

## **How (and how much) King's College benefited from slavery in the West Indies, 1789 to 1854**

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Nova Scotia was connected to the mass enslavement of African men, women, and children in the Americas because Nova Scotia was part of the economy of the Atlantic world in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Well into the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a crucial part of that economy was the labour of enslaved Africans and the trade in sugar and other tropical goods produced through their brutally exploited, coerced labour. From that trade indirectly came much of the funding for the founding and early operating costs of King's College. No Nova Scotia ships sailed to Africa to buy human beings. But trade networks linked this province with the West Indies, the United States, the rest of British North America, and Britain. Through this network's channels flowed goods produced by slaves and investment capital derived from trading in the products of their work. And into the public treasury of Nova Scotia (as of Britain) flowed taxes from the trade in slave-produced goods: rum, coffee, sugar, and molasses.

Those taxes were at the foundation of King's' initial budget. Initially, the budget was made up of an annual grant of £400 sterling from the province's public revenue, combined after 1802 with a larger annual grant (£1,000) from the British government (1803-1833). Student fees helped pay the professors and fund the library. A few wealthy individuals made small donations in 1802. Between 1847 and 1854, some larger donations contributed to a modest endowment fund. All these sources of funding were derived in part from the production and trade in goods made by the exploitation of enslaved African people and their descendants. An important funder of the college, especially between 1825 and 1846,<sup>1</sup> was the

Anglican Church's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). That Society had a very direct connection to slavery. The SPG owned two sugar plantations in Barbados, known as the Codrington estates. None of the revenue from those plantations came to King's, but the SPG is nonetheless an important part of King's' history and its relation to slavery.

During the period discussed in this paper, people of African descent everywhere in the Atlantic world, including Nova Scotia, faced racially specific dangers from enslavement, and even free Black people faced harms from the ideology of white supremacy that was used to justify slavery.<sup>2</sup> In slave societies, enslaved people resisted daily and sometimes took up arms in revolt. In the early 1700s, local and generally unorganized anti-slavery sentiment could be found among non-slaveholding white Britons.<sup>3</sup> From the 1770s onward, with increasing power and momentum in the 1780s and after, enslaved people and their abolitionist allies within the British empire (and beyond) were challenging at a political level the trade in enslaved people and the horrific exploitation of their labouring lives.<sup>4</sup> But in those same decades – the mid 1780s to the early 1850s – decades in which King's was launched, struggled, and grew – the white men and boys at King's benefited from the slavery-based economy of the Atlantic world. This was true whether as individuals they endorsed slavery, fiercely opposed it, or hazily imagined its amelioration and gradual extinction. This essay shows how, and how much, the institution through which they were educated benefited financially from slavery.

To make the scope of this research manageable, I have focused on the period in the College's history when the government of the province played a substantial role in the administration of the College. Under a new statute in 1854, the College depended less on government funding. My choice of time period also recognizes that Nova Scotia's economic orientation was changing in the mid-1850s. An era of freer trade, beginning in the 1840s, loosened the economic entanglements that indirectly connected King's to the slave societies of the Caribbean. The demands of the industrializing United States and, after 1867, the Canadas, began to draw Nova Scotia's trading activity westward, even though Britain and the oceanic world remained economically important. In short, my findings concern a period

when both public policy and private commerce oriented Nova Scotia firmly to the economy, politics, and culture of the British Atlantic world. I begin with a sketch of that world. The main part of the paper traces how and measures how much money that was derived from the West Indies trade funded the College. I end with a comment about what the College's connection to slavery meant and why it matters that we remember it.

## **NOVA SCOTIA – AN EDDY IN ONE CORNER OF THE TRIANGULAR TRADE**

“Nova Scotia” (in roughly its present area) was created on Mi'kma'ki in 1784, defining part of Mi'kmaq traditional territory as a unit of British colonial administration. Nova Scotia's economic destiny was linked to other maritime British North American colonies, but after 1784, the province was separate from New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton, independent from them in its law and policy. Like the rest of British North America, Nova Scotia was at the edge of the triangular trade network that linked Britain, the Americas, and the Atlantic coast of Africa. Although not engaged directly in the transatlantic slave trade, Nova Scotians bought and sold enslaved people, importing them from and possibly selling to the United States and the British West Indies.<sup>5</sup> This small scale trade in enslaved people did not itself drive Nova Scotia's economy, unlike the significant role of enslaved people as capital investment for plantation owners in the British West Indies's sugar islands or for British merchants in cities like Liverpool or Glasgow. But the province's economic life was nonetheless connected to slavery.

British colonial leaders like Bishop Charles Inglis, the province's first Anglican bishop, hoped Nova Scotia would be part of a cultural, commercial, and military network that connected loyal British North America and the British West Indies.<sup>6</sup> Nova Scotia was to replace the former, “revolted” colonies, now the United States. In commercial terms, Nova Scotia (including the British garrison and fleet in Halifax) would import British and British West Indies goods. Nova Scotia merchants, especially those in Halifax, would also re-sell parts of those imported cargoes to other provinces in British North America. Nova Scotia

merchants would provide market information, credit, warehousing, and shipping insurance. Nova Scotia itself produced little for export: largely shingles and barrel staves, grindstones, gypsum, whale oil, some fish. It had to import food (such as flour and livestock) to feed its own residents, and its merchants purchased fish from Newfoundland and timber from New Brunswick to re-sell in the British West Indian sugar colonies. Across the ocean in London, it seemed briefly possible that Halifax, Liverpool, and Shelburne would become the new Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.<sup>7</sup>

That never happened. Trade continued, to be sure. Nova Scotia's merchants supplied the province's consumers with rum, brown, sugar, molasses, and coffee from the West Indies. But the re-export trade of those goods remained modest. In many exports to the British West Indies – fish, timber, grain, livestock – Nova Scotia was outcompeted by merchants in Newfoundland, New Brunswick, and massively (often against British law) by New England, whose farms and fisheries were vastly more productive and their ports closer to the West Indies markets. Sometimes, when Britain decided to forbid its British West Indies colonies from importing US goods, American foodstuffs travelled to the British West Indies via Halifax, leaving commissions, fees, and tax revenues in Nova Scotia. There was money to be made by merchants at the Nova Scotian node in this trade network. In these ways, trade with the West Indies sugar islands was a means to wealth for a small number of families in Nova Scotia, even though never equalling in number and rarely in scale the wealth of New England's merchants. Individuals who deployed capital that had been built or borrowed in Britain or the United States, or mortgaged against large Nova Scotian land grants, or saved from their government salaries and professional fees in Nova Scotia, invested in trade with the slavery-based economies in the British West Indies.<sup>8</sup>

Sometimes during the first three decades of King's' existence, the surging currents of war, especially the war of 1812, made for a rich windfall in the West Indies trade. Between 1820 and 1854, financial panics (both homegrown and international) sometimes destroyed family fortunes. Imperial policy – emancipation of enslaved people in the Atlantic empire, the Navigation Acts and later free trade, wars and treaties – made economic life uncertain for Nova Scotian

merchants and the producers who depended on them for access to markets. But the West Indies trade, though buffeted by changes, continued to yield profits to Nova Scotian merchant traders. By various routes, those profits, the value created in part by the cruelly exploited labour of enslaved people, helped fund the founding and operations of King's academy and college.

## **STUDENT FEES**

### **Merchants' profit from the trade in slave-produced goods**

After 1789, merchants' profits merely trickled rather than poured into King's. Later, after 1846, a funding crisis brought in more support from Nova Scotian merchants. Throughout the period covered in this essay, merchant contributions to the King's coffers took two forms: student fees and donations. Because fees do not appear in the college accounts,<sup>9</sup> there is no readily available record of their quantity. But we can tell (at least roughly) which students' fees were paid out of West Indies merchant money. I have developed a list of merchants who regularly imported goods into Halifax in 1792-93 (the optimistic early days), and another list for spring quarter of 1815, a moment when importing was at its peak. I have compared this sample with customs house documents from the surrounding years, and in my judgement, it reflects faithfully the names of the usual importers and their cargoes, whether dutiable goods from Britain and the U.S., or West Indies goods: rum, brown sugar, refined sugar (British in its immediate origin, West Indian initially), molasses, and coffee.<sup>10</sup> Some merchants traded in all three zones. Others specialized. Consulting family genealogies and individual biographies, I have identified 43 students as sons, grandsons, or legatees of the usual West Indies importers. Another 5 students may be so related.<sup>11</sup> From archivist Janet Hathaway's carefully compiled list of 480 students enrolled between 1789 and 1833, these students, between 43 and 48 in number, were 8 per cent to 10 per cent of the total. They were not the majority of King's students, and their parents were not King's' main supporters. The main supporters were lawyers, doctors, and clergy. But a few of the merchants' stories will illustrate how the money that paid their fees was made, and how their families connected King's to the province's governing elite.

In 1825, merchant Charles S. Hill left money in trust for his nephew Robert's children. Two of them, William and George Hill, came to King's shortly afterward. My sample of customs house reports shows that their uncle Charles brought in a cargo of rum from Montserrat in 1792. His main connection to the West Indies trade was his auction house, where he sold other merchants' cargoes. From a contemporary newspaper ad,<sup>12</sup> we know that Hill auctioned at least one enslaved person of African descent, a 13-year-old boy. Historian Barry Cahill notes that Hill's wealth came mainly from his auction business, and that he worked with one of the most important West Indies merchant trading firms, the Cochrans, run by two brothers, Thomas (Sr.) and William. Hill was also married to the Cochrans' sister Rebecca.<sup>13</sup>

In the next generation, the Cochran family was closely connected to King's. Thomas Cochran (b.1777), a son of one of the merchant brothers, was a student at King's before 1802. His brothers, James (later Sir James, chief Justice of Gibraltar) and William were also King's students. Thomas Cochran began a career in law and became Chief Justice of P.E.I. at age 28. When the Library was seeking donations in 1802, Thomas contributed books (shortly before his death in a shipwreck). In his generation of Cochrans, who were beneficiaries of the West Indies trade but not themselves merchants, sister Elizabeth cemented the link to King's by marrying Bishop Charles Inglis's son John, the future Bishop and diocesan Visitor to King's.<sup>14</sup> In 1792-93, the Cochrans' firm had brought rum, sugar, and molasses to Halifax from Jamaica (3 cargoes), Port au Prince (2 cargoes),<sup>15</sup> Bermuda, Barbados, and Grenada. These eight cargoes in two years made them among the most frequent importers of West Indies goods. If the occasional enslaved person came to Nova Scotia as cargo, frequency made the Cochrans' ships a likely vehicle.

Compared with the merchant Cochrans, another King's father-son connection was unlikely to have brought enslaved people to Halifax as cargo. Merchant Lawrence Hartshorne sent sons Lawrence and Hugh to King's. A Quaker, Hartshorne had come to Nova Scotia from a part of New England where, in the 1770s, Quaker meetings were expelling from their fellowship any members who owned slaves. In the 1782 register of Black loyalists known as the Book of

Negroes, we see that before arriving in Nova Scotia, Hartshorne had freed four people of African descent that he had owned – George and Ann Black and their children Ruben (aged 7) and Sukey (5). The Black family carried a certificate to that effect.<sup>16</sup> Given the growing importance of anti-slavery politics among Quakers during the 1770s, Hartshorne had probably come to hold and act upon anti-slavery views. What is certain is that, along with fellow Quaker Thomas Clarkson, he supported out of principle, against the Nova Scotia Governor, the right of free Black loyalists in 1792 to escape racism in Nova Scotia and seek autonomy in Sierra Leone.<sup>17</sup> All that said, when Lawrence Hartshorne paid to send his sons to King's, he paid with money partly earned by trading in goods whose makers had been terrorized by the lash and whose children were born as saleable property. Hartshorne (and later his son Lawrence) regularly imported slave-produced rum from Barbados and Jamaica in 1792-93 and in spring of 1815, in partnership with Charles Boggs, two cargoes from Jamaica.

The other West Indies merchant family names among our list of students and graduates are Barss, Black, Boggs, Deblois, Dewolf, Fraser, Freeman, Lawson, Pryor, Starr, and Wallace. The family of the Fairbanks students were mostly merchants, but the Fairbanks merchants do not appear as importers specifically of West Indies goods in the sources I consulted. There are other students – Halls and Tremains – who were almost certainly sons of the West Indies trade but for whom no definitive genealogy can be traced in the available research time.<sup>18</sup>

When business was booming in the British West Indies trade, the profits made were rich because of the labour of a harshly treated, racially defined work force. After emancipation in the British West Indies was complete in 1838, Nova Scotia's West Indies merchants shifted away from those British suppliers and began to purchase most of their sugar and molasses from the other, "foreign" West Indies, where planters were still legally using enslaved labour. Prices and supply there were better, and so profits in Nova Scotia were better.<sup>19</sup> No clearer evidence than this shift exists to show how important slavery was to the business model of Nova Scotia's West Indies trade.

### **Lawyers, office holders, and the West Indies trade**

There was also a category of payers of student fees who were not wholesale buyers and sellers of sugar goods and yet whose fortunes depended in some significant degree on the trade. These were the colony's lawyers and holders of public office, two categories that often overlapped among the most prosperous.

One such man was Richard John Uniacke, a lawyer who held public office as Attorney General of NS between 1797 and his death in 1830. From that office, he was on the King's Board of Governors, and he also donated to the college library. Uniacke sent at least four of his sons to King's College, as a step towards their careers in law.<sup>20</sup> In 1773, Uniacke had emigrated from Ireland to St. Kitts in the West Indies, following an elder brother who was serving in the British Army there. A diary entry from Uniacke's days in St. Kitt's show him perplexed by, possibly opposed to, the enslavement of Africans, who, he wrote, were no different in their "capacity" than white people. His later career as a lawyer in Nova Scotia shows real, practical opposition to the practice of slavery.<sup>21</sup> Like many wealthy Nova Scotians, however, the roots of Uniacke's fortune were entangled in the West Indies trade.

In Uniacke's case, the connection was made through the Vice-Admiralty Court. There, he provided legal services during one of the peak periods of Nova Scotia privateering, 1798-1801. Privateers were merchant vessels licensed during war to attack and seize the merchant vessels of enemy nations. In one study of Liverpool privateers, Dan Conlin shows that Liverpool's West Indies trade, booming between 1793 and 1796, collapsed completely in 1797. Between 1798 and 1801, privateering replaced it, with Liverpool vessels hunting in the same waters they had previously peacefully sailed, capturing ships that often carried West Indies cargo.<sup>22</sup> These cargoes sometimes included enslaved people. A privateer would sell captured slaves in the West Indies before the privateer vessel returned to Nova Scotia, carrying just one or two of the human cargo as witnesses.<sup>23</sup> At the Vice-Admiralty Court, a judge determined whether vessels captured by privateers were legitimate prizes of war. If so, then the vessel and its cargo were auctioned off and the proceeds shared out among crew, captain, and ship owner. Uniacke, as the lawyer for privateers, collected fixed fees on each prize. In a few short years, he collected £3,500 from this work. From this

exceptional influx of income, Uniacke paid to educate his sons in the 1810s (and paid to build his Mount Uniacke residence).<sup>24</sup>

Another King's student, Thomas Jeffery (1829), was the son of Thomas Nickleson Jeffery who was, like Uniacke, a colonial office holder – His Majesty's Collector of Customs (between 1803 and his death in 1847). Young Thomas's mother was Martha Maria Uniacke, so the Attorney General was his grandfather. The Collector of Customs was among the most senior and powerful officeholders in the colonial hierarchy. His connection to the West Indies trade was by way of customs house fees (imperial) and a percentage of the duties, mainly provincial. In Halifax, the Collector was paid 3.5% of the provincial custom house revenue.<sup>25</sup> In 1793, the provincial taxes on West Indies imports generated 50% of the customs house revenue, and there was little public revenue in the province other than what came from the customs house. In 1815, the ratio of West Indies trade taxes to others had dropped to about 25%, but that was a change likely based as much on the expansion of other trade between 1808 and 1815.<sup>26</sup> Jeffery's income fluctuated along with the trade revenue, but it was certainly many hundreds of pounds a year. When trade was booming, it was thousands of pounds. In 1815, it was roughly £4,000, double the Lieutenant-Governor's salary.<sup>27</sup> The expense of his son's tuition at King's was no strain on the Collector's household budget.

### **Family legacies and links**

As the Uniacke/Jeffery family connection suggests, marriage could be one way that a King's student's fees were tied to income from the West Indies trade. The often large families of sons and daughters of merchants, lawyers, office holders, and clergy in Nova Scotia married among these families. From such marriages emerged a network of credit, official patronage, and personal obligation. Because credit rating agencies and professional accreditation systems did not exist, the tender ties of family served as one important basis of trust in business relations.<sup>28</sup> In "The Halifax Connection," genealogist Terrence Punch documented how many marriages linked the men who held elected and appointed office. His analysis does not emphasise links to the West Indies trade in particular, but tracing the merchants who appear in his genealogies reveals their place in the network.

Every individual I have so far named was related by marriage to a merchant family, most of them in the West Indies trade. And there were many more such links, beyond Halifax to Liverpool, Windsor, and Annapolis Royal.<sup>29</sup>

The practice of naming sons after men in their mothers' families makes some of these links quickly visible. For example, Benjamin Gerrish Gray, a King's student in the early 1790s, was the great-nephew of Benjamin Gerrish. In 1760-61, Uncle Benjamin Gerrish had held the government job of "Indian commissary" in Nova Scotia. In that role, he had the monopoly of trading for furs with the Mi'kmaq, exchanging foodstuffs, including West Indies rum, for pelts. He made a substantial, indeed controversial, profit from this trade.<sup>30</sup> At his death, he left a large estate, but no children. His legacy was divided between his wife and his great-nephew, who was the son of his niece, Mary Gerrish, and Joseph Gray. Gray had been Benjamin Gerrish's business partner in merchant trading. Young Benjamin Gerrish Gray's inheritance came from a fortune made in part through selling rum at a monopolist's profit, and one way or another, whether through his father's trade or his great uncle's bequest, his student fees at King's were paid with money from buying and selling rum (and probably other West Indian sugar products). Trained as a clergyman, B.G. Gray would go on to be the SPG missionary to the Jamaican maroons at Preston after their arrival in 1796. After 1801, Gray returned to King's as English master and, for five years, as the College's first librarian.<sup>31</sup>

Among the West Indies merchants and their kin, views on slavery may have varied, as the case of the Hartshornes suggests. One can reasonably guess, though, that a father or uncle or maternal grand-father who made his money in buying and selling slave-made goods might not have welcomed outspoken abolitionist views from young King's men at family parties. He might have pointed out how the metaphorical bread was buttered and where the sugar and the coffee on the table literally came from. So might an outspoken wife, mother, or sister. The importance of West Indies money in Nova Scotia meant that, in the circles from which some King's students came, discussion of the slavery question would have been fraught with awareness of practical implications for the family fortunes.

## DONATIONS

Income from student fees was the most direct channel by which the West Indies merchants of Nova Scotia helped to establish and sustain King's. There was no endowing of the institution by large outright donations from private individuals. In the College's sesquicentennial history, F.W. Vroom complained that the rich men of the colony in the 1780s and 1790s had failed to launch King's with anything like the sums of money that would have made it secure as a private university, like "Harvard and Yale and Columbia."<sup>32</sup> In addition to the Cochran and Uniacke donations mentioned (books to the library), we know of only one donation – £100 – from a West Indies merchant trader in the College's early years. That was the sum given by Alexander Brymer in 1802, responding to a campaign to build the Library.<sup>33</sup> Brymer's wealth was legendary, and his ships brought in torrents of rum and mountains of brown sugar to Halifax. Brymer was truly a man of the British Atlantic. He brought capital for investment in trade to Halifax when he arrived as a Loyalist in 1776 and when in 1801 he was ready to retire from active business, he left Nova Scotia behind, taking his capital with him to England.<sup>34</sup> It may be that he and other English or Scottish business men – Brook Watson, Joshua Mauger, William Kidston, and William Forsyth – had little personal attachment to Nova Scotia, even though they were at various times major figures in Nova Scotia's West Indies trade.<sup>35</sup> Nova Scotia was just one facet of their Britain-based enterprises, a provincial outpost from which they fled later in life to enjoy the pleasures of London and Glasgow. Their educational philanthropy, whatever it may have been, must have ended up in the metropole as they did.

In the late 1840s and early 1850s, Nova Scotia fortunes that had been founded partly in the West Indies trade contributed to King's survival. In 1833, King's had lost its British parliamentary grant, and in 1846, its Governors learned they would lose the annual SPG grant that had partly replaced the parliamentary one. It was clear in 1847 that their revenues were less than half of their minimum expenses.<sup>36</sup> In response, an alumni association was formed to raise money for an endowment. The alumni's initial campaign failed by £464 to meet its £2,000 goal, even though several merchants joined the province's lawyers, clergy, physicians, and officeholders in the effort.<sup>37</sup> Merchant donors were in the minority, both of

large and small givers. The handful of large donations (each giving £100) came from H.H. Cogswell, J.B. Uniacke, Edward Cunard Jr., S.B. Robie, W.B. Bliss, and the estate of James Peters. Listed separately from the other gifts was £500 for a Cogswell scholarship. The only direct connection among these men to income from the West Indies trade was via Edward Cunard (son of Samuel, who himself pitched in £20). The Cunard fortune, begun by Samuel's father Abram during the war of 1812, came from trading among Britain, British North America, the US, and the West Indies. From the fortune made in those years and the 1820s had come Edward's student fees at King's in the 1830s. After a sharp reversal, nearly bankruptcy, in 1841, the family had begun to recover by the late 1840s, and Edward was able to make his substantial donation.<sup>38</sup>

More indirect yet was the connection to the West Indies trade via H.H. Cogswell. Cogswell was a lawyer, officeholder, and ultimately a banker. He came from a successful farm family in the Annapolis Valley, and, unlike his brothers, who remained farmers, he went into law. As he built savings, he invested in mortgages and fire insurance rather in ships and shipping. But in 1825, he joined with a group of merchant traders that was more connected to the West Indies and formed the Halifax Banking Company.<sup>39</sup> Among those merchant traders was Enos Collins. The son of a Liverpool merchant who imported rum and sugar, Collins made the beginnings of his fortune in the privateering cruises of 1798-1801. He parlayed his prize shares as a ship's captain into the purchase of ships and cargoes, among them West Indies goods.<sup>40</sup> Though Collins had little formal education, he must have been persuaded of the value of King's. In the College's next major crisis – in 1849 the provincial grant was nearly terminated, then in 1853 cut by one-third – the alumni raised close to £10,000 by, in effect, selling stock in the college.

Cogswell devised the outline of the scheme (an expansion of an earlier practice), and Collins purchased ten "Stock Certificates" at £100 each. The dividend that this stock paid, so to speak, was the right, for each £100 certificate, to name a student who would attend without paying fees.<sup>41</sup> The capital raised by the sale of the certificates would generate investment income to make up the college deficit, and the young Nova Scotia men who came to the notice of these patrons would get an education. A somewhat desperate trading away of future tuition

income for endowment capital in the present, this scheme gained from Enos Collins the college's biggest single Nova Scotian donation, £1,000. The fundraising campaign of 1854 brought the institution back from the brink, although at the price of much reduced fee income.<sup>42</sup> Collins played a leading part as the hero of this rescue drama.

The contribution made by West Indies merchants to King's finances cannot be precisely quantified in percentage terms. The archives do not provide data on total fees, and the channels of contribution through family ties are complex and murky. Our list of 480 students may not be complete, and my attempt to identify which of those were merchant sons encountered some limits. The order of magnitude is probably right, however. That is to say, fee income derived from the West Indies trade made up about 10 per cent of the total. In the 1847-49 endowment campaign, Edward Cunard's contribution, combined with a few smaller ones, constituted about 10 per cent of the total. Similarly, Collins' dramatic gesture in the certificate campaign of 1854 made him a donor of 10 per cent of the total, pushing up the total merchant contribution in that campaign to perhaps 15 per cent. Further research on the individuals and organizations who purchased certificates in that campaign could generate a more exact figure. But the overall picture is that West Indies merchant contributions to King's as a share of fees was a relatively constantly ten per cent, and when King's fundraising in Nova Scotia became a serious exercise after 1846, alumni from West Indies merchant families contributed roughly 10 to 15 per cent. As I explain in what follows, other sources of income to the college were larger and more stable than fee income and donations.

## **THE CONTRIBUTION TO KING'S FROM TAXES ON SLAVE-PRODUCED GOODS**

In 1789, Bishop Charles Inglis persuaded the men of the provincial government that the colony needed an Academy and College for its sons. Together, the grammar school and the college would be a seminary for Anglican clergy, a birthplace for a provincial literature, and the foundation for the professional training of physicians and lawyers. Located in idyllic Windsor, the school that

Inglis envisaged could draw boys and young men not only from Nova Scotia, but also its students would come by sea from all over British North America and from the British West Indies. Inglis pointed out that, without a college in the loyal colonies, the already established colleges in the “revolted” colonies would draw away ambitious young men and put in jeopardy their commitment to the “British Constitution and Government.”<sup>43</sup>

Perhaps the men of the provincial state were persuaded as much by the relative cheapness of having a local school for their sons as they were by the imperative of loyalism. Some mix of practicality and principle moved them, and they gave to King’s the revenue from one of the colony’s taxes, the duties on sugar, both brown sugar (from the British West Indies) and refined sugar (from the British West Indies, via British refineries). That tax was earmarked to cover the province’s commitment to King’s in perpetuity of £400 sterling per year, to be made up from other taxes should the sugar duties not be enough.<sup>44</sup> Inglis was most pleased. The sugar duties were “a very productive tax,” he exulted in a letter to a friend.<sup>45</sup> My analysis of customs house duties for a sample 24 months in 1792-93 shows that the sugar duties easily covered the province’s commitment to the grant.<sup>46</sup> All of that grant, therefore, came from taxes on slave-grown goods.

Larger than the provincial subsidy, but later in arriving, was an annual grant of £1,000 sterling from the British government, beginning in 1803.<sup>47</sup> This grant was on top of the £3,600 sterling annual grant that Britain allocated to the work of SPG missionaries in the province. From that sum came the missionary salaries (£200 per year per parish) that were paid to King’s faculty members for their work as the parish priests of Falmouth, Newport, and Windsor.<sup>48</sup> The parliamentary grant to King’s of £1,000, like the British grant to the SPG, came from ordinary British public revenue. A substantial part of that revenue, roughly 10 per cent, came from import duties and excise taxes on imported West Indies goods – sugar, tobacco, coffee, and rum.<sup>49</sup> Further research would be necessary to determine whether colonial expenditures such as the King’s grant came from a specific earmarked tax source in the U.K. If not, then we can attribute to revenue derived from enslaved labour another small part of King’s basic revenue during the period of the annual British government grant. Combining 10 per cent of the British grant

and 100 per cent of the provincial grant between 1803 and 1833, I find that 35.7 per cent of the public funding to King's in those years came from taxes on slave-produced goods.

Noticing and making moral judgements about the sources of public revenue is not just a recent fashion. In the history of British slavery, the empire's reliance on sugar duties as a source of revenue for the public treasury became increasingly controversial after enslavement in the Atlantic colonies ended. Noel Deerr's 1949 *History of Sugar* documents the multi-faceted controversy over sugar duties in Britain in the 1840s. Imports to Britain of sugar from the "foreign" sugar islands (French, Spanish, Dutch) continued after emancipation, and in some of those colonies, sugar was produced by enslaved labour. Those who had fought to end the slave trade and slavery itself objected to the sugar duties for the same moral reasons that had animated their fight against slavery. The enslaved Africans and their descendants who produced the sugar were victims of an intolerable moral wrong, and taxes derived from the goods that they produced were unacceptable.<sup>50</sup> Historians of Nova Scotia have not investigated whether political agitation on this issue crossed the ocean. However, our work in the King's project supports the scholarly consensus that Nova Scotians were full participants in the British empire. They certainly knew of and participated in the debates about slavery.<sup>51</sup> They knew that the West Indies trade helped fill the public treasury. Some of them must have wondered whether that was as it should be.

### **SUPPORT FROM THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS (SPG)**

I began this research expecting to find that some of the funding that came to King's from the SPG came from profits made on the SPG's sugar plantation in Barbados. But the Codrington plantation's operating revenues stayed in Barbados to build the endowment of Codrington College and to pay expenses for the SPG's mission expenditures aimed at enslaved Africans.<sup>52</sup> Following the emancipation of the enslaved people of Codrington, the SPG collected in 1836 a compensation payment of £8,558 for their loss of capital investment in the form of 410 human beings, who were now apprenticed, to be freed entirely in 1838.<sup>53</sup> (Formerly

enslaved people in the British West Indies were not compensated for their unpaid wages, much less for other the other harms of enslavement.) None of the compensation that was paid to the SPG as slave-owners came to Nova Scotia.<sup>54</sup>

Nonetheless, King's was kept afloat between 1825 and 1846 (and especially after 1833) in large part because of an annual donation of £500 from the SPG. Moreover, from the beginning, the SPG missionary salaries for Newport, Falmouth, and Windsor parishes gave the King's faculty who served those parishes part of their incomes. And SPG scholarships paid the fees of varying numbers of divinity students.<sup>55</sup> With so important a financial connection between King's and the SPG, the King's community should be aware of the history of the SPG in relation to slavery.

The Codrington estates had been a legacy to the SPG in 1710. In the first 60 years of SPG administration at Codrington, the brutal treatment of the enslaved workers meant that more died than were born or bought from slave sellers. Historian Mary Butler has traced rates of enslaved people's deaths on Codrington as they spiked in response to the local managers' decisions to increase production. She concludes that the Codrington managers stopped buying newly enslaved Africans in 1762 for economic reasons, not compassionate or moral ones.<sup>56</sup> On Codrington before 1770, slaves' lives mattered, if at all, only in economic terms. For an owner to kill an enslaved person in Barbados, for any reason or no reason, meant a £15 fine. But an enslaved person who escaped for 30 days or longer was sentenced to death.<sup>57</sup> A horrifying criminal penalty applied only to Black people if convicted of murder – burning at the stake, a penalty long out of use in Europe.<sup>58</sup>

Beginning in the late 1760s, in tune with an emerging culture of sensibility in Britain,<sup>59</sup> the SPG had urged upon their Barbadian administrators more humane treatment for the people in their sugar cane fields and mills.<sup>60</sup> The change of climate towards humanitarianism in Britain may have emboldened a group of Black people enslaved on the Codrington estate, who, in 1783, lodged a protest with the estate's administrator about a particular overseer's whipping of field workers. The overseer was removed. But who could say when the next one of his kind would come along? An overseer was found to be using the whip on the estate in 1825, even after a British government policy adopted in 1823 had prohibited it.<sup>61</sup>

The Codrington administrators answered in white supremacist terms when the SPG urged them to improve how enslaved people were treated: “to govern upwards of 300 negroes on one plantation is no easy task, it requires a good deal of address, and unless a proper decorum, and subordination is ke[pt]’d up, they will soon become turbulent and unruly, for after all those who know them best must allow that they are a most inconsiderate and thoughtless race of mortals.”<sup>62</sup> During the 1820s, when debate over emancipation was at a fever pitch, the British treasurer of the SPG, John Heywood Markland, was in charge of the publishing program of the West Indies planters’ pro-slavery lobby group in the U.K..<sup>63</sup> In that context, the SPG’s publicizing of slavery on Codrington as Christian and benevolent must have read to abolitionist critics as resistance to emancipation, rather than as a sign of gradual movement in that direction.<sup>64</sup>

### **WEST INDIES INVESTMENT INCOME AMONG KING’S PEOPLE**

Having learned of an 1836 payment of £514 from Britain’s slavery compensation commission to the estate of a Nova Scotian, John Johnston, I sought out the probate records of wealthy Nova Scotians associated with King’s. I found that Johnston’s brother, James W., who served as a representative of the provincial government on the King’s Board and later Acadia’s, shared in Johnston’s estate.<sup>65</sup> Like his brother John, James W. had grown up in Jamaica, a society defined by the sugar plantations and the associated culture of white supremacy. The Johnstons’ family history shows how the migration histories of Nova Scotia’s white elite families connected some of them to the white supremacist culture of the sugar colonies. The Johnston family came to Nova Scotia from a society in which a lawyer and office holder like John, with funds to lend, might (as he did) acquire an investment interest in enslaved people as a matter of ordinary business.

My search in probate records revealed, however, that the wealthy families associated with King’s were not investing directly in slavery as Johnston had. They had many opportunities to make investments in Nova Scotia, the U.S., and Britain. Beyond their active investments in Nova Scotia businesses, these families – lawyers, doctors, officeholders, clergy – derived interest income from passive investments such as mortgages on land in Nova Scotia, government securities in

Britain, and a variety of American stocks. Because details of their investment holdings are included in probate only when they died without a will, the sample that I was able to locate and examine was small, and perhaps not representative.<sup>66</sup> But my research in probate papers confirmed the findings that have been reported on a wide range of individuals in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, as well as economic historian Julian Gwyn's conclusions in his landmark study, *Excessive Expectations*.<sup>67</sup> Investing directly in enslaved human beings in the sugar islands as John Johnston had done was unusual among wealthy Nova Scotians. However, investment in the West Indies trade more broadly was an important part of banking in the province. King's people, some of them West Indies merchants, others not, were the majority of investors in Nova Scotia's two earliest banks, the Halifax Banking Company (1825) and the Bank of Nova Scotia (1832). Collins and the Halifax Bank Company (four of whose initial investors were educated at King's or sent their sons there) were the first, and for a time, the most important source of credit for West Indies traders out of Halifax.<sup>68</sup>

### **WHY WE NEED TO KNOW THIS HISTORY AND REMEMBER IT**

The story I have told here is familiar in its general outline to anyone well-acquainted with Nova Scotia history. History enthusiasts know that the West Indies trade was important in the economic history of the province. Less well-known, however, is the breadth of the impact of slavery throughout the Atlantic world, not just on the plantations of the sugar islands. Historians have shown how the effects of slave-ownership were not restricted to the physical territory of plantations.<sup>69</sup> People like the bishops of the Church of England's SPG could be slave-owners without ever setting foot in the West Indies. And societies like Nova Scotia's in the late 18th and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries could still be economically dependent on slavery through the trade in slave-produced goods, even though the enslaved people of African descent in Nova Scotia who worked as servants and suffered harms of enslavement here were not the main labour force of the province. In this essay, I've sketched some specific, King's-related, illustrations of these general stories. I've shown that, before 1803, the only regular College revenue source, aside from the student fees paid to the teachers, was the provincial sugar duties. That means that,

in these years, the survival of the College and Academy depended entirely on the West Indies trade. The implication that I draw is that we inherit an institution funded at its origin by unjustly extracted profits and taxes charged on blood-soaked goods. We should understand the benefit to the College and the province that was taken from the enslaved people of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century West Indies.

The contribution that these enslaved people made to our present benefit was coerced and it was contested. In 1789, at the time King's was given the right to a grant from the province's sugar duties, the Atlantic world was embroiled in a struggle over whether slavery should be abolished. Nova Scotia's first known anti-slavery pamphlet had been published in 1788, marking Nova Scotians' participation in this international political and military conflict.<sup>70</sup> The enslaved people of Haiti launched their revolution in 1791, and won independence in 1804. Equally fiercely, British West Indian slave owners and their allies fought to defend their property, politically in the United Kingdom, and militarily between 1793 and 1802 in the Caribbean theatre of Britain's war with France's revolutionaries. The acute struggle over race-based chattel slavery in the Americas was a feature of politics, religion, and daily life across the Americas – from Martinique in the 1760s to New England in the 1770s to the United States in the 1850s and 1860s to Brazil in the 1880s, just to name a few hotspots.

People associated with King's could be found in many positions in the array of slavery politics. The Reverend William Cochran, the first president of King's (before he was president), published the great abolitionist speeches of Wilberforce and Pitt in a periodical that he founded here in 1789, the *Nova-Scotia Magazine and Comprehensive Review of Literature, Politics, and News*. John Howe, Joseph Howe's father, kept publishing the magazine, with abolitionist content, until the spring of 1792.<sup>71</sup> By contrast, in 1838, the chapter on slavery in King's alumnus T.C. Haliburton's *Sam Slick, the Clockmaker*, sharply mocks abolitionists as sentimental idiots or status-seeking, cynically careerist politicians.<sup>72</sup> In Haliburton's rhetoric, Slick the character gives voice in his folksy, exaggerated, intentionally absurd way to a position that people who profited from slavery expressed seriously, in measured tones: that emancipation in 1834 had been a chaotic mess, and that even if slavery was bad, ending it was a recipe for economic

disaster and social chaos, possibly mass murder of former slaveowners by the Black people formerly enslaved to them. Scholars of Haliburton's work leave no doubt that these were Haliburton's views.<sup>73</sup> An education at King's did not determine where one stood on slavery.

But King's as an institution certainly profited (in the sense of benefited) from West Indian slavery. Everyone who drew a salary or earned a degree from King's benefited from the government grants that kept the institution alive when student fees were scarce and the endowment was small. It must have been easy for King's graduates to nod agreement with alumnus Henry Bliss, serving as Nova Scotia's agent in London, when he wrote in 1833 that "[t]he most sincere sympathy for the West Indian interests exists among all connected with the Northern Colonies [British North America]; and the real cause of West Indian embarrassments, the interference and agitation in their internal affairs, through the influence of private combinations in England [such as abolitionists, it would seem], must be viewed as a violation of all Colonial rights, and all social justice."<sup>74</sup> It was common sense in the merchants' circles that Nova Scotia's interests and those of the West Indies sugar colonies were aligned and that Nova Scotians should support the sugar planters' protests against the "sudden" emancipation of enslaved people.<sup>75</sup> It would have been very easy for King's people to like the notion that "Christian slavery" might be made a stable and productive institution, as the SPG was arguing in the 1820s.<sup>76</sup>

And that's why we need to remember this story. It is easy for business-as-usual and the usual necessities of daily life to seem simply to be reality, inevitable, given by forces beyond our control. Think of sugar in the 1790s as being like smartphones today: once a luxury for a few, now a daily necessity for most. In using your phone, you are benefitting from exploited labour in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. If you practically cannot stop using the device, you might have an obligation to try at least to understand the economics and politics of the horrific exploitation by which it is produced, with an eye to supporting effective policy to stop the exploitation.<sup>77</sup> By analogy, even though we cannot change the past, we can be aware of how Nova Scotia was part of the system of Atlantic

slavery, and work to remedy the effects of that system as they have reverberated over the years through Nova Scotia's social, economic, and institutional history.

I have emphasised in this essay how King's depended economically on West Indies slavery. But money was not the only connection. The ideology by which slavery was justified, by which drowsy conscience was soothed, was part of Nova Scotia's history, too. The notion that Africans and their descendants needed to have white masters in order to be peaceful and productive – the idea that white people must rule Black – underpinned the slavery system from which Nova Scotia indirectly drew some its tax revenues, some of the markets for its barrels and fish and gypsum, and profits for its West Indies merchants. That ideology is still with us, expressed in modern forms, and so are those who challenge it.<sup>78</sup> Both the ideology and, to a lesser extent, the challenge are part of King's' Anglican heritage. Today's Anglican church works for justice, throws resources into caring, not just for its congregations, but for people in need at home and abroad, and sometimes challenges unjust power.<sup>79</sup> As part of that effort, they and we as stewards of institutions need to understand the role of enslavement in Nova Scotia's economic and institutional history. As African Nova Scotian leader Lynn Jones has said, commenting on the purpose of reparations projects: "We feel like slavery didn't happen here and it very much did happen here and we do suffer the effects of it."<sup>80</sup> For people of African descent in Nova Scotia, Nova Scotia's entanglement in the enslavement of Black people is not a trivial part of the distant past, but something that created the present world and its inequalities. In James Baldwin's words, "If history were the past, history wouldn't matter. History is the *present*, the *present*. You and I are history. We carry our history. We act in our history."<sup>81</sup> We can choose to act its better parts.

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> From the beginning, the SPG had been providing some of the teaching staff with regular salaries, when those men served as missionary clergy for local parishes. From 1811, the SPG funded scholarships, referred to as “exhibitions” (*OED Online*, definition 3b) for divinity students. The British parliamentary grant was reduced to £500 in 1834 before being discontinued completely. Henry Youle Hind, *The University of King’s College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1790-1890* (New York: The Church Review Company, 1890), 55-56, 74; “An Abstract of the Charter and of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, from the 16<sup>th</sup> Day of February, 1810, to the 15<sup>th</sup> Day of February, 1811,” (London: S. Brooke, 1811), 36, 44.

<sup>2</sup> For accounts of the ideology and its historical expression, see David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: free labor versus slavery in British emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). For examples of primary texts, see *The Slave Trade Debate: contemporary writings for and against*, Introduction by John Pinfold (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007). Several of the works excerpted in the Bodleian were listed under “Slave Trade” in the monthly new books section of the *Nova-Scotia Magazine and Comprehensive Review of Literature, Politics, and News*, published in Halifax between 1789 and 1792.

I have used “white supremacy” in this essay rather than say, anti-Black racism. In this usage, I have been influenced by political philosopher Charles Mills’s argument in *The Racial Contract* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1997) that to identify racism as white supremacy makes clear that it is a political system, not simply a personal attitude. By “a political system,” Mills is pointing to “a particular power structure of formal or informal rule, socioeconomic privilege, and norms for the differential distribution of material wealth and opportunities, benefits and burdens, rights and duties.”(3) Mills elaborates on his argument and responds to philosopher Michael Cole’s expression of several common criticisms of it in Charles W. Mills, “Critical Race Theory: A Response to Mike Cole,” *Ethnicities* 92, 2 (2009): 270-281.

<sup>3</sup> For a summary account of the many forms of resistance and revolt by enslaved people in the Americas before the 1770s, see Mary Turner, “Slave Worker Rebellions and Revolution in the Americas to 1804,” in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, eds. D. Eltis & S. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 677-707. doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521840682.028. On early abolitionism, see Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> An early abolitionist publication in Nova Scotia is the Reverend James MacGregor’s pamphlet, “A letter to a clergyman urging him to set free a black girl he held in slavery” (Halifax: A. Henry, 1788), [www.online.canadiana.ca](http://www.online.canadiana.ca) Historians Barry Cahill and Harvey Amani Whitfield see MacGregor’s pamphlet as evidence of more than an individual’s position. They suggest it was a sign that there was a broader antislavery current in white Nova Scotian society: Cahill “Antislavery Polemic of the Reverend James MacGregor: Canada’s Proto-Abolitionist as “Radical Evangelical,” in *The contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada*, eds. Charles H.H. Scobie and G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 131-43; Harvey Amani Whitfield, *North to Bondage: Loyalist Slavery in the Maritimes* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016), 93-94.

<sup>5</sup> A recent summary account of how enslaved people came to Nova Scotia and the scope of the local Nova Scotian slave trade in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century is provided by Whitfield, *North to Bondage*, chapters one and two, esp. 20, 39-40, 44-45.

<sup>6</sup> Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, 20 April 1789, Nova Scotia Archives (NSA), Charles Inglis fonds, MG1, vol. 479(a) vol. 1, file 10-165. The citation has an odd form, with two volume numbers.

<sup>7</sup> As the title of Julian Gwyn’s economic history of the province, *Excessive Expectations*, suggests, these expectations were ill-matched to the province’s economic potential. In the period

between 1768 and 1772, the average annual traffic of vessels carrying imported goods into Philadelphia, Boston, and New York was, respectively, about 6 times, 5.5 times, and 4 times greater than the traffic into Halifax. Though tonnage coming into Halifax would double and triple between 1786 and 1810, its traffic did not reach even the lower New York levels of 1772 until 1801, and in relation to population, the increase was actually stagnation. Only during the War of 1812 did trade with the West Indies boom in Nova Scotia. Julian Gwyn, *Excessive Expectations: Maritime Commerce and the Economic Development of Nova Scotia, 1740-1870* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 1998. For the specific trade data, see Julian Gwyn "Economic Fluctuations in Wartime Nova Scotia, 1755-1815," in *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 80; Virginia D. Harrington, *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), 361.

<sup>8</sup> The origins of cargoes listed in Halifax customs house reports show that there were also trade relations (less frequent) with some South American producers (Demerary) and some in the American South (South Carolina). NSA, Treasury fonds, Impost and Excise series, RG 31-104, vol. 4, file 5, and vol. 9, file 6.

<sup>9</sup> Fees were paid to the teaching staff and to the Library, rather than into the general college fund. "King's College, Nova Scotia," Appendix no. 41, *Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly* (1832), 54; *Report of the Proceedings of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; during the year 1825* (London, 1826), 183-84, listing of missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, with SPG salaries, lists student fees as part of the income of the president of the College. Fees do not appear in the balance sheets of the General Account of the College, which income to the College and salary expenditures from the SPG and other grants were recorded. University of King's College Archives (hereafter UKCA), UKC FIN 4.1.1.

<sup>10</sup> NSA, Treasury fonds, Impost and Excise series, RG 31-104. Vol. 4, files 1 to 9, and vol. 9, file 6 are the sources for sample used here. I have also reviewed customs reports for 1790-91 in vol. 3, and reports for 1814-1816 in vol. 9, files 3-8 to assess how representative the smaller sample is, and in all of these files, I have also reviewed customs reports (usually annual rather than quarterly) from Liverpool, Shelburne, Annapolis Royal, and Hants County, along with even less frequent ones from Guysborough, Pictou, and Yarmouth. References to specific cargoes below are from the Halifax sample, unless otherwise specified.

<sup>11</sup> Family relationships have been identified through the following sources: Terrence W. Punch, "The Halifax Connection, 1749-1848: a Century of Oligarchy in Nova Scotia" (M.A. thesis, Saint Mary's University, 1972); A.W.H. Eaton, *The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution* (New Yorker: T. Whittaker, 1891); A.W.H. Eaton, *The Cochran and Inglis Family of Halifax*; A.W.H. Eaton, *Families of Eaton-Sutherland, Layton-Hill* (New York: privately printed, 1899). The Eaton volumes are all available at [www.online.canadiana.ca](http://www.online.canadiana.ca). Hind, *The University of King's College*; F.W. Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939* (Halifax: Imperial Publishing, 1941). The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* is the essential scholarly source. Particular biographies are cited in the notes that follow. King's archivist Janet Hathaway gives as the primary sources used for her list of King's people, including students, donors, and alumni, the following: UKCA, Matricula, 1803-1906 and UKCA, Board of Governors, minutes; John Inglis, Memoranda respecting King's College (1836) Collected and prepared for the purpose of making evident the leading object in suggesting and establishing that institution. By one of the alumni. (Halifax, February, 1836); Thomas Beamish Akins, *A brief account of the origin, endowment and progress of the University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, MacNab & Shaffer, 1865); Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *Reports*.

<sup>12</sup> "Sale by Auction by Mr. HILL," *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle*, 4 July 1786, referred to in J.B. Cahill, "Hill, Charles," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 1, 2019, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hill\\_charles\\_6E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hill_charles_6E.html). Thanks to Cahill and the DCB editor, Robert Fraser, for enabling me to locate the specific ad referenced in Cahill's entry on Hill.

<sup>13</sup> Punch, "The Halifax Connection," asserts the marriage as fact, 262; Cahill, "Hill, Charles," says it can only be presumed.

<sup>14</sup> Eaton, *The Cochran and Inglis Family of Halifax*, 8-18; Punch, "Halifax Connection," 262; A.B. Warburton, *A History of Prince Edward Island* (St. John, NB: Barnes & Col, 1923), 424; "Library, King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia" (Luke Hansard, Great Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1802), 3, University of King's College Rare Books.

<sup>15</sup> All of the other cargo origins but this one are listed by colony, not city. Presumably this Port au Prince is the one in Saint Domingue, present-day Haiti.

<sup>16</sup> I thank Amani Whitfield for pointing me to the exact location of the reference to Hartshorne and George and Ann Black in the Book of Negroes: Book of Negroes, in Guy Carleton, 1st Baron Dorchester: Papers, The National Archives, Kew (PRO 30/55/100) 10427 p. 1, reproduced at the NS Archives website, Virtual Holdings, <https://novascotia.ca/archives/africans/BN.asp>.

<sup>17</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: the Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 120-123.

<sup>18</sup> See note 29 below.

<sup>19</sup> Before 1837, 89 per cent of sugar imports were from the British West Indies; from 1837-53, Nova Scotian imports of sugar were 93.7 per cent from the foreign West Indies. Gwyn, *Excessive Expectations*, 57-58.

<sup>20</sup> Listed in the Hathaway list: James Boyle Uniacke, Richard J. Uniacke [Jr], R. Fitzgerald Uniacke, and J. Crofton Uniacke.

<sup>21</sup> "Observations in the West Indies and North America," NSA, MG 1, vol. 926, no. 97, quoted in Brian Cuthbertson, *The Old Attorney General: a Biography of Richard John Uniacke* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1980), 4, Barry Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges of Loyalist Nova Scotia," *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, 43 (1994): 84.

<sup>22</sup> Dan Conlin, "A Private War in the Caribbean: Nova Scotia Privateering, 1783-1805" (M.A. thesis, Saint Mary's University, 1996), 27.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 41, 90, 102. To know for sure whether such captives were sold in Nova Scotia during the 1798-1801 privateering years would require considerably more archival research, according to Dan Conlin, who kindly responded to a query from me on this point. Such research has been done for the New England colonies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century: Charles R. Foy, "Eighteenth-Century Prize Negroes: From Britain to America," *Slavery and Abolition* 31, 3 (2010): 379-93.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 29, 33, 36, 55-56, 75, 112; Dan Conlin, "A Slave Ship Made Captive: the Schooner *Severn*," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 2 (1999): 205-06; B. C. Cuthbertson, "Uniacke, Richard John (1753-1830)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 4, 2019, [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca).

<sup>25</sup> Margaret Ells, "A Study of Early Provincial Taxation: Being a Tabular Statement of Fiscal Legislation in Nova Scotia between 1751 and 1815," *Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia* no. 2 (1937), 2.

<sup>26</sup> In the early 1790s, license fees for taverns, a poll tax, and duties collected at and applied to specific lighthouses were the other sources of revenue. License fees were sometimes earmarked for road and bridge building, and the poll tax of the early 1790s was assigned to paying down the provincial debt. Following British custom, duties on particular commodities might be assigned to specific purposes: 10 per cent on American imports was earmarked for the transient poor, and the wine duty was for a time assigned to the Halifax Grammar School. Ells, "Early Provincial Taxation," 1; *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly*, 19 June 1794, 91-92; *The statutes at large passed in the several general assemblies held in His Majesty's province of Nova-Scotia : from the first assembly which met at Halifax the second day of October, in the thirty-second year of His late Majesty Geo. II. A.D. 1758, to the forty-fourth year of His present Majesty Geo. III. A.D. 1804, inclusive, Title 57*; Andrew Belcher for Alexander Howe to SS Blowers, RJ Uniack[sic] and Benj, Green, 10 Feb 1790, NSA, Treasury fonds, RG 31-104, vol. 3, file January-March 1790; *Statutes at Large, Passed in the Several General Assemblies Held in His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia (1748-1804)*, chapter XV. To see amounts of customs duties in relation to other sources of revenue in the 1810s, see J.S. Martell, *A Documentary Study of Provincial Finance and Currency, 1812-36* (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1941), 37. The calculation of the percentage of the import tax revenue derived from the West Indies trade in the Halifax customs house in 1815 is approximate, and does not take into account the extent of drawbacks (refunds) on the revenue. It is based on trade statistics and tonnage duties provided by Julian Gwyn and information on tax rates provided by Margaret Ells: Ells, "Early Provincial Taxation," 3-5, 18, 21 and 29; Gwyn, *Excessive Expectations*, 53, 54, and 56; Martell, *Provincial Finance and Currency, 1812-36*, 37.

<sup>27</sup> The Halifax customs house revenue, net of drawbacks (refunds) in the busiest quarter of 1815, the spring quarter, was £102,545. At 3.5%, Jeffery's commissions for that quarter alone would have been £3,589. The revenue for the summer quarter that year, usually a busy quarter, was a tenth of the spring quarter, and Jeffery's income would have been proportionately smaller. Still, for the Collector as for the merchants, income during the War of 1812 was extraordinarily high. NSA, Treasury fonds, Impost and Excise series, RG 31-104, vol. 9, files 6 and 7, customs house reports covering April 1, 1815, to September 30, 1815. Until 1825, the Halifax Collector also oversaw and took fees from the collection of an imperial customs statute. In 1825 and after, the Collector's compensation became a salary, £2,000. It was paid out of Nova Scotia's tax revenue, so he was still being paid partly out of the tax proceeds on West Indies imports. Marion Gilroy, "The Imperial Customs Establishment in Nova Scotia, 1825-1855," *Canadian Historical Review* 19, 3 (1938): 277; Martell, *Provincial Finance and Currency*, 9.

<sup>28</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall describe the material meanings of respectability and marriage as they emerged in the making of a British middle class in these same years. The significance of marriage must have been if anything greater in this small colony where social closure was easily made: *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). For an account of family and credit in a particular merchant's biography in the 1740s, see Christopher Moore, *Louisbourg Portraits* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982). 57-75.

<sup>29</sup> I have identified the following merchant or professional families linked by marriage to West Indies merchants: Collins – Halliburton; Halliburton – Inglis; Barss – Dewolf; Dewolf – Freeman; Parker – Freeman; Almon – Johnston; Lawson – Young; Freeman – MacNab; Jeffrey – Uniacke; Tremain – Hartshorne; Fairbanks – Lawson; Tremain – Boggs; Wallace – Kerby; Porter (King's) – Wallace; Gray – Gerrish; Cochran – Hill; Cochran – Inglis; Uniacke – Black; Fraser – Dewolf; Parker – Collins; Fraser – Allison; Uniacke – Hill. See note 11 for sources, and also the following entries in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*: C. P. Wright, "Porter, Charles," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9; Diane M. Barker and D. A. Sutherland, "Collins, Enos," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10; Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Halliburton, Sir Brenton," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8; B. C. Cuthbertson, "Jeffery, Thomas Nickleson," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 24, 2019, [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca). Following the links to associated profiles within the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* allows a reader to explore connections among the merchant and official families of the boys and young men educated at King's. Further research could uncover other family connections outside Halifax, where Punch's work was concentrated. For example, one connection

between the Parkers and the Collins's in Liverpool was Desire Parker, married to Joseph Collins, and aunt of Snow Parker (War of 1812 privateer). Snow Parker's daughter (named Experience) married Joseph Freeman (who was also a privateer in 1812-14). Snow Parker was the grandfather of King's student, later provincial MLA, Snow Parker Freeman. Online genealogy sources such as WikiTree facilitate such searches: <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Parker-25804>; <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Parker-18802>; <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Parker-25806>.

<sup>30</sup> R.O. MacFarlane, "Indian Trade in Nova Scotia to 1764," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* 13, 1 (1934): 61-66.

<sup>31</sup> D. Murray Young, "Gray, Benjamin Gerrish," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8; Stephen E. Patterson, "Gerrish, Benjamin," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4; Stephen E. Patterson, "Gerrish, Joseph," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 4, 2019, [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca).

<sup>32</sup> Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle*, 31.

<sup>33</sup> Minutes, 7 June 1798, University of King's College Archives (UKCA), Board of Governors fonds, BOG 2.1.1, Minute Book #1.

<sup>34</sup> J. B. Cahill, "Brymer, Alexander," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 4, 2019, [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca).

<sup>35</sup> D. A. Sutherland, "Forsyth, William (d. 1814)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5; Donald F. Chard, "Mauger, Joshua," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4; L. F. S. Upton, "Watson, Sir Brook," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 4, 2019, [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca); Gwyn, "Economic Fluctuations in Wartime Nova Scotia, 1755-1815," 75.

<sup>36</sup> Minutes, 12 May 1846, 4-6, UKCA, Alumni Association fonds, AL.2.2. 1846, Alumni of King's college minute book, vol. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Information on donations in this paragraph comes from "The Alumni of King's College, Windsor" [report of the 1849 annual meeting of the alumni association], UKCA, Alumni Association fonds, file AL2.2.1849.06.26.

<sup>38</sup> Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Cunard, Sir Samuel," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 24, 2019; Archibald MacMechan, "The rise of Samuel Cunard," *Dalhousie Review* 9 (1929–30): 202–10; John G. Langley, "Samuel Cunard 1787-1865: 'As Fine A Specimen of a Self-made Man as This Western Continent Can Boast Of,'" *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 8 (2005): 92-115.

<sup>39</sup> David A. Sutherland, "Cogswell, Henry Hezekiah," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 24, 2019.

<sup>40</sup> Barker and Sutherland, "Collins, Enos"; Conlin, "A Private War in the Caribbean," 28, 53-54, 69, 80.

<sup>41</sup> Vroom, 72, asserts that Collins offered the £1,000 if other donors could be found to make up the balance. With 84 certificates purchased, and a handful of later ones noted, it seems the £9,000 may have been found, though it seems to have been a very close call. UKC AL. 4.4.4.2.1854 Index to the Register of College Certificates – 1854; numbered certificates UKC AL 4.4.1.6. Explanation of the scheme is in UKC 1.1.1.4 Board of Governors Minute book, #4, minutes of 24 February 1854; threat to provincial grant UKC 1.1.1.3, #3, Minutes of 10 February 1849; reduction of the grant, UKC 1.1.1.4 Board of Governors Minute book, #4, minutes of 24 February 1854; Cogswell's role in the 1854 plan, UKC AL 2.2.1853.06.20, "Report of the Subcommittee of Alumni on the Hon'ble H.H. Cogswell's scheme for raising funds for the benefit of King's College," *Annual Meeting of the Alumni of King's College Windsor, 1853*, 13-14.

<sup>42</sup> The impact on tuition revenues is discussed in an essay by archivist Janet Hathaway on "nominations" in the finding aid for the Alumni Association records, 8-9, at the University of King's College archives.

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<sup>43</sup> Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 20 April 1789, NSA, Charles Inglis fonds, MG1, vol. 479(a) vol. 1, file 10-165. The correct archival citation has an odd form, as shown, with two volume numbers.

<sup>44</sup> An Act for founding, establishing and maintaining a College in this Province, *Perpetual Acts of Nova Scotia*, cap. IV. [www.canadiana.ca](http://www.canadiana.ca).

<sup>45</sup> Inglis to Col. Ludlow, 20 April 1789, NSA, Charles Inglis fonds, MG1, vol. 479(a) vol. 1, file 10-165.

<sup>46</sup> Custom house quarterly traffic reports and balance sheets for 1792 and 1793, NSA, Treasury fonds, Impost and Excise series, RG 31-104, vol. 4, files 1 to 8. Although I read these documents for all of the years 1789 to 1794, inclusive, I focused in minute detail on 1792-93 years because Bishop Inglis had expressed in January of 1794 distress about the decline in customs revenue, at a time when the '92-'93 records would have been the source of any real data. His distress was ill-informed. Revenues had mounted rather than declined in the last half of 1793. In 1792, the sugar duties (before export refunds) totalled £864 (Halifax currency, which was slightly less valuable than sterling). In 1793, the gross sugar duties were £1,547. The annual grant of £400 sterling equalled £444 and change in Halifax currency. Because we do not have sources that would allow us to know how much of the sugar was re-exported and the duty paid refunded, the estimate of how much remained in the province must be approximate. Overall, refunded duties (drawbacks) were about 6% of the total customs house revenue in 1792 and 22% in 1793. Both the larger gross customs revenue and the higher rate of refunds was the result of a new law that had come into effect in June 1793. Whether sugar was re-exported from Nova Scotia to other colonies at a greater or lesser rate than other dutiable goods (gunpowder, tea, British manufactured goods, American foodstuffs, Spanish wine), we do not know. But even if reduced by 22 per cent in 1793 (to £1,206), the sugar duties were more than adequate to cover the annual provincial grant to King's.

<sup>47</sup> Hind, *The University of King's College*, 55. This sum was paid to King's in two semi-annual payments, as shown in the College accounts: for example, UKCA, UKC FIN 4.1.1, entry for 25 August 1804 "By set of exchange drawn by Sir John Wentworth in favor of the Governors of King's College on Rich'd Cumberland, Esq. for half years allow'ce f'm Parliament ending 30th June last - and delivered to Treasurer to negotiate for £500 Sterl'g ..... 555.11.1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>."

<sup>48</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation for the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (hereafter *SPG Annual Report*) for the year 1825 (London: Printed for the Society, 1825), 183-84. In the annual financial accounts of the British parliament, the £3,600 figure appears first in 1814, rises to £3,750 after Cape Breton joins with Nova Scotia in 1820, and rises substantially to £4,333 in 1824. Reductions in the subsidy begin in 1832-33, as part of a plan to transfer to the colonies the expense of supporting the SPG, and the grants are no longer recorded separately by province: Pro-Quest U.K. Parliamentary Papers, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, "Estimates, Miscellaneous Services, 1814," "Estimates, Miscellaneous Services, 1821," "Estimates, Miscellaneous Services, 1824 (IV. Colonial, Consular, and Foreign Services)," and "Estimates, Miscellaneous Services, 1832-33 (I.-V.)." (note especially part IV, 10, in the 1832-33 estimates.)

<sup>49</sup> The tax structure in Britain varied considerably between wartime and peace, and in general the tax structure was the subject of much alteration during the period of 1803-1833 when King's enjoyed a parliamentary grant. In a landmark reference work, a summary of the tax structure in 1815 showed a total tax revenue of £68.25 million, and the combination of revenue from the sugar, tobacco, coffee, and "foreign and colonial spirits" as totalling £8,177,581. Because the proportions of "foreign and colonial spirits" are not broken out, the percentage is a rough estimate. If half of that revenue was colonial rum, then the percentage is 9.8. If all of that category was colonial rum (unlikely) the percentage would be 11.98. Stephen Dowell, *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1885), 257-58. Using the same primary source, Beckett and Turner conclude that in 1792-93, sugar and tobacco alone generated a little over 10 per cent of England's tax revenue. J.V. Beckett and Michael Turner, "Taxation and Economic Growth in Eighteenth Century England," *Economic History Review*, second series, 43, 3 (1990): 394-95.

<sup>50</sup> Noel Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, vol. II (London: Chapman and Hall, 195), 436-38.

<sup>51</sup> See note 4, above, and Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges of Loyalist Nova Scotia."

<sup>52</sup> Financial statements in the *SPG Annual Report* for the years 1825, 1826, 1828, 1836, 1837, and 1838. The 1838 report includes a useful retrospective survey of the finances of the SPG for the preceding quarter-century: "Second Appendix. A brief statement of the operations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" in *SPG Annual Report, 1838*. London: Printed for the Society, 1838 [sic], 155-59. The standard work on the Church of England operations in Bermuda is J. Harry Bennett, Jr., *Bondsmen and Bishops: Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710-1838* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1958).

<sup>53</sup> This figure comes from the Legacies of British Slave Ownership website: Barbados 4215 (Codrington): Parliamentary Papers, T71/899 and T71/55. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/6568P8>. Bennett, *Bondsmen and Bishops*, 131, citing 1836 correspondence, reports slightly higher figures, £8,823 in compensation and 411 people.

<sup>54</sup> *SPG Annual Report*, 1836 and 1837, "Summary of the Foregoing Accounts": Nova Scotia's receipts and expenditures appear under "American Bishop's Account." There is a separate account for the Codrington Estate, some other specific operations, and then two accounts that are more broadly defined: "On the General Account" and "West India account." All of these accounts report similar receipts for 1836 and 1837 except for the West India Account, which grows from £13,778 in 1836 to £27,793 in 1837. Some of that increase was the product of fundraising for renewed missionary efforts in the West Indies, but a substantial part must have been from the compensation commission.

<sup>55</sup> "King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia," Appendix 41, *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1832*, 53-54.

<sup>56</sup> Mary Butler, "Mortality and Labour on the Codrington Estates, Barbados," *Journal of Caribbean History* 19, 1 (1984): 54-55, 62.

<sup>57</sup> Bennett, *Bondsmen and Bishops*, 24.

<sup>58</sup> Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 61, quoting James Stephen, *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies Delineated, as it Exists Both in Law and Practice and Compared with the Slavery of Other Countries, Antient and Modern, vol. 2* (London: Saunders and Benning, 1830), xvi-xvii.

<sup>59</sup> G.J. Barker-Benfield situates English humanitarians of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – Earl of Shaftesbury, John Wesley, Methodists generally – as part of a broader cultural change in which sensitive feelings in men as well as women were understood in a positive light: *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

<sup>60</sup> Bennett, *Bishops and Bondsmen*, 88-99.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 91, quoting a letter from Codrington attorneys to SPG Secretary, Barbados, 30 August 1768.

<sup>63</sup> Nick Draper, "'Possessing Slaves': Ownership, Compensation and Metropolitan Society in Britain at the time of Emancipation, 1834-1840," *History Workshop Journal* 64, (2007): 88; Michael Taylor, "The British West India Interest and Its Allies, 1823-1833," *English Historical Review*, CXXXIII, 565 (2018): 1490.

<sup>64</sup> Bennett, *Bishops and Bondsmen*, 118-19.

<sup>65</sup> I thank Afua Cooper for drawing my attention to the Johnston claim and sharing copies of the claim documents with me in my role as a member of the Lord Dalhousie Panel on Race and Slavery, at Dalhousie University. Jamaica, St. Andrews 494 (Mount Salus), Legacies of British Slave-ownership, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/24202>; Inventory and Will of John Johnston, NSA, RG48 J18, retrieved from familysearch.org. I thank genealogist Nat Smith for his assistance in searching out this

probate record. D. A. Sutherland, "Johnston, James William," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 27, 2019, [biographi.ca](http://biographi.ca).

<sup>66</sup> From Halifax County Probate Papers, at [familysearch.org](http://familysearch.org): Richard Bulkeley, Sr. inventory and will, 1801, B176; John Pryor, Sr., inventory, 1820, P92; J.M.F. Bulkeley, Statement of Account, 1798, B175; William Nesbitt, Inventory, 1814, N17; John Johnston, inventory and will, 1836, J18. The inventory of a Falmouth farmer provided some evidence of wealthy Nova Scotians lending locally. The farmer had borrowed £100 or more each from S.S. Blowers, Thomas Haliburton, Simeon Fitch, and Jno. Clark: James Bacon, inventory, 1822, B210. I thank Brennan Dempsey for his painstaking research assistance with the probate records.

<sup>67</sup> Gwyn, *Excessive Expectations*, 221-24.

<sup>68</sup> Victor Ross and Arthur St. L. Trigge, *History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1920), 25–123; and Enos Collins, "Letters and Papers of Hon. Enos Collins," ed. C. B. Fergusson, *Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia* 13 (1959), cited in Peter James Hudson, "On the History and Historiography of Banking in the Caribbean," *Small Axe*, 18, 1, (2014): 28. For a list of initial directors, see Barker and Sutherland, "Collins, Enos," and Jane Hollingworth Nokes, "Lawson, William (d. 1848)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 25, 2019, [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca).

<sup>69</sup> Many of the complex business mechanisms that connected investors and their families in Britain to slave-ownership in the British empire are described in Nicholas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-ownership, Compensation, and British Society at the End of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Draper and others have developed at University College London a research centre for the study of the legacies of British slave-ownership. More information about their work and links to a database of compensation paid at abolition to former slave-owners can be found at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/project>.

<sup>70</sup> MacGregor, "A letter to a clergyman urging him to set free a black girl he held in slavery."

<sup>71</sup> Some examples of some abolitionist material published in the *Nova-Scotia Magazine* are: reading list of abolitionist titles on the slave trade, 1, 1 (1789): 62; "Propositions on the Slave Trade, brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Wilberforce," 1, 5 (1789): 373-75; "Papers on the Slave Trade, Laid upon the Table of the House of Commons. Barbados Report," 2, 5 (1790): 376-78; Rev. James Ramsay, "Remarkable Anecdotes of Gratitude, Generosity, and Elevation of Mind, in the Negro Race," 4, 1 (1791): 8; Christianismus, "Cursory Remarks on the Commerce in Slaves, [Addressed to the Editor of the *Universal Magazine*]" 4, 3 (1791): 167-69. The *Nova-Scotia Magazine* also published in serial form the novel *The Negro Equalled by Few Europeans, translated from the French* (first installment in July 1791 edition, and published monthly until the magazine ceased).

<sup>72</sup> The essay entitled "Slavery" was chapter seven in the second series, published in 1838. The essay on which chapter seven was based was originally published in Halifax's *The Novascotian* newspaper as part of a series that began in September 1835. My summary of chapter seven is based on T.C. Haliburton, *Sam Slick the Clockmaker, His Sayings and Doings* (London: George Routledge and Company, c. 1839). <http://online.canadiana.ca/view/ooциhm.37288/8?r=0&s=1>. The bibliographic information is from page xi of the introduction by E.A. Baker to that edition and from V.L.O. Chittick, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton ("Sam Slick"): A Study in Provincial Toryism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), 178.

<sup>73</sup> Oana Godeanu-Kenworthy, " 'A great caravansary filled with strangers': American popular democracy in T. C. Haliburton's political satire" *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 51, 3 (2016): 387-401; George Elliott Clarke, "White niggers, black slaves: Slavery, race and class in T. C. Haliburton's *The Clockmaker*," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 14, 1 (1994): 13-40.

<sup>74</sup> Henry Bliss, *The Colonial System* (London: John Richardson, 1833), 107

<sup>75</sup> "The West Indian Colonies," [editorial] *Acadian Recorder*, 5 August 1826, 3. Julian Gwyn notes that Nova Scotian businessmen hoped for more from the West Indies trade than it delivered (except

during the peak years of 1808-1815): Gwyn, *Excessive Expectations*, 32-33, 84-89. The *Recorder's* editorial was part of a prolonged campaign in Nova Scotia to get the British parliament to permanently legislate a protected market in the British West Indies for British North America goods. The West Indies planters' lobby did not always see their economic interests as aligned with Nova Scotia's. In both supply and price, the West Indies sugar estate owners preferred goods from the United States, and at times, Britain's insistence on excluding the US from the British West Indies led to hardship and even starvation of enslaved people. Although Nova Scotian lobbyists continued to fight to keep the US competitors out of the British West Indies, the West Indies planters' lobby prevailed against the British North American lobby in 1822: Gerald S. Graham, *Sea Power and British North America, 1783-1820: a Study in British Colonial Policy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941), 179-231; Harold Hampden Robertson, "Commercial Relations between Nova Scotia and the British West Indies, 1788-1822: the Twilight of Mercantilism in the British Empire" (M.A. thesis, History, Dalhousie University, 1976).

<sup>76</sup> In the 1600s and early 1700s, most Anglo-Protestant slave-owners believed that enslaved people could not and should not be Christians. They regarded Catholic slave masters' imposition of Christianity on enslaved people as evidence that Catholicism was not a religion of liberty. In the early 1700s, some Anglican, Moravian, and other Protestant missionaries began seeking to convert enslaved people in the Caribbean to Christianity. This project encountered stiff resistance from planters, who held to the old line that Protestantism and the English Church meant liberty. In response, missionaries defended the converting of enslaved people, "Christian slavery," by saying that conversion of enslaved people would actual make them more docile, rather than proud and unwilling to submit. Katharine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 2-5, 11, 189-90. This remained a current justification for the SPG's practices on the Codrington plantation into the 1820s.

<sup>77</sup> <https://www.techrepublic.com/article/how-conflict-minerals-funded-a-war-that-killed-millions/> Karen E. Woody, "Conflict Minerals Legislation: the SEC's New Role as Diplomatic and Humanitarian Watchdog," *Fordham Law Review* 81 (2012-2013): 1315-1352. Steven B. Young, "Responsible sourcing of metals: certification approaches for conflict minerals and conflict-free metals," *International Journal of Life Cycle Assessment* 23, 7 (2018): 1429–1447. It may be that, as I write this, the facts reported in these sources are not as they were just a few years ago, so please take this in general terms as a kind of example.

<sup>78</sup> A recent example of such a challenge is Anthony Morgan's short essay in *Policy Options*, "An Africentric Principle Could Right Some Wrongs," 23 April 2019: <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/april-2019/an-africentric-principle-could-right-some-wrongs/>

<sup>79</sup> The Anglican Church in Canada is active in a variety of social justice campaigns, including the fight against modern slavery and human trafficking: <https://www.anglican.ca/issues/human-trafficking/working-on-the-issue/>. An account of social justice work in Nova Scotia's recent Anglican history is King's alumnus C. Russell Elliott's *The Briefcase Boys* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1996). Current social justice perspectives in Anglicanism internationally are described in Malcolm Brown, et al., *Anglican Social Theology Today* (London: The Archbishop's Council, 2014).

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in "African-Nova Scotia youth publish book on damages caused by slavery, colonialism," by Aya Al-Hakim, CBC News, 10 February 2019. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/african-nova-scotia-youth-publishing-book-anti-black-racism-colonialism-1.5011733>

<sup>81</sup> Thanks to Claudine Bonner for drawing my attention to this text: Margaret Mead and James Baldwin, *A Rap on Race* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1971), 188.