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Presence and Perseverance: Blacks in Hants County, Nova Scotia,
1871-1914

by

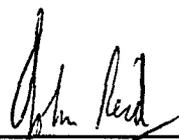
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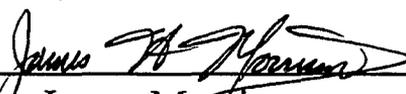
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at Saint Mary's University

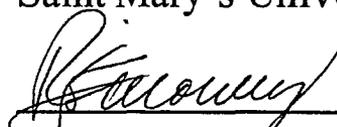
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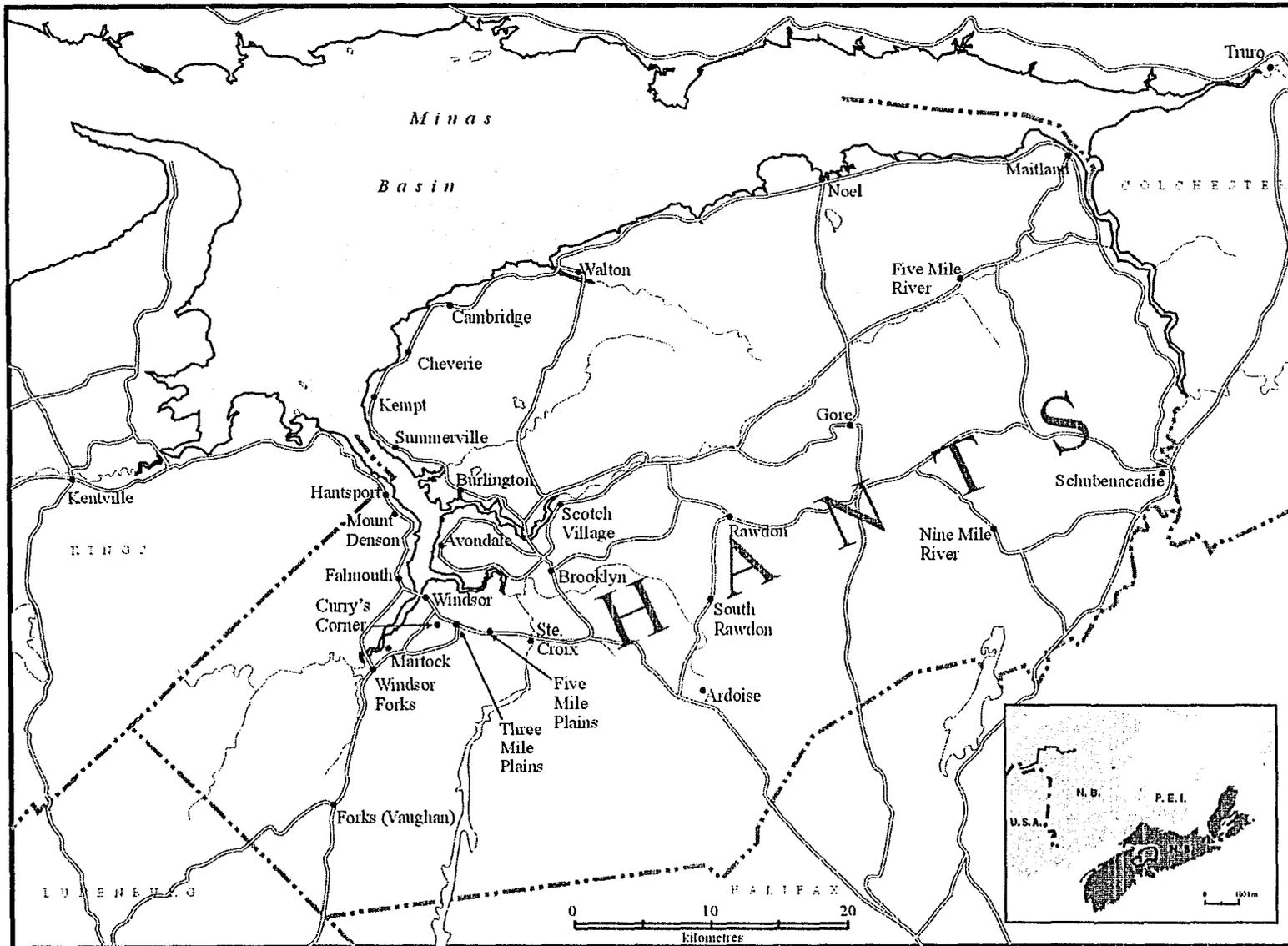
More personal thanks go to my partner Claudia Kingston, for her constant inspiration, support and encouragement in seeing me through this academic pursuit.

Firstly, I dedicate this thesis to my mother, the late Dorothy Wilhelmina States, who first nurtured my enthusiasm to learn more about the history of our family and community. Secondly, I dedicate this to the countless people of African descent in Hants County who struggled and protested against unfair treatment, to ensure their descendants would experience a more equitable future.

Abstract

During the early nineteenth century, Black refugees from the Southern United States immigrated to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as a result of being offered freedom and a chance to own property if they fought for the British or escaped from their owners' plantations or farms and managed to get behind British lines. The majority of these escaped refugees settled in Nova Scotia in the communities of Preston and Hammonds Plains, although a few small groups settled in other more remote communities throughout the province. At no time were the circumstances of the refugees less than dire. In most cases the residents in the areas where the government chose to settle them looked upon them as an intrusion and treated them as a separate and inferior segment of the population. As a consequence, the refugees found it necessary at all turns to adopt approaches that might help them combat their differential treatment.

In Hants County, Nova Scotia, the Black families adapted to these circumstances during the nineteenth century and the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, albeit with great effort. There was employment for them but usually at the lower end of the economic scale, and the land that they were settled upon was of limited agricultural value. Nevertheless, these families actively participated in issues that affected them directly, or had a large impact on the welfare and future success of their offspring. The agency shown by these people would result in the generations following them achieving a level of competency not thought attainable by the immigrant generation.



Cartographic representation - D. Allen, Sept. 2002.

Introduction

The school house at Five Mile Plains is in a very bad condition. This is a colored school, and the people are not wealthy. A new building is required, but it will be a heavy undertaking for the section.¹

In my last report I spoke of the bad condition of the school building in Five Mile Plains. This is a colored school and the people are not wealthy. I did not see what could be done to improve conditions. The school house was not worth repairing, and the section did not own the grounds. However it was decided to obtain a piece of ground and erect a building. Help came from many quarters. The Episcopal Church of Windsor presented the section with a site-truly a Christian act. Today this section has a better school house than the average country school. I have had difficulty in getting colored teachers, and would like to know the number of such teachers in proportion to the colored population of the Province²

On the eve of the First World War, an inspector from the Nova Scotia Department of Education commented in his annual report to the Legislature on the terrible state of the school house where the children of the Black community at Five Mile Plains were educated. The inspector, Ernest W. Robinson, pointed out that the people were not wealthy, and went on to state that he did not know what could be done to improve conditions. To the surprise of the inspector, however, important improvements were made within a year. The Episcopal Church of Windsor donated a piece of land for a new school, and others came forward to help build a new structure. The result was that the Black community was able to benefit from a better schoolhouse than the average county school in the province.

That success was short-lived. By 1924, the Five Mile Plains school had closed

¹ Annual Report of the Common, Academic, and Normal and Model Schools of Nova Scotia: Inspector's Annual Reports, Hants County, Ernest W. Robinson, Inspector, For the year ended 31 July 1913, p. 62.

² Annual Report of the Common, Academic, and Normal and Model Schools of Nova Scotia: Inspector's Annual Reports, Hants County, Ernest W. Robinson, Inspector, For the year ended 31 July 1914, p. 63.

because of financial difficulties. There were no longer any classes being offered. It was as if someone had set the clock back and the Black children of Hants County were once again being denied a formal education, as had long been the case for their parents and grandparents. The parents of the school-age children did not take the situation lying down. In 1925 they used the best possible means at their disposal to get the authorities to take action. They stopped paying their school taxes. They complained that no definite bounds had been assigned their section. They felt that if their children were not going to be educated, they were not going to pay taxes. The approach worked. In 1925 a new arrangement was reached whereby \$600.00 was raised to continue school for that term and permanent financial arrangements were promised. In 1927 the section received the help promised from the Canadian Gypsum Company, where a number of the males of the community worked, and from the Provincial Government.

The incident shows that these people were able to use whatever means at their disposal to bring about changes in the lives of their children. It was a clear example of a disadvantaged community showing agency.

The challenge ahead of us in this thesis is to demonstrate how the Black community in Hants County came to be, and how it developed a variety of survival and other strategies over the course of the preceding century, so that by 1924-26, they were ready to withhold their taxes to win a better education for their children.

In the following, I will first examine the historiography of Blacks in Nova Scotia, and then will consider the social and material culture of Black life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of particular interest will be the issue of how the families who lived in the Five Mile Plains section of Hants County constructed their

world, how they negotiated their interactions with the neighboring White world, and how they maintained family life within this social and economic context.

Due to the very limited amount of source material left behind by the Blacks themselves, this analysis will of necessity be based mostly on the records left by government officials and clergy and on information contained in local and provincial newspapers. Analysis of the decennial censuses of 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911, will be depended upon since it has the potential to assist in shedding light on these social dynamics. The census will be studied in context to glean all possible information from it. Studying the family unit will help us realize that the modern stereotype that Black families were headed by single mothers is a false presumption. An analysis of the sections regarding ethnicity, religion, education, and occupation will be undertaken in order to place the resulting patterns within a contextual framework. Among the other sources to be used will be nineteenth-century maps, legal documents, Municipal Council minutes, Town Council minutes, town and provincial directories, local yearbooks, government reports on health, education and welfare, and government regulations regarding same. It is hoped that this analysis will help us to understand a largely neglected aspect of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Nova Scotia and the role that human agency played in the experience of this particular group, and also to call for more county studies of other black settlement areas in the province.

Chapter 1:

Historiography of Blacks in the Maritimes

In Nova Scotian historiography there has been a scarcity of material on Blacks who settled many parts of this province since the earliest times. The early historians of Nova Scotia, busy in creating a suitable provincial history to match a growing provincial self-consciousness and sense of worth, had no place for Blacks except as an afterthought. The lack of discussion on the Black presence in the province has been repeated uncritically by the historians of Nova Scotia. Perhaps since the Black population was very small in relation to the dominant population, Blacks were of only passing interest in these writings. Since Blacks were seldom considered as “notable,” very little information on them or their communities appeared in historical works. In An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia (1829), Thomas Chandler Haliburton observes:

(1785)April 9. One hundred and ninety four negroes, men, women and children, arrived at Halifax from St. Augustine, naked and destitute of every necessary of life.¹

Haliburton casually notes that on January of 1792, a number of free Blacks were sent from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone. He mentions further that on May 6, 1815, a number of Black Refugees from the United States were placed on Melville Island, Halifax, where they were to be vaccinated and victualled. He fails to mention in the latter case how many Black Refugees there were and where they were relocated in the

¹ Thomas C. Haliburton, An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, in Two Volumes. Vol. 1, (Halifax: Printed and published by Joseph Howe, 1829), p. 266.

province. Haliburton failed to acknowledge Blacks who came in the earlier periods, i. e. those with the French at Louisbourg, those at Halifax in the 1750s, the slaves who arrived with their New England Planter owners from 1760 to 1769, and the enslaved Blacks who arrived with their Loyalist owners as well as the free Black Loyalists who arrived between 1776 and 1784. He did allude at irregular intervals to the Jamaican Maroon settlers of 1796. Yet even here he did not treat these new arrivals as being among the ethnic communities that peopled the province.

Beamish Murdoch, in A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, published in 1865, virtually ignores the Blacks, while David Allison, in History of Nova Scotia published in 1916, seems to follow Haliburton's precedent and sporadically mentions Negroes going to Sierra Leone, and the settlement of Maroons of Jamaica in Nova Scotia and their resettlement in Sierra Leone, West Africa.² In the section entitled "Biographical Sketches of Representative Citizens and Genealogical Records of Old Families", biographies of Black people are not taken into account.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century (circa 1880-1925), a number of academic as well as non-academic writers began compiling histories of the several counties in Nova Scotia. Some of these books occasionally mentioned Blacks in their respective counties, usually with contempt.

The first known history of Blacks by a Black Nova Scotian, prior to 1925, was Peter Evander McKerrow's, A Brief History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia and

² Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie. (Halifax: James Barnes, Printer and Publisher, 1865), David Allison, History of Nova Scotia. (Halifax, N.S.: A. W. Bowen, 1916).

their First Organization as Churches, A.D. 1832, published in 1895.³ This was a non-academic compilation of information gained from scanty records and from interviews with a large number of the oldest members of the churches in the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia.

McKerrow traces the history of Black Baptists from the Reverend David George's work in Shelburne and other areas in 1782 to his departure to Sierra Leone in 1792. McKerrow then describes the ministries of Reverend John Burton and Reverend Richard Preston, the establishment of the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia in 1854, and the African Baptist Churches to 1860. In other sections of the book, McKerrow takes these "African Baptist Pastorates" to 1895 and lists some of the marriages performed by African Baptist Pastors between 1832-1895. In the remainder he describes, both Blacks and Whites, he considers important enough to be mentioned.

McKerrow neglected to mention Blacks who were part of Nova Scotian society prior to the settlement of the Black Loyalists of 1783 and 1784. In addition, he dealt only with those who were Baptist, ignoring Blacks of other denominations settled throughout the province.

Two general histories, The History of Nova Scotia by George G. Campbell and A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia Between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government by Charles Bruce Fergusson were

³ Peter E. McKerrow, A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia and their Organization as Churches, A.D. 1832. (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1895).

published in 1948.⁴ A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia 1782-1953 by Pearleen Oliver appeared in 1953.⁵ The general histories mentioned Blacks only in passing. Campbell discussed the Cornwallis settlers briefly but did not mention that Blacks were among them. Nor does he mention Blacks coming with the New England settlers, although he does mention, when discussing the Loyalists, that “about two thousand were negroes.” In discussing mass migration, he mentions the migration of the Blacks to Sierra Leone.

Besides McKerrow’s work, no other publications specifically on Blacks seem to have appeared until Fergusson’s and Oliver’s. Fergusson’s book gives a concise history of the Pre-Loyalist Blacks, the exodus of Blacks to Sierra Leone, the Maroons, and the Black slaves and free Blacks who remained in Nova Scotia. The Refugees of the War of 1812 settlements of Preston and Hammonds Plains are covered in some detail, but other areas where Refugees settled - such as Windsor Road, Refugee Hill, Porter’s Lake, Cobequid Road, Beech Hill, Prospect Road, Fletcher’s Lake, and Beaverbank - are mentioned only in passing. Oliver briefly notes the Black Loyalists and the Black Refugees of the War of 1812. Like McKerrow, however, she concentrates only on Baptists.

No single major contributor to the history of the Black experience in the Maritimes has provided ample information on the Black members at the county level,

⁴George G. Campbell, The History of Nova Scotia, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948); Charles Bruce Fergusson, A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia Between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government, (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1948).

⁵ Pearleen Oliver, A Brief History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia 1782-1953. (Halifax: published by the author, 1953).

although an appreciable number of abbreviated contributions to the history of Blacks in the province and the region have been offered by recent historians. They depart from the work of earlier historians, who had assumed either that not enough source material survived to make Black history a field worthy of study, or that Black historians could not write objectively about the Black past. These assumptions did not die easily, until the civil rights/human rights movement of the 1950s undermined them.

In addition to the negative image of the Blacks in the earlier writings of the non-Black historians, Blacks themselves, up to very recent times, remained mostly uneducated or at least under-educated and were in turn not considered part of the purchasing audience for Black scholarship. The history that was being written about them did not portray them as actors and creators of history but as unlucky victims of “forces beyond their control”. In 1976, with James Walker’s book The Black Loyalists: The Search for A Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783 - 1870, the inclusion of Blacks as creators of their own history really began. Walker, in fact, saw the history of these Blacks as pivotal in the understanding of Canadian history, from the point of view of fully comprehending Canada’s ethnic diversity:

An examination of the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia can contribute to an awareness of the multiracial and socially heterogeneous nature of the Loyalist establishment and since the blacks were at the lowest end of the Loyalist scale, their experiences help to illustrate the hardships and struggles of eighteenth century pioneer life in Atlantic Canada. But above all the Black Loyalists hold significance, in Canada, as the founders of Canada’s first free black community. Their concerns and initiatives, and their responses to the racial discrimination and economic exploitation practiced by Loyalist society, shaped the development of separate institutions and a distinct social identity within the black population of the Maritime Provinces. The black community, and

particularly its founding fathers, deserves the attention of those who would understand the origin and growth of the Canadian mosaic. ⁶

Walker's work ensured that an adequate rendering of the historical experience of Blacks in the Maritimes would take place. The writings on the Blacks before Walker's, those of McKerrow, Fergusson, Oliver, Clairmont and Magill, Winks and Henry, were done in a style that summarized the contributions of Blacks to the local societies. ⁷ These works were the beginning of a significant body of literature about people of African – American descent in the Maritimes, and yet the interpretations and methodologies were all very similar. Walker's version challenged these interpretations and increased our comprehension of the Blacks as a distinct society with its own institutions and components that evolved and continued based on their initiatives and complex responses to all aspects of their experience. Walker saw two main motives of the Black Loyalists: to acquire land, and to obtain economic independence. Earlier historians had made discrimination and dependence their major concerns. Walker considered self-determination and community-building as main topics. Walker's publication seemed to instill a sense of urgency and stimulated a renaissance of the history of Blacks in the Maritimes. This new scholarship included subject matter and styles heretofore neglected.

By the mid-1980s Black history was being studied more systematically. Included now were military history, biographies, group histories, institutional histories, an

⁶ James W. St. G. Walker, The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783 - 1870. (New York, NY: Africana Publishing Company, 1976).

⁷ McKerrow, Brief History; Fergusson, A Documentary Study; Oliver, Brief History; Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Nova Scotia Blacks: An Historical and Structural Overview. (Halifax, NS: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1970); Robin W. Winks, The Blacks in Canada: A History. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1971); Frances Henry, Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia, (Don Mills, Ont: Longman Canada, 1973).

anthology, a nominal inventory, and historical overviews covering emerging themes and issues.

Scholarship on the military history of Black Canadians has been very sparse, especially in the writings of specialized military historians. The service of Blacks is neglected in most of the local and regional military history books and articles and even more in the official histories of our national army, navy and air force. Blacks have served in each of these areas. Calvin Ruck addressed this oversight by compiling, in January 1986, the history, Canada's Black Battalion, No. 2 Construction 1916 - 1920.⁸ In the introduction to his book, Ruck outlines the roles that Blacks played on the side of the British in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837-38, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the American Civil War and the Boer War. He then describes how the Canadian contingent refused Blacks into their units and battalions, with few exceptions, until a separate forestry corps known as the "No. 2 Construction Battalion" was formed in 1916.

Ruck reveals discrimination on an official level, clearly illustrates that Blacks were not welcomed in the fighting units and documents Blacks' resistance. The book contains numerous photographs of the battalion and of individual veterans as well as oral interviews. Although not a detailed historical analysis, the publication serves as a reminder of these veterans' contribution during the First World War. It shows that a proper history of the conflict cannot be written until all its participants are included.

⁸ Calvin W. Ruck, Canada's Black Battalion: No. 2 Construction 1916-1920. (Dartmouth: Black Culture Centre for Nova Scotia, 1986).

Ruck's work contained a number of very short biographical sketches of some of the key players as well as some of the veterans, but these were merely sketches. The first comprehensive biography in book form of a Black person in the Maritimes is by Dr. Colin A. Thompson entitled Born With A Call: A Biography of Dr. William Pearly Oliver, C.M. Thompson saw Oliver as one individual who escaped the racial stereotype of Blacks in Canada:

W. P. Oliver may be considered an exception to the following statement: In many Nova Scotian Blacks, white society has ingrained deep feelings of inferiority complemented until recently by equally pronounced feelings of inadequacy. Oliver has correctly claimed that whites and their institutions have created racism, maintained it, and largely condoned it. The result of this psychology of white racial "supremacy" has been a corresponding psychology of black inferiority. Too few Blacks have managed to escape it; Oliver is one who has.⁹

Yet Thompson saw Oliver as a leader with limited influence because of the high degree of white racism in Nova Scotia. He regarded him as "an initiator and an improver"¹⁰ who used the tactics of "persuasion and persistence". Oliver was a leader in Black religion, education and organization-building. He stressed the relevance of the teaching of Black history and Black literature in schools and other institutions:

...he has done so because he believes that Blacks must become aware of their own cultural heritage. What Oliver and other Blacks are discovering is the potentially positive effect of black history on white students. It remains for some whites to realize that fact, as well. It is here where a "black bill of educational goods" may be sold to the white educational establishment, i.e., white children may have their perspectives widened by studying black history and literature.¹¹

⁹ Colin A. Thompson, Born With A Call: A Biography of Dr. William Pearly Oliver, C.M. (Dartmouth: Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia, 1986), p. 142.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

Oliver felt that the teaching of Black history and Black literature in schools and universities could provide a perspective for understanding the historical experience of Blacks that had not been incorporated in the textbooks and learning material used in the region. He emphasized that in order for students to receive a complete history they must be provided with a sense of everybody's past, not just the past of the politically dominant group.

Two further comprehensive biographies of Black personalities appeared. The first focused on the life of Reverend David George, an early Black Baptist minister in the Maritimes, and the other on William Hall, a Black sailor from the Annapolis Valley area of Nova Scotia who had won the Victoria Cross for acts of bravery during the Indian Mutiny of 1857.¹² Both works provide sufficient evidence to reject the assumptions that Blacks did not maintain a sense of themselves as individuals who were capable of making decisions affecting their lives, rather than being acted upon by others.

Grant Gordon's work on Reverend David George describes his activities as a preacher in the Maritimes for nine years and his role in organizing congregations in Georgia, in the Maritimes and eventually in Sierra Leone, West Africa. Until Gordon's publication, information on David George appeared in brief form in three articles, one by Anthony Kirk-Greene, a second by Kathleen Tudor and a third by James W. St. G.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 145.

¹² Grant Gordon, From Slavery to Freedom: The Life of David George, Pioneer Black Baptist Minister. (Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1992); Bridglal Pachai, William Hall Winner of the Victoria Cross. (Tantallon, N.S.: Four East Publications Ltd., 1995).

Walker.¹³ Gordon tapped into a wide range of sources both primary and secondary from Canada, England, the United States and Africa, in order to uncover new information about George not contained in the above-mentioned articles. David George had also given a partial autobiographical account of his life and ministry, under the heading “An Account of the Life of Mr. David George, from Sierra Leone in Africa; given by himself in a conversation with Brother Rippon of London, and Brother Pearce of Birmingham”.¹⁴ Gordon’s account of George is one of the first to trace the history of a Black from slavery in the United States to his life as a free Black in a colony in British North America, where slavery existed alongside Black freedom, to his progress in Africa. The study of his enslavement alone provides one of the first well-documented examples of scholarship on slavery relating to Blacks in this region, a direction which could prove most fruitful for African Canadian history in the future.

The second biography, William Hall: Winner of the Victoria Cross¹⁵ by Dr. Bridglal Pachai, is a well documented yet brief summary of the life and military career of William Hall, a humble Black Nova Scotian who attained great military acclaim by winning the Victoria Cross, the highest military honour awarded to subjects of the British Empire. The material is part of a series intended for young people and summarizes the information contained in numerous newspaper and journal articles on the hero. Pachai

¹³ Anthony Kirk-Greene, “David George: The Nova Scotia Experience,” in Sierra Leone Studies, no. 14 (1960): 92-120; Kathleen Tudor “David George: Black Loyalist,” in The Nova Scotia Historical Review, 3:1 (1983): 71-82; James W. St. G. Walker, “David George,” in Frances G. Halpenny, ed., Dictionary of Canadian Biography (hereafter DCB), vol. V, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp.340-342.

¹⁴ John Rippon, ed. Baptist Annual Register, vol. 1, 1790-1793, London: n.p., pp. 473-483.

¹⁵ Pachai, William Hall Winner of the Victoria Cross.

also authored an article on William Hall for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography,¹⁶ much in line with this brief booklet. Two preliminary biographical sketches of Hall had appeared previously, in 1957. The first, "William Hall, Canada's First Naval V.C.," by Phyllis R. Blakeley appeared in the Dalhousie Review. The second, "William Hall, V.C.," by Charles Bruce Fergusson appeared in the Journal of Education.¹⁷

In addition to the above-mentioned biographies, the Black Cultural Centre published a two-volume compilation of collective biographies entitled Traditional Lifetime Stories: a Collection of Black Memories covering approximately 52 Blacks, both male and female, from the numerous areas of Black settlement in Nova Scotia.¹⁸ These publications can serve more as genealogical source material or preparatory material for a more detailed biography of any one of the individuals included in the publication, rather than as historical studies as such. Of similar significance is a collection of oral interviews conducted by university students for a project coordinated by Burnley "Rocky" Jones in 1970.¹⁹

The thirteen volumes of the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB), (1966 – 1994) contain the biographies of at least 33 Blacks. Fourteen of them relate to Blacks of the Maritimes: John Marrant, Thomas Peters (Volume IV), Peter Byers, David George, and Boston King (Volume V), Septimus D. Clarke, Richard Preston (Volume VIII),

¹⁶ Pachai, "William Hall," in Ramsay Cook, ed., DCB, vol. XIII, pp.432-434.

¹⁷ Phyllis R. Blakeley, "William Hall, Canada's First Naval V. C.," The Dalhousie Review, vol. 37, (Autumn 1957), pp. 250-258; Charles Bruce Fergusson, "William Hall, V. C.," Journal of Education, Halifax, Vol. 17, No. 2, (December 1967), pp. 15-21.

¹⁸ Traditional Lifetime Stories: a Collection of Black Memories, vol. 1 and 2, (Dartmouth: Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia, 1987 and 1990).

Robert J. Patterson (Volume XI), George Dixon, George Godfrey, John Kellum, Peter Evander McKerrow, Abraham Beverley Walker, and William Hall (Volume XIII). Beginning with Volume IV, 1979, (1771-1800), there is an “Index of Identifications” in which “Blacks” is a category of its own, a reflection of the recent interest in Black history.

For some of them, the information is fragmentary. Their stories are extracted almost entirely from records which are not their own. These stories of individual Blacks give us clearer glimpses of interracial conflicts between Blacks and whites.

The people from the Maritimes chronicled in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography include four Black Loyalists of Nova Scotia, of whom three were religious ministers, John Marrant, David George and Boston King. The fourth, Thomas Peters, was a political leader among the Black Loyalists. Peter Byers of Charlottetown and John Kellum of Halifax were criminals. Septimus D. Clarke was listed as a farmer, while Richard Preston was a Baptist minister. The remainder include a businessman, Robert J. Patterson, a restaurant owner of Saint John, New Brunswick; William Hall, the sailor who was awarded the Victoria Cross; Abraham Beverley Walker, a lawyer and journalist of Saint John, N.B.; Peter Evander McKerrow, the historian and community leader of Halifax, N. S.; and two boxers, George Dixon from Africville, Halifax City, N. S., and George Godfrey, of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. Each one of their stories is unique and worthy of further mention.

¹⁹Burnley “Rocky” Jones, “Hero Tapes,” Dalhousie University Archives, 1970.

John Marrant, a Methodist minister of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, had been a freeborn Black American who was impressed into the Royal Navy as a musician. After receiving a letter from his brother, a Black Loyalist in Birchtown, N. S., he traveled to Nova Scotia and preached among the Black Loyalists who had created a dynamic culture for themselves with the aid of their separate religions and educational institutions. His autobiography was published in London in 1785, entitled A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black, (Now Going to Preach the Gospel in Nova-Scotia) Born in New York, in North-America.²⁰

Thomas Peters, the leader of the Black Loyalists, had been a soldier in the Black Pioneers Regiment on the British side in the American Revolution. He and his family settled at first in Brindley Town, near Digby, Nova Scotia. After six years of petitioning the Government for promised land and provisions, he sailed to London in 1790 to petition the grievances of the Black Loyalists. After his return to Nova Scotia, he began promoting the colonization of aggrieved Black Loyalists to Sierra Leone where he contrived to lead his fellow Black Loyalists.²¹

Peter Byers, labourer and felon, was the son of John and Amelia Byers, ex-slaves of Colonel Joseph Robinson of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. It was there, in

²⁰ John Marrant, "A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black, (Now Going to Preach the Gospel in Nova-Scotia) Born in New York, in North-America. 1785", in Black Atlantic Writers of the 18th Century. Eds. Adam Potkay and Susan Burr. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); See also James W. St. G. Walker, "Marrant, John," in DCB, vol. IV, pp. 514-516.

²¹ James W. St. G. Walker, "Peters(Petters), Thomas," in DCB, vol. IV, pp.626-628.

1815, that he committed the crime of stealing £5 sterling from the shop of James Gibson, tobacconist. He stood trial on the 8th of March, 1815, and was sentenced to hang.²²

Another Black Loyalist, David George, a Baptist preacher and soldier, arrived in Halifax in December 1782 and moved in June 1783 to Shelburne, Nova Scotia. George preached in New Brunswick as well as Nova Scotia and organized a number of congregations, at Preston, Shelburne, Fredericton and Saint John, which in turn provided Blacks with a sense of equality and independence. After journeying to Sierra Leone with the other Black Loyalists, George accompanied John Clarkson, the originator of this exodus, to London to seek financial aide for his African mission. While there, he dictated his autobiography to the editor of the Annual Baptist Register.²³ From this memoir, Black Baptists in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick became aware of their debt of gratitude to George and would have seen him as one of their original heroes.

Boston King, a Methodist preacher and trained ship's carpenter, settled first in Birchtown, Shelburne County, Nova Scotia. From 1785 on he preached in Black communities from Shelburne to Halifax, and worked as a carpenter in Shelburne and later on a fishing boat. Following this, King became preacher to the Blacks in Preston. In 1791 he assisted Clarkson in recruiting Black Loyalists for Sierra Leone. They left in January of 1792 and arrived in Freetown where King later established a Methodist chapel. In Sierra Leone, he also became a teacher and Methodist missionary to the Africans. King also left a personal account of his experiences just as John Marrant and David

²² H. T. Holman, "Byers, Peter (Black Peter)," in DCB, vol. V, pp. 127.

George had done.²⁴ Through the writings of these three we can gain a more accurate sense of the early Black pioneers' self-expression and self-determination, while at the same time get a glimpse of the overt racism practiced against this group in the region.

With the biography of Septimus D. Clarke we have the first picture of a local Black farmer, one who resided in Preston, a community just outside of Dartmouth, N. S. Clarke was a Black refugee of the War of 1812 who became a subsistence farmer on the poor rocky soil of Preston Township.²⁵ He was a prime example of an individual dedicated to self-improvement as well as improvement within the group, through such organizations as the African Baptist Association, the African Friendly Society, and the African Abolition Society. The latter two organizations lasted for only a brief period but the African Baptist Association is still in existence

Richard Preston, Black Baptist minister, was ordained by the West London Baptist Association in London, England, in May 1832. He became the major leader of the Blacks of Nova Scotia from the time of his return from England in 1832 to his death in 1861. He had raised funds in England to help rebuild the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, and became its pastor upon its opening in 1833. Preston also became involved with Septimus Clarke in starting the African Abolitionist Society in the 1840s to protest the continuance of American slavery. In September 1854, Preston was responsible for

²³ [David George], "An Account of the Life of Mr. David George, from Sierra Leone in Africa; given by himself in a Conversation with Brother Rippon of London, and Brother Pearce of Birmingham," The Baptist Annual Register for 1790-1793, pp. 473-484.

²⁴ Boston King, "Memoirs of the life of Boston King, a black preacher, written by himself during his residence at Kingswood school," Methodist Magazine for the year 1798, vol. 21 (1798), pp. 105-10, 157-61, 209-13, 261-65. See also James W. St. G. Walker, "King, Boston," in DCB, vol. V, pp. 468-469.

forming the African Baptist Association consisting of 12 African Baptist churches, most of which he had been responsible in organizing. The Association now has a membership of 22 African Baptist churches. The organization was involved in all spheres of Black life in the province.²⁶

Robert J. Patterson was an escaped slave from Richmond, Virginia who came to Saint John, New Brunswick in 1852. He helped organize yearly “Emancipation Ceremonies” in the city to commemorate the abolition of slavery in the British Empire on August 1, 1833, and was also involved in urging the abolition of slavery in the United States. He was a successful businessman in Saint John in the second half of the 19th century, becoming the proprietor of the Empire Dining Saloon, an oyster bar in Saint John which opened in 1859. Patterson was also involved with other Blacks in helping to establish St. Philip’s Methodist Church in the city.²⁷

George Dixon and George Godfrey became successful pugilists in the Northeastern United States. Dixon, born in Africville, Halifax City, became holder of world titles in both the bantamweight and featherweight categories during his career.²⁸ George Godfrey, born in Charlottetown, P. E. I., became a heavyweight fighter in the Boston, Massachusetts area in 1879. He was known as the first U.S. colored heavyweight champion boxer, but he was never able to fight for the heavyweight championship of the

²⁵ Frank S. Boyd Jr., “Clarke(Clark), Septimus D.,” in DCB, vol. VIII, pp. 159-160.

²⁶ Frank S. Boyd Jr., “Preston, Richard,” in DCB, vol. VIII, pp. 968-970.

²⁷ William Arthur Spray, “Patterson, Robert J.,” in DCB, vol. IX, pp. 677-678.

²⁸ In Collaboration, “Dixon, George (Little Chocolate),” in DCB, vol. XIII, pp. 276-278.

world - white champions refused to give him a match. Godfrey, unlike most Black boxers of his day, went on to operate a gymnasium and boxing school in Boston.²⁹

In the field of law, two regional Black biographies appear in the DCB, one on one side, and one on the other. Abraham Beverley Walker, born in Belleisle on the Kingston peninsula, New Brunswick in 1851, graduated LLB from the National University Law School (Washington, DC) and was admitted as an attorney to the Supreme Court of New Brunswick in June 1881. Called to the bar in June 1882, he became the first indigenous African Canadian lawyer, followed by Delos Rogest Davis of Ontario and James Robinson Johnston of Halifax. Walker was also the editor of a Black magazine entitled Neith in Saint John, N.B., from 1903 to 1904.³⁰ John Kellum, the subject of the second biography in the legal realm, spent a great part of his life incarcerated in the local jail and Rockhead Prison in Halifax. Otherwise, he could be found residing in the city poorhouse. His inclusion in the DCB is one of the first example of the Black lower class to be covered, and outlines the plight of an individual from a despised ethnic group during the late nineteenth century.³¹

William Hall, born in Nova Scotia in 1829, the son of refugee Blacks, began his working life as a merchant seaman out of Hantsport, Hants County, NS in 1844 and later sailed on the merchant ships out of Boston before joining the American Navy and seeing service during the Mexican-American War, 1846-1848. After leaving the American

²⁹ Jim Hornby, "Godfrey, Goerge (Old Chocolate)," in DCB, vol. XIII, pp. 386.

³⁰ J. B. Cahill, "Walker, Abraham Beverley," in DCB, vol. XIII, pp. 1066-1068.

³¹ Judith Fingard, "Kellum (Killum, Killam), John," in DCB, vol. XIII, pp. 539-540.

Navy, he returned to the merchant ships of Boston until 1852 when he sailed to England and joined the Royal Navy. Hall fought in the Crimean War, 1854-56, and later in the Indian Mutiny of 1856-1858. He won medals for his gallant conduct in the Crimean War, but capped off his military career by winning the Victoria Cross, Britain's highest military honour, for his exploits at Lucknow on 16th November, 1857. He was presented with the Cross on board his ship at Queenstown Harbour, Ireland, on 28th of October, 1859. Retiring from the British Navy in 1878, he returned home where he practiced subsistence farming until his death in 1904.³²

The final Black Maritimer chronicled in the latest volume of the DCB is Peter Evander McKerrow, the first indigenous African-Nova Scotian to compile a history of Blacks in Nova Scotia.³³ Author of A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia and Their First Organization as Churches, AD 1832...,³⁴ he was active in Black fraternal lodges, was a leading member of a group who fought against racial segregation in the Halifax schools, and was also involved in the fur business, Thomas and Company, with his father-in-law James Thomas.

The past decade has also witnessed an outpouring of scholarship on the general history of Blacks as a group as well as scholarship on three of the specific groups who

³² David W. States, "William Hall, V.C. of Horton Bluff, Nova Scotia Nineteenth-Century Naval Hero," in Collections of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. 44, (1996), pp. 71-81. See also Pachai, "Hall, William," in DCB, vol. XIII, pp. 433-434; and Pachai, William Hall: Winner of the Victoria Cross. (Tantallon: Four East Publications Ltd., 1995).

³³ Judith Fingard, "McKerrow (MacKerrow), Peter Evander," in DCB, vol. XIII, pp. 656-657. See also Frank Stanley Boyd, Jr., McKerrow, A Brief History Of the Coloured Baptists Of Nova Scotia, 1783-1895. (Halifax: Afro Nova Scotian Enterprises, 1976).

³⁴ P. E. McKerrow, A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia and Their First Organization as Churches, AD 1832..., (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1895).

settled in the Province. Bridglal Pachai Peoples of the Maritimes: Blacks (1987), and his 2-volume work, Beneath the Clouds of the Promised Land: The Survival of Nova Scotia's Blacks (1987 and 1990), are examples of the first type.³⁵ John M. Grant's The Immigration and Settlement of the Black Refugees of the War of 1812 in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (1990), Mavis C. Campbell's The Maroons of Jamaica 1655 - 1796: a History of Resistance, Collaboration and Betrayal (1990); Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: a Documentary History (1990); and Back to Africa: George Ross & the Maroons from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone (1993), and Graham Russell Hodge's The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile After the American Revolution (1996), are models of the second type, respectively covering the story of the Black refugees of the War of 1812, the Jamaican Maroons, and the Black Loyalists.³⁶

Pachai's first work is a brief monograph which is part of a series on "People of the Maritimes", produced for the general public and for students at the secondary level. It is very similar to a previous publication by John N. Grant entitled Black Nova Scotians but has a small amount of information on Blacks in New Brunswick and Prince Edward

³⁵ Pachai, Peoples of the Maritimes: Blacks. (Tantallon: Four East Publications, 1987). Pachai, Beneath the Clouds of the Promised Land: The Survival of Nova Scotia's Blacks Volume I. (Halifax: Black Educators Association, 1987). Pachai, Beneath the Clouds of the Promised Land: The Survival of Nova Scotia's Blacks Volume II. (Halifax: Black Educators Association, 1990).

³⁶ John M. Grant, The Immigration and Settlement of the Black Refugees of the War of 1812 in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, (Dartmouth: Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia, 1990); Mavis C. Campbell, The Maroons of Jamaica 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration & Betrayal, (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, Inc., 1990); Mavis C. Campbell, Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: a Documentary History, (Williamsburg, Va.: Dept. of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, 1990), Mavis C. Campbell, Back to Africa: George Ross and the The Maroons: from Nova Scotia To Sierra Leone, (Trenton, N.J. : Africa World Press, 1993); Graham Russell Hodge, ed. The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile After the American Revolution, (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc. in Association with The New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1996).

Island and therefore can be considered in a Maritime rather than a provincial context.³⁷ The second publication, in two volumes, covers the general history of Blacks in Nova Scotia from their heritage in Africa, to the West African slave trade and their initial settlement.

Where histories written prior to 1985 usually chronicled the experience of Blacks in a general manner, subsequent writings tended to greater detail on the specific groups of Blacks that settled in the region. The first book to come out in this line was John N. Grant's The Immigration and Settlement of the Black Refugees of the War of 1812 in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick³⁸. Although the book came out in 1990, it was really a published re-edited version of Grant's Master of Arts thesis in History from the University of New Brunswick in 1970. Like earlier books on the Black history of the region, this book begins by tracing the settlement and development of the Black communities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick prior to the coming of the Black refugees. Following this introduction, he outlined the War of 1812 in America, which caused so many Blacks to escape from their masters and follow the British or enlist in the British military units. He went on to track the settlement areas in the two provinces and to describe the Refugees' progress and the contributions to the respective societies that they had made since their arrival. It is a story of basic survival and slow progress in the face of more than a century and a half of racial discrimination, and concludes that the group is still fighting to fulfill the empty promise of equality made to them so long ago.

³⁷ John N. Grant, Black Nova Scotians. (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1980).

³⁸ John N. Grant, The Immigration and Settlement of the Black Refugees of the War of 1812 in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. (Dartmouth: Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia, 1990).

From 1985 onward, articles on Blacks appeared in at least two journals in the region, Acadiensis, out of Fredericton, and the Nova Scotia Historical Review, out of Halifax. They also showed up in the Toronto based Canadian Historical Review and Labour/ Le Travail, based in St. John's. Two articles of note in Acadiensis, are W. A. Spray's "The Settlement of the Black Refugees in New Brunswick 1815-1836", and Judith Fingard's "From Sea to Rail: Black Transportation Workers and Their Families in Halifax, c. 1870-1916."³⁹

Spray's discussion shows that the New Brunswick Provincial Executive Council was under the impression that the refugees could be enlisted in the British Armed Forces or loaned out as apprentices or indentured servants. This proved not to be the case. On 25th May, 1815, the *HMS Regulus* arrived in Saint John with 371 Blacks. They were provided with provisions and medical support and most of the adults found temporary employment in Saint John. While many of the Blacks of Nova Scotia were settled on their lands by 1816, it took a year and a half before any action was taken on behalf of granting land to the Blacks in New Brunswick. After they applied for allotments of land to the Executive Council on their own behalf, they were given licenses of occupation for parcels of 50 acres in Loch Lomond, an area approximately 12 miles from Saint John. These refugees were treated unequally regarding lands, provisions and implements to farm with, and rebelled in 1824: "10 blacks were convicted of assault in June 1824 and

³⁹ W. A. Spray, "The Settlement of the Black Refugees in New Brunswick 1815-1836," in the Acadiensis Reader: I (1985), pp. 149-164; Judith Fingard, "From Sea to Rail: Black Transportation Workers and Their Families in Halifax, c. 1870-1916", Acadiensis XXIV, 2, (Spring 1995), pp. 49-64.

13 were charged with rioting and 7 with arson in September 1824.”⁴⁰ The Blacks continued their struggle for clear title to land in 1824 and 1825 but it was not until 16th September, 1836, that they received their proper titles to the land, which was stony and unsuitable for farming. Without proper title, the settlement was unable to improve their situation. This Black community declined in population over the years and, due to so many difficulties, eventually disappeared. Spray’s writing here provides us with some information that allows us to compare the plight of these individuals with that of the Nova Scotian refugees. As we shall see, circumstances for the Loch Lomond settlers were almost identical to those surrounding their Nova Scotian counterparts.

In “From Sea to Rail: Black Transportation Workers and Their Families in Halifax, c.1870-1916”, Judith Fingard, an historian at Dalhousie University, covers the lives of porters, waiters and cooks on the railways, and stewards and cooks on the ships connected with Halifax Harbour. These two occupations were central to Halifax’s Black community during the period. Using census records, city directories, Black Freemasons’ records, Halifax county marriage registers, probate records and railway employment records, Fingard revealed a Black community which, despite almost insurmountable odds, maintained a sense of self-pride and respectability and did not hesitate to fight for their civil rights in areas such as education. By the turn of the 20th century, seafaring and railway employment predominated. Although railway employment contained a “job ceiling” for Blacks, those successful enough to be so employed were considered part of a Black elite, along with the ministers and teachers.

⁴⁰ Spray, “The Settlement of the Black Refugees in New Brunswick 1815-1836,” p. 157.

In 1989, Fingard, wrote The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax which documents the lives of 92 repeat offenders in the city of Halifax during the mid to latter 1800's.⁴¹ From poorhouse, jail, prison, hospital, asylum and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty records, Fingard recognizes the lives and social environment of the city's under-class and includes profiles of a number of Blacks: Josephine Buskins, Catherine Dixon, William Dixon, Elizabeth Johnson, Eliza Munro and John Kellum. The book gives a rather unflattering portrayal of these offenders, yet one is not left with the impression that only Blacks were criminals. The Irish of Halifax receive as much, if not more, attention. Fingard's publication is important for bringing to light a section of the populace that usually remains neglected.

In The Maroons of Jamaica 1655 - 1796: a History of Resistance, Collaboration and Betrayal, Mavis Campbell chronicles the struggles of the Maroons of Jamaica against the British authority/government in Jamaica, their collaboration with them in apprehending and returning runaway slaves, and the betrayal of the Maroons by the British by deporting them off the island to Nova Scotia after they had agreed to a treaty to end the hostilities of 1795, which stated that they would remain in Jamaica.⁴² The African character of the Maroons was one of the factors that influenced their consciousness of themselves as human beings with their own agency, as shown in the technique of escaping the plantations to set up their own societies and defending these societies by a unique type of guerrilla warfare. Their resistance influenced the military history of the

⁴¹ Fingard, The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax. (Porters Lake, N. S.,: Pottersfield Press, 1989).

⁴² Campbell, The Maroons of Jamaica 1655 - 1796.

island, at the same time bringing havoc on the plantation economy of the colony. Their legacy as heroes for Blacks worldwide lies in the fact that they were never conquered in military action.

Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: A Documentary History, Campbell's second publication on the Maroons, analyzes myriad official documents related to them from their initial arrival in Nova Scotia in July 1796 to their departure in August 1800 for Sierra Leone.⁴³ The documents include correspondence from the Duke of Kent, the commanding officer at Halifax; the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State for the Colonies; the Earl of Balcarres, the Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica; Sir John Wentworth, the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia; other lesser players in the Nova Scotian and Jamaican contexts, and correspondence from the Jamaican Maroons themselves. While in Nova Scotia they sent petitions and other memoranda to the authorities in Nova Scotia and Great Britain outlining their grievances and requesting removal to a warmer climate. They had helped construct the third Citadel and Government House. They had been settled as a group in Preston and later, a small contingent were transferred to Boydville in the Sackville area of Nova Scotia, after professing willing conversion to Christianity and farming. In August 1800, all but possibly four of the Maroons sailed from Halifax Harbour to their destination in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

Campbell's third publication, Back to Africa: George Ross & The Maroons From Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone, is a reproduction of the diary of George Ross, an employee of the Sierra Leone Company, hired to supervise the transporting of the Maroons from

⁴³ Campbell, Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: a Documentary History.

Halifax, Nova Scotia to Freetown, Sierra Leone.⁴⁴ These Maroons had been preceded to the same destination by the so-called Nova Scotian Blacks eight years previously. Like them, they were expected to help transmit the characteristics of Western civilization to Africa. Although they were encouraged to pursue agriculture in their new colony, like the earlier Nova Scotians, they involved themselves in business, trade and professions in the early years of their resettlement, much to the chagrin of the British design for them. Ross' diary recounts the voyage, the births and deaths during the crossing, some information on funeral and birthing practices as well as the "goings-on" in the colony up until his departure from Sierra Leone in August 1801.

These three publications help to shed more detailed light on the history of the Maroons than was previously possible. They surpassed previous articles on the Maroons by Douglas Brymner, Joseph J. Williams, and J. C. Hamilton.⁴⁵

General histories compiled after James Walker's book on the Black Loyalists in 1976 began to include Blacks. With the increase in popularity of social history, historians have been forced to give more serious attention to this group and have even gone so far as to entice their students to confront and reflect upon this unfamiliar field of study. This development becomes quite apparent when we read very recent works such as The Atlantic Region to Confederation - A History edited by Phillip A. Buckner and

⁴⁴ Campbell, Back to Africa: George Ross and the The Maroons: from Nova Scotia To Sierra Leone.

⁴⁵ Douglas Brymner, "The Jamaican Maroons - How They Came to Nova Scotia - How They Left It", Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2 (1895). Joseph J. Williams, "The Maroons of Jamaica", Boston College Graduate School Anthropological Series 3 (1938). J. C. Hamilton, "The Maroons of Jamaica and Nova Scotia", Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, 3rd Series, vol. 25, no. 153 (Apr. 1890) pp.260-269.

John G. Reid, and The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation edited by E. R. Forbes and D. A. Muise.⁴⁶

In the former publication, mention of Blacks is included in some detail during the early French period, the New England Planter period, the Loyalist period, and in the period following the War of 1812. Different authors have alluded to Black education and religion in the decade beginning with the Loyalist period and where appropriate have included them to Confederation. The latter publication mentions the group only sporadically during the 1860's and 1870's, but in the section dealing with the 1880's, it covers Black agitation for equal treatment in the Halifax schools. A few incidents of racial discrimination in the province are mentioned and some facts on the No. 2 Construction Battalion's involvement are included. Very little further detail is contained until the growth of the Civil Rights movement and the Black organizations the movement engendered, such as the Black United Front. Works which integrate Blacks into the history of this region leave us with a far broader understanding of both than had been previously provided.

Included in the recent historiography is the first detailed history of an institution involved in and specially set up for the Black community, entitled Share & Care: the Story of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children.⁴⁷ The author, Charles R. Saunders, included among his sources newspaper clippings, magazine articles and taped oral

⁴⁶ Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid, eds., The Atlantic Region to Confederation - A History. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); E. R. Forbes and D. A. Muise, eds. The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

⁴⁷ Charles R. Saunders, Share & Care: the Story of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. (Halifax, N.S.: Nimbus Publishing, 1994).

interviews of past board members, teachers, staff and students. This is perhaps the only such book that depended substantially on sources from the Black community. The “Home” was established because of the difficulty of placing needy Black children in foster homes and the refusal of many white orphanages of the late 19th and early 20th-century to enroll Black children.

Preceding Saunders’ book was another work entitled Three Nova Scotian Black Churches published by The Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia in 1990. The publication examines the histories of three Black churches in Nova Scotia: the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Amherst compiled by Edward Matwawana, the Disney African Methodist Episcopal Church of Yarmouth compiled by Carolyn J. Smith, and the African Orthodox Church of Sydney compiled by Joyce M. Ruck.⁴⁸ This collection consists of three very brief histories of these congregations, with the efforts of Ruck being the most comprehensive. The essays follow a style similar to earlier works by McKerrow and Oliver but are much briefer. A comprehensive work written in a more detailed and analytical manner covering the complete history of Black religion in the Maritimes would be appropriate.

A number of books have appeared on different subjects related to Maritime Provinces history in the last few years dealing with particular communities, but since the writing on early Shelburne, Nova Scotia and early Saint John, New Brunswick, no other book appears to be as inclusive and as balanced respecting Black settlers in their midst as that of the 1993 publication by Dorothy Bezanson Evans entitled Hammonds Plains - The

⁴⁸ Carolyn Smith, et al, Three Nova Scotian Black Churches. (Dartmouth: Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia, 1990).

First Hundred Years.⁴⁹ In this work, Evans dedicates a chapter specifically to the Black refugees of the War of 1812 who settled the community along with the white settlers before and after their arrival, and continues to include them in the remainder of the chapters where relevant. She also includes a few documents related to Blacks such as land grants and surveyor's plans and a school list from the Hammonds Plains Negro District School of November 1828.

An entirely different type of scholarship emerged in 1991 and 1992 with the publication of George Elliott Clarke's two-volume collection of works by Black Nova Scotians entitled Fire On The Water: An Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing.⁵⁰ This anthology dealt with sermons, poems, memoirs, petitions, spirituals, plays, articles and other types of writings by prominent Black Nova Scotians from 1792 to 1992. The collection provided a variety of new source material for research and writing on the subject, except for the selections on Rev. David George, Rev. John Marrant and Boston King, which had previously appeared.

A final work relevant to Black history in the region and one long awaited by many scholars interested in the Black Loyalist narrative is the recent publication edited by Graham Russell Hodges entitled The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile After The American Revolution.⁵¹ This directory was compiled from three different

⁴⁹ Dorothy Bezanson Evans, Hammonds Plains-the First Hundred Years. (Halifax: Bounty Print Ltd., 1993).

⁵⁰ George Elliott Clarke, ed., Fire on the Water: an Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing, Volume 1, Early and Modern Writers 1785-1935. (Porters Lake: Pottersfield Press, 1991). Clarke, Fire on the Water: An Anthology... Volume 2, Writers of the Renaissance. (Porters Lake: Pottersfield Press, 1992).

⁵¹ Hodge, ed., The Black Loyalist Directory.

copies of "The Book of Negroes," an unpublished register recording the name, age, physical description, and, where appropriate, occupation of approximately 3,000 Blacks leaving New York with the evacuation the Loyalists between April and November, 1783. Incomplete versions of the register are available at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, the National Archives of Canada, the New York Public Library, and the Public Record Office, London, England, but they must be scrutinized at these locations. Hodges' book ensures the inclusion of names missed by any of the several original compilers.

The above summary and survey of the extant literature on people of African descent in Nova Scotia and, to a lesser extent in the Maritimes, is not intended to be exhaustive. Nonetheless, it is sufficient to demonstrate that there now exists a sufficient amount of secondary works for scholars to pursue historical research and writing in the area of Black history. This is true regardless of the theme or historical period they wish to investigate. The scholarship generated over the past generation or two has been remarkable, and makes possible the assembling of this thesis, with its particular focus on Hants County.

Chapter 2:

Origins, Settlement and Development of Blacks in Hants County to 1871

As we have seen, historians have only recently begun to pay substantial attention to the history of Blacks in the Maritimes. The lack of scholarship at the local or community level is still noticeable. In the particular case of Hants County, which is the focus in this thesis, there is almost nothing on the history of the Black community. The lone exception is a typescript entitled “First freed slaves at Five Mile Plains and vicinity”¹ by Lenore DeWolfe Rathbun. Until Rathbun’s unpublished narrative of the community was produced, all one could find were a few isolated anecdotes of individual Blacks. The early histories of Nova Scotia do contain information on Hants County, but Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Beamish Murdoch and Duncan Campbell² and later students J. Churchill Cox, Benjamin Smith and Thomas F. Draper³ of Kings College, Windsor, contain very little or no reference to Blacks in them. As a result, one who is unfamiliar with the county could easily draw the conclusion that Blacks did not inhabit the county at all. Yet the Black presence in Hants County has been long standing. One needs to look

¹ Lenore DeWolfe Rathbun. “First freed slaves at Five Mile Plains and vicinity,” Unpublished manuscript, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (hereafter NSARM) GN .R18, Halifax, 1950.

² Haliburton; An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, in two Volumes. (Halifax N. S. 1829), Beamish Murdoch; A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie. (Halifax, N.S. 1865), Duncan Campbell; Nova Scotia in its Historical, Mercantile and Industrial Relations, (Montreal, Que.: John Lovell, 1873).

³ J. Churchill Cox; “Prize Essay on the County of Hants,” Unpub. ms., University of Kings College, Windsor, N.S., 1865; Benjamin Smith, “The History of the County of Hants,” unpub. ms., University of Kings College, Windsor, N.S., 1865; Thomas F. Draper, “Essay on the History of Hants County,” unpub. ms., University of Kings College, Windsor, N.S., 1881. In Chapter XII of Draper’s essay he mentioned the proposal in 1798 by William Cotnam Tonge to settle 300 Maroons on his land in Windsor and also made

carefully to detect that presence, but with sufficient effort, the evidence can be found. Blacks contributed to the development of Hants County beginning with the earliest years of the county's settlement.

Black slaves and free Blacks accompanied the Halifax settlers of 1749-1751. We find no mention of Blacks in Hants County (which was part of Kings County until 1764) before the period of arrival of the New England Planters to the early townships of Falmouth, Newport and Windsor during the decade of the 1760s.

The "Planters" of these and the surrounding townships of Horton and Cornwallis brought with them a number of Black slaves. A clause in the Proclamations of Governor Charles Lawrence, which enticed these settlers to the province, allowed the Planters 50 additional acres for servants, white or Black, who accompanied them. Some Planters brought only a few. William Haliburton, formerly of Boston, lawyer, and Susannah (Otis) Haliburton, his wife, arrived in Falmouth with two Black slaves "from the household of Mrs. Haliburton's father, Ephriam Otis of Scituate."⁴ Florence Anslow informs us that "William Haliburton died the 20th February 1817. He had a Negro boy Fillis, who was sent to the West Indies in 1779 and sold for £35."⁵ 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

reference to Colonel William H. Shey's old "Darkey" servant (i.e. Juba Caesar). See p. 119-120, and p. 127 respectively.

⁴ A.W.H. Eaton, The History of King's County. (Belleville, Ont.: Mika Publishing Company, 1972). p.68.

⁵ NSARM MG 9, Vol.28, Akins Collection Scrapbook "Windsor Antiquities: Cuttings from the Windsor Mail Newspaper," 1876, p.5.

remains rest beside the family which he served for 63 years.”⁶ Juba is mentioned in a scrapbook of newspaper clippings of Mrs. Marguerite Aylward of Falmouth, Nova Scotia, in a column entitled “Old Time Reminiscences”:

By the courtesy of Mr. Thomas Akins, of Falmouth, we were shown over his 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 above mentioned 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 Wm. Shey. Juba was a faithful servant, and when he died Colonel William Shey had his remains placed in the family lot.

The writer has often been told by his parents and grandparents, of Juba. He had a gift of relating the reminiscences of his life and one special topic was how very kind Massa Shey had been to him.

One of his presents to him was a flock of sheep, and Juba said “in dem dar sheeps war big money, and all dat Massa Shey axed him for keeping dem dar sheeps was de wool and de lambs”

Signed
 D. B. and N. E. D.⁷

Peter Shey, the family patriarch, had been an early settler of the township of

⁶ W. C. Milner. The Basin of Minas and its Early Settlers. (Reprinted from the Wolfville Acadian, c1920). p. 116.

⁷ Margaret L. Aylward Scrapbook, West Hants Historical Society (hereafter WHHS), p. 13.

Newport⁸. On 19 November 1776 he paid Reverend John Breynton £23.6.8 for a Black slave called Dinah, about twenty five years old.⁹ (See Appendix 1).

Colonel Alexander McCulloch, another Planter settler of Falmouth, was also a proprietor of slaves. His so-called “Negro servants” are mentioned in the Proceedings of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace of Kings County of 1763 in two cases. In the first case he was charged with assault by Edward Yorke. In the second case he was charged with assault against Abel Michener.¹⁰ In both cases McCulloch had threatened to use his “Negro servants” to assist in the assaults. Abel Michener was a Falmouth grantee formerly of Newport, Rhode Island. Michener was also an owner of Black slaves. In his will dated 1794, he bestowed to his wife a “negro wench called Charlot.”¹¹ An advertisement regarding the running away of one of Michener’s black slaves named James, 23 years old, appeared in the Nova Scotia Gazette of 22 May 1781.¹² Cordelia Patterson, in her compilation of Mount Denson history entitled “Local History of Mount Denson”, asserts that “the Micheners kept their slaves until the abolition of slavery in 1834.”¹³ Another Falmouth grantee, Joseph Northrup, sold to John Palmer, of Windsor, for £100, an adult male slave named Mintur, the deed of sale dated 24 August 1779. (See

⁸ Mrs. Bertha (Vaughan) Cox. The History of Scotch Village, N.S., n.p., 1964.

⁹ Bill of Sale for a Negro woman, Revd Dr. Breynton to Mr. Peter Shey, 19 Nov. 1776, NSARM MG100, vol.113, #51.

¹⁰ Court of General Sessions, King’s County: Edward Yorke v. Alexander McCulloch, 11 March 1763; Abel Michener v. Alexander McCulloch, 7 June 1763.

¹¹ Milner, p. 120.

¹² Nova Scotia Gazette, 22 May 1781, p.3.

¹³ Miss Cordelia Patterson, “History of Mount Denson Nova Scotia,” (n.d) (n.p.).

Appendix 2) ¹⁴ L. S. Loomer states that “the Palmers owned other slaves whose names are not remembered. There is a Palmer family tradition that every night Mintur disappeared until it was discovered he was going up river to hew out a boat to take him back to what became the United States. On one occasion he was discovered on his way to the river, hauling the boat behind him.” ¹⁵ Another member of the Northrup family, Jeremiah Northrup, formerly of North Kingston, Rhode Island, was the owner of a slave, according to T. Watson Smith: “in 1798 Jeremiah Northrup offered a reward through the Royal Gazette to any person who would bring to Mr. David Rudolph at Halifax, or to himself at Falmouth, a “negro boy named James Grant, a smart, likely lad”. ¹⁶

Benjamin DeWolfe, a New England Planter settler of Windsor, formerly of Lyme, Connecticut, “owned a number of slaves whom he freed, but they remained with him” ¹⁷. One of DeWolfe’s slaves, a boy of about fourteen, named Mungo, ran away from him in October 1780. A reward for Mungo’s return was placed in the Nova Scotia Gazette on 24 October 1780. ¹⁸ In relation to DeWolf’s slave owning, T. Watson Smith mentions that “Benjamin DeWolf’s Account Books show sales of slaves from Hants County in the West Indies.” ¹⁹ Mr. James A. Ross, researcher of The Story of Newport Township,

¹⁴ Acadiensis, Saint John, N.B., Vol. III, No.4, October 1903, pp. 253-254.

¹⁵ L. S. Loomer Windsor, Nova Scotia: a journey in history. (Windsor, N.S.: West Hants Historical Society, 1996). p. 108.

¹⁶ T. Watson Smith, “The Slave in Canada”, in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. X, 1898, p.62.

¹⁷ Milner, p. 117.

¹⁸ Nova Scotia Gazette, 24 October 1780, p.3.

¹⁹ Smith, p. 119.

informs us of “the slave bunks on the old (Gilbert)Stuart estate..., coloured slaves slept in the bunks now used as potato bins, on what is known as ‘Kempt’ Lodge, near Newport Corner”²⁰. The grantee Gilbert Stuart had formerly lived in Newport, Rhode Island.

A number of other Planters bequeathed their slaves to family members in their wills: Joseph Wilson, of Falmouth, left “two Negro women, Byna and Sylla”²¹ to his wife for the remainder of her life. They were to pass to his son Jonathan Wilson after her demise. Jonathan was also given his father’s “Negro man Slave James” in the same will. However, Jonathan was required to pay his mother £6 yearly for the remainder of her life for this privilege. Recorded in the Falmouth Township Book on 24 March 1764, in relation to a proprietor's meeting, was the following: “voted that one Axman should be chosen to assist the surveyor. Chosen James Wilson, a Black boy belonging to Joseph Wilson. Voted that the chairman and ax boy be paid 3 shillings a day for their labour.”²² Richard McHeffey of Windsor willed to his son Joseph McHeffy, “my Negro wench called Clo’, after the death of my said wife, with whom I will and direct that my said Negro Girl shall reside and serve, during the natural life of my said wife.”²³

Blacks are also found among the early court cases of the county, as in a case dated 28 September 1789, in which Juba Hunter, a Negro man belonging to David Hunter, Planter husbandman, of Windsor, was charged with “feloniously stealing taking and

²⁰ Jas. A. Ross. The Story of Newport Township. (Newport, N.S.: Women’s Institute of Newport, 1932), p.6. See also North Along the Shore by Edith Mosher. (Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1975), pp. 18-19.

²¹ NSARM RG48, Reel 357, pp. 136-137,. Will of John Wilson, Falmouth, yeoman, 16 March 1775.

²² Falmouth Township Book, NSARM MG 4, Vol. 31B, 24 March 1764.

²³ Hants County Will Book 1, Will of Richard McHeffey, Windsor, farmer, 21 March 1791, # 30A.

carrying away on the 20th day of August 1789 one ewe sheep and one lamb the property of Alexander Scott, value twenty three shillings ²⁴. A Jube Hunter, obviously the same person, was listed in the Poll Tax list for the Township of Windsor (Eastern District) for 1791. ²⁵ In later years, Juba Hunter, also known as “Black Jube,” appeared in the Windsor Township Book , in the records of the Overseers of the Poor, being bound out to the lowest bidder for the following years: “April 1825 - Fanny Thompson, November 1825 - John Anderson, November 1826 - Hugh Frizzle, April 1827 - Hugh Frizzle, November 1827 - Hugh Frizzle, April 1828 - Hugh Frizzle, November 1828 - Mrs. Card” ²⁶.

Early non-Planter settlers such as Colonel Henry Denny Denson of Falmouth, a former soldier of Irish descent on half pay, brought with him a dozen or more slaves. ²⁷ At least five Black slaves are mentioned in Denson’s will: Spruce, John and Pompey, Negro men, Phoebe, Negro woman, and Juba, Negro boy. ²⁸ L. S. Loomer informs us that “Spruce and John were sold in Halifax at that time. The estate later sold Jube and a man and a woman named Pompey and Phebe.” ²⁹ W. C. Milner mentions a second non-

²⁴ NSARM RG34 Vol. 313, P.1, Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Windsor, Hants County, 28 September 1789, p. 21.

²⁵ NSARM RG1, Vol. 444, No. 50, Township of Newport, 4th August 1792.

²⁶ Windsor Township Book, NSARM MG 4, Vol. 1 , April 1825, November 1825, November 1826, April 1827, November 1827, April 1828, November 1828.

²⁷ T. Watson Smith, “The Slave in Canada,” p.15.

²⁸ NSARM RG48, Vol. 401, No. D46, 15 June 1781, Inventory of Estate of Henry Denny Denson, Falmouth.

²⁹ L. S. Loomer. Windsor, Nova Scotia: a journey in history (Windsor: West Hants Historical Society, 1996), p. 107.

Planter, Lt. Col. J. F. W. DesBarres, who “had a slave, “Old Andy”, who after the emancipation of slaves continued to live with the DesBarres ladies until their death”.³⁰. Another DesBarres slave’s brief obituary appeared in the Novascotian newspaper in 1838:

Death at Castle Frederick, on 8th Feb. Cato Smith, aged 81 years. He was with Governor DesBarres when he surveyed the coast of B. N. A. and remained with the family ever since - by whom he will be long remembered for his good qualities, and his death much regretted. ³¹

Cottnam Tonge, son of Winckworth Tonge, an early member of the Legislature of Nova Scotia and a resident of Windsor Township, offered to settle a number of other Blacks, namely Jamaican Maroons, on his estate in the Township, but his scheme was rejected by his arch enemy at that time, Governor Wentworth. ³² Another early settler, Reverend Joseph Bennett, missionary from the Society of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of London, England, established the first Anglican congregation at Fort Edward, Windsor. Bennett, in addition to ministering at Windsor, ministered at Newport, Falmouth, Horton and Cornwallis. L. S. Loomer informs us that “He 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 put him £200 in debt.” ³³

T. Watson Smith informs us that “Among the dwellings destroyed at Windsor, N.

³⁰ Milner, p. 130.

³¹ Novascotian, April 12, 1838, p. 114, col. 4.

³² L. S. Loomer, p.108.

³³ L. S. Loomer, p.85.

S., on a fateful Sunday in October, 1897, was one at which I had often looked at 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.”³⁴ The owner referred to was (John) Cunningham, of Windsor, who was noted in the Court of General Sessions of Hants County on 30 October 1787: “The account of Archibald & William Smith, & Joseph Burges of Newport, for apprehending & conveying Cunningham to jail, who was tried for Murdering one of his slaves and acquitted.”³⁵ 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.”³⁶

A census taken of the province in 1767 listed 104 Black servants or slaves³⁷. The following figures represent the number of Blacks in Hants County when this general return was taken:

TABLE 1

<u>Township</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Falmouth	2	1	1	0	4
Newport	0	0	1	1	2
Windsor	0	0	0	0	0

³⁴ Smith, p. 77.

³⁵ NSARM RG 34-313, P1, Court of General Sessions, Hants County, 30 October 1787, p. 1.

³⁶ Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser, 30 May-6 June 1769, Vol. 1, No. 23, p. 183.

³⁷ NSARM, RG1, Vol. 443, Doc. 1. General Return of Townships, 1767.

TOTAL	2	1	2	1	6
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Saint Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, contains a number of Blacks in its early records connected with the townships and villages in the counties of Hants and Kings. Listed among the Christenings are: 1779 - "Patience - a black child - Falmouth," 1779 - "Joseph - a Black Man- Falmouth," 1780 - "Anne Northup an Negro," 1781 - "James Ball - a Negro Child." Listed among the Baptisms are: 1781 - "Joseph Duminer - a Negro Man," 1782 - "Silvia Northup-Falmouth-a Black," 1782 - "John Schwartz - a Mulatto-Falmouth," 1783 - "Lilla Cunnable-a Black child," 1783 - "James Northup-a Black child," 1784 - "Joseph Duminer - a Mulatto," 1784 - "James Grace - Falmouth-a Mulatto," 1784 - "Joseph Grey - a Black child," "1785 - Charlotte Shea- a Negro," 1785 - "Desiah Shea - A negro Woman," 1786 - "John Dewolf- a Mulatto," 1786 - "Anna Gray- a Black," 1788 - "Mary Gray - a Negro," 1789 - "Charlotte Forrest - a Negro," 1789 - "Limus Tony-an adult Negro," 1790 - "Sarah Williams- a negro child," 1791 - "Ruth McMonagle- a negro child," 1794 - "Francis Johnson - an Negro." Only one marriage, that in 1780 at Cornwallis of Thomas Ball to Priscilla Wilson, mentions that the couple are Blacks. Records of Burials for these years for the above named areas does not appear to have survived.³⁸

With the earliest wave of Black persons as a settlement group, namely the Black Loyalists, we find the first mention of free Blacks in Hants County. James Walker's states that Blacks in Windsor "remained landless while a neighbouring group of South

³⁸ St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, 1774 - 1795. Windsor, Falmouth, etc.

Carolina whites won farms averaging 418 acres each".³⁹ Walker does not go into any further detail regarding who these Blacks may have been. There is information on one probable Black Loyalist of Hants County, Zabre (Zabry, Yarby) Scott, denoted "a Refugee Negro", who, on 5 November 1783, leased a one-hundred-acre farm, called Oronoko, situated on Cheverie Bay on the Minas Basin, from Joseph Gray Esqr. of Halifax, for the sum of one penny yearly rent to be paid on the first day of July of each year.⁴⁰ Scott was also mentioned in the Poor Records of Newport Township on 1st of April 1799 where he is stated to be the reputed husband of a Negro woman who was a ward of the Overseers of the Poor of Newport Township.⁴¹ In 1803 John Brown was paid £9.2.0 "for keeping Hannah Scot," no doubt Zarbe's wife. In the records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for Hants County for the July 1826 term, we again find Zabre Scott (spelled Yarby Scott), this time listed as an insolvent debtor.⁴² Mrs. Fox informs us that "In 1826 Scott, then an elderly man gave up claim on the land to John, Stephen, Albert, William, and Michael Rolf, sons of Jonathan."⁴³ No further mention of him appears in Hants County records after this date.

According to Nellie Fox, a farm called Jericho Farm was leased on the west side of Zabre Scott's farm by "Thomas Williams, probably from South Carolina, ...a member

³⁹ Walker, The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870, p. 31.

⁴⁰ NSARM, RG47, Vol.1, Hants County Registry of Deeds.

⁴¹ NSARM, mfm 13546, Record Relating to the Support and Maintenance of the Poor of the Township of Newport, p. 29, 1 April 1799.

⁴² Court of General Sessions, Hants County, July 1826.

of a group of Loyalists refugees who were granted land in Rawdon Township, Hants County in 1784. His grant of 250 acres was in back-country woodland. But before receiving it he had leased from Joseph Gray 100 acres of better land called Jericho Farm in Man of War's Land. In 1785 Thomas Williams of Cheverie and his wife sold his Rawdon grant."⁴⁴ From the poll tax list of 4 August 1792 for the Township of Newport, we learn that Thomas Williams was a Black man,⁴⁵ a second Black Loyalist.

To the east of Oronoko Farm, a third Black Loyalist leased another 100-acre lot called Raven Field. "In 1801 Neil McGeachey, agent for Thomas Harley, leased to John Mcann of Newport and his two sons, William and Charles, a farm called Raven Field, 100 acres, previously leased to a Negro, Joshua Bradley."⁴⁶

Although there were a few Black Loyalists who settled in the county, there were also a number of slave-owning white Loyalists settlers of the County such as Captain John Grant. Grant, who settled in the Kempt area of Newport Township in 1783, brought nine slaves with him, according to a biography written by T. Watson Smith in 1901.⁴⁷ Edith Mosher and Nellie Fox, local historians of Hants County, inform us that:

Their group consisted of Captain Grant, his wife Sarah and six of their seven children. They brought with them nine black slaves whose names and ages are listed in the Grant Family history. The slaves names and ages were: Sam-32, Nance(or Nancy)-28, Pompy-22, Fillis-13, Tom-11, Maso

⁴³ Nellie Fox, Man of War's Land, Unpublished manuscript, NSARM MG1, Vol. 2357B, #23, Chapter 4, p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. 4, p. 4.

⁴⁵ NSARM RG1, Vol. 444, #50, 4 August 1792.

⁴⁶ Nellie Fox, Man of War's Land, Chap. 4, p. 4.

⁴⁷ T. Watson Smith, "Loyalist History, John Grant, 1729-1790". NSARM, Vertical File, V200, #15, p. 6.

(or Masso)-9, Harry-7, Betsy-2. ⁴⁸

Mosher, in another writing, gives detailed information on their arrival: “Captain Grant, his wife Sarah(Bergen) Grant, six of their seven children, and nine colored slaves arrived in Halifax aboard the transport *Stafford* under command of Captain Westport on November 6, 1783. Detained by Captain Grant’s serious illness, however, they did not reach their destination until May 23, 1784.” ⁴⁹

Concerning other slaves brought to Hants county during the Loyalist era, Nellie Fox states that Daniel McNeill, a Loyalist from North Carolina, a settler on a grant of 1000 acres on the Minas Basin area near Walton, Hants County, “may have brought slaves with him to Nova Scotia but tradition says they ran away after being told they were free in Nova Scotia”. ⁵⁰

The Poll Tax returns of 1791-1795 are an additional source which indicates that Blacks were residing in Hants County during the late eighteenth century. In the Poll Tax for Falmouth and Newport of 1792, four black men are listed for Newport - Samuel Faw, (Zarbe) Scott, Thomas Williams and Stephen Wilcocks. In Rawdon for the same year were listed Negroes Jack, Mr. Snelling's servant, and Abraham and Smart, William Meek’s servants ⁵¹. For the Eastern District of Windsor were listed Will, ⁵² while for the

⁴⁸ Edith Mosher with Nellie Fox, Land of a Loyalist: The Story of Captain John Grant and his Descendants, and the Land that Unites their Hearts-Loyal Hill, on the Avon Shore of Nova Scotia. (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1988), p. 22.

⁴⁹ Mosher. North Along the Shore, p. 36.

⁵⁰ NSARM, MG1, Vol.2357B, #1, Nellie Fox Collection.

⁵¹Ibid., RG1, Vol.444,#54, Rawdon Township, For the Year 1792.

Western District was listed Negro George. All were listed as labourers. The 1793 Poll Tax for the Western District of Windsor listed George, Negro. For the Township of Rawdon, a Negro man was listed for 1793.⁵³ A second list for 1793 for the same district lists George, Negro and Daniel, Negro man, both denoted as labourers.⁵⁴ In the 1794 assessment for the Western District of the Township of Windsor was George, a free Negro, labourer, and Daniel, a free Negro, labourer, the latter living near Mr. Palmer's.⁵⁵ Stephen Wilcox and Black Tom were listed in the Township of Newport for the year 1794.⁵⁶ Mr. Snelling's Negro Man was included in the list for the Township of Rawdon for 1794.⁵⁷ Walter, servant to Mr. Tonge, James, servant to Colin Campbell Esq., and John, servant to Mr. Henry Scott, were present in the Eastern District in 1794.⁵⁸ In the 1795 Poll Tax returns, the Township of Falmouth appears not to have included any Negroes, though Newport Township listed Stephen Wilcox,⁵⁹ Rawdon District, listed Mr. Snelling's Negro Man,⁶⁰ while a final assessment for the Township of Windsor listed Matthew Tucker, Black Man, living with William Andrews, Daniel Smith, a Black Man,

⁵²Ibid., RG1, Vol. 444,#60, Township of Windsor, Aug. 11th, 1792.

⁵³Ibid., RG1, Vol. 444 1/2,#11, Township of Rawdon, 1793.

⁵⁴Ibid. RG1, Vol4441/2,#16-17, Township of Windsor, Western District, 1793.

⁵⁵Ibid. RG1, Vol. 444 1/2, #56, Township of Windsor, Western District, 1794.

⁵⁶Ibid. RG1, Vol. 444 1/2, #38-39, Township of Newport, 1794.

⁵⁷Ibid. RG1, Vol. 444 1/2, #43, Township of Rawdon, 1794.

⁵⁸Ibid. RG1, Vol. 444 1/2, #56, Township of Windsor, Eastern District, 1794.

⁵⁹Ibid. RG1, Vol. 444 1/2, #74-77, Township of Newport, 1795.

⁶⁰Ibid. RG1, Vol. 444 1/2, #81, Township of Rawdon, 1795.

and William, a labourer, living at the Reverend Mr. Cochran's.⁶¹

From the above we can see that the first Blacks to arrive in Hants County were individual slaves who came with the New England Planters to the several townships in the county during the 1760s. These Blacks were the descendants of Blacks born either in Africa or the Caribbean and brought to the United States by New Englanders who were heavily concerned in supplying the ships involved in transporting slaves from Africa to the New World. Very little information is known at present regarding the creation or continuation of Black families in Hants County during these early years, but we do know that with the coming of the Black Loyalists in 1783, intact Black families appeared in the county. An example is that of Zabre Scott and his wife Hannah, mentioned above. Hannah disappears from the records of the poor for the Township of Newport, probably because of death. On 29 September 1799 Zabre Scott, Black Man, widower, married Jane Williams, Black Woman, widow⁶². There were, without doubt, Black families in some of the townships, however since we have incomplete references we cannot at this time properly reconstruct them. For instance, in the records relating to Fort Edward listed in the previous chapter, Anne Northup, a Negro christened in 1780, Silvia Northup, a Black baptized in 1782 and James Northup, a Black child, were probably part of a family unit living in Falmouth during the decade of the 1780s. Anna Gray, Mary Gray and Joseph Gray were perhaps part of another Black family in the area as was Dinah Shea, a Negro Woman, and Charlotte Shea, a Negro. Until further information is uncovered on

⁶¹Ibid. RG1, Vol. 444 1/2, #89, Township of Windsor, 1795.

⁶² Nova Scotia Deputy Register General Fonds, Marriage Bonds Series, 29 September 1799, NSARM RG 32, Vol. 132, on MFM 15927.

these individuals we cannot show a direct relation, one to the other. Family reconstitution is not yet possible for these people, but with the introduction of the refugees of the War of 1812, family reconstitution becomes possible for Black families in Hants County. From the records contained in a number of Anglican churches in the county as well as the 1838, 1851, and 1861 census, Lenore DeWolf Rathbun's typescript, and other sources we can reconstruct some of these Black families.

The refugees of the War of 1812 were part of a group of approximately 2,000 Blacks who had arrived in the Province between 1812 and 1816. A number of these refugees settled in the Falmouth area and others settled in other areas of the County, but the majority settled in an area known as Five Mile Plains⁶³, approximately five miles distant from the town of Windsor, along the Windsor to Halifax highway. The 1838 census for Hants County is divided into seven districts based on townships – Uniacke, Newport, Kempt, Rawdon, Douglas, Windsor and Falmouth. Douglas Township seems to be missing from the returns, but those for the remaining six districts are extant. Aside from two Black families, that of Hopewell Bowen residing in the Township of Uniacke and that of Charles Gyles residing in the Township of Falmouth, all other Black families in the County appear to have resided in the Township of Windsor. The heads of

⁶³ In the book Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia compiled by C. Bruce Fergusson, the community is summarized as follows: "Five Mile Plains, Hants County. This settlement is located just west of the point where Highway # 1 crosses the St. Croix river in central Nova Scotia. It was so named because the land is relatively flat and the settlement was located about five miles from Windsor on the Halifax road. It was settled by freed negroes brought from the United States after the War of 1812. Grants were given to Joseph Cook and twenty-four others on the Panuke Road in 1819, Samuel Johnson built a cabin there in the latter part of 1812. A meeting house was built about 1822. A new school was built in 1914. Farming and Milling comprise the main industries. Population in 1956 was 78." In the summary of the nearest community to Five Mile Plains, that of Three Mile Plains, Fergusson mentions that "An African Baptist Church was organized in 1812. The church was built about 1843."

households of African origin recorded in the township included: Pompey Johnston, Edward Pelote, Benjamin Mitchell, Mrs. Miles, Manual Bushwang, Samuel Gardener, Sergeant Pelote, Richard Griffin, Henry Query, Allan Pelote, James Sampson, Joseph Cooper, Joseph Carter, Colonel Cooper, David Williams, Joseph Lewis, Edward Allison, John Bowen, and Henry Upshaw.⁶⁴

Hopewell Bowen is undoubtedly the Hoping Bowen mentioned on the “List of Blacks recently brought from the United States of America and Settled on the Windsor Road”⁶⁵ John Bowen, listed in this census, was the son of Hoping Bowen. “Two older sons, Joshua and Barzilla,” wrote Rathbun, “had married but were still in the old cabin home until 1829 when these brothers had gone to work for Mr. Isaac DeWolf at Maple Brook farm, Three Mile Plains.”⁶⁶

According to Rathbun’s brief history of the Black community of Five Mile Plains, the first Black refugee settlers in the area were Samuel Johnson and Hoping Bowen, who settled there sometime during the latter part of 1812⁶⁷. Both apparently received grants of 100 acres of land near each other, bordering the Windsor to Halifax highway. These two individuals are listed among the fourteen Refugee families who were assigned land on the Halifax to Windsor Road and provided implements and rations by the government officials shortly after their settlement. Johnson’s and Bowen’s lots were situated in the

⁶⁴ Census of Nova Scotia, 1838, Township of Uniacke, Township of Falmouth Township of Windsor, NSARM RG 1, Vol. 449, # 158., mfm 13581.

⁶⁵ NSARM Vol. 420, doc 133.

⁶⁶ Rathbun, “First freed slaves,” p. 20.

⁶⁷ Rathbun, “First freed slaves,” p. 2.

Windsor Plains/Five Mile Plains area, while the majority of the other settlers on the list were located in the present day Middle Sackville area of Halifax County. Samuel Johnson's family consisted of him and his wife⁶⁸. Sometime shortly after their arrival in Windsor Plains, during the latter part of 1812, the Johnsons' first son Pompey was born. A few years after a second son, Jacob, arrived. No further trace of Samuel appears in the local or provincial records for the area, except that in the 1838 Census of Hants County, Pompey is listed as a labourer residing in the Township of Windsor. His household at the time consisted of Pompey, his wife, 1 male under 6, 1 female under 6, 1 male under 14 and 1 female under 14.⁶⁹ Jacob had married in Hammonds Plains. Pompey Johnson's wife Charlotte later testified in a court action involving two of her sons in a dispute over land in August 1900, and her testimony provides a good example of the origin of the majority of the settlers of Five Mile Plains:

My name is Charlotte Johnson. I am a widow. My husband's name was Pompey Johnson. Been dead over thirty-five years, or thirty-six. I was told by my mother I was three years old when we left the States in the year the battle of Waterloo was fought. I was born in Savannah, Georgia State. I came with my grandfather, grandmother, mother and cousin. We came first to Melville Island, from there we came to Mr. Cunningham's place on Back Road, Windsor. We afterwards settled on Panuke Road, in this County. We lived there a good many years. I was living there when I married Pompey Johnson. He was then living at Newport. We lived at Panuke Road till we moved here where I now live at the Plains.⁷⁰

Charlotte Pilote had married Pompey Johnson, son of the above mentioned

⁶⁸ NSARM Vol. 420 Doc. 133. List of Blacks recently brought from the United States of America and Settled on the Windsor Road.

⁶⁹ Manuscript Census, Township of Windsor, Hants County, 1838, NSARM RG1, Vol. 449, No. 158.

Samuel Johnson, in the Saint James Anglican Church, Brooklyn Hants County on 15 March 1829.⁷¹ Pompey had earned his living helping in gardens and doing general work in the town of Windsor and vicinity.⁷² Pompey had died at approximately 65 years of age and was buried on 20 April 1863, most probably in the Old Parish Burying ground, Windsor.⁷³ Charlotte Pilotte Johnson, widow of Pompey, died on 26 December 1901, and was buried two days later in Maplewood Cemetery, across from the Old Parish Burying Ground⁷⁴

Charles Bruce Fergusson, in A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia Between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government, estimates that by 1816 there were at least 51 Blacks settled on the Windsor Road - 11 men, 14 women and 26 children. He implies that some of these men were employed on the road leading to Windsor in 1815, but does not provide us with the names of any of these labourers. We learn from Fergusson that Sergeant Pelotte, Isaac Fitchet and John Griffin obtained land in the area in 1816:

By indenture of January 27, 1816, Isaac Fitchet and Sergeant Pelotte, Refugee Negroes, 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. These lands were to be occupied and improved for seven years. A few days later

⁷⁰ Supreme Court, Hants County, 1900 B No.141, Charles Johnson and Lloyd Johnson, Deposition of Charlotte Johnson, 3 August 1900.

⁷¹ St. James Anglican Church, Newport and Walton, 15 March 1829.

⁷² Rathbun, "First freed slaves," p. 8.

⁷³ Burials in the Parish of Christ Church, Windsor, 1814-1900.

⁷⁴ Registration Book: Maplewood (Protestant) Cemetery, Town of Windsor, N. S., No. 855, 28 December, 1901.

John Griffin obtained lot No. 7 in the township of Windsor, containing two acres, with houses and buildings, from James Cuppaidge Cochran. He also was to remain and improve the lots for seven years. Sergeant Pelotte made over to Rev. William Cochran in December 1824, the tract which he had previously obtained from him. Pelotte received () from the Rev. Mr. Cochran for the improvements he had made on the property. In February 1816, John Griffin's family consisted of himself, his wife and three children. In the same year, Fitchet's family also comprised of himself, his wife and three children, and Pelotte's family was of the same size. In August 1821, the Blacks settled in the neighbourhood of Windsor were among those who were offered the opportunity of removal to Trinidad.⁷⁵

Other Black settlers came to live along this highway. They did not receive their grants of land but instead received warrants. In 1819, fourteen Black families, among others, received these warrants of 100 acres of land each. Blacks included in this list were: Richard Baley (Bailey), Forly Campbell, Colonel Cooper, John Crawley, Samuel Gardin (Gardiner), John Griffin, William Higgins, William Jessey, Richard Joseph, David Neil, John Parker, Benjamin Parsons, Edward Pelote (Pilote), Caleb Roberts, Henry Topshaw (Upshaw), and David Williams⁷⁶. (See Appendix 3). Other Black refugee families who received land at approximately the same time, but whose names do not appear on this list, are those of Joseph Carter and Benjamin Mitchell. The majority of these settlers had arrived from the Southern colonies of the United States – Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana. (See, for instance, Appendix 8 containing information on Colonel Cooper from Virginia, and some of his descendants). While most ethnic groups in Nova Scotia had specific reasons for

⁷⁵ Fergusson. A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government., p. 55.

⁷⁶ NSARM Land Grants, Warrants to Joseph Cook and 24 Others, Panuke Lakes, County of Hants, 27 Oct. 1819.

emigration to Nova Scotia such as their economic situation or the lack of land to settle on in their homeland, the Black refugees' prime motivation was an escape from slavery.

A number of these individuals may have been legally married before leaving the Southern Colonies. However, even if they were, some obviously decided to have their unions recorded again. Many of them had their marriages registered in the local Anglican churches.

In the record book of Christ Church Anglican, Windsor, are entered the following marriages:

Henry Upshaw and Lucy Flood - 16 July 1815,
 Benjamin Parsons and Amelia Francis - 3 April 1815,
 John Floyd and Matilda Smith - 25 February 1816,
 Sergeant Pelotte and Clarissa Maxwell - 9 May 1816,
 Samuel Garden (Gardiner) and Hetty Mercy - 24 October 1816,
 John Boyd and Tracy Sommerville - 15 June 1817,
 David Williams and Maria Taylor - 4 August 1818,
 John Hewson (Huston) and Maria Gardener (Gardiner) - 21 January 1819 ⁷⁷.

Charles Bruce Fergusson stated that "In August 1821, the Blacks settled in the neighbourhood of Windsor were among those who were offered the opportunity of removal to Trinidad." ⁷⁸ (See Appendix 4). Rathbun surmised that a few of the settlers left for Trinidad at that time because they were displeased with the long, cold winters. ⁷⁹. Isaac Fitchett may have been one of these settlers, since he is not heard of in the area after being listed in the Register of Baptisms for the parish of Christ Church, Windsor, on 14

⁷⁷ Christ Church Anglican Church Records, Windsor, Nova Scotia.

⁷⁸ Fergusson, p. 55.

⁷⁹ Rathbun, "First freed slaves", p. 3.

April 1817. Precisely how many others may have left during this time cannot be ascertained, since one of the sources that would have proved helpful, the returns of the 1827 census, is missing for Hants County. It is not until the 1838 census for the area that we encounter these families again. In this census, it is clear that some of the original settlers had either died or left the area and the second generation of sons had taken over as the heads of households, or, in the case where a son was not old enough, the widow had become the head of the household. In a preliminary survey of this census, at least 14 families with a total of 65 members can be accurately traced at this time for the Township of Windsor. Pompey Johnson, Edward Pelotte, Benjamin Mitchell, Samuel Gardener(Gardiner), Sergeant Pelote(Pelotte), Henry Query ⁸⁰, Allan Pelote(Pelotte), Colenel(Colonel) Cooper, John Bowen, Henry Upshaw were listed in the 1838 census of Windsor Township, Hants County, while Richard Joseph appears in the Kings County census of that year. The census of 1838 does not include the remaining Hants County townships of Falmouth, Newport, Uniacke, Kempt, and Rawdon, so we have to rely on other sources to learn which other Black individuals and families may have resided there.

The two remaining censuses that are relevant in tracing the Blacks of Hants County up to 1871 are those of 1851 and 1861, but since the returns themselves for Hants County do not appear to have been rescued, we can rely only on the reports related to them. From a report on the census of 1851, included in the Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly for 1852, we learn that 170 Blacks - 75 males and 95 females -

⁸⁰ Henry Quarry (coloured) 57 yrs. died 22 July, 1847. Christian Messenger, 30 July 1847.

resided in the county.⁸¹ The 1861 census report, contained in the Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly for 1862, records that there were 206 Blacks residing in Hants County.⁸² These censuses were not nominal returns, and therefore contained only the names of heads of households and the number of family members.

It is evident, therefore, that Blacks resided in Hants County in both a slave and a free state before the coming of the major group of Black settlers to the area - those who came as refugees from the War of 1812. It is to this group of Black settlers that one can attribute the real development and change of the Black community from one of scattered individuals to the emergence of a distinct community.

⁸¹ Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1852, Appendix 94.

⁸² Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1862.

Chapter 3:

Black Families in Hants County 1871-1914

The Black population in Hants County was initially not concentrated in one town or village. Rather, families and individuals of African descent were scattered in different locations around the county. Those living in the village of Five Mile Plains in the census district of Saint Croix comprised the largest of these communities. The second largest number of Blacks lived in the village of Falmouth in the census district of Falmouth. The majority of my attention in this chapter will be concentrated on the former settlement although the latter settlement will be included in the discussion where relevant. These communities will be examined in this chapter by looking primarily at the census data from 1871 to 1901.

A number of common assumptions concerning the Black North American family were popular in the latter half of the twentieth century¹. Perhaps the best known and most controversial has been that which asserted that the majority of these families were composed of households headed by a female where the father is absent. A second assumption was that there had been no racial intermarriage until the middle of the twentieth century. A third assumption had revolved around the idea that the household structure was composed of extended families rather than nuclear families. A fourth assumption had been that Blacks were static and were not involved very often in out-migration. With the 1871 census, the first to include the names of all members of the household, along with other pertinent information, we can gauge how accurate these

¹ Daniel P. Moynihan, The Negro Family in America: The Case for National Action. (Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor, Office of Planning and Research, March, 1965). Moynihan saw Black society deteriorating and perceived the worsening of the Black family to be the central cause of this.

assumptions actually were in Hants County.

In 1871² two families of African descent, consisting of eight individuals lived in the Nine Mile River district. Two other Blacks were enumerated in white households in the same district. Four Black households with a total of fifteen members were found in the Brooklyn district. One interracial family consisting of five members and two boarders lived in the Windsor district. Twelve other Blacks lived in the town of Windsor but were listed in white households. In addition, two Black children, among ten other paupers paid for by Windsor township, were resident in the private home of John W. Maxner, since there was no poor house to send them to until a decade later. The Forks district was home to two Blacks, residing in the homes of two white farm families. The census districts of Rawdon North and Rawdon South contained no Blacks. The Falmouth district contained fifteen Black households with a total of sixty-two members while the St. Croix district which included the community of Five Mile Plains contained thirty-three Black households.

In 1881³ one single person household of African descent lived in Nine Mile River district. This individual was the son of a couple who were in their sixties in the 1871 returns who no longer resided there. One Black family, as well as the two single persons in the two white households of the previous census returns had disappeared from the district and a mixed Black-Aboriginal family had appeared over the ensuing decade. In the Brooklyn district, the four previous Black households had migrated out while one different Black household migrated in. Two separate white households listed a single

² 1871 Census, Hants County.

³ 1881 Census, Hants County.

Black person in the Windsor district, while the Windsor Town district listed the previous mixed couple noted in the previous census returns with three children. Two white households in this district listed a single Black person in each household. Blacks no longer lived in the Forks district. Rawdon North and Rawdon South, the new districts of Scotch Village, Gore, Noel, and Walton contained no Blacks while the new district of Kempt contained a single Black man. One widow who had previously lived in the Five Mile Plains area had moved with her son aged twenty-three, a woman aged twenty and a child aged two, to the newly created Maitland district. The other new district of Shubanacadie listed a lone Black man in a white household. A new district, Hantsport had been created , separate from the Falmouth district. This district contained three Black families that were previously considered part of the latter district. The Falmouth district, in 1881, contained twelve households of African descent, three racially-mixed households and four individuals of African descent residing in four different white households. The Five Mile Plains area of the Saint Croix district contained nineteen Black households with both partners present, one Black household with two married couples residing there, seven households with widows as head of household, and one household with a widower as head. His mother, a widow was also present. Three Black adults resided in one white household in the district.

In 1891⁴, the Brooklyn district was home to one family of African descent, a husband and wife with three teenage children, who had been present at the time of the 1871 and 1881 census. At least six other Blacks lived in the West Hants County Poor House at MacKay Section located in the district. The nearby district of Burlington contained one Black farm labour, sixty-eight years old. One family resided in Windsor

district with a husband, wife and one teenage son present. Three Black families resided in the Windsor (Dill's Corner) district, the first with a three year old son, the second with a seven month old son and the third with a set of seven year old twins and a one year old daughter. In the second household of the latter families lived a sixteen year old sister of the head of the family. A thirty year old Black lodger, a nine year old Black lodger a white male lodger from New Brunswick along with a twenty-three year old white furniture salesman and his twenty year old wife were lodgers in the third household. Two Blacks were domestic servants at a hotel in this latter district, a single woman and a married man, both in their mid-twenties. In the Curry's Corner district lived one Family with six children and a second family consisting of a seventy year old widow and her forty year old daughter. Two Black families resided in the Hantsport district. while two white households in the district had one Black domestic listed in each. Falmouth district contained seven Black households and two racially-mixed households. Two white households in the district contained one Black each, while a third white household contained two Black domestic servants in their sixties. The Saint Croix district contained seventeen Black households with both partners present, six Black households were headed by widows with a seventh widow living alone. One Black household was headed by a widower with three children, which also contained a widow with two other children. One Black labourer was listed in one white household in the district. No Blacks lived in Nine Mile River, Avondale, Five Mile River, Gore, Kempt (Summerville), Kempt (Cambridge), Maitland, , Noel, Rawdon Church, Scotch Village, Selmah, Shubecanadie, South Maitland, South Rawdon & Uniacke and Walton districts.

⁴ 1891 Census, Hants County.

In 1901⁵, Avondale, Burlington, Falmouth Forks, Gore, Hantsport, Kempt 1&2, Maitland 2 &3, Nine Mile River 1&2, Rawdon, Rawdon & Uniacke, Scotch Village, Shubecanadie, Walton, Windsor Forks and (S2)Windsor Town did not have any Blacks living in the districts. One Black servant was enumerated in a white household in the (H1) Maitland district and a racially mixed couple with seven children was enumerated in the (H4) Maitland (Five Mile River) district. In district (P)South Newport, a widow and her twenty-two year old son resided. One Black family with two daughters, a son, a granddaughter and two Black boarders was enumerated in (S3) Windsor Town district and one Black female head of household aged fifty-eight resided alone in the same district. A Black twenty-eight year old general servant resided in the (J) Noel district. A Black servant from the West Indies resided in the home of a white hotel keeper in the (O1) Shubenacadie district and two Black females aged fifty and seventy-nine, respectively, were inmates in the Poor House in (P) South Newport district. In (S1) Windsor Town district, a Black girl, aged fourteen, was a domestic servant in a white household. A Black woman, twenty-six years old, was a domestic servant in a (S3) Windsor Town district household, a sixteen year old female was a domestic servant in a white household in (S3) Windsor Town district, and a seventeen year old female was a domestic servant in another white household in the same district. During this census, Falmouth contained ten Black households. Two other Black households were headed by widowers, and one white household contained one seventy-eight year old Black female domestic servant and two Black male domestic servants, twenty-eight and nineteen years old, respectively. The Five Mile Plains section of the Saint Croix district contained twenty-seven Black two-partner households, five other Black households headed by

⁵ 1901 Census, Hants County.

widows, and two additional Black households headed by widowers. Two Black men resided in two different white households in the section, one listed as a servant and the other listed as a farm labourer.

Nearly all Blacks were poor in the period included in this study of a rural county in Nova Scotia. But being poor did not necessarily translate into being part of a disorganized household, according to the above mentioned stereotypical assumptions. This statement is made clear upon examination of the manuscript census returns of 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901, which were summarized above, as well as other source material. To test the above-mentioned assumptions in detail, as well as to see how a particular family can change over a thirty year term, a few of the Hants County families deserve closer attention.

The Five Mile Plains Enclave :

The Upshaw Family

Consider the Upshaw family, for instance. This family originated with the union of Henry Upshaw and Lucy Flood, two Refugees of the War of 1812. Their union was confirmed in a marriage ceremony at Christ Church Anglican, Windsor, Nova Scotia on 16 July 1815⁶. They were identified as a Black couple when they were married in this church. Shortly after their arrival, members of the Upshaw family joined the newly created Black community of Five Mile Plains with members of the Johnson, Bowen, Pelote, Parsons, Floyd, Gardiner, Boyd, Williams and Huston families from the Southern United States. Henry Upshaw, a member of the first generation of his family in Hants County, and progenitor of the family in the area, was given a warrant to his Five Mile

⁶ Marriages, Christ Church Anglican Church Records, Windsor, N. S., 16 July 1815.

Plains property in 1819⁷. Two of their children, John Henry Upshaw and Hetty Upshaw, were baptized in the same church on 12 May 1816. In 1838 Henry Upshaw's household consisted of Henry, his wife Lucy, 2 females 6-14 years old, 1 male under 6 and 1 female under 6. Henry died probably on 25 November 1847 and was buried on 27 November 1847⁸ while Lucy died probably on 19 September 1848 and was buried on 21 September 1848.⁹ Rathbun notes that by 1861 some of the Upshaws had moved to other localities - at least two families had moved to Falmouth¹⁰. An examination of the 1871 census schedule showed the descendants of this union carrying the surname in Hants County consisted of Catherine Upshaw, aged 44, recent widow of Daniel Upshaw, aged 43, who had died in January of that same year.¹¹, their son John, aged 20, son Daniel, aged 17, daughter Isabella, aged 12 and son James aged 7. This was the 284th house and the 298th family to be enumerated in this district. Examination of the 1881 census schedule showed that Catherine's son John Upshaw aged about 31 had married since the previous census¹² and now had a family consisting of his wife Margaret, aged 29, and children Georgina, aged 7, Rufus, aged 5, Isiah, aged 2, Elias, aged 4, and Stewart, aged 2 months.. This was the 227th house and the 227th family to be enumerated in the Saint Croix district for that year. In 1891 John's family appeared as the 82nd family in the Saint

⁷ NSARM Land Grants, Warrants to Joseph Cook and 24 Others, Panuke Lakes, County of Hants, 27 Oct. 1819.

⁸ Burials usually took place two days after deaths.

⁹ Burials, Christ Church Anglican Church Records, Windsor, N. S., 27 Nov. 1847 & 21 Sept. 1848.

¹⁰ Rathbun, p. 58.

¹¹ 1871 Census, St. Croix, Div. K, household no.284, family no. 298.

¹² Hants County Marriage Register, 1872, p. 55, no. 65, John Upshaw & Sarah Margaret Johnston. Parents of John Upshaw are listed as Daniel & Catherine Upshaw. Parents of Sarah Margaret Johnston are listed as Pompey & Charlotte Johnston.

Croix enumeration district and included John, aged 40, Margaret, aged 40, the five above-named sons and daughters, as well as three more children, Louisa, aged 8, Ethel, aged 5, and a recently born baby of less than one month old whose name was not given. In 1901 John 's family appeared in the 214th house being the 225th family to be enumerated. The family now consisted of John and Margaret as well as Ethel I., aged 15, Mary, aged 13, Robert, aged 12, Andrew aged 11, and Ada F., aged 10. Elias, Isiah, and Louisa had married and moved out of the household, but not out of the district. Elias had married Mary E. Hamilton on 4 January 1900, Isiah had married Ellen Hamilton on 26 September 1900, and Louisa had married James Hamilton on 7 October 1899. Stewart married another Hamilton sister, Matilda Hamilton on 26 June 1901 and seven years later, on 1 July 1908, Andrew married another Hamilton sister, Gertrude Hamilton.¹³ Another Upshaw family, Andrew Upshaw, aged 46, his wife Margaret, aged 30, and their four children Benjamin E., aged 5, Roy F., aged 4, Beatrice V., aged 2 and Rachel S, born a few months previous, were enumerated in the 200th dwelling and computed as the 211th family in the district.

The Falmouth/Hantsport Enclave:

The interracial families in the Falmouth/Hantsport area of this census return provide evidence that the assumption about racial mixing is also incorrect. At least eight families of ethnic intermarriage resided in Falmouth district in 1871, comprised of forty-three individuals. Some households of the Parker, Lunn, Curry, Pierce, Sherman, and States families in the district were made up of these couples.

¹³ Hants County Marriage Register, 1900, p.34, no.5; 1900, p. 38, no. 70; 1899, p. 31, no. 78; 1901, p.45, no. 52; 1908, p. 108, no. 50.

The States Family

This family originated with the union of Job States and Mary Crausen in New York State on 7 December 1782¹⁴. They were part of the group of Black Loyalists, which included Job's brother George States, who left New York and arrived in Nova Scotia in 1783.¹⁵ The family of Job and Mary States had lived in Cornwallis, King's County, and moved to Parrsboro. Their son named Job was born in Parrsboro in February 1786.

Job Jr. was the father of George and John States, who eventually moved during the 1850s to Falmouth Township in Hants County. George States married Ruth McCulloch at St. George's Anglican Church, Falmouth on 3 September 1855¹⁶. According to family legend, Ruth had been born in Belfast, Ireland. George's brother John was first documented in the Hants County area in the St. George's Anglican Church records with the baptism of he and his wife (Sarah) Jane's son, also named Job, on 3 September 1855.¹⁷ An examination of the 1871 census schedule showed George States as the head of a household which consisted of George, aged 52, his wife Ruth, aged 54, sons Robert I., aged 12, and Charles R., aged 7.¹⁸ This census designated Ruth's place of birth as Ireland and her ethnic origin as Irish. Their house was the 138th and they were the 150th family to be enumerated in the district. John States' household, the 154th house and the 169th family enumerated in the district, consisted of John, aged 42, his wife Sarah J.

¹⁴ States Family Bible of the late Mrs. Myrtle States, Dartmouth, N.S.

¹⁵ Hodge, ed. The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile After the American Revolution, p. 56.

¹⁶ NSARM, Micro: Churches, Falmouth, St. George's Anglican, Marriages, 3 September 1855.

¹⁷ Ibid. Baptisms, 3 September 1855, p. 25, No. 196.

aged 39, sons Job, aged 16, John W., aged 15, Frank, aged 11, James A., aged 9, Oscar A., aged 7 Thomas H., aged 5 months and daughter Alfretta, aged 2 years.¹⁹

By 1881, George's household contained an additional member, Wellington States aged 8. John's household, number 145, family 164, was now listed in a new district called Hantsport and contained John, Sarah (Jane), John W., Frank, J.(James) Arthur, Oscar, and Etta (Alfretta). John's son Job had married Rebecca Jane Eddison on 14 July 1875²⁰ and had moved out of the household, while Thomas H. was not listed any longer.

By 1891, George's household, family no. 118, consisted of himself, his wife Ruth, Charles and Alfretta, as well as a child George, nine months old. Robert, the eldest son, had married Minnie (Winnie) Dixon on 1 December 1887²¹ and had begun a household of his own, family no. 116, with two children, Frederick, aged 7 and Bessie aged 8 months. Minnie's mother, Mary Dixon, aged 50, also lived in this family unit. At this point in time, John's household, family no. 26 (Hantsport), consisted only of he and his wife Sarah Jane. Since their son Job States was not listed in this census, and family legend maintained that he had died at sea, Rebecca had remarried to a Thomas B. Westcott, a ship's steward from Charleston, South Carolina²². Thomas and Rebecca's family (no. 42, Hantsport) then consisted of Alonzo, aged 18, Alberta, aged 16, Harry, aged 9, and Eva, aged 6.²³

¹⁸ 1871 Census, Falmouth, Div. M, household no. 138, family no. 150

¹⁹ 1871 Census, Falmouth, Div. M, household no. 154, family no. 169.

²⁰ Hants County Marriage Register, 1875, p. 87, no. 45.

²¹ Hants County Marriage Register, 1887, p. 201, no. 87.

²² Hants County Marriage Register, 1890, n.p., no. 15.

²³ 1891 Census, Hantsport, Div. I, Family 42.

Before they could be registered in the 1901 census, John States died in 1898, his elder brother George in 1900.²⁴ George's son Charles, aged 36 in 1901, had married his cousin Alfretta and their household (148th house, 153rd family) consisted of 5 sons: George aged 11, William aged 8, Henry aged 7, Russell aged 4, and Andrew aged 1. Charles' brother Robert, aged 40, and his wife Minnie's home (149th house, 154th family) included Fred aged 11, Bessie aged 10, Mary aged 8, Bertha aged 5, Roy aged 4, and Percy aged 2. Grandmother Ruth McCulloch States, aged 87, also residing in this household in 1901. According to Borden's Undertakers Books, she passed away in September 1907.

By the 1901 census, Job and Rebecca's son Alonzo had married Gertrude Bolds (Bowles) in January, 1898 and had started a family (199th household, 210th family). Alonzo, aged 25, and Gertrude aged 22, and their 3 children, Ralph aged 2, and 8-month-old twins Cornelius and Harold resided in the household of Gertrude's aunt Sarah Prevo (Prevost). Sarah's adopted daughter Ethel, aged 6, also lived in this household. Alonzo's brother Harry, aged 19, is listed as a domestic servant in the home of Charles and Elizabeth Akins of Falmouth (16th household, 17th family).

In addition to the phenomenon of mixed marriages, from the census records we can also observe that although instances of extended families did exist, the majority of Black families in Hants County between 1871 and 1914 were comprised of nuclear units.

In the matter of family persistence in the county we can see from the census that a large percentage of the refugee families remained persistent in Hants County in the years of our study. But this was not entirely the case as Black families migrated into the County from other Black areas such as Preston and Hammonds Plains seeking

²⁴ MG4, Vol. 420, No. 1, Borden's Undertakers Books: Vol. IIA, Jan. 1894-Dec. 1914, Hantsport, N.S.

employment in the gypsum quarries and on the farms of other Hants County inhabitants. For instance, the Parris, Desmond and Prevoe family were originally from Guysborough County, Nova Scotia. The Croxon family was originally from Queens County. In addition, Black individuals left to fight in the Civil War from 1861 to 1865 and were among those migrating to the "Boston States" seeking employment before the turn of the twentieth century.²⁵

In relation to the Black families of Falmouth, John V. Duncanson,²⁶ included the Blacks in both the historical section as well the genealogical section of his work. The following families appear in the genealogical section: Golar, Gray, Hall, States and Wise. The Blacks of Falmouth were much more scattered than the Blacks of Five Mile Plains, but they did at one time have their own Baptist church but did not maintain a separate school. McKerrow wrote a short paragraph about the church in his publication on the Black Baptists of Nova Scotia in 1895, otherwise there is only anecdotal information on the Blacks of the area.

As Hants County Blacks moved from slavery to freedom they formed into their own household units away from their former owners. With the immigration of the refugees of the War of 1812, they formed their own communities. The most predominant area in Hants County where this formation took place was in the Five Mile Plains section of the county, which was listed in the nominal census records beginning in 1871 as part of the Saint Croix polling district. The overall conclusion that we derive from our analysis of the census records is that the North American stereotype of Black families

²⁵ John V. Duncanson, "Benjamin Jackson (1835-1915)", Halifax, The Nova Scotia Genealogist, Vol. V/1, March 1987, pp. 10-11.

²⁶ John V. Duncanson, Falmouth – A New England Township in Nova Scotia. (Windsor, Ont.: [s. n.], 1965.

typically being headed by a single parent, usually the mother, did not apply in Hants County. Single parent households were rare, at least during the period under investigation. The Black families were in almost all cases complete nuclear households, headed by both a male and a female. Another observation is that there appears to have been a distinct difference between the composition of Black families in the principal community of Five Mile Plains and the smaller enclave of Falmouth. In the former area, Blacks tended to marry Blacks; in the latter, there were sometimes inter-racial marriages, however this was by no means the norm.

Chapter 4:

Employment and Unemployment: The Economy of the Black Community, 1871-1914

Concerning the economic plight of the Black settlers, the refugees at the outset received food rations and provisions similar to the other early immigrants. “A full weekly ration was to consist of 7 pounds of biscuit, 4 10/16 pounds of pork, 2 pounds of rice. Each man was to receive a full ration, each woman a half ration, and each child a third ration,” according to J. S. Martell.¹ Precisely how long they found it necessary to continue receiving these rations we do not know, nor do we know to what extent the local agricultural societies, church organizations or other charitable groups came to their aid. However, it would appear from the early Hants County township books that they received very little, if any, assistance from the Overseers of the Poor. The distribution of provisions was apparently discontinued to all Black communities in the province sometime after August 1818.

One can only hypothesize that the Blacks of Hants County survived on subsistence farming on their small but fertile farm plots, while supplementing their income with seasonal employment as farm labourers and similar occupations after the discontinuation of the provisions. However by 1825 and again in 1826, the Panuke Settlement in the Township of Windsor (as the Five Mile Plains area where the Blacks lived was then referred to) again required government assistance. They were among the

¹ J.S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia, 1815-1838. (Halifax, NS, The Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1942), p. 37.

five Black communities during those years that received a £100 grant “for the purpose of procuring Seed Potatoes and Grain”, to help alleviate their distressed condition.² The community was once again in dire need of assistance from at least the latter part of 1846 to mid- year 1858, since the Committee of the Legislature responsible for providing relief to poor settlers, in 1846, recommended “£25 for the Coloured People in and about Windsor.”³ £10 per year was allotted to the “Coloured population in Hants County” during the years 1853 – 1858.⁴ Following the latter year the community would become more dependent upon its own resources

In the period immediately following the War of 1812, the authorities in Nova Scotia, and mainstream society in general, had regarded the Black Refugees as a source of cheap labour. However, once immigrants from Ireland, Scotland and England began arriving in Nova Scotia, these Blacks saw a decline in their employment opportunities. The poor white immigrants from the United Kingdom began to take the unskilled and low-skilled jobs. The Black settlers were no longer perceived as necessary or desirable. The majority of the Black males had been employed as gardeners, servants and general labourers or farm labourers for the white families of the area. Subsequently, a great proportion were employed in the gypsum quarries and on the boats leaving from Wentworth, Windsor, Hantsport and other areas along the shores of the Minas Basin and the Bay of Fundy. Some even worked in the shipbuilding industry as caulkers and the

² Statutes of Nova Scotia, Anno sexto Georg II IV C.1., 1825, p. 203; 1826, p. 226.

³ Journal of the House of Assembly, 1847, Appendix No. 73, pp. 280-281.

⁴ *Ibid*, 1853, p. 346 & 353; 1854, p. 512; 1855, p. 700 & 709; 1856, Appendix No. 47, p. 188; 185, p. 319;

like in the small shipyards of the Bay of Fundy and the Cobequid Bay ports. Although other men of the area were involved in fishing and lumbering as well, no evidence has yet been found that shows that Black men were involved in these types of employment. The Black females of Hants County worked mainly as housekeepers in their own homes as well as domestics working “in service” in the homes of white families in the nearby town of Windsor. Hants County was and is a county made up of a few small towns and numerous villages.

Lenore DeWolf Rathbun, in an article in the Home Magazine, dated 24 July 1947, stated that her father, George Henry DeWolf, took over the Maple Brook Farm, a property three miles east of the town of Windsor on the Halifax highway, and modernized it. This farm dated back to 1761. She mentions that “there was also employment to the young [Black] men growing up in Windsor Plains, building cottages on his land, besides carrying on an industry of carpentry, building carriages, carts and wagons. Sleighs and sleds of every description were made, and there was also the carrying on of a coffin industry when required.”⁵

A number of the Blacks listed in the 1819 land petition for the Windsor Plains area noted earlier appear again in the 1838 census,⁶ with a few additional settlers who undoubtedly migrated from other Black settlements in the province by this time. The

1858, p. 562.

⁵ Lenore DeWolf Rathbun. “Nova Scotia Has Lovely Old Farms in Historic Spots. The DeWolf Farm, County Hants, in One Family for Five Generations Can Boast of Agricultural Progress as Well as of Length of Tenure.” The Farmer’s Advocate: Home Magazine, 24 July 1947, p. 604.

⁶ Manuscript Census of St. Croix Polling District, Hants County, 1838.

heads of households with their listed occupations on these returns are as follows: Pompey Johnson - labourer, Edward Pelote – labourer, Samuel Gardner(sic) - labourer, , Benjamin Mitchell - labourer, Mrs. Miles, Manual Bushwang – labourer, Sergeant Pelote - labourer, Richard Griffin – labourer, Caleb Roberts - labourer, Henry Quarey - labourer, Allan Pelote - labourer, Larry Miles - labourer, Will Atkins(Atkinson) - labourer, Isaac Atkins(Atkinson) - labourer, James Sampson – farmer, Joseph Cooper - labourer, Joseph Carter - labourer, Colenel(sic) Cooper - labourer, David Williams - labourer, Joseph Lewis - labourer, John Bowen - labourer, and Henry Upshaw - labourer. From this census we are unable to ascertain whether any of these men were involved as labourers in agriculture, mining , lumbering or seafaring although we may learn more exact details from other sources. Some men would have obtained employment on the wharves of ports such as Windsor and Hantsport loading and unloading lumber, apples, potatoes and other farm and woodland products of the County. In a number of returns of refugee Blacks dating to 1813, the trades and occupations listed for many include sawyer, shoemaker, farmer, wheelwright, house carpenter, fisherman, blacksmith, hostler, washerwoman, servant, and labourer.⁷

By 1871, descendants of most of these families were still present in the community, but some family names such as Roberts and Quarey had disappeared. Henry Quarey had died in 1848.⁸ Meanwhile other Black families with different surnames - such as Woods, Allison, Lloyd, Duncan, Prevo, Stoutley, Edison, Floid, Desmond, Hamilton, Croxson, Smith, Neal, and Clark - had moved in to the settlement. In the final

⁷ NSARM RG1, Vol. 420, No. 1-8.

three decades of the nineteenth century and the first fourteen years of the twentieth century, the Black families of Hants County adjusted to the changing occupational climate to the point where they were no longer mere labourers. The following occupations were listed in the 1871 census for Hants County Black males: 21 labourers, 1 farm labourer, 7 seamen, 4 mariners, 9 farmers, 4 coopers, 1 mason, 1 preacher, 1 hairdresser, and 1 broom maker. In this census there were very few listings of occupations for Hants County Black females, just as there were very few listings for white females. Ten Black females were listed as servants, 2 were listed as laundresses, and 1 was listed as a washerwoman.

At this time and up to 1914, those listed as farmers were merely subsistence farmers, not self-sufficient farmers as the term usually implies. These families were more dependent on the local markets and village stores than being able to grow enough produce and raise enough livestock to meet their family's basic needs. They planted small gardens and maintained a few farm animals such as pigs, chickens, cows and a horse or two for the plowing of gardens in the spring. During the winter and spring months the horses were used for the hauling of firewood for the home or cordwood for sale to the local pulp mill. Their land holdings were too small to allow them to provide more adequately for themselves. As we shall see in the following pages, a number of these families would eventually have to send their young children to nearby homes as domestic servants in order to have sufficient means for survival.

⁸ Christian Messenger, 1848.

The seven males listed as seamen in this census were involved in both long distance trade such as voyages to the Canary Islands and London, England or in the coastal trade such as ventures to ports along the Eastern Seaboard of the United States or ports in the West Indies. An example of such seafarers is contained in a crew list of the ship *Avoca* owned by Captain Thomas Aylward, registered in the port of Windsor, Hants County, Nova Scotia, on 10 October 1885, by Alonzo Mitchner, Master of the vessel.⁹ The voyage began "from Hantsport, N. S. to St. John, N. B. fm thence to Liverpool or London, thence to U. States or Dominion of Canada with privelege of calling for orders if required, term of time not to exceed nine months. Final discharge in the United States or Dominion of Canada."¹⁰ The voyage was to commence on 10 October 1885 and terminate in March of 1886. Blacks as crew members on these vessels were a common occurrence. In the Windsor Mail newspaper of 2 February 1882, the following was noted:

Some British shipowners have begun to man their vessels with Negro seamen exclusively, the officers alone being white men. They take them at the same wages as ordinary English or foreign seamen. Those who have tried the experiment state that they find colored men as good as Europeans, and that they are more docile and less inclined to run away. A vessel loaded plaster at Allison's Wharf, Newport last summer, having a complete crew of Mohawk Indians, from the State of New York, with the exception of the captain.¹¹

⁹ Among the crew of seventeen were six Blacks from Hants County and one Black from Kings County: Edward Bowen, 33, and Charles Johnson, 20, born in Windsor; Oscar States, 22, and James A. States, 25, born in Hantsport; Charles Grey, 30, and Harry Gray, 21, born in Falmouth; and John Taylor, 21, born in Cornwallis.

¹⁰ Windsor Crew Lists, obtained by the author from Mr. Walter Aylward, Town Road, Falmouth.

¹¹ Windsor Mail, 2 February 1882.

As late as January 1910, Hants County Blacks were part of the crew of vessels going out of Hants County ports or other ports of Nova Scotia such as Port Hawkesbury. Andrew Upshaw, a Black man of Five Mile Plains was “one of a crew (Second Mate) from the schooner *H. J. Logan* of Parrsboro; the *H. J. Logan* was abandoned on Dec. 19th, 1910 on a voyage from Port Hawkesbury to New York. The crew was taken off by the steamer *Bardistan* and landed in Bremen early this month. The British Consul sent them to Liverpool and the Board of Trade sent them to Halifax via the steamer *Hesperian* from Liverpool, G. B.”¹²

Aside from seafaring the other major employment that Black males undertook was that of working in the gypsum quarries. Mabel Saunders, a native of Windsor, Nova Scotia, born 5 January 1900, interviewed at age 82 in 1982, stated that her father, George Henry Fletcher, had worked in the gypsum quarries and that her brothers followed later in his footsteps: “They would leave home about 5:00 o’clock in the morning. They would walk and come back by 12:00 o’clock. By that time they would have completed their work for the day.”¹³ Mrs. Saunders informed the interviewer that her mother “did a lot of catering for rich people in Windsor. She earned \$1.50 per day.”¹⁴

At least three Black men in the County owned their own businesses, all in the town of Windsor, namely Henry Hoyt, Isaac Paris, and George Fletcher. As early as

¹² Hants Journal, 25 January 1911, p. 2, col. 3. Thanks to the late John V. Duncanson for this reference.

¹³ Pachai, Bridglal, Ed. Traditional Lifetime Stories: A Collection of Black Memories, (Westphal: Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia, 1987) Vol. 1, p. 79, Interview with Mrs. Mabel (Fletcher) (Brown) (Brindley) Saunders .

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 79.

1868, Henry Hoyt, a Black man, owned a business called the Union House and was also a barber. The advertisement for his business read: "Union House, Near the Post Office, Windsor, N. S. Henry Hoyt, Proprietor. A barber-shop attached to the establishment. N. B. Lodging and Meals from 13 to 15 cts."¹⁵ Isaac Parris was the proprietor of the Windsor Hand Laundry. The advertisement for his business stated: "All kinds of Laundry Work done at reasonable Prices. Reduction made for family washing. Clothes washed and rough-dried, from 15c. to 25c. per dozen. A specialty is made of ladies' and gentlemen's Collars and Cuffs. The work is done most satisfactorily in every case. Ladies washing done under the entire charge of women assistants. Windsor, Sept. 15, '97." The laundry was still operating in February 1903 as the following obituary appeared in the Hants Journal in February 1903 in relation to the death of his son: "Mr. Isaac Burton Parris, son of Mr. Isaac Parris of the Windsor Laundry died Feb. 11, 1903-aged 30 years." In the 1901 census Isaac is listed as a laundry proprietor with five employees. George Fletcher, like Henry Hoyt, was a barber. He was also the proprietor of a restaurant of sorts. Fletcher's name has become synonymous with the "Great Windsor Fire of 1897." The headline on page 1 of the Windsor Tribune of 22 October 1897 read "Windsor Fire" and began with the following remarks:

How did so awful a calamity come upon so fair a town? The answer is easy. The conflagration started from the match of a drunken brawler in a shanty controlled by George Fletcher, a colored restaurant keeper and barber at the rear of the Marine block. Clarence Shaw, who is a heavy loser, believes it was a couple of drunken roysterers in a barn connected with the negro Fletcher's place.

In terms of employment for the Black women of Hants County in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in addition to being involved in the work of caring for their own home, most were employed in unskilled occupations such as those mentioned above. Manufacturing, especially woolen manufacturing began in 1882 in Windsor, Nova Scotia. In the Windsor Mail of 2 February 1882, we read that on 31 December 1881, the Windsor Cotton Company building was completed.¹⁶ The Windsor Tribune of 4 August 1888 relates that the mill had commenced operation on 1 October 1882.¹⁷ This factory became a large employer of women in the vicinity. At least one Black, Maude States was an employee of this factory in the 1890s.

The decennial census of 1881 reveals that among the occupations followed by Black males of Hants County were: 18 farmers, 17 farm labourers, 1 farm servant, 8 labourers, 3 male servants, 5 female servants, 7 sailors, 1 ship master, 3 coopers, 1 wood sawer, 1 lumberman, 1 gardener, 1 barber and 1 basket maker. There were 5 Black female servants. Two married couples had the term “not given” in the column for occupation, next to their names.

In 1891 the following categories were recorded: 11 male farmers, 2 female farmers, 10 farm labourers, 26 labourers, 1 day labourer, 4 female general servants, 1 male general servant; 3 females servants, 2 males servants, 2 engineers, 1 Baptist preacher, 1 cooper, 1 stationary engineer, 1 barber, 1 seaman, 1 ship steward, 1 horse

¹⁵ Saturday Mail, 22 February 1868.

¹⁶ Windsor Mail, 2 February 1882.

¹⁷ Windsor Tribune, 4 August 1882, “Cotton Co.”, p. 2.

groomer, 1 fireman at lot, 2 wash women, 1 house keeper and 6 females and 2 males who were listed as paupers.

In 1901, occupations for Blacks in the county were as follows: 3 farmers, 16 farm labourers, 26 general labourers, 9 plaster quarrymen, 4 coopers, 3 birch broom manufacturers/makers, 1 laundry proprietor, 5 laundry employees, 3 female domestics, 2 male domestics, 4 female servants, 2 male servants, 1 stableman, 1 female spruce beer store keeper, 1 female clerk, 1 male gardener, 1 brick general labourer, 1 plaster mill workman, 1 hosteler, 3 house maids, 1 housekeeper, 1 washerwoman, 1 sixteen year old student, and 4 males whose occupation was listed as "not given."

From the occupational categories contained in the census one could conclude that Blacks from Hants County were never wealthy by any means, but from another source we can conclude that there were a number in the mid-nineteenth century who possessed some modest real and personal property. This can be deduced from the small number whose wills were recorded in the Court of Probate for Hants County, at Windsor. From the period 1812 to the beginning of the First World War in 1914, at least ten Blacks who were Refugees or the descendants of Refugees, created a will. Three of the Black Refugees in the county to do so were Colonel Cooper, William Pelotte, and Lucy Huston (nee Hall). Colonel Cooper a veteran of the Colonial Marines in the War of 1812, made his will on 12 August 1857. From the document we learn that he owned at least 1½ acres of land. A half- acre was left to his granddaughter, Mary Jane Taylor, while one acre was left to his grandson, James Edward Cooper. They were both children of his daughter

Nancy Cooper. The remainder of his real estate was left to his other daughter Amelia Cooper. Colonel Cooper also left to his grandson, James Edward Cooper, personal property in the form of bedroom furniture and implements of trade and husbandry.¹⁸ The will was proved on 15 February 1858, and as a result of an inventory filed on 12 April 1858, the assessed real estate was valued at £26.

William Pelotte possessed much more substantial holdings. Pelotte owned real estate on Panuke Road in the Township of Windsor and on Grafton Street in the city of Halifax. His real estate in Windsor was assessed to be worth \$275.00 (\$250.00 for homestead & \$25.00 for the pasture lot). His real estate in Halifax was valued at \$750.00. When his personal property, his household furniture and one cow were added together, the total value of his estate was \$1,060.00.¹⁹

Lucy Houston, of Hantsport, Hants County, married woman, made her will on 2 February, 1886. She died on 29 January 1887. On 25 February, 1887, her will was "Proved, Approved and Registered."²⁰ The value of her estate did not exceed \$200.00. In her will she directed the Executor, Hantsport merchant and friend W. A. Porter, to place the balance at interest and have that interest paid annually to her sister Margaret Doleman to draw on her government bonds to pay for her funeral expenses and to erect a

¹⁸ Registry of Probate, Hants County: Windsor, N.S.: 636A: Last Will & Testament of Colonel Cooper, 12 Aug. 1857.

¹⁹ Registry of Probate, Hants County: Windsor, N.S.: 1407A: Last Will & Testament of William Pelotte, 16 Feb. 1885.

²⁰ Registry of Probate, Hants County: Windsor, N. S.: 1506A: Last Will & Testament of Lucy Huston, 25 Feb. 1887.

headstone. She also advised Mr. Porter to have the balance placed at interest and to pay that interest to her sister, Margaret Doleman.

The remaining Hants County Blacks who created wills during the period under review included Benjamin Mitchell of Windsor²¹, James Benjamin Gray of Newport Station,²² James W. Johnston of Three Mile Plains²³, John States of Falmouth,²⁴ George W. States of Falmouth,²⁵ George Symonds of Five Mile Plains²⁶, and John Upshaw of Mapleton.²⁷ Benjamin Mitchell, according to his will, was from Phinney Cove, Granville, Annapolis County. He had spent a considerable number of years at Windsor Plains, Hants County, but had died at Phinney Cove (see 1819 list and 1838, 1861, 1871 census returns). On 10 January, his lands at Windsor Plains were assessed as follows: "Lot and Buildings on South Side of railroad - \$250.00, Lot and buildings on North Side of railroad - \$150.00." The sums revealed in these wills and the wills of the other people mentioned above may not have amounted to a large sum in comparison to a number of

²¹ Registry of Probate, Hants County: Windsor, N. S.: 1221A: Last Will & Testament of Benjamin Mitchell, 5 December, 1878.

²² Registry of Probate, Hants County: Windsor, N. S.: Last Will and Testament of James Benjamin Gray, 17 April 1895.

²³ Registry of Probate, Hants County: Windsor, N. S.: 1910A: Last Will and Testament of James W. Johnson, 11 Oct. 1897.

²⁴ Registry of Probate, Hants County: Windsor, N. S.: 1943A: Last Will and Testament of John States, 12 Sept. 1898.

²⁵ Registry of Probate, Hants County: Windsor, N. S.: 2046A: Last Will and Testament of George W. States, 20 Oct. 1900.

²⁶ Registry of Probate, Hants County : Windsor, N. S.:2130A: Last Will and Testament of George Symonds, 15 Jan. 1903.

²⁷ Registry of Probate, Hants County: Windsor, N. S.: 2712A: Last Will and Testament of John Upshaw, 31 Oct. 1913.

those in the white community, but the existence of these wills does show that regardless of their monetary situation, these individuals had enough temerity to realize the importance of making out a will – an occurrence that is perceived to not have taken place by Black people in this province.

Obtaining employment as a male in Hants County was never simple. Some men from the community had to seek employment in nearby communities and as far away as the city of Halifax. Four men from the community who did so were victims of the Halifax Explosion, namely Andrew Upshaw, Brenton Allison, Nathan Sampson and Joseph Sampson. Andrew Upshaw, Brenton Allison and Nathan Sampson were employed as stevedores, while Joseph Sampson was employed as a labourer, at their time of death on 6 December 1917. All were employed by the firm of Furness Withy & Company Limited.

Andrew Upshaw had been residing at 108 Creighton Street, while his five children ranging in ages from two to nine years of age were living at Five Mile Plains with close relatives since their mother, Gertrude Hamilton Upshaw, had passed away in 1915. Four children lived with their grandmother, Mrs. John Upshaw, while the fifth lived with her uncle and aunt, Mr. And Mrs. Elias Upshaw. The Halifax Relief Commission rehabilitation Department Pension's Branch allotted the children \$10.00 per week beginning on 4 March 1918. Workmen's Compensation was to pay to Guardian, Harry H. Miller, \$40.00 monthly for their upkeep.²⁸ Brenton Allison, single, lived with

²⁸ NSARM MG36, Series P, Vol. 93, #3718, Halifax Relief Commission, Pension Relief Claim #3718.

his mother, Mrs. Margaret Allison, and was listed by H.H. Miller as her sole support. Previous to his employment with Furness Withy & Company Limited, Brenton had worked as a quarryman at Three Mile Plains and had been in Halifax a very short time. A seventeen year old named Freeman Honeycut, who did heavy work in payment for his board, also lived with Mrs. Allison at the time of Brenton Allison's death. Mr. Miller remarked in correspondence to the Commission that: "This boy-Honeycut - They took him in when he was quite small and he has been living with them since. He chores about the place and works a few days here and there at times."²⁹ Nathan Sampson must have been single as well, since the one page on him in the file on his brother, Joseph Sampson, states, in relation to relatives, states his 'Mother supposed to be living at 206 Wadsworth St., Brooklyn, N.Y.'³⁰ Joseph Sampson and his wife Laliah Turner Sampson, were the parents of seven children aged one to seventeen. A pension of \$50.00 per month was granted to six of the seven children until they reached the age of seventeen. The eldest was ineligible since he had already reached that age.³¹ The obtaining of employment had come at great cost to the four individuals and their families mentioned above, but with their opportunities to employment limited by racial restrictions as well as the economy of the area, they had no choice but to emigrate out of the community if they expected to contribute monetarily to their family and community.

²⁹ NSARM MG36, Series P, Vol. 93, #5039, Halifax Relief Commission, Pension Relief Claim #5039.

³⁰ NSARM MG36, Series P, Vol. 93, #5023, Halifax Relief Commission, Pension Relief Claim #5023.

³¹ NSARM MG36, Series P, Vol. 93, #5023, Halifax Relief Commission, Pension Relief Claim #5023.

To conclude, there are two patterns we highlighted in this chapter, one for adult males and another for adult females. Men in the early period generally found employment as farm labourers, gardeners, and servants in white households. When large industry developed in Hants County in the form of gypsum mining, they found more lucrative work carrying out heavy labour tasks in that industry. At the same time, others worked as seafarers and labourers on the wharves. Some of the Blacks with trades who show up on the 1871 census seem to have migrated into the community. Meanwhile, there were always a few Black males who continued to work in domestic settings in Hants County. By the turn of the twentieth century, there were a small number of Black men who owned their own businesses. We do not see the same diversity of occupations nor the same transition with adult females. Their employment options in the period under study were much more limited. Only a minority of women were able to work exclusively in their own homes; most had to seek wage-based employment in the larger community. Those who did work outside their homes found employment as domestics, housekeepers, washerwomen and laundresses. Never wealthy, the Black community members nevertheless understood the importance of the pursuit of employment to help sustain their families and community and they were willing to go to any lengths to obtain this benefit.

Chapter 5:

Education, Religion and Culture in the Black Community, 1871-1914

Separate schools based on race were a reality in Nova Scotia until at least 1954. These schools were common in various districts of the province, and in some cases continued into the early 1960s. Despite the difficulties Blacks encountered in acquiring an education for themselves or for their children, they were resolute in their determination to achieve one.

In Nova Scotia, the formal educational activities of the Black citizens began in the late eighteenth century with the schools provided for the Black Loyalists by the Anglican Church. Those schools were operated mainly through the Anglican missionary organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) which was an offshoot of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. There was also a second offshoot - the humanitarian organization called the Associates of the Late Dr. Bray. James Walker discovered that "Four Black schools were founded and sustained by the English philanthropic organization known as the Associates of the Late Dr. Bray, and a fifth by the SPG".¹

A few of these Black Loyalists subsequently became teachers in the Black schools established by the Associates. Those schools and their teachers were as follows: William Furnage in Halifax, Joseph Leonard in Brindley Town, Isaac Limerick later in Halifax,

¹ Walker, The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1780-1870, p. 80.

Thomas Brownspriggs in Little Tracadie, Stephen Blucke in Birchtown, and Mrs. Catherine Abernathy in Preston.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was interested first and foremost in promoting “obedience and industry.” It was essentially the same in white schools where curriculum content was second to the over-riding goal of encouraging a passive and useful citizenry. As for the specific curriculum in the Black schools, Selina Lani Pratt states that “it was quite simple. It was limited to reading, writing, arithmetic and catechism...”²

These schools began in 1786 and 1787, and they were maintained by the SPG and the Associates of the Late Dr. Bray until at least 1850. These early separate schools provided the background for a pattern that came to prevail in the several settlements where the Black population was numerous, especially after the Refugees of the War of 1812 had settled in the province. The number of Black Loyalists in Hants County at the time the schools were set up was small. The few families that were present were so scattered throughout the county that the children remained without formal schooling.

The *Education Act* of 1808 stated that if a local district built a school house, hired a school master and collected £50, the Treasury would donate £20 of further assistance. The *Education Act* of 1811 stipulated that communities with over thirty families had to allow residents who were freeholders with an income of forty shillings a year to vote an amount of not more than £200, and not less than £50 a year to establish a school in their area. The 1826 Education Act provided for a definition of school districts and stated that

² . Selina Lani Pratt, "Black Education in Nova Scotia". MA thesis. Dalhousie University, 1972. p. 26-27.

the schoolhouse had to be within a reasonable distance from the residence of the students.³ These Acts did not make any references to Blacks until a new amendment to the Education Act of 1836. This last act, according to Robin Winks “Empowered the Commissioners of Education to use a portion of a grant of seventy Pounds that the legislature had given to assist poor school districts, in order to establish schools for blacks, even if common schools already existed.”⁴ Blacks, being residents of the area should have been permitted to attend these common schools.

With this Act of 1836, Black communities in Nova Scotia where schools did not already exist began to establish them. The first initiative was the African School in Halifax. Later, schools were opened in Preston, Hammonds Plains, Liverpool, Avonport, Pine Woods, Bridgetown, Digby, Salmon River, Port LaTour, Shelburne, and in Five Mile Plains.

In Five Mile Plains, Hants County, the struggle for an equal educational opportunity for Blacks began in 1843 and did not end until 1963. The history of Black education in this section of Hants County shows a record of Black residents continued opposition to the dominant pattern of educational repression and indifference. Although a common school existed in the immediate vicinity at Three Mile Plains shortly after their initial arrival during the 1812-1815 period, their children were prevented from receiving instruction because of local colour prejudice. Nonetheless, Black parents continued to

³ Ibid., p. 34-37.

⁴ Robin W. Winks, "Negro School Segregation in Ontario and Nova Scotia". The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 50, June 1989, p. 169.

press to have their children schooled, for they regarded it as a necessity.

The Black residents of the Five Mile Plains community at first accepted the exclusionary treatment of their children by residents of the nearby white communities, but by the mid-nineteenth century they had had enough. They forwarded a petition to the House of Assembly, on 5 February 1845 outlining their several grievances. The petition was signed by fourteen heads of households representing eighteen families. In total there were between fifty and sixty children under sixteen years of age in these families. In the petition, the residents complained that a whole generation of their children had not enjoyed the advantages of common school instruction solely because of the color of their skin. They explained that they now had a school house at which, during the previous two years, a considerable number of their children had benefited from Sabbath School instruction. They informed the Provincial Assembly that they wanted their children to be educated in the same fashion as their white neighbours. They expressed their disgust at such unjust treatment by making reference to the past abuses of the slavery era before they had arrived in Nova Scotia, and the hardships borne by the Blacks who had come to the province in the aftermath of the War of 1812.

The authors of the petition stated that they had:

...been conveyed to this distant and to them unfriendly region, and placed upon a stubborn and unfriendly soil, and forced to feel the severe pressure of poverty, and to endure the rigors of the long, cold and dreary winters, and, too long, alas! to suffer the still more cold and rigorous neglect and contempt of those in whose eyes we are an abomination, a reproach and a byword; who look down upon us as strangers, aliens, and intruders as a race of inferior and degraded beings; and even those who are most kindly disposed towards us, are compelled by their customs and habits of society to deem it a most disgraceful crime to associate with us, and our children are not even allowed to receive instruction in company and under the same

roof with others - since we are also guilty of the notorious offence of wearing the hue enstamped upon us by the Allwise Creator... ⁵

The residents of Five Mile Plains ended the petition with the request to be considered for financial assistance to improve their situation. (See Appendix 6). The Provincial Legislature saw merit in the request and provided the assistance requested. Four years later, a second petition came from the Black population of Hants County. It also made its way to the floor of the House of Assembly. The 1849 petition requested the government “to allow us a part of the provincial money to pay a teacher as you have done these past four years”.⁶ This petition was signed by twenty-five heads of households on 16 February 1849. (See Appendix 7). There is no mention of the curriculum followed in this school. It may have been similar to that being taught at the African School in Halifax, which began in 1836 and is mentioned in a petition to the Assembly of 1838: writing, arithmetic, geography and English grammar for the boys, with knitting, sewing and other “female work” for the girls.

The Reports of the Inspector of Schools for each county of the province began with the Report of the Schools of Nova Scotia for the Year 1850 by the Superintendent of Education. The next provincial document to contain comments on the school in each county were the Annual Reports of the Common Academic and Normal and Model Schools in Nova Scotia, a source that began in 1866. Although references appear in regards to other Black schools in the province previous to 1877, the first reference to the Five Mile Plains School appears in the Inspector J.D. MacGillivray's Report of the

⁵ Assembly Petitions, Petition of Negroes, Windsor, NSARM RG5, Series P, Vol.74, No.51.

⁶ Ibid., NSARM RG5, Series P, Vol. 75, No. 25.

Common, Academic and Normal Schools, where he states that “diphtheria broke out among the children and interfered with the attendance. In the colored section, No.36, Two Mile Plain (sic), the school was closed for several weeks on this account.” ⁷

From further reports, we learn that it was difficult to get teachers for the school. Generally speaking, the teachers employed at Five Mile Plains school were at the “permissive” or “Grade D” level. The school year sometimes lasted six months or nine months, and sporadically the school at Five Mile Plains remained closed for an entire school year, as in the school year that ended 31 July 1900. As a result of these difficulties, the Five Mile Plains School was considered among the weakest in the county. Although the school was intended for Black children, a few white children did attend. The subjects taught in this school, in 1900, were essentially those presented a half century earlier: “the elements of geography and grammar, in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic”. ⁸

In 1913 the Inspector, Ernest W. Robinson, reported that the school house of Five Mile Plains was in very poor condition and that a new building was required. He felt that the construction of a new school would be a heavy undertaking for such a poor community. Notwithstanding the difficulties, a new school house was erected at Five Mile Plains in 1914.

The local newspaper, The Hants Journal, dated 29 April 1914, carried a short announcement from the School Trustees on the opening of their new school house on

⁷ Inspectors Report, Hants County, in Annual Report, Superintendent of Education, 1877, p. 26.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1900.

Monday, April 20.

In 1924, the Five Mile Plains school appeared once again in the Report of the Inspector. That document tells us that the school had to close because of financial difficulties. Then in 1926 we learn in the Report that the district had once again gone without classes during any part of the term. Here, as we have seen, the rate-payers of the community had again shown their agency by refusing to pay school taxes in 1925. The Inspector, Mr. M. D. Davidson, seemed to agree with their actions since he stated in his report that they:

...complain (with justice) that no definite bounds have been assigned their section, and consequently, refused to pay school taxes last year. The matter was thoroughly discussed at the annual meeting in April, and special meetings were held on May 13 and July 28 to deal with the problem. At the last meeting (July 28) a proposal was laid before the Board by Mr. Wack (manager of the Canadian Gypsum Company) who has the welfare of the section at heart, owing to the fact what a great many of the colored people are his employees. This proposal promised \$200 from the Gypsum Co. and \$200 from another source, provided the section raise \$200 by means of taxes. The total amount of \$600 being deemed sufficient to carry on school during term, before the end of which time, permanent financial arrangements will be made. ⁹

The local Board of School Commissioners and the Five Mile Plains Section sanctioned this arrangement. In the following year, the Inspector was able to report that the section had been placed on a permanent financial basis from the help it had received from the Gypsum Company and the Provincial Government.

In 1947, due to overcrowding in the one-room school at Five Mile Plains, an additional room was constructed to contain the overflow. There is no further documentation on the school until an article appeared in The Chronicle Herald, on 13

November 1963. Entitled "N. S. School Segregation Ends Next Week", the author Ron MacDonald informed readers that in 1960, the Provincial Government of Robert L. Stanfield abolished the separate school section No. 36, District of West Hants. Two years later, on 1 November 1963, a new consolidated school at neighbouring Three Mile Plains, built to serve all residents of the area, including Blacks, finally brought an end to racial segregation in education. The Black community had fought for more than a century to ensure their children's access to a formal education and to the same teachers and facilities as the white population. This separate school was one of the last in the province to be eliminated. It had been a very long struggle.

Blacks in Hants County never mounted a monumental movement. They did, however, by their petitions to the House of Assembly of the province and other means, raise the discussion of unfair and unequal treatment and became involved in carrying out fund raising efforts to secure educational opportunity.

Because Hants County Blacks were not able to serve in positions of power in local political office beyond their own separate community, their activities have not been easily recognized. Their protest efforts have always been linked to seeking out an adequate education for their children. To what degree some of them carried out their own remonstrations in hidden ways may never be fully understood.

Education was not the only area where the Blacks encountered segregation. References to Blacks in Hants County regarding religion were not common in the period from 1760 to 1783. It is with the period of Loyalist migration that we first learn of

⁹ Ibid., 1926, p. 66.

Blacks in the Church records of the area. Walker informs us that “At Windsor in 1783 five Blacks were baptized by the SPG missionary, but others in the 480 square mile parish were ‘wild enthusiasts’ and remained distant from the Church of England.”¹⁰ The early records of Saint Paul’s Anglican Church, Halifax, contain numerous references to baptisms, marriages and burials of Blacks from the county. The rector of the Halifax church was responsible for accommodating the settlers in the Fort Edward vicinity and therefore settlers of the townships of Windsor, Falmouth and Newport, both white and Black, were included in the rectors traveling ministry. In a large number of cases, no name had been entered, only a general notation such as “a Negro child”, “A Black woman”, “a Mulatto.” Blacks entered the new cultural landscape of Hants County as a minority group who at first tried to belong. In the beginning, they attended the Anglican church in the town of Windsor. Afterwards they established their own church. Blacks were usually treated as second class citizens in most white churches, regardless of denomination. Their situation may have been similar to that of New England’s Blacks:

...once in church they found themselves segregated from other parishioners. Blacks were not allowed to sit at the altar rail; commonly their pews were raised in the rear of the church, in a porch, belfry, or attic gallery “on the beams,” or even in “a pen near the ceiling.”¹¹

Locating pews for Blacks in the rear of the church and other such seating areas meant that the Blacks were the last to receive communion after the white members had partaken of it. In addition, Blacks in Nova Scotia were not

¹⁰ Walker. The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1780-1870, p. 70.

permitted to become preachers in these churches nor were they allowed to fill offices in the church hierarchy. In retaliation for such treatment they began forming religious gatherings among themselves and eventually formed their own congregations and erected their own meeting- houses or churches. The church they built at Five Mile Plains was given the name Windsor Plains United Baptist Church.

Soon after the formation of their Baptist church in the 1820s, the settlers at Five Mile Plains chose a site of baptism known as the "Deep Hole", a round pond which had, according to Rathbun, "always been the Swimmin' Hole and the Baptismal place for the colored Baptists"¹². The site was situated about a quarter of a mile from the present Panuke Road bridge, where the railroad crosses over the so-called "Big Brook." A second place of baptism called "Fletcher's" was at another round pond on the same brook approximately a quarter of a mile from the Windsor Plains African Baptist church in the direction of the above mentioned Panuke Road bridge.

Peter Evander McKerrow, the first Black to write a history of people of African descent in the province, maintains in his book that this particular church began about 1824. He also affirms that Sargeant Pelotte, John Crawley, and David Williams with the assistance of Reverend John Burton, pastor of a Baptist church in Halifax, were active in the leadership of the congregation for many years. McKerrow also noted that whites such as Reverend D. Shaw of Falmouth

¹¹ William D. Pierson, Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England. (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), p. 51.

¹² Rathbun, "First freed slaves," p.21.

and Deacon A. P. Shand of Windsor, among others, were also very helpful to the church at Five Mile Plains.¹³ Pearleen Oliver, who wrote her history of the African Baptist churches of Nova Scotia in 1953, states basically the same facts as McKerrow and therefore must have relied on him as her main source of information on the Windsor Plains Baptist Church.¹⁴

In 1895, when McKerrow published his work, Rev. J. W. Johnson, a native of Five Mile Plains, was their pastor. Johnson was ordained in 1885 by Rev. H. Forshay, pastor of the Windsor Baptist Church, which had been organized in the town as early as 1819 by Reverend David Nutter.

Falmouth, another area in Hants County that accommodated a significant number of Blacks, also had its own African Baptist church for a period of time. Reverend James Thomas had helped establish this church in 1876¹⁵, a few years previous to his death. Reverend John A. Smith became their pastor in 1878, although the Baptist church in Cornwallis, Kings County was his main church. Oliver contends that the congregation was organized in 1874 rather than 1876, but gives no reference for this statement.¹⁶

The African Baptist Association was formed by Reverend Richard Preston in 1854 at Granville Mountain, but it appears that the Windsor Plains Baptist

¹³ McKerrow. A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, and their First Organization as Churches, A. D. 1832, p. 75-76.

¹⁴ Oliver. A Brief History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia 1782-1953, P. 27-28.

¹⁵ McKerrow, A Brief History... A.D. 1832, p. 90.

¹⁶ Oliver, A Brief History... 1782-1953, p. 28.

Church did not join the organization at that time. As late as 1887, Windsor Plains African Baptist Church did not appear to be part of this Association. In that year it was listed in Belcher's Farmer's Almanac under the heading "Ministers of the Baptist Churches in Nova Scotia: Central Association", with Rev. J. W. Johnson as its pastor. The African Baptist Church at Fall River was also listed under this Association, with Rev. Wallace Lucas as pastor. The churches included in the list under the heading "African Baptist Association" included: Halifax, Beech Hill, Preston, Cornwallis, Weymouth, Africville and Dartmouth. A further list included the churches which were part of the African Methodist Episcopal Church which were situated in that year in Halifax, Amherst, Liverpool, Shelburne and Saint John, N. B.¹⁷ In 1895 it was included in McKerrow's work as the oldest African Baptist Association church in the province and therefore must have become part of that organization in the intervening years.

As stated previously, in the first years of their settlement in Hants County the Blacks were members or at least adherents of the Anglican Church. The majority of them later became Baptists, while a smaller number became Wesleyan Methodists. The denominational background of these Blacks can be established from an analysis of the 1871 and subsequent census records. In 1871 the number of Blacks in denominations other than Baptists, especially the Anglicans, had declined considerably from the early 1800s. They were recorded by religious denomination in that census year as follows: 5 Roman Catholics, 14 Anglicans, 8

¹⁷ Belcher's Farmer's Almanac, 1887, pp. 173-184.

Presbyterians of the Lower Provinces, 2 Presbyterians, 3 Universalists, 3 Independents, 2 unknown, 42 Wesleyan Methodists, 3 Free Will Baptists and 149 Calvinist Baptists. Among those who had died within the year prior to 1871 were 3 other Calvinist Baptists.

In the three subsequent decennial censuses of Hants County for 1881, 1891, and 1901, the decline in the other denominations is readily apparent. In 1881 there were among the Black population of Hants County the following: 3 Roman Catholics, 2 Anglicans, 4 Presbyterians, 1 unknown, 40 Wesleyan Methodists, and 170 Calvinist Baptists. In 1891 the Black community contained 1 Presbyterian, 1 Universalist, 15 Anglicans, 29 Wesleyan Methodists, 7 paupers of unknown religious denomination, and 181 Calvinist Baptists. In 1901 the community was comprised of 5 Presbyterians, 20 Anglicans, 33 Wesleyan Methodists and 217 Calvinist Baptists. The Baptist religion had become the Black community's major religion and would remain so during the years leading

up to and including the First World War, the period at which this thesis concludes.

The material covered in this chapter is wide-ranging. In the sections on education we learned that the children of the War of 1812 Black refugees were not permitted by either the provincial authorities or the local white population to attend school. By 1843, however, the Five Mile Plains community had erected their own school. This showed agency on their part, as did their subsequent complaints to the provincial government. In these incidents the Black community

stood up for itself in the face of severe obstacles. Black children continued to attend classes in a school in that location until 1963. Turning to religion, here again there was a dramatic transition over the course of the period under study. In the early phase, Black servants generally attended the churches of their white employers, most often Anglicans. In those cases, they were usually confined to seating areas away from the white congregation. As early as the 1820s, however, some Black individuals in Hants County had begun to assert themselves with regard to their religious preferences. The church of choice tended to be Baptist. By the time of the 1871 census the Baptist denomination was by far the largest, but there were still Black members of practically every other denomination in the county. By the beginning of the Great War of 1914-1918 it would become much more so. As the Black community developed and expanded, the members created schools and churches to address the disadvantages they were subjected to. These institutions formed the foundation of their existence and gave them the incentive to work against these impediments, no matter how insurmountable they had seemed.

Conclusion

The last three decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade and a half of the twentieth century witnessed great changes in Nova Scotia. Hants County was affected by the upheavals like every other place in the province and country. Many of the changes were unsettling for county residents, as they ushered in shifts in where and how people lived, what they did for a living, and what they believed in or thought achievable. For the Black community in Hants County, these transformations had mixed effects. Faced at every turn with obstacles, the Black residents never succumbed to them. Overall, they managed to persevere and progress.

In the preceding chapters we explored many aspects of the experience of people of African descent in Hants County. In Chapter One, which dealt with the historiography of Blacks in the region, in Nova Scotia and in Hants County, we demonstrated that there was a sufficient body of secondary works on Black history to lay a basis for this thesis. In Chapter Two we offered a summary of the historical background and origins of the Black settlement of Hants County. The principal findings were that most Blacks of the county were descended from the refugees of the war of 1812, even though Blacks had been present in small numbers since the beginning of settlement in the county. The presence of people of African descent was not a recent phenomenon.

Chapter Three considered family life. A primary goal was to determine if a widespread perception of the Black family in North America was indeed supported by the evidence from our case study. That perception is that the dominant family unit is one that is headed by a single parent, usually the mother. The evidence from Hants County shows this to be a stereotype. The census data from 1871 to 1901 showed the vast majority of

Black families in Hants County were two parent units. Such a finding contradicts much of the historical literature on the Black family in Canada and the United States, which implies that the typical family was an unorganized and dysfunctional entity.

In Chapter Four we turned our attention to matters relating to employment and unemployment. We found different patterns for adult males as compared with adult females. In the early period men generally found employment as farm labourers, gardeners, and servants in white households. When large industry developed in the county, in the form of gypsum mining, many Black men found more lucrative work in that industry. Around the same time, others began to work as seafarers and labourers on the wharves and in the shipbuilding yards of the village ports. At the time of the 1871 census, and likely earlier, Black males with trades such as coopers were in the community. Interestingly, by the turn of the twentieth century, there were even a small number of Black men who owned their own businesses. We saw neither a similar development nor a similar diversity of occupations with adult females. There clearly was a gender barrier at work that prevented them from obtaining, or even seeking, employment in industry or large-scale commercial enterprises. All but a few Black women had to look for paid work outside their own homes, and they usually found it through employment as domestics, housekeepers, washerwomen and laundresses.

Chapter Five presented the educational and religious experiences of the Black community in Hants County. We learned that the children of the War of 1812 Black refugees were not permitted by either the provincial authorities or the local white population to attend school. By 1843, Blacks in the Five Mile Plains community had erected their own school, thereby demonstrating a determination to make a better life for

their children. By such actions, this showed agency on their part, including petitioning the provincial government. The Black community stood up for itself in the face of substantial obstacles. Black children continued to attend classes in a school in that location until 1963.

In the matter of religion, the early phase saw Black settlers and servants attending the churches of their white employers, most often Anglicans. In those cases, they were usually confined to seating areas away from the white congregation. As early as the 1820s, however, some Black individuals in Hants County began to assert their religious preferences. The church of choice tended to be Baptist. By the time of the 1871 census the Baptist denomination was easily the largest, but there were Black members of practically every other denomination in the county as well.

Taken as a whole, the evidence presented in this thesis on the Black population of Hants County makes one overriding point. That is, despite deep-seated prejudices and serious obstacles put in their way from their first settlement, for two and a half centuries, the Blacks of the county were determined to persevere in the society in which they found themselves.

Appendix 1

Bill of Sale of a Negro Woman, Revd. Dr. Breynton to Mr. Peter Shey, 19 November 1776. NSARM MG100, Vol. 113, #51.

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 by these presents Grant, Bargain Sell and Release unto said Peter Shey a Negro woman called Dinah about twenty five years of age.

To have and to hold said Negro woman unto the said Peter Shey his Heirs, Executors Administrators and assigns for Ever. And I the said John Breynton for myself my heirs Executors and administrators do covenant and agree to and with the said Peter Shey His Heirs Executors, administrators and assigns to warrant and defend the sale of the abovenamed negro woman against all persons claiming title or right to her under me or any of them.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Nineteenth day of November - 1776.-

Jno Breynton

Sealed and deliver'd
In Presence of

J. B. Dight

Joseph Butler

Appendix 2

The Deed of a Sale of a Slave Sold at Windsor, N. S., in 1779

NSARM, MG 100, vol. 14, #113

Know all men by these Presents that I Joseph Northrup of Falmouth in King County for and in Consideration of the Sum of one hundred Pounds to me in hand paid at & before the Sealing and Delivering thereof by John Parmer of Windsor & The Receipt whereof I do Hereby Acknowledg have Bargained & Sold and by these Presents do Bargain and Sell unto the Said John Parmer of Windsor a negro Man Named Mintur Now Remaining and Being in the Said Joseph Northrup to have and to hold all and Singular the Said Negro man and Every of them by these Presents Bargined and Sold unto the Said John Parmer his Heirs Executors Administrators and Asigns forever and The Sd Joseph Northrup for myself Executors Administrators all and Singular the Said Negro man Unto the Said John Parmer His Executors Admanistrators and Asigns against me the Said Joseph northrup my Exctors Admanistrators and Asigns and Against all and Every Other Person and Persons Whatsoever shall and will warent and forever Defend by these Presents of Which I the said Joseph Northrup have put the Said John Parmer in full Possession by Delivering him the Above Said Negro man at the Sealing Hereof in Witness Whereof I have Put my hand and Seal this twentyfourth Day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred & Seventy nine

Witness

Stephen Herrington
Gerald Northrup

Joseph Northrup

(Seal)

Appendix 3

Warrant, Joseph Cook & 24 Others, Panuke Lakes, County of Hants, 27 October 1919.

RG 20 "A", 1819, Cook, Joseph & 24 Others (mfm 15726)

Joseph Cook	250 acres
Samuel Caldwells	250 acres
George Cochran	250 acres
John Cochran	250 acres
Alexander Hunter	250 acres
William Warr	250 acres
*Benja Parsons	100 acres
Nelson Lambkan	100 acres
*Henry Topshaw	100 acres
Thomas Brent	100 acres
William Wiseman	100 acres
*Samuel Gardin	100 acres
*John Parker	100 acres
*Edward Pelote	100 acres
*William Jessy	100 acres
*John Griffin	100 acres
*David Williams	100 acres
*Forly Campbell	100 acres
*Caleb Roberts	100 acres
*Colonel Cooper	100 acres
*Richard Baley	100 acres
*David Neil	100 acres
*William Higgins	100 acres
*Richard Joseph	100 acres
*John Crawley	100 acres

* = Blacks

Appendix 4

Rupert D. George to the Magistrates resident at Windsor, dated Halifax. Aug. 17th 1821.

Many of the Black Refugees in this Province, on hearing of the kind reception which their friends who lately went from hence met with on their arrival at Trinidad having evinced a great desire to go there also. His Excellency applied to His Majesty's Government for permission to employ a Transport in conveying them to that Island, and a vessel having accordingly been sent out, under the command of a lieutenant in the Navy, with directions to proceed on that service in case a sufficient number of these people should still be so disposed, so as to render it worth while to dispatch a vessel for the express purpose of taking them to Trinidad, I have it in command to request that you will be so good as to make known to the Blacks settled in the Neighbourhood of Windsor, that this transport will be ready to sail in three Weeks, and that the present is the only opportunity that will be afforded them by Government of removing them from this Province - I am further to request that you will forward to me with as little delay as possible the names of those who may be inclined to avail themselves of the indulgence now extended to them, and that you will cause it to be placed under the immediate protection of the Governor of the Colony, and if they are industrious, be supplied with provisions until the produce of their own farms shall be sufficient for their support.

Appendix 5

Poor Relief Petition, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 15 February 1847.

PANS Assembly Petitions 15 February 1847

POOR RELIEF PETITION, WINDSOR, N.S.

1847

RG5
Series P
Vol. 83
111

His Humble
Lewis M. Wilkinson
and
James Fraser, Esq., M.P.P.
House of Assembly, Halifax

Mrssrs Wilkinson & Fraser

Windsor, 15 February 1847

Gentleman,

I beg leave to call your attention to the state of the poor blacks that are now living in Windsor, there are fifteen Families of them all in a state of extreme poverty, living or rather existing upon the small and precarious charity of the good people of Windsor, and I do not think they have reached the climax of their wretchedness, they have not a potato among them, and when the spring comes they will not have seed of any kind and without some public aid they will be worse off the next winter than they are at present. I hope therefore that you will apply to the Assembly for a small grant of money to purchase seed for them to put in the ground the coming spring. I have no doubt His Excellency would recommend it and believe me gentlemen

Your servant,
Friend, etc., etc.

Lewis M. Wilkins

Appendix 6

Petition of Persons of Color Residing in the Vicinity of Windsor, to Committee on Education, Nova Scotia House of Assembly, 13 February 1845.

PANS Assembly Petitions 6 February 1845

PETITION OF NEGROES WINDSOR
13 Feb/45 Com. on Education

1845

RG5
Series P
Vol. 74
#51
1845

To the Honorable the Members of the Provincial Parliament of Nova Scotia, now in General Assembly Convened. The Petition of the undersigned, persons of color residing in the Vicinity of Windsor, Humbly showeth.

That there are connected with your Petitioners and residing within the circuit of a few miles, eighteen families of colored people, containing between fifty and sixty children under sixteen years of age, who have never enjoyed the advantages of Common School Instruction. The soil upon which your Petitioners are located, is of so poor and barren a quality, that with the most and diligent cultivation, it would afford but the most scanty subsistence, and, under existing circumstances, they would not be able to contribute, except to the most trifling extent, towards the support of an efficient School. Since your Petitioners were first liberated and brought to this Province by the British Government, one whole generation has grown up in ignorance, and another is rapidly advancing, without any prospect, unless prompt and effectual aid be immediately afforded them, of improving upon their predecessors in their intellectual and moral condition. Your Petitioners would gratefully acknowledge all past favours derived both from publick and private beneficence and they beg to state for the information of your Honorable House, that thro' the exertions of benevolent individuals, a neat and commodious School house has lately been completed, in a central and convenient part of the district, in which during the past two years, a good number of their children and youth, have enjoyed the advantages of Sabbath School instruction and have made, in proportion to these limited means the most pleasing and encouraging proficiency. Your Petitioners beg to remind your Honourable House that it has been by a most marked and mysterious Providence, that they have been thrown into the arms of this Province and compelled to look to its inhabitants generally, and to Your Honorable House in particular

for sympathy, protection, encouragement and instruction. By circumstances and events to which it is most painful to refer, but over which neither Your Petitioners nor their forefathers could exercise any control, they have been transported from that warm and fruitful portion of the earth to whose climate their constitutions and complexion were adopted, and have been conveyed to this distant and to them unfriendly region, and placed upon a stubborn and ungrately soil, and forced to feel the severe pressure of poverty, and to endure the rigors of the long, cold and dreary winters, and, too long, alas! to suffer the still more cold and rigorous neglect and contempt of those in whose eyes we are an abomination, a reproach and a byword; who look down upon us as strangers, aliens and intruders as a race of inferior and degraded beings; and even those who are most kindly disposed towards us, are compelled by their customs and habits of society to deem it a most disgraceful crime to associate with us, and our children are not even allowed to receive instruction in company and under the same roof with others - since we are also guilty of the notorious offence of wearing the hue enstamped upon us by the Allwise Creator and are found amidst the snows and fairer faces of North America, instead of being, where we freely confess we should be, among our own sable brethren under the burning suns of Africa in the country originally assigned to us for our habitation dwelling place by Him who made of one blood every nation under Heaven and fixed the bounds of their habitation. But your Petitioners do not deem it necessary to refer either for the information or to move the compassion of your Honourable House to their long protracted hardships, sufferings, and wrongs. Long, long must it be, to all human appearance, before the unfortunate colored portion of Her Majesty's Subjects inhabiting this Province can, even under the most favourable auspices rise up from the fearful degradation and shake off that apathy ignorance and sloth inseparably connected with that degradation into which, without the pretext of an imputed crime, they have been plunged by the unjust and cruel hand of avarice and oppression. Your Petitioners cannot refrain from suffering, and they do it with mingled emotions, to the pleasing fact that they and their children are now enjoying the choice blessing of liberty and protection under the fostering wing of that very Power which formerly supported the oppression of their forefathers, but which, through the merciful interposition of Heaven is now putting forth its energies, and making the most noble exertions and sacrifices in order to reduce our grievances and ameliorate the condition of our race. Most delightfully encouraging is it for us to know, that it is to that same Power that your Pet. in thus applying to your Honourable House, that we now turn our imploring eyes and stretch out with our hands for help and we do it with the most confident assurance that the voice of our urgent necessities cannot be heard in vain.

Your Petitions therefore Humbly pray that your Honorable House would be pleased to take their case into careful consideration and to make such provision for the education of their children as your in your wisdom may deem meet. And your Petitioners are in duty bound will ever Pray.

Windsor, Feb. 5 1845

David Williams
Colonel Cooper
Joseph Carter
Edward Pelote
Mark Taylor

Joseph Lewis
Pompey Johnson
Henry Quarry
Henry Upshaw
John Bowen
Sergent Pelote
Miles Toney
Cato Cooper
Abraham Green

Appendix 7

Petition from the Coloured Population of the 3 Mile Plains, Township of Windsor, to Committee on Education, Nova Scotia House of Assembly, 16 February 1849.

PETITION FOR COLORED SCHOOL
THREE MILE PLAINS
HANTS CO.

Education
1849

RG5
Series "P"
Vol. 75
1849
#25

Com. on Education

J.W. Fraser
Feb. 16/1849

Township of Windsor 3 Mile Plains Hants County.

We the Humble Petitioners the coloured population of the 3 Mile Plains Humbly hoping that the Honourable Gentlemen of the House of Assembly will be so good as to allow us a part of the provincial money to pay a teacher as you have done these past 4 years Hon. Gentlemen. The Benovelent Gentlemen and Ladys and Mr. Gilpin all of Windsor has built us a school house much to their credit and we have a very good Teacher of good Morals to Teach our children to our liking which Mr. J. Fraser and Mr. Sangster Members for Windsor and Falmouth can inform the Hon. Gentlemen of the House of the Necessity of this School Where there are above 70 or 80 Daily geting their instructions at that School of old and young By a careful master.

We Humbly hope that the Hon. Gentlemen of our assembly Will be so good as to allow us what will pay our teacher as. We are a poor Settlement of people having nothing But what we Receive from H.M. Subjects in this Country.

The Gentlemen and Ladys of Windsor has been very kind to us as regards How we are Learning.

By paying attention to Us We hope that God Will Bless your proscedings.

The Subscribers on the other Side
3 Mile Plains February 16th 1849

Edward Polote	Trustee with Rvd. Mr. Gilpin		
David Williams	his	x	mark
Colonel Cooper	his	x	mark
Mager Cooper	Do	Do	
Cato Cooper	Do	Do	
Pompi Johnston	Do	Do	
Abraham Green	Do	Do	
Jesoph Carter	Do	Do	
Benjamin Mitchel	Do	Do	
James Samson	Do	Do	
Mark Teilor	Do	Do	
Samuel Gardiner	Do	Do	
Charles Upshaw	Do	Do	
John Upshaw	Do	Do	
Ewd. Alison	Do	Do	
Miles Toeney	Do	Do	
Danial Snider	Do	Do	
Jecob Robison	Do	Do	
Widow Bone	Do	Do	
John Lewry	Do	Do	
Jacob Lewry	Do	Do	
Bajs Bone	Do	Do	
Loid Walker	Do	Do	
Pat Lawson	Do	Do	
James W. Johnston			

280

Mr. James Fraser Esq.
House of Assembly
Halifax Member for
Windsor

Appendix 8

Windsor Antiquities: Early Recollections of the Negro Settlers

NSARM MSS Scrapbook Collection No. 28 (NSARM, MG9, Vol. 28, p.5)

As a curious and interesting study the Negro ranks high and strong. Many of the peculiarities are so abnormal that while in some respects he sinks to the level of an animal in others he seems to rise even above the Caucasian. His religious nature especially is a strange compound. His ignorance is gross, yet he is quite a paragon of certain elements of piety, such as loving the brethren. In his devotions he sings, swings, prays and preaches, groans and shouts, laughs and cries in the same breath, while his eyes weep his mouth laughs and he trills his pious wails with ripples of jollity. He is an enigma and will probably continue so to the millenium. Of the low comedy stamp his poetical nature never rises above transitional song. We are willing under certain restrictions to acknowledge his claim as sprung from Ham, and descended from Adam. Still our brotherly feeling toward him is clouded by his witchcraft tendencies, his predominance of mouth and heel and thickness of cranium. The Good Templars of America are now anxiously debating his claims of equality as a temperance brother, but so long as his fondness for gin and fried liver predominates we think the question abnormal.

The Negroes were among the early settlers to this country. Some were brought here as servants, others escaped from the plantations of Virginia, and a large number are from the West Indies. They have as a rule built up their own settlement, some own a log hut of their own peculiar architecture, a cow and a small potato patch, and have with the help of the whites managed to worry through, and serve at this time to present an interesting study to the students of nature.

The Negro settlement is three miles from Windsor at what is styled Three Mile Plains and presents to the eye of the sight-seer some new ideas of architecture. The race is a prolific one, as the number of children rolling in the sun fronting their cabin will attest. Among the early settlers at the Plains—

COLONEL COOPER was one of the first who arrived from Virginia. He was thoroughly military in appearance as his name implied, and his mode of salutation was very impressive. The Colonel died at a good old age leaving nothing to commemorate his memory but three remarkable descendants, one of these, Major Cooper is now living in the city and with his glossy jovial face bespeaks sunshine within, even if there is darkness without.

CATO COOPER an other descendant whose name has become historic through the writings of "Sam Slick" was for years a prominent character in the streets of Windsor. Over six feet in height, tall and thin and straight as a bean-pole and almost as fleshy. He stalked majestically through our town with the wool of an immense head projecting through a dilapidated hat, a short jacket, pants fringed out at the legs, and about 3-4 yards of the same wafted to the breeze from behind, with more tan the usual predominance of

heel, he invariably accosted you with "Good day sah! God bless you sah! Have you de stray quarter bout you fo de poo' sah! ah ! ye is de rale genmem sah!" And then Cato would be taken with cramps and the last seen of him would be his flag of distress disappearing through the nearest Bar-room door.

Cato at last came to grief. It was in this way. One very stormy night in the fall of the year, his wife, a quiet little inoffensive woman, dark but comely, disappeared up, 'thro' de 'flu' out into the darkness and to this day no clue has been discovered as to hoe she made her exit or how she departed. Cato however hung around the old cabin for months in a kind of disconsolate manner. The neighbors declaring that the mystical form of the departed Mrs. Cooper was at times seen in the twilight on the housetop. The coloured neighbors looked with suspicion upon Cato and avoided him and his cabin until not long after Cato also was missing—also disappeared in the darkness. The whole is yet shrouded in mystery. Cato if still living must be over four score years of age, if not approaching the nineties.,

Possibly Cato is being chased by the phantom form of his wife from country to country, and has become interlinked as the black wondering Jew and is ever persuing the shadow; ever moving without any rest for his long spiral legs; ever is living with his flag of distress floating out to the breeze, as he whisks past a saloon; ever is pursuing onward with his clodhopper feet and much rake of heel to darken the horizon; ever is chasing the shadow as it looms up like spots on the sun to be forever lost in the darkness.

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