reduced to vice president, Cochran continued in his teaching role. In 1805 when Cox passed away, Cochran again took over the senior post until Oxford-trained high churchman Reverend Charles Porter replaced him in 1807.[151]

As far as SPG funding is concerned, the King's College Account Book for 1803-1841 shows that in 1804 Cochran received £75 per quarter, or £300 per annum. He also had further opportunity to share his antislavery sentiments to the larger community for starting in 1809; he served as SPG missionary to the nearby congregations at Newport and Falmouth, visiting Rawdon and Douglas as well. (Newport, Rawdon and Douglas had been established as a separate mission in 1794, then under the care of SPG-funded minister Reverend George Pidgeon, but had undergone several changes in status since.)[152]

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[147] We are indebted to King's College Archivist Janet Hathaway for providing this explanation:

> Blowers was Attorney General of NS from 1784-1797, but the first King's Board of Governors' minute book begins in 1787, after King George III, writing to Lieutenant Governor John Parr of Nova Scotia, recommended that the province's House of Assembly consider a new priority: the "erecting and maintaining of schools" in the province. Pursuant to the King's suggestion to the Assembly, in November of that year, a group of colonial officials and Assembly members formed "The Committee appointed to take into Consideration the Lieutenant Governor's message recommending the Establishing and Maintaining of Schools," a body that ultimately became the Board of Governors of the University of King's College.

[148] Horsely and the SPG, "List of Members," 60, 61; Akins, *Brief Account*, 14.
[149] Roper, "King's College," 14.
[150] See for examples, Tillotson, "How (and How Much)," 29n72.
[151] C. P. Wright, "Cochran, William," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed July 25, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cochran_william_6E.html; Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 47-51; Thomas, "Memoirs of William Cochran."
[152] George W. Hill, *Records of the Church of England in Rawdon from Its Origin until the Present Day* (Halifax: James Bowes & Sons, 1858), 3-4.

According to historian C.P. Wright, in 1814 Cochran was also appointed a member of the King's Board of Governors, an unusual post for a professor at the college. There was some dispute in 1814 about the probity of King's faculty receiving additional SPG wages for serving as ministers in local parishes. This was apparently resolved by Cochran's resignation from the Rawdon church, which had been established as its own parish in 1806.[153] As Black Refugees from the War of 1812 arrived in the district, Cochran's name is listed as granting indentures for land grants they were to receive. He ministered to many African American immigrants in the region, as several families are listed in church records for the parishes under his care. Several family names also appear on the "List of Blacks" records of settlement for Windsor, N.S.[154]

In 1816, SPG records show that the Falmouth mission alone contributed an additional £200 to Cochran's annual income. Reverend William Cochran retired in 1831 and died on August 4, 1833, having lived long enough to know that the British Imperial Act (3 & 4 Will. IV c. 73) had passed its second reading and possibly even its third (depending on when the news reached Halifax). This took place on July 26, 1833. The leading abolitionist Cochran so admired, MP William Wilberforce, passed away three days later, on July 29, the goal he had taken on as his life's work accomplished.[155]

Financial Input from Slavery Sources to King's College, Nova Scotia

How much money did slavery and the products of enslaved labour contribute to the coffers of the SPG, and what percentage of those funds went directly to support King's College, Nova Scotia?

When the Society took over the management of the Codrington properties in 1712, the revenue increased from £2,323 to £4,625 over the previous year, largely due to a special collection, one inspired by a "Royal Letter" sent out to parishes across Great Britain to seek donations to the SPG. According to British scholar Rowan Strong, "the society's work was largely funded by private subscriptions, along with intermittent donations, and official collections initiated by a 'Royal Letter.' Six of these official fundraisers in the first eighty years raised money from various towns and cities in England and brought the society £65,110.5."[156] Clearly at least some of these monies came from well-to-do merchants and ranking families whose family fortunes rested on slave trading, slave ownership and the operation of sugar plantations in the Caribbean. Strong goes on to show that for the same eight decades, "the average annual income of the SPG was £580 from subscriptions and £1,905 from donations."[157]

SPG income, apart from that earned from the Codrington Trust, entered the General Fund. The published digest of the annual reports provided by C.F. Pascoe in 1901 states clearly of "The General

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[153] Hill, *Records of the Church of England in Rawdon,* 13.

[154] "List of Blacks Recently Brought from the United States of America and Settled on the Windsor Road," Commissioner of Public Records, RG 1 vol. 420, no. 133 (microfilm no. 15464), NSA; States, "Presence and Perseverance," 49-50. Fergusson, *Documentary Study*, 55. He notes that on January 27 1816, Black refugees Isaac Fitchet and Sergeant Pelott "obtained from the Rev. William Cochran of Windsor, for ten shillings each, two lots of land, each of ten acres, in the township of Windsor, on the south west side of the Windsor-Halifax road." Sergeant Pelott subsequently wed Clarissa Maxwell at Christ Church, Windsor on May 9, 1816, one of many Black families married there by Reverend William Cosell King, Rector of the parish from 1814-1841. He had also served as Principal of King's Academy from 1808-1814. Henry Youle Hind, *Sketch of the Old Burying Ground of Windsor, Nova Scotia: With an Appeal for Its Protection, Ornamentation and Preservation* (Windsor, NS: Printed by Jas. J. Anslow, 1889), 16, 74.

[155] Wright, "Cochran, William."

[156] Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c.1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 43.

[157] Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire,* 43.

Fund," that "it was the mainstay of the Society's work, has existed from 1701 to the present time and has always been administered by the Society."[158] The Fund underwrote the Society's administration admissions and provided support to educational institutions, including King's College, Nova Scotia. Operating costs, "exhibitions," scholarships for students "on the foundation," wages of the university chaplain and faculty who did double duty as SPG ministers in Windsor, Rawdon, Falmouth and Newport, Nova Scotia, along with the miscellaneous expenses of the College were all direct beneficiaries of the General Fund.

The Society's annual reports provide an accounting of income and expenditures, and these budgets were also submitted to the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, as per the Charter of the SPG.[159] According to Glasson, who has written extensively on the subject, "Between 1784 and 1823 annual net profits were steadier [than in the preceding years] and averaged £2083." He states, furthermore, that "the decade between 1814 and 1823 saw annual average profits soar to £4042."[160]

Expenses for the plantations and college at Codrington were deducted from an account (hereafter the Barbados account) that was kept separate from the SPG General Fund. However, at times, as Glasson also notes, "money was borrowed from the Barbados account to fund the Society's general operations and – much more frequently – money was loaned to the Barbados account from general funds to keep the plantation running or enable long-term investments."[161] An email conversation with Dr. Glasson provided more details, and he confirms that the accounts of the Codrington Plantation had been sequestered from those of the SPG General Fund ever since the inheritance from Christopher Codrington was finalized in 1714.[162]

As the foregoing pages demonstrate, the General Fund of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts received a substantial amount of money that was derived in one way or another from slavery. Although exact amounts cannot be ascertained without access to financial records held in British archives, it is evident that slavery thus contributed in real and substantive ways to the funding remitted by the Society for the operation of King's College Academy and King's College Nova Scotia.[163] Further research regarding donors, members and people otherwise associated both with slavery and with the SPG is recommended in order to expand our understanding of the connections between slavery and the Society budget. Only by means of a thorough examination of original financial documents preserved in the archival collections of the heir to the SPG files, the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and also at Lambeth Palace will it be possible to ascertain what proportion of such funds were sent to Nova Scotia as contributions to the budget of King's College at Windsor.

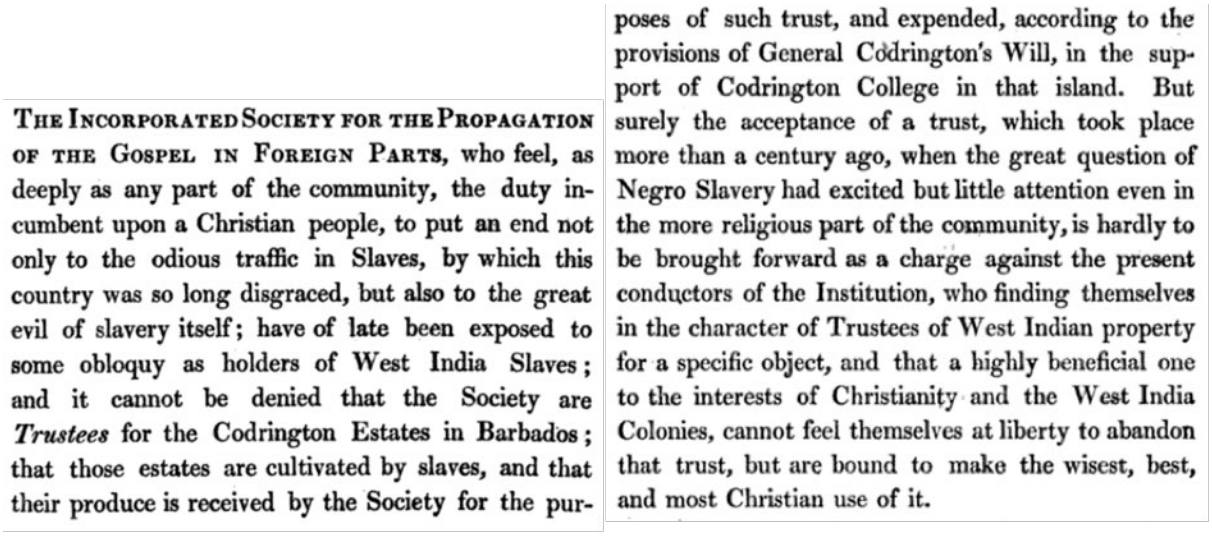
Conclusion: The SPG, Slavery and Abolition

Despite the rising tide of antislavery thought in Great Britain through the latter part of the eighteenth

[158] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 828b and chart entitled "Income and Expenses of the Society 1701-1900," 830-32.
[159] See, for example, Charles Manners-Sutton and the SPG, "Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," in *A Sermon Preached before the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at Their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, On Friday 17, 1797* (London: S. Brooke, 1797), 25.
[160] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*, 225-26.
[161] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity,* 147.
[162] Travis F. Glasson, via email, August 6, 2019.
[163] King's College Account Book, 1803-1841.

and early nineteenth centuries, neither the Church nor the SPG ended their involvement in slave-ownership until the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833 (effective August 1, 1834).

By 1831, with popular opinion clearly swinging to the abolitionist side of the debate, the SPG rather defensively began to plan for the gradual emancipation of its own enslaved workforce at the Codrington Plantations. Although lip service was paid to the immoral nature of both slavery and the slave trade, the Society clearly realized that any other position would soon become untenable. Clues to the feelings of the Society on the matter can be gleaned from reading a Codrington Plantation Committee report that was presented at the Society's annual meeting in January 1831 (see figure 67).



THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, who feel, as deeply as any part of the community, the duty incumbent upon a Christian people, to put an end not only to the odious traffic in Slaves, by which this country was so long disgraced, but also to the great evil of slavery itself; have of late been exposed to some obloquy as holders of West India Slaves; and it cannot be denied that the Society are *Trustees* for the Codrington Estates in Barbados; that those estates are cultivated by slaves, and that their produce is received by the Society for the purposes of such trust, and expended, according to the provisions of General Codrington's Will, in the support of Codrington College in that island. But surely the acceptance of a trust, which took place more than a century ago, when the great question of Negro Slavery had excited but little attention even in the more religious part of the community, is hardly to be brought forward as a charge against the present conductors of the Institution, who finding themselves in the character of Trustees of West Indian property for a specific object, and that a highly beneficial one to the interests of Christianity and the West India Colonies, cannot feel themselves at liberty to abandon that trust, but are bound to make the wisest, best, and most Christian use of it.

Fig. 67 Excerpt from the *Report from the Committee of the Codrington Trust to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 1831[164]

The British government, of course, passed the Imperial Act abolishing slavery in its remaining North American colonies, along with Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, in 1833. But this was hardly the end of the forced labour to which the SPG and all the rest of the enslaved people in the West Indies were subjected. Effective August 1, 1834, everyone over the age of six would enter upon an "apprenticeship" system. This strategy was devised to blunt the blow sustained by plantation owners by the loss of their human "property." The compensation they were paid by the British government starting in 1835 further softened their transition to having to pay wages to those who produced the "white gold," sugar. The flaws in the system were apparent; apprenticeship was terminated in 1836.[165]

In 1833, the Church of England received compensation from the British government for its losses, in the amount of £ 8,823.8s.9d for what then numbered some 411 enslaved individuals at both of the Codrington plantations on Barbados.[166] It was only in 2015 that the British taxpayer finished paying off

[164] Codrington Trust, *Report from the Committee of the Codrington Trust, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts adopted at a General Meeting of the Society, Friday, 21st Jan. 1831* (London: G. Woodfall, Printer, 1831), 3-4.

[165] Colleen A. Vasconcellos, "'To Fit You All for Freedom': Jamaican Planters, Afro-Jamaican Mothers and the Struggle to Control Afro-Jamaican Children during Apprenticeship, 1833–40," *Citizenship Studies* 10, no. 1 (2006): 55-75.

[166] World Heritage Encyclopedia, *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, Project Gutenberg online, accessed June 27, 2019, http://www self.gutenberg.org/articles/Society…for…the…Propagation…of…the…Gospel…in…Foreign…Parts.

the loan of some £20,000,000 that fattened the purses of slaveholders after the Imperial Act went into effect. It was also in that year that the Church of England formally apologized for its own participation in the slave trade and in the institution of slavery itself.

Appendix 6A. The Codrington Plantations

Introduction

As noted in section 6 of this report, monies from the Codrington Plantations' account were sometimes loaned to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (hereafter SPG or "the Society") General Fund, and vice-versa.[1] So it is entirely possible that plantation profits may have come to King's College, Nova Scotia, from time to time. How much, and in what proportion to the overall Society gift to the College remains a question that can only be resolved by further research.[2]

Fig. 68 Christopher Codrington III (1668-1710). All Souls College, Oxford.

The fact that the SPG was an organization actively engaged in slavery and the slave trade for some 123 years speaks volumes. It demonstrates the attitudes towards bondage held not only by the Church of England, but also by those who subscribed, donated, left legacies and otherwise supported the SPG. That similar views were held by Bishop Charles Inglis, members of the colonial clergy and the governors, politicians and others involved in founding the new Loyalist King's College, along with members of its early faculty and some of the students, is demonstrated by evidence presented throughout the sections of this report.

A great deal of information survives regarding the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and its operation of the Codrington Plantations in Barbados. SPG annual reports, accounting data shared between the plantations' white managers, and correspondence with church officials, including successive archbishops of Canterbury all detail income from slavery and from the sale of slave-produced goods. Most such records are held in Britain, at Oxford University's Bodleian Library, the British National Archives, and in the papers of the archbishopric held at Lambeth Palace. Also, more than 8,000 documents are preserved in the National Archives of Antigua; these relate to the operation of the Codrington family estates in Antigua and Barbuda.

Interestingly, pioneering archaeological work has been undertaken on the plantation, "Bettie's Hope," on the island of Antigua, a property belonging to another of the Codrington heirs (figure 69). These excavations have revealed fascinating data regarding the lives and experiences of the enslaved people who made up the Codrington family's and at least by inference, the SPG's, enslaved labour force.

As archaeologist Catherine A. Christianson, who was involved in the archaeological survey work conducted at "Bettie's Hope" starting in 1996, explains, sugar plantations such as the ones owned by the Codrington family were designed for maximum efficiency at achieving one goal, the cultivation and processing of sugar cane, the "white gold" of the Atlantic World. The labour of the enslaved was the

[1] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*, 147.

[2] This is a revised version of section 6, appendix A (November 3, 2020)

means of production, their humanity, faith and families all secondary to profits. Indeed, "social relations within the traditional British West Indian plantation community were determined by the economic organization that governed production." Such plantations were as self-supporting as possible, meaning that the enslaved population at each plantation included skilled workers in a variety of trades. However, most planters deemed land where sugar cane would grow as too valuable to use for food production, and thus most imported needed foodstuffs from New England, Nova Scotia and elsewhere to sustain their enslaved labour forces. The ubiquitous salt cod that was the main protein source for Caribbean plantation workers came from the Grand Banks.[3]

Fig. 69 Model showing Bettie's Hope Sugar Plantation, Antigua, ca. 1800. Photo by Nicholas Nugent for the Bettie's Hope Museum (2000).[4]

As one of the official histories of the SPG put it, "Beginning by aiding clergymen with books or passage money, between 1703 and 1710, the Society in the latter year became permanently connected with the West Indies by accepting the Trusteeship of the Codrington Estates in Barbados."[5] According to Scott Mandelbrote ,"The [Codrington] family wealth derived principally from sugar plantations at Betty's Hope, Antigua, and Consett's Bay, Barbados, and from the lease of the island of Barbuda where both cattle and slaves were bred."[6]

At the time Christopher Codrington died on April 7, 1710, at age forty-two, "he was considered the

[3] Catherine M. Christensen, "An Archaeological Survey of Bettie's Hope Estate" (unpub. MA thesis, College of William and Mary, 2003). Williams, in *Capitalism and Slavery*, 50, explains: "The Newfoundland fishery depended to a considerable extent on the annual export of dried fish to the West Indies, the refuse or 'poor John' fish, 'fit for no other consumption.'"

[4] "Betty's Hope – an Antiguan Sugar Estate," Betty's Hope Restoration Trust, accessed Nov. 22, 2020, http://antiguahistory.net/Museum/bettyshopelife.htm; http://antiguahistory.net/Museum/bettyshoperesearch.htm. Please note that the plantation name is variously spelled but the earlier documents refer to the property as "Bettie's Hope."

[5] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 194. Details of the bequest are recorded in the interesting sermon cited in Robert Anderson's *To Look on the Things of Others, a Sermon Preached on the Sunday after the Funeral of John, Lord Teignmouth* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1834), 35-36.

[6] Scott Mandelbrote, "Codrington, Christopher," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed January 1, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5795.

wealthiest man in the West Indies, with sugar plantations in Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts as well as ownership of the entire island of Barbuda and the valuable estate of Dodington back in England." In addition to the Barbados properties, he left the SPG part of his Barbuda properties. The Barbados bequest to the SPG included two plantations totalling some 700 acres, along with the 319 enslaved people living and working there at the time. The estate was disputed, and not well managed in the interregnum, so when the SPG finally took over in 1712 there were only 276 enslaved individuals living and working there, some having died and others absconded.[7]

The Society would go on to operate the Codrington Plantations through local intermediaries and hired managers for more than 120 years. Semantic scholar Shevaun E. Watson states in an interesting article:

> By 1711, the Society had formalized its plan to teach the Codrington slaves to read so that they might be converted and baptized, and further, for these plantations to become "a center for the Christianization of the American slaves" through the development of a "college" that would "breed up" missionaries to be sent abroad.[8]

No less a scholar than John Hope Franklin said of Codrington Plantation that it became "a laboratory in which techniques of education and Christianzation were developed for use on the mainland of North America and elsewhere." He called it "an early example of the curious combination of missionary zeal and human exploitation."[9] Watson makes a similar point:

> Faced with little success in the first decades of its slave missions, the SPG began in the 1730s to articulate a new method of conversion that sought to meld literacy with Christian slave owning. Literacy was crucial for slaves' salvation, and so, the Church argued, providing such instruction was among the masters' highest Christian duties: "If it be said that no time can be spared from the daily labour of the Negroes to instruct them, this is in effect to say that no consideration of propagating the gospel of God, or saving the souls of men, is to make the least abatement from the temporal profit of the masters."[10]

Slaveholders were, however, markedly resistant to having their enslaved workforce Christianized, and even more so to permitting their education. A majority considered preaching religion to enslaved Africans dangerous, and the idea of teaching them to read and write even more so. Many believed that ideas of human equality found in the New Testament and in literature springing from the European Enlightenment might plant in their enslaved populations new ideas about freedom and individual rights, and ultimately instigate violent uprising and even outright rebellion.[11]

Whatever their intention, as Katharine Gerbner's new volume *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in*

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[7] Quotation from Matthew Parker, *The Sugar Barons: Family, Corruption, Empire and War* (London: Windmill Books, 2012), 205. See also Harry Bennett Jr., "The Problem of Slave Labor Supply at the Codrington Plantations," *Journal of Negro History* 36, no. 2 (October 1951): 406-41, 412-13; John A. Schutz, "Christopher Codrington's Will: Launching the SPG into the Barbadian Sugar Business," *Pacific Historical Review*, 15, no. 2 (June 1946): 192-200, 195.

[8] Shevaun E. Watson, "'Good Will Come of This Evil': Enslaved Teachers and the Transatlantic Politics of Early Black Literacy," *College Composition and Communication* 61, no. 1 (Sept. 2009): 66-89, 71.

[9] John Hope Franklin, review of *Codrington Chronicle: An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710-1834*, edited by Frank J. Klingberg, *William and Mary Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (Jan., 1950): 146-48.

[10] Watson, "'Good Will Come,'" 67.

[11] Frank J. Klingberg, "British Humanitarianism at Codrington," *Journal of Negro History* 23, no. 4 (Oct. 1938): 451-89, 461-62. On the education issue, see Gerbner, *Christian Slavery*, 134-36.

the Protestant Atlantic World points out, the ownership of the Codrington Plantations transformed the most senior prelates in the Church into absentee owners and managers of sugar plantations, and those plantations were worked by hundreds of enslaved people. This meant the churchmen would gain intimate knowledge of, and profit directly from, the purchase, sale and oversight of enslaved Africans acquired through the Atlantic Slave Trade.[12]

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the fact that the Society owned sugar plantations in the Caribbean began to cause some controversy within the SPG. This grew in tandem with the rise of British abolitionism. A case in point was British theologian William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, who in his delivery of the SPG annual sermon in London in 1766 showcased his vehement opposition to the Atlantic Slave Trade, if not slavery itself.[13] Disapproval of the SPG's complacency towards and direct participation in the institution escalated with Lord Mansfield's famous 1772 decision in the Court of King's Bench, as discussed earlier in this report.[14]

Eleven years later, the discomfort of at least some SPG members regarding slavery influenced both tone and content of the annual sermon delivered in 1783. The sermon was delivered by the Bishop of Chester, Beilby Porteus. He was the son of former Virginia plantation owners and from them had gained knowledge of, and distain for, human bondage. Delivering his fiery condemnation at London's St. Mary-le-Bow Church, Porteus upbraided the Church of England and plantation owners alike for leaving their enslaved Black populations in deplorable ignorance, not only of their letters but also most particularly of their faith. The bishop believed conversion followed by gradual emancipation of the enslaved would result in recreating African Caribbean people as a devout and dignified peasantry, tied to the land. Even Porteus did not suggest the SPG immediately emancipate its hundreds of enslaved workers; instead, he laid out what eminent church historian Frank Klingberg called a "blueprint" for a "more advanced regime at the Codrington estate." Neither the sermon nor its subsequent publication and sale evidently had any marked effect on either the Society's ownership of enslaved workers, or on its treatment of them.[15]

It is of note that Bishop Porteus delivered his SPG Annual Sermon in the same year that eighteen SPG missionaries—nearly all of them slaveholders themselves—met in Loyalist New York to advocate for the founding of a new King's College in Nova Scotia to replace the one they lost at New York City due to Britain's losses in the American Revolutionary War. This was also the same year the Treaty of Paris was ratified, recognizing American independence from Great Britain.

Operation and Management of the Codrington Plantations

Under the terms of his will dated February 22, 1703, Christopher Codrington III left specific instructions about his bequest:

> I give the bequeath my two plantations in Barbados to the Society for Propagation of

[12] Gerbner, 132-37.
[13] Klingberg, "Anglican Humanitarianism," 37-40; Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 407.
[14] Capel Lofft, *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Court of King's Bench, from Easter Term 12 Geo. 3 to Michaelmas 14 Geo. 3, 1772-1774* (London, 1776; reprint., General Books, 2010): 30-31 (1772); William M. Weicek, "Somerset: Lord Mansfield and the Legitimacy of Slavery in the Anglo-American World," *University of Chicago Law Review* 42, no. 1 (Autumn 1974): 86–146.
[15] Brycchan Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment, and Slavery, 1760-1807* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 151-53; Tennant, "Sentiment, Politics, and Empire," in Carey, Ellis, and Salih., *Discourses of Slavery and Abolition*; Klingberg, "Anglican Humanitarianism," 45-48.

> the Christian Religion in Foreign parts, Erected and established by my late good master, King William the Third, and my desire is to have the plantations continued Intire [*sic*] and three hundred negroes at least Kept thereon, and A convenient number of Professors and Scholars maintained there, all of them to be under the vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, who shall be obliged to Studdy and Practice Physick and Chyrurgery as well as Divinity, that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind, they may both ender themselves to the people and have better opportunitys of doeing good to mens souls wilst they are taking care of their Bodys. But the Particulars of the Constitution I leave to the Society Comps'd of good and wise men.[16]

The idea was both to educate the enslaved people on his estates, and to train missionaries in both theology and medicine to disseminate the Word according to the Church of England. There was a monastic undertone to it all, for the students were meant to remain celibate. The devout Codrington willed to the SPG £6,000 for a new library at his alma mater, All Souls College, Oxford. There was also £4,000 set aside to purchase books for the All Souls library. The plantations mentioned above went directly to the SPG and were valued at £30,000.[17]

The Society's plantations were run by managers employed by the Church of England, under the supervision of a "Barbados Committee" made up of SPG members, often attorneys and merchants knowledgeable about conditions in the West Indies. It was headed by senior members of the clergy, including in the first instance, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison. Attorneys and clergymen resident in Barbados reported to this committee regarding income and expenditures, changes to the policy of purchasing versus hiring enslaved labourers, administrative alterations and other factors affecting the operation of Codrington, and the profitability of the work undertaken there.[18]

The absentee nature of the SPG's management was unusual for Barbados, though not for the other sugar islands. Barbados, known as "Little England," had the largest ration of white residents as compared to Africans, who usually far outnumbered Europeans living on the sugar islands. Too, conditions generally mitigated against high mortality on the part of enslaved African Barbadians as compared to other parts of the Caribbean, although that varied greatly from plantation to plantation.[19]

The SPG adhered to the terms of its benefactor's will, attempting to maintain a cadre of some 300 or more enslaved workers on the plantations, and eventually establishing Codrington College, although this took considerable time and did not take the form their benefactor had envisioned. Christopher Codrington wanted the facility to serve as a theological college to train young men for the priesthood to

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[16] C.F. Pascoe, compl., *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892* (London: Published at the Society's Office, 1894), 127.

[17] Schutz, "Christopher Codrington's Will"; Scott Mandelbrote, "The Vision of Christopher Codrington," in *All Souls under the Ancien Régime: Politics, Learning, and the Arts, c.1600-1850*, eds. Simon J. D. Green and Peregrine Horden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 132-71.

[18] Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 238. These agents seem to have been generally reliable except in the 1730s when it appears that some of the attorneys were in collusion with the estate managers, who were hiring their own enslaved people to the SPG to fill out the labour force rather than purchasing "new Africans." It was suggested at the time that one of the attorneys in charge of the books intended to purchase Codrington at a reduced price once it had been rendered unprofitable. See Harry Bennett, Jr., "The Problem of Slave Labor Supply at Codrington Plantations," *Journal of Negro History* 37, no. 2 (Apr 1952): 115-41, 117-20. The practice of hiring enslaved workers at considerable annual expense continued through the 1760s, greatly affecting profitability.

[19] Stephanie Bergman and Frederick H. Smith, "Blurring Disciplinary Boundaries: The Material Culture of Improvement during the Age of Abolition," *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no. 3 (Sept. 2014): 418-43.

spare them the expense and difficulty of travelling to England for that purpose."[20]

Fig. 70 A sketch of Codrington College, ca. 1845[21]

The first attempt to construct the College began in 1714, but the building, largely built with hired labour to avoid diverting profitable enslaved workers from the cane fields, was not finished until September 1745. Codrington Grammar School, serving only the sons of the island's white elite, began shortly after. It closed in 1775 for a time, and then reopened in 1797. Despite Christopher Codrington's wishes, the school did not actually become an institution for higher learning open to African Barbadians for generations. In 1830 the Grammar School became the full-fledged college named Codrington College, after its illustrious benefactor, operating first as a theological seminary, which by 1850 had an attached Mission House to train those going overseas, and then as a teachers' college.[22]

How were the enslaved men, women and children at the Codrington Plantations treated by the SPG, bearing in mind that the conversion of people of African descent to the Christian faith was central to the organization's mission? As Nova Scotian scholar and journalist El Jones noted in her revealing article "The Slippery Slope," which appeared in the *Halifax Examiner* of August 19, 2017, conditions at Codrington were brutal. In the early years, enslaved workers were branded with a hot iron on their chests, tracing out the identifier "Society" to ensure that their ownership was clear. Indeed, a special silver brand was ordered for the purpose, paid for by the SPG on November 13, 1723. Branding was considered extreme even by local slaveholders. A local catechist castigated the Society for continuing the cruel practice, "a thing voted to be done only by the severest Masters or to the worst of Slaves," and

[20] Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply" (continued 1952), 115; Schutz, "Christopher Codrington's Will," 194-96.
[21] "Codrington College," from Robert Hermann Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados; Comprising a Geographical and Statistical Description of the Island* [. . .] (1848), in Collections of the British Museum, Accession No., HMNTS 1303.l.5.
[22] A detailed history of Codrington College is provided in J. Harry Bennett and William Robertson Hitchcock in *Bondsmen and Bishops: Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710-1838* (University of California Press, 1958), and John W. Holder, *Codrington College: A Brief History* (Bridgetown, Barbados, 1988). See also Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy*, 681-84; Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, esp. 782-83.

the SPG desisted in about 1733.[23] Indeed, the SPG differed little from other West Indian slaveholders. As was the case throughout the Caribbean and British North America, those who resisted their enslaved condition and rejected demands imposed on them were punished. The most rebellious were often sold away, the painful consequence of which was being torn from friends and family.[24]

Gangs of enslaved people worked the fields under the keen eye of white overseers employed by the Society, and under constant threat of corporal punishment. At least six people ran away annually. Their flight cost the SPG funds, either in the form of rewards paid to slave catchers, or in outright losses of property and the proceeds of slave labour. In Barbados, the penalty for an enslaved person absenting themselves for more than thirty days was death, although further research is needed to ascertain whether or not the SPG enforced such harsh regulations. There were also losses entailed in the intermittent absences from labour that such flights occasioned. The enslaved workers at Codrington resisted their conditions. Some killed themselves. Others were accused of "malingering," insolence or sabotaging tools or draft animals. The punishments ranged from the iron collar through use of a straitjacket, to the ever-present lash, sometimes with fatal results. It is of note that the 1831 SPG plan for gradual emancipation made specific mention that overseers would no longer carry "the cow-skin" to the fields daily. Obviously they had previously done so. This was a vicious instrument.[25] One governor's assistant, William Dickinson, living on the island at the time that King's was being founded, described the cowhide in graphic terms:

> The instrument of correction commonly used in Barbados, is called a cow-skin, without which a negro driver would [not] . . . think of going into the field . . . . It is composed of leathern thongs, platted in the common way, and tapers from the end of the handle (within which is a short bit of wood) to the point, which is furnished with a lash of silk-grass, hard platted and knotted, like that of a horse-whip but thicker. Its form gives it some degree of elasticity towards the handle; and when used with severity . . . it tears the flesh, and brings blood at every stroke.[26]

The market value of enslaved people varied considerably over time. Codrington, in keeping with large-scale plantations throughout the West Indies and parts of the American South, was a village unto itself. Most items used and consumed on the plantation were produced there. The enslaved work force included skilled artisans and craftspeople, ranging from coopers for making barrels, through carpenters and blacksmiths, midwives, weavers and seamstresses, cooks and nursemaids. Especially valuable were those who specialized in extracting juice from pressed cane to make molasses, and "stillers" who turned it into liquor.[27] The annual profit from the Codrington plantations was usually about £2,000, which slavery historian Adam Hochschild in his seminal volume, *Bury the Chains: The British Struggle to End*

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[23] Klingberg, "British Humanitarianism at Codrington."
[24] Ben Fenton, "Church's Apology for Slavery 'Is Not Enough,'" *The Telegraph* [London, UK], Feb. 11, 2006; Glasson, *Mastering Christianity,* 156; Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London: Verso, 1997), 472.
[25] Codrington Trust. *Report from the Committee of the Codrington Trust, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts adopted at a General Meeting of the Society, Friday, 21st Jan. 1831* (London: G. Woodfall, Printer, 1831), 3-4.
[26] William Dickinson, *Letters on Slavery* (London: 1789, reprint NY: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 14-15, cited in "Whip Used on Slaves, Barbados," online at Slavery Images: A Visual Record of the African Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Early African Diaspora, accessed Sept. 7, 2020, http://slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/item/1328.
[27] Adam Hochschild, "How the Anglican Church Treated Its Slaves," *New African* (Oct. 1, 2006): 32-35, 32; Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply" (1951), 410.

Slavery, translates to about $325,000 in modern US dollars.[28]

Little in the way of care or medical assistance was provided, hours were incredibly long, and the work debilitating. According to Travis F. Glasson: "In the period between the Society's takeover and 1748, deaths outnumbered births among enslaved people on Codrington by a ratio of six to one."[29] The policy of working the enslaved to death was apparently deliberate, since purchasing "new Africans" was cheaper than caring for sick or injured ones, or even than ensuring that a reasonable workload was assigned to each hand. Newly enslaved Africans arriving at Codrington were given three years of "seasoning" to acclimatize, learn their work, acquire some facility with English or at least the pidgin version spoken in the fields, and to become strong and healthy enough for the taxing labour required to plant, cultivate, harvest and process sugar cane. In later years, the acquisition of "seasoned" workers, rather than "new Africans" was favoured by the SPG, despite a higher cost per person. They were already trained and acclimatized, and their resale value was substantially higher as well.[30]

Fig. 71 Sugar mill and adjacent factory on West Indian plantation. From William Clark, *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua* (1823).[31]

Various methods of acquiring "seasoned" workers were tried. For instance, in 1762, the Society bought the Henley plantation from the estate of William Whitaker, acquiring in the process 148 additional men,

[28] Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (London: Pan Books, 2005).
[29] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity,* 149.
[30] Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply" (continued 1952), 127-29. See also Klingberg, "British Humanitarianism at Codrington," 458-59.
[31] Margot Davis and Gregson Davis, *Antigua Black: Portrait of an Island People* (San Francisco, CA): Scrimshaw Press, 1973), 53. The image comes from William Clark, *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua: In Which Are Represented the Process of Sugar Making, and the Employment of the Negroes, in the Field, Boiling-house and Distillery / From Drawings Made by William Clark* (London: Thomas Clay, 1823), at the British Library Online Gallery, Caribbean Views Collection, accessed July 9, 2019. http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/carviews/t/022zzz0001786c9u000000tp.html.

women, boys and girls who were appraised at nearly £6,400.[32] According to one historian:

> The Codrington plantations suffered to the fullest the common Barbadian failure to maintain the numbers of slave forces without constant recruitment. Their records illustrate various factors responsible for Negro decline: diseases, accidents, the high death rate among infants and newly imported Africans, and managerial unwillingness to buy female Negroes. The history of the Society's estates indicates that management, in facing the diminution of the Negro population, had alternatives to simple reliance on the African slave trade: the use of jobbing gangs of hired Negroes, the purchase of seasoned slaves, the deliberate re-trenchment of production, the encouragement of breeding, and the redistribution of the components of the slave force — male and female, artisans and field workers, young and old — to keep up strength for essential work.[33]

The SPG ran its sugar plantations with far fewer workers than the size of the properties and the level of work required. Additional workers might be hired from other slaveholders. Bennett details the number of men and boys, women and girls employed at a given time in each task, from preparing the soil for planting through the crushing of the cane and processing of its sugary juice.[34] The result of maintaining an insufficiently large work force was a high mortality rate due to disease, injury and exhaustion, as well as some suicides, particularly amongst "new Africans" recently arrived from the continent. The insufficient workforce also influenced the plantations' very low birth rate and high infant death rate, a situation less typical at other plantations on Barbados than on plantations on the other islands in the Caribbean, as recent archaeological studies by Stephanie Bergman and Frederick H. Smith have shown.[35]

The SPG through its local managers regularly topped up its supply of enslaved workers by purchasing new ones from slave traders. They usually bought teenagers who were healthy and promised both longevity and fertility, although they had a preference for young men, which prevented most being able to form families and have children.[36]

Thus, the SPG not only owned enslaved people and profited from their forced and unwaged labour but was also engaged directly in both the Atlantic slave trade, and the local domestic and intercoastal commerce operating throughout the Caribbean. Local legal records show that that between ten and thirty people were purchased annually for this purpose through the 1750s (see table 10).[37]

The causes of death amongst the enslaved workers at Codrington at the time King's College was being founded were summarized by Bennett, as shown in table 11.

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[32] Klingberg, "British Humanitarianism at Codrington," 459-60.

[33] Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply" (1951), 407. Also cited in El Jones, "The Slippery Slope: The Morning File, August 19, 2017," *Halifax Examiner*, accessed August 16, 2020, https://www.halifaxexaminer.ca/featured/the-slippery-slope-morning-file-saturday-august-19-2017/.

[34] Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply" (1951), 409-12.

[35] Bergman and Smith, "Blurring Disciplinary Boundaries," 419.

[36] Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," table 2, "Slave Population on Codrington, 1745," shows age/sex ratios, 249.

[37] Minutes of meeting of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, July 5, 1751, SPG MSS., Misc. Un. Does. (L.C. Photo.), pkg. IX, pkt. 1, 242-43, cited in Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply" (1951), 415n40. For Codrington's high mortality rate and its causes, see 430-35.

Table 10 Enslaved Africans purchased for the Codrington Plantations by the SPG[38]

Year	*Number purchased*	*Cost*
1740	17 slaves	£450
1741	31 slaves (28 boys and 3 girls)	£861
1742	None bought	
1743	22 slaves (2 men @ £35, 12 boys, and 8 girls)	£622
1744	23 slaves (14 men, 4 women, 4 boys, and 1 girl)	£712 18*s.*
1745	10 slaves (5 boys and 5 girls)	£330
1746	30 slaves (15 men, 10 girls, and 5 boys)	£1,044 10*s.* 3½ *d.*[95]

The process of replacing people through purchase was discontinued in the 1760s, when the plantation managers at Codrington adopted new approaches to ensuring the health of the enslaved population and particularly reforming their approaches to maternal health. As a result, the mortality rate of people of all ages declined. Bennett wrote in his 1952 article: "At Codrington amelioration was to involve the building of good houses and hospitals, the introduction of settled families, shorter hours, lightened discipline, gifts to mothers, and the furnishing of better food and clothing."[39] This was part of a general trend on the island, and continued as abolitionist sentiments increased in Great Britain. Barbadian planters began implementing innovations designed to preserve life and health, and, of course, found ways to make this even more profitable.[40]

Table 11 Deaths at Codrington between December 31, 1786 and May 3, 1788[41]

Africa	Tympany	1
Phill John	Sore Throat	1
Caesar Henley	a leper	1
Quash Madlew	dropsey	1
Bomah	fever	1
Amentah	consumption	1
Mercy	debilitated	1
Minnah	convulsed	1
Bess Rose	sore throat	1
Bennebah	ditto	1
Jacob	convulsed	1
John Castle	sore throat	1

Clearly the SPG struggled between its moral obligations to Codrington's enslaved workforce and the pressure to ensure profitability. While Bennett attributes this amelioration of conditions at Codrington to rising humanitarian sensibilities, the Church was also well aware that the policy also encouraged reproductive health and thus "breeding" within its own enslaved labouring population. The fact that there were also "mulattos" mentioned in the records of Codrington Plantation, a word derived from the Portuguese indicating that they were of mixed ethnicity, suggests that at least some enslaved women on the SPG-owned plantation were subject to sexual predation on the part of the Society's white managers

[38] Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply" (1951), 423.
[39] Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply (continued 1952)," 137; Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 262-64, 280-81.
[40] Bergman and Smith, "Blurring Disciplinary Boundaries," 419-20.
[41] Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply" (1951), 435. The data is drawn by Bennett from SPG reports included in "Papers of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

and employees, just as they were on plantations throughout the Caribbean. While one of the stated objectives of the SPG here and elsewhere in converting enslaved Africans to the faith was to introduce British-style moral behaviours and convince them to preserve the sanctity of marriage, the organization cannot have been unaware that enslaved women at Codrington were also being forced into sexual relations by their own employees.[42]

In some ways, the Codrington Plantations were a prime example of the intertwining of religion and the institution of slavery. In accordance with Codrington III's will and in keeping with the SPG mandate, the Society sent out from England missionaries to convert its enslaved plantation workers; the Church fathers were convinced that a converted enslaved population was also more inclined to be a docile, obedient and diligent one. According to the SPG annual reports, there were still relatively few conversions by the time slavery was abolished in 1833/4. This was followed by a time of limited emancipation, a period of apprenticeship served at Codrington under the absentee management of the SPG. Even by 1838 when full emancipation had finally become an accomplished fact, the Society could boast of few actual converts.[43]

Interestingly, according to Glasson, "It was not SPG apathy that was primarily to blame for the failure to effect a mass conversion of Codrington's slave population, but the vibrancy and vitality of the slaves' own cultural and religious lives. In this setting, Church of England teachings held insufficient appeal to motivate slaves to convert." Voodoo and other forms of syncretic African religious practices prevailed amongst the enslaved population of the island. What was more, African worship and belief was continually reinforced by the introduction of shiploads of "new Africans" to Barbados as a result of the Atlantic Slave Trade. The newcomers repeatedly reinforced the belief systems already in place amongst older members of the enslaved population. Language was also an issue since on large plantations, enslaved people tended not to learn English quickly, and that which they learned was a pidgin composed of English words mixed with those from a dozen or more African dialects.[44] Despite the SPGs efforts, the practice of polygamy also prevailed, even amongst enslaved men and women who had been baptized into the Church of England.[45]

Part of the problem lay in the fact that the clergy and their missionaries by this time supported the idea that slavery was acceptable, and that people of African descent were of an inferior "race." This had not been the case in SPG leadership in the 1730s, when Bishop Edmund Gibson of London had in the annual Society sermon insisted that enslaved Africans possessed "the same Frame and Faculties' as their owners, with 'Souls capable of being made eternally happy, and Reason and Understanding to receive Instruction in order to it." Indeed, he believed it would be possible to train enslaved African people as teachers for their peers.[46] However, the concept of white supremacy that bolstered the slave system grew apace with the rapid expansion of plantation slavery throughout the eighteenth century, as did ideas of scientific racism that were used to justify it. According to recent work by T. Parris Larose, "By the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the African was effectively set apart from Western humanity."[47] Still, the SPG was more concerned with souls than bodies, for as Bishop Gibson maintained, with a cold hearted lack of appreciation for the brutality encountered by enslaved

[42] Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply (continued 1952)," 137.
[43] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity,* 234-37; "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 230.
[44] Smith, "Slavery and Christianity, 174ff; Glasson, "Missionaries, Slavery, and Race," 264-65; 287; Klingberg, "British Humanitarianism at Codrington,"462.
[45] Klingberg, "British Humanitarianism at Codrington,"466.
[46] Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, 87.
[47] T. Parris LaRose, *Being Apart: Theoretical and Existential Resistance in Africana Literature* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015), 28.

plantation workers, "the greatest hardships that the most severe master can inflict upon them, is not to be compar'd to the Cruelty of keeping them in a State of Heathenism."[48]

It was all rather self-serving, a point brought home by the fact that many senior members of the clergy, including Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, England, were either investors or outright owners of plantations in the Caribbean islands. A substantial number would in fact be paid compensation for the loss of their slaves when the institution was abolished. Very likely the Society's senior members assuaged their own consciences by telling themselves that by continuing to be "benevolent" and proselytizing slaveholders at their own West Indian plantations, the SPG was setting an example to other slaveholding plantation owners throughout the Caribbean.[49]

Fig. 72 Interior of a Boiling House on a West Indian Plantation. From William Clark, *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua* (1823).[50]

The Church of England as a religious denomination was more socially and politically conservative in comparison to the other forms of Protestant religion. The Church of England itself did not make a pronouncement against slavery until the 21st century. In 2006, the synod of the Anglican Church and Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury apologized for the Church's role in promoting and profiting from the Atlantic Slave Trade, acknowledging the British role which ended more than *two centuries before*, in 1807.[51] The dissenting faiths, which concentrated more of their efforts in the Caribbean islands, and who attracted leadership from within the enslaved Black communities, had considerably more success in their efforts to "Christianize" enslaved African West Indians.[52]

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[48] Quoted in Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, 90.
[49] Glasson, *Mastering Christianity,* 237-8; 239; Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, 94-95.
[50] Clark, *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua*, accessed July 9, 2019, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/carviews/t/022zzz0001786c9u000000tp.html.
[51] Jonathan Petre, "Church Offers Apology for Its Role in Slavery," *The Telegraph* [London, UK], February 9, 2006. The apology was actually issued at the General Synod of the Anglican Church on February 8, 2006.
[52] Smith, "Slavery and Christianity," 174.

Codrington, the SPG and King's College, Nova Scotia

It may be telling that the Codrington Plantations were dramatically less profitable from about 1770 to 1783, a crucial period in the history of the SPG relative to the foundation of King's College, Nova Scotia. This was because of shipping embargoes attendant on the American Revolution, insect damage and a major hurricane in 1780, as well as exhaustion of the soil after more than a century of growing sugarcane. Soon, however, Codrington's precariously balanced fortunes would be saved by philanthropist John Braithwaite. An experienced planter, he negotiated a leasehold agreement on the plantations between 1783 and 1793 that amounted to nearly £20,000 in total. Braithwaite also emphasized the need to invest in the physical health of the plantation's enslaved population. This policy served the SPG well under subsequent managers, whose records reveal much lower mortality rates, especially amongst children, than had been the case earlier in the century. This, of course, increased profits dramatically and when slavery finally ended in the 1830s, the proceeds flowing into the SPG coffers from their Barbados property were at an all-time high of over £4,000 per annum.[53]

In 1789, Phillip Gibbes, who had been one of the attorneys for the SPG in relation to Codrington, joined with eight other planters to publish *Instructions for the Management of a Plantation*. This encouraged "amelioration" of the conditions under which enslaved plantation workers laboured. Later that year he put out his own volume, *Instructions for the Treatment of Negroes*. Sir Phillip Gibbes not only descended from one of Barbados' founding planter families but had been elevated to a baronetcy in 1774. He had been an SPG member since 1777, and chaired the influential and extremely well-funded "West India Planters' and Traders' Association," a lobby group promoting planter interests in the British Parliament. All of this was, of course, partly as a response to publicity regarding the cruel treatment and short life expectancy of enslaved individuals on plantations in the British Caribbean. It is of note that Barbados was the only one of the sugar islands to support the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade, which passed into law in 1807.[54]

As discussed in section 6 of this report, plans on the part of the SPG to begin the process of gradually emancipating the enslaved workers at Codrington were published in 1831, but were interrupted when Britain passed the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833, implemented on August 1, 1834. In common with 46,000 slaveholders, the SPG received a settlement for the loss of the Society's "human property." This amounted to more than £8,823.8s.9d, equivalent to just under £10,000,000 today. It was not until 1983 that the United Society Partners in the Gospel, as the organization had been called since it amalgamated with other overseas charities of the Church of England beginning in 1965, transferred ownership of Christopher Codrington's 1710 bequest to the Anglican Diocese of Barbados. This included Codrington College and the remaining plantation lands that were part of the Codrington Trust.[55]

According to an article by Stephen Knox published in *Caribbean Beat* magazine in 1995 in honour of the College's 250th anniversary: "Today, Codrington is the Caribbean's Anglican training college, perhaps the leading theological college in the region, and certainly the oldest; its handsome building with its three-foot limestone walls looks much the same as it did back in 1745, despite being damaged twice by

[53] Bennett, "Slave Labor Supply (continued 1952)," 135-41.
[54] Bergman and Smith, "Blurring Disciplinary Boundaries," 430-33. For Gibbes as an SPG member, see Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*, 215.
[55] *An Act to Repatriate to Barbados the Administration and Control of the Codrington Estate Trust and for Related Matters*, Chapter 244: Codrington Trust, 1983-27, Law of Barbados, Cumulative Edition 2008, accessed Nov. 1, 2020, http://104.238.85.55/en/ShowPdf/244.pdf.

hurricanes and once by fire."[56] It is affiliated with the University of the West Indies.

In all, the British government expended some £20,000,000 to compensate former slaveholders who were deprived of their human "property" by the passage of the Slavery Abolition Act. The loan taken out to cover the cost was a burden imposed on the taxpayers of the British Isles that continued into the early years of the twenty-first century.[57]

Available sources state that the compensation received by the Society for its lost human "property" was deposited directly into the accounts of the Codrington Trust, to benefit the college named after the benefactor who willed his sugar plantations to the SPG in 1710. It is unlikely that any part of that £8823.8s.9d was ever transferred to the General Fund, nor would it have been used to support faculty members at King's College, Nova Scotia, or to contribute to students "on the foundation," as described in the King's College Account Book 1803-1842, the invaluable old leather-bound ledger preserved in the archives of the University of King's College, Nova Scotia.

[56] Stephen Knox, "Christopher's Legacy: Codrington College," *Caribbean Beat*, Issue 15, September/October 1995, accessed Nov. 1, 2020, https://www.caribbean-beat.com/issue-15/christophers-legacy-codrington-college#ixzz6clgTdGVS.

[57] *Slavery Abolition Act 1833* (3 & 4 Will. IV c. 73); Section XXIV. Aug, 28, 1833, accessed Sept. 19, 2019, https://www.pdavis.nl/Legis_07.htm. See also, Sir J. H. Baker, *English Legal History*, 4th ed. (London: Butterworths, 2002), 541.

Section 7. Further Research

The aim of "King's College, Nova Scotia: Direct Connections with Slavery" has been to identify enslaved individuals, slaveholders, and slavery practices in the history of King's College, as well as to document how unwaged labour and the proceeds of slavery directly contributed to the establishment and operation of King's College, Nova Scotia. The project thus endeavoured, on one hand, to identify and bring forward the voices of the as-yet-untold numbers of enslaved individuals whose lives and experiences have passed thus far unremarked in the annals of King's College. On the other hand, the project strived to illuminate institutional, economic, financial, familial, and ideological linkages between the facts of slavery as they related to the foundation and early years of King's College, and the historical context in which the College emerged as an educational institution in what remained of British North America after the American Revolution.

Our research was conducted over many months and relied heavily on primary research materials, most of them found in local archives and historical collections. Apart from the superb publications of historians Harvey Amani Whitfield, Barry Cahill, James W. St. George Walker and archaeologists Catherine Cottreau-Robins, Sarah Beanlands and Heather McLeod-Leslie, along with a handful of other scholars, very little secondary source material is available regarding slavery in Maritime Canada.

One important objective we had as historians was to bring into the full light of day the names and personal experiences of enslaved African people who were in any way associated with King's College. This proved a daunting, but far from impossible task. There have been some notable discoveries, among which were details of the lives of two enslaved brothers, John and Newport Tallow forcibly migrated to Nova Scotia by the de St. Croix family of Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. One of Newport's sons, George Tallow, was one of the deacons at a meeting at the Granville Mountain Church (also known as the North Mountain Church) where the charismatic clergyman the Reverend Richard Preston and twelve African Baptist Church ministers established the African United Baptist Association on September 1, 1854. Further research, particularly the collection of oral history from John and Newport's descendants, will undoubtedly reveal further historical details in respect to contributions made to the growth and prosperity of this province on the part of the Tallow family.

It is our hope that the research methodology employed in discovering the Tallow family's association with student Benjamin de St. Croix, who became a physician and went on to marry the daughter of a slaveholding family in Prince Edward Island, may serve as a template for future investigations relevant to documenting direct connections between King's College and the institution of slavery as practiced in Maritime Canada.

Likewise, it is entirely possible that enslaved men and women laboured in the construction of King's College. There were certainly several slaveholding families living at Windsor and in the surrounding area who were in one way or another associated with the College and with Bishop Charles Inglis and the King's Board of Governors. Loyalists arriving in Nova Scotia are assumed to have continued traditions relating to the employment of enslaved labour from their earlier homes in the former Thirteen Colonies. There enslaved quarrymen, masons, carpenters, joiners, wood cutters and labourers were regularly "hired out" to assist non-slaveholders in completing building tasks. Likewise enslaved women were often hired out to households and institutions to clean, cook, sew and undertake a host of other tasks. While no bills for the hire of such workers have yet come to light, further investigations in King's own archives as well as in personal letters, diaries, accounts and other documentary sources of slaveholding families associated with King's College may reveal further information in this regard.

Finally, our discovery that the College employed African Nova Scotians as servants in the student residences long after slavery had been abolished in most of the British Empire, suggests that this may have been a tradition with some earlier manifestations at King's College. In the New England states, for instance, students routinely arrived at Yale, Harvard and other institutions of higher learning accompanied by their own enslaved personal servants. This does not seem to have been the case in the early years at King's, but future research may lead to new discoveries in this highly significant area of study. At the very least, the King's history of employing African Nova Scotians, whether enslaved or free, merits extensive further study.

In closing, our work presented in the foregoing report has shed light on the biographies and experiences of some individuals who were enslaved by the families of students, members of faculty, those appointed to the Board of Governors, and others involved in the creation and ongoing development of King's College, and to the institution of slavery more broadly. In many cases this included the transport and sale of slave-produced goods in the incredibly lucrative "West India Trade." However, much more work is needed to present a full historical account of the university's direct connections to slavery.

Historical research of this nature invariably confronts the constraints of time and budget, as was the case with this project. It was conducted over a three-year period with very limited financial resources. The undertaking has therefore enabled us to identify significant data gaps and access constraints that warrant a long-term full research program. Those gaps and constraints are outlined in the following subsections.

Tracing the Lives of Enslaved People: Accessing Archives

While the project has yielded significant discoveries regarding the lives of enslaved individuals connected to King's College, their biographies remain only partially rendered, and the fates of many more are untold. The primary sources of local data available to researchers include court records, personal papers, commercial and shipping documents, and newspaper advertisements concerning runaways. While such records attest to the existence of, and provide insight into, the lives of enslaved individuals, more research is needed in local archives, as well as in American, Caribbean and British repositories, to develop a fuller account of the Black experience in relationship to King's College. Of particular note is the wealth of documentation that is held in private collections both locally and abroad. A long-term research program would endeavour to establish working relationships with the families and institutions whose permission must be sought in order to access such private collections.

Following the Money

As shown in section 6, slavery contributed in real and substantial ways to the funding that the Church of England through the international Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) disbursed to help support the operation of King's College. However, exact amounts could not be ascertained without access to financial records held in British archives. Only by examining the original financial documents preserved in the archival collections of the heir to the SPG files—the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—as well as the Archbishop of Canterbury's and other relevant collections at Lambeth Palace, London, will it be possible to ascertain what proportion of such funds were sent to Nova Scotia as contributions to the budget of King's College. Moreover, further research regarding donors, members and people otherwise associated both with slavery and with the SPG would expand our understanding of the connections between slavery and the SPG budget.

Studying the Oral History of Enslaved Individuals and Their Families

As discussed throughout the report, there is an inherent difficulty in trying to construct detailed narratives regarding the biographies and experiences of individual enslaved African Nova Scotians: written personal accounts documented by such people are very rare. Another potential source of data lies in oral histories preserved within the African Nova Scotian and African New Brunswick communities. While beyond the reach of the present project, the study of such accounts may further illuminate the direct connections between King's College and slavery.

Given these data gaps and access constraints, only a longer and much more intensive program of research will help bring this long-buried and crucially significant aspect of King's early history to light. Such a program would include travel to gather documentary evidence from archival repositories in Great Britain, the United States and the West Indies. Furthermore, it would endeavour to develop relationships with the owners and managers of private archives in order to gain access to relevant documents held therein. Finally, it would encompass a major, intensive study of any oral histories relevant to the direct connections between King's College, Nova Scotia, and the institution of slavery that may survive within the African Nova Scotian and African New Brunswick communities.

Our own focus as historians has always been on the African Nova Scotian—rather than the white Loyalist—experience. That is one objective of the work laid out in these pages which is by far the most difficult to accomplish. However, we want to emphasize that it is, indeed, possible to tease out biographical details of a people who have, for far too long, been nearly voiceless in the historical record. We hope that future researchers will piece together for themselves the elusive clues left behind in letters and maps, military and court documents, oral histories and in the very land they trod, that tell the stories of enslaved and free African Nova Scotians who contributed so much to the early history of King's College, Nova Scotia.

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March 15, 2021

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