

# Loyalists and Slavery in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick:

## Selected Documents from *The Loyalist Collection*

**Booth, William. 2008. *Remarks and rough memorandums: Captain William Cooth, Corps of Royal Engineers, Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1787, 1789*. Shelburne, NS: Shelburne County Archives & Genealogical Society.**

Captain-Lieutenant William Booth of the Corps of Engineers was posted to Shelburne between 1786 and 1789. Booth's "Rough Memorandums" gives insight into the social, economic, military and cultural history of early Shelburne and the black settlement of Birch Town. Before his departure from Shelburne, he paid four dollars to send Betty Anna, his Negress, to the Bahamas and then onward to his brother in law's plantation in Grenada, which it is suggested she came from initially. Booth in a letter to his brother-in-law, Edmund Proudfoot, dated June 2nd, 1789, indicated he had "no further use for her." In a separate letter, dated August 31st 1789 to his brother, he shared that he had kept one of his Negresses with him who "turns out well," while "the other was clever but somewhat inclined to be Teefee, Teefee according to their own language, however she is young and to be easy reformed."

———. 2008. *Remarks and rough memorandums: Captain William Booth, Corps of Royal Engineers, Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1787, 1789*. Shelburne, NS: Shelburne County Archives & Genealogical Society.

In a Memo on page 91, William Booth wrote: "Mr. Rowland sold his Negress for 30 [pounds] of this currency, and 'Tis said she will fetch 300 dollars at New Providence." Shelburne's new Church of England rector, the Reverend John Hamilton Rowland, had a female slave who was expected to resell for quite a profit in New Providence Island (Bahamas). In a letter dated June 3 1789, Captain Wheeler is said to have told Booth that "Lord Dunmore allows him two Guineas for each Negro or Negress carried from hence to his Government."

**Chipman, Ward. *Muster Rolls: 1775-1837, MG 23, D1, Vol 26. Muster Roll of Capt. William Hamilton's company Royal North Carolina Regiment from 25 April to 24 June 1783.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4296>

During the war, Moses Reed and Jameson (Timothy) Davis had left their masters to go to Charles Town where they worked for Lord Francis Rawdon's Volunteers of Ireland. At the evacuation of Charleston, they went to East Florida and served with the Royal North Carolina Regiment, the same regiment of Lt. Col. John Hamilton. They were listed as pioneers on this muster which was taken in St. Augustine. Moses Reid (Reed), Jameson (Timothy) Davis, Molly Sinclair and Phoebe Martin all had been in the service, without pay, of Thomas Hamilton of Country Harbour, cousin of Lt. Col. John Hamilton. Reed, Davis, Sinclair and Martin, all blacks, left Hamilton's service and went to Halifax, only to be kidnapped and brought to Shelburne with the purpose of trading to the Bahamas. They were successful in court and won their release. Their story is quite similar to Mary Postell.

**Chipman, Ward (1754-1824). *Muster Rolls: 1775-1837. Muster Roll of disbanded officers, discharged and disbanded soldiers and loyalists taken in the county of Annapolis between the 18th and 24th of June 1784.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4296>

This Muster Roll lists the number of slaves brought by disbanded soldiers and Loyalists into Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. It indicates if the slaves are above or under ten.

**Chipman, Ward (1754-1824), MG 23, D 1 Vol. 24/249. *Muster Rolls: 1775-1837. Shaw, William to Colonel Winslow, Canso, 1784 June 15.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4296>

William Shaw, the provost marshal of forces in Nova Scotia worked for the Muster Master General of Provincial Forces in New Brunswick, Col. Edward Winslow. In this letter concerning his mustering of the different Corps settled at Country Harbour, he remarks "I hope the method I have observed respecting servants will be approved of, I must remark with respect to the Blacks that I have discovered many of them are not the property of the Persons they live with." In her article "Hidden from History...", Troxler states Shaw recorded 4 clear observations: (1) that some of the persons whom he listed as servants were black; (2) that some of them were not black; (3) that some of the black servants were the property of the persons they live with, that is, legally slaves; and (4) that some of them were not.

**Chipman, Ward (1754-1824), MG 23, D 1, Series 1 Vol. 24/253. *Muster Rolls: 1775-1837. Roll of the late South Carolina Royalists at Country Harbour, Nova Scotia, 12th June, 1784.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4296>

The Muster Roll has the following categories with remarks for each under the main heading "Rank and Names": men, women, children 10 years old, children under 10, and servants. It was produced by William Shaw, Assistant Commissary of Musters. The listing for servants indicates to whom they were servants. In her article, "Hidden from History, Black Loyalists at Country Harbour," Troxler questions what the category "servant" means—indentured servants or outright slaves? She suggests the person utilizing the term may have chosen it "for its ambiguity, either because two or more of its meanings applied at Country Harbour or because he did not know what the legal status of the dependent members of the community actually was."

**Chipman, Ward (1754-1824), MG 23, D 1, Series 1 Vol. 24/256. *Muster Rolls: 1775- 1837. List of men, women, children and servants belonging to the late Royal North Carolina Regiment, settled and carrying on improvements at Country Harbour, 12 June 1784.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4296>

In this muster under the heading "Rank and Names" are the following categories: men, women, children under 10, and servants & to whom. Included in the list of servants are Molly, attached with Colonel Hamilton and Phebe, attached to Captain Hamilton. Later on, these two "servants" became the victims of an attempt to be sold to the West Indies along with Privates Moses Reed and Timothy Davies—also black. See Carol Troxler's article, "Hidden from History, Black Loyalists at Country Harbour."

**Christ Church, Fredericton, New Brunswick: Anglican. *Registers and Records. Christ Church Fredericton vestry minutes, 1794 Oct 3rd.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4230>

In discussions regarding the seating arrangements in the new Anglican Church, the vestrymen resolved, among other things, "That the wall seat in the North Gallery be allotted for Servants & people of colour." In *Blacks in Canada*, Winks suggests this indicated "no distinction between the races while clearly implying that most blacks were under servitude. In 1815, however, the vestrymen decided that a partition should be put across the seat to separate white from black, presumably because by then the majority of Negroes no longer were slaves or servants."

**Dorchester, Guy Carleton, PRO 30/55/9687. *British Headquarters Papers: 1747-1783. Memorial of David Hurd.,*** <https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4310>

David Hurd petitioned Guy Carleton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America, to have a Negro, his property, restored to him. He states that his "negro slave named Richard ran away from him several months since and entered into the service of Mr. William Hill at Port Roseway." He was petitioning Carleton because "the magistrates of Port Roseway would not authorize such delivery as they conceived he was made freed by your Excellency's order."

**Great Britain, Colonial Office. *Entry Books: Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, CO 218/31 folio 77. Aberdeen, Earl of to Archibald Campbell, 1835 February 4.***  
<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4635>

The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, Campbell, was reprimanded by the Secretary of State, Aberdeen, for having assented to *An Act to prevent the clandestine landing of Liberated Slaves, and other Persons therein mentioned, from vessels arriving within this Province*. He writes, "The emancipated Slaves are free subjects of the King and have as perfect a right as any other British subjects to resort at their pleasure to any part of the King's Dominions. The exercise of that Privilege which this Act forbids them ....is valuable when considered as forming a part of their newly acquired Rights...."

**Great Britain, Colonial Office CO 217/97/fol. 37. *Original Correspondence: Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. Extracts from a letter [William Sebatier] dated Halifax, Nova Scotia 24th August 1812, addressed to N. Atcheson Esq. London.***  
<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4633>

This letter is an enclosure attached to N. Atcheson's correspondence, *Remarks on the population of Nova Scotia and on propriety of directing part of the emigration from the United Kingdom to that colony*, dated 17th March, 1815. William Sabatier was the Chairman of the Committee of Trade and had been a loyalist in New York during the American Revolution. In his survey of the population of Nova Scotia, he briefly remarks on the Blacks in general and slaves in Annapolis County.

**Great Britain, Colonial Office, CO 226/10/77. *Original Correspondence: Prince Edward Island. Fanning, Lieutenant Governor Edmund to Nepean, Evan, Undersecretary of State, 1786 Nov. 16.***  
<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4639>

The new Lt. Gov. of the Island of St. John writes to the Undersecretary in which he mentions a few particulars respecting his private situation; one of which is the costs in moving his "servants and baggage." It is believed David Sheppard was one of Fanning's slaves. Sheppard was charged and convicted of a felony: larceny. Hornby suggests that Sheppard's pardon, as noted in the Executive Council Minutes for July 6th, was a result of his relationship to Fanning.

**Great Britain, Colonial Office, CO 226/18/fol. 256. *Original Correspondence: Prince Edward Island: 1769-1873. Wentworth, Lieutenant Governor Jonathan to Joseph Aplin, 1801 Sept. 18.***  
<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4639>

Wentworth's reply to letters from Aplin concerning legal matters, including the slavery court case, *DeLancey v. Woodin*. Aplin was involved in this case as junior associate counsel for the plaintiff: James DeLancey of Annapolis.

**Great Britain, Colonial Office, CO 226/18/fol. 487. *Original Correspondence: Prince Edward Island: 1769-1873. Opinions of several gentlemen of the law, on the subject of Negro servitude, in the province of Nova Scotia (Saint John), 1802.***  
<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4639>

Barry Cahill argues Jonathan Odell was the compiler of the Pamphlet. David Bell suggests Joseph Aplin caused this Pamphlet to be published. The pamphlet is the main source of information on the slave case *DeLancey v. Woodin*, an action taken in the Supreme Court at Annapolis. Robin Winks calls this pamphlet "the most extensive legal defense of slavery ever offered in British North America". Aplin enclosed a copy of the Pamphlet in his letter to the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, J. King. The Pamphlet is also available online at the University of Victoria.

**Great Britain, Colonial Office, CO 226/7/251. *Original Correspondence: Prince Edward Island: 1769-1873. Patterson, Governor Walter to Lord George Germain, 1781 March 1.***  
<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4639>

Governor Patterson writing to his superior in London indicating the passage of various Acts, including *An Act declaring that Baptism of Slaves shall not exempt them from Bondage*. There was a common belief that the baptism of a pagan slave, ipso facto effected his emancipation. This Act is transcribed in the article, *The Baptism of Slaves in Prince Edward Island* by William Renwick Riddell in *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 6, no. 3, p. 308.

**Great Britain, Colonial Office, CO226/18/487. *Original Correspondence: Prince Edward Island. Aplin, Joseph to John King, 16 Nov. 1802.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4639>

Aplin, once Attorney General of Prince Edward Island, in this letter is trying to persuade King, the Undersecretary of State that he is deserving of respect and, in doing so gives a general overview of his service to the Crown. He states "perhaps the enclosed letter from Sir John Wentworth may contribute towards impressing you with this belief." Enclosed also with the letter is a printed copy of a pamphlet likely engineered by Joseph Aplin titled Opinions of Several Gentlemen of the Law, on the Subject of Negro Servitude, in the Province of Nova-Scotia, published in St. John. Aplin was one of Colonel James Delancey's lawyers who had filed suit against William Worden for harboring an escaped slave. The pamphlet has been called by Robin Winks "the most extensive legal defense of slavery ever offered in British North America."

**Great Britain, Foreign Office FO 4/1/ fol. 419. *Correspondence: United States of America, Series I: 1782-1795. Petition of Thomas Peters to Secretary of State, Lord Grenville, 1791.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4253>

This is the second of two petitions, 1791, from Thomas Peters, formerly a sergeant in the Black Pioneers. He was the chief spokesman of the Annapolis County Blacks and complained in this petition of the "public and avowed toleration of slavery."

**Jarvis Family, NBM F 144 - S 88. *Collection. Legal Documents: Bill of Sale, John Lewis to Munson Jarvis, 1782 July 13.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4372>

This bill of sale, or deed, is for the transfer of ownership of a "Negro wench named Rachel and her female child nam'd Jane." Munson Jarvis had worked as a silversmith in Stamford Connecticut before escaping to Long Island and helping to recruit for the Prince of Wales Regiment as well as continuing his silversmithing. He settled in Saint John after the war and worked as an ironmonger and hardware merchant and also developed a successful trading business.

**New Brunswick Museum, Archives. *Additional Loyalist Documents I. Peter Thompson papers.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4195>

Peter Thompson, slave to Charles McPherson of Saint John, is manumitted in a deed for the fee of 30 pounds, payable in three installments. Thompson, thereafter purchases a tavern as can be seen from this tavern licence in 1797. After Thompson's death, McPherson is one of the guarantors for debts relating to Thompson's tavern.

**New Brunswick Museum, Archives, PANB MC 939. *Additional Loyalist Documents II. Pennfield Quakers Record Book: Book of Records.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4196>

The Quakers were the only religious sect who refused to hold slaves. The Quakers who settled at Beaver Harbour signed an agreement before leaving New York late in 1783 that no slave master would be admitted. This was written in their Rules and Regulations, dated 1785 Jan. 16, in the 4th Article.

**New Brunswick, Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, York County. *Minutes: 1789-1841. The King versus Stair Agnew, 1801 June 9, 10, 11.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4407>

Stair Agnew indicted for assaulting and beating Richard Hopefield whom Agnew believed was his "negro slave servant for life".

**New Brunswick, House of Assembly, RS 1. *Journal and Votes of the House of Assembly*. A bill relating to Negroes: 1801 Feb. 6, 12, 14; pp. 641, 650-652.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4648>

Stair Agnew introduced this bill alarmed at the uncertain state of the law relating to slavery. The Bill itself is also available online at PANB's website.

**New Brunswick, House of Assembly, RS 24/S14. *Papers*. A bill relating to Negroes, 1801 Feb. 6, 12, 14.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4647>

Stair Agnew introduced this bill being alarmed at the uncertain state of the law concerning slavery. Two versions of the Bill survive. The old archival reference No. for the bill is RLE/801/A/bi.

**New Brunswick, Land Records, St. John County, RS 94, Book A2, page 145. *Registry Records: 1784-1830*. Deed, Frederick William Hecht to Joshua Moore, 1786 December 21.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4115>

Hecht manumitted his slave, Moore, whom he had brought with him from New York. Moore was slave born in New York in 1766. Hecht had been appointed Senior Assistant Commissary in Nova Scotia in 1783 with chief responsibilities for provisioning the refugees before coming to Saint John.

**New Brunswick, Land Records, St. John County, RS 94, C1 S1, page 61. *Registry Records: 1784-1830*. Bill of sale, John Johnson to Samuel Duff, January 1791.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4115>

This is a delayed registration of a bill of sale of a 14 year old female slave known as Nancy previously registered in New York in November 1778.

**New Brunswick, Land Records, York County, RS 98. *Registry Records*. Bill of sale, Benjamin Davis to John Agnew, 1789 October 26.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4116>

In this deed, Benjamin Davis agreed to sell to the Reverend John Agnew "four negroes named Prince, and Bella his wife, and two children named Peter and William. To have and to hold the said Negroes unto the said John Agnew, his executor's administrators and assigns to his and their own proper use and behoof forever." The Reverend had been Rector of the parish of Suffolk in Virginia before the war started, became Chaplain of the Queen's Rangers during the war and settled near Fredericton thereafter. He indicated in his claim for compensation that he had owned a large amount of property in Virginia and had lost much of his Negroes. His son was Stair Agnew.

**New Brunswick, Probate Court, Kings County. *Records*. Reverend James Scovil Will, 1804 August 6.,**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4767>

Aside from all his landed property, the Reverend Scovil of Kingston bequeathed to his wife, Amy, "the use of my servant boys Robert and Sampson, the first being twelve years old ...the other ten...." Transcription of will available in Hale's book, *Early New Brunswick Probate Records*.

**New Brunswick, Supreme Court. RS 32. *Minutes*. The King versus Caleb Jones: 1799 18 July, 1 Oct.; 1800 Feb. 4, 7, 8. The King versus Stair Agnew: 1799 1 Oct., 1800 Feb. 4, 8; 1802 July 20.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4165>

Slave trials: R v Jones involved the "Black woman Ann otherwise called Nancy" whom Jones had brought with him from Maryland in 1785; R v. Agnew involved the slave Mary Morton whom Agnew had purchased from William Bailey. They were commenced simultaneously but R v Agnew did not go to trial when the verdict was known in the other case. The court was evenly divided and Ann was sent back to captivity. Case Files are available at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Reference no. RS 42, with further details.

———. *Minutes: 1785-1829. The King versus Stair Agnew 1806 Feb. 5, 7; Richard Hopefield versus Stair Agnew 1806 May 8.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4165>

When Stair Agnew failed to keep his promise to free Richard Hopefield Jr. on his 21st birthday, Samuel Denny Street procured a habeas corpus in Hopefield's behalf. Ward Chipman represented Agnew. Hopefield also brought a civil suit against Agnew for battery and false imprisonment. Hopefield's claim for freedom failed.

**New Brunswick, Supreme Court. RS 42. *Records: 1785-1834. Stair Agnew v. Richard Hopewell (Hopefield), Michaelmas term 1805.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4168>

Appears to be the case related to Richard Hopefield Jr. who had been promised by Agnew his freedom on his 21st birthday. Agnew did not fulfill the promise and a writ of habeas corpus was proceeded by Samuel Denny Street on Hopefield's behalf, as well as a separate suit for battery and false imprisonment.

**New Brunswick, Surveyor General, RS 108. *Land Petitions: 1783-1834. Memorial of Zimri Armstrong, 1785 June 20.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4651>

Zimri Armstrong, after serving in one of the loyalist regiments, indentured himself to Samuel Jarvis on the condition that Jarvis would pay his passage to New Brunswick, set him up in his trade after his two years' service and buy his families' freedom who were slaves. Jarvis, though, returned to the United States, leaving Armstrong destitute and unwell. Unbeknown to Armstrong, Jarvis sold his wife and children as slaves. In desperation, Armstrong petitions Lt. Gov. Thomas Carleton. William Spray in his book *Blacks in New Brunswick* states Armstrong's appeal "was not apt to meet with much success. Carleton....showed very little concern for the welfare of the Black people..... The majority of the members of his council were slave-owners who were no more sympathetic than Carleton." Council decided they could do nothing for him. This memorial has also been transcribed with a narrative interpretation and made available online at the Atlantic Canada Portal website: <http://atlanticportal.hil.unb.ca/acva/blackloyalists/en/learn/land/summary/armstrong.pdf>.

**Nova Scotia, Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, Shelburne County, PANS Microfilm: Places: Shelburne County, Sessions Court. *Minutes: 1784-1880. Special sessions of Shelburne: R v. McNeill ex parte reed et al, 1786 August 5.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4701>

Moses Reed, Temison Davies, Molly Sinclair and Phebe Martin were runaway slaves who on the evacuation of Charles Town (Charleston) went to St. Augustine where Reed and Davies served with Royal North Carolina Regiment. The Regiment was led by Lt. Col. John Hamilton. At Country Harbour, all were in the service of Hamilton's cousin, Captain Thomas Hamilton for which they received no wages. After two years they went to Halifax where they were taken on ship and put in irons by Daniel McNeil (a Country Harbour slave owner himself and former captain in the same regiment) and his party, which included Captain Hamilton. They arrived in Shelburne to be sold and sent to the Bahamas. The Court found in favor of all four Blacks.

**Nova Scotia, Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, Shelburne County, PANS Places: Shelburne County-Sessions Court. *Minutes. Robert Sommerville complaint, 1785 September 15.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4701>

Robert Sommerville (Summerville) "complains that Joe a Black man his slave stole sundry articles from him." The court order punishment of "thirty nine lashes on the bare back."

———. *Minutes. The king against Isaac, a Negro, 1784 April 6.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4701>

Isaac, who pled not guilty to the charge of Assault and Battery on his "master" William Young, was found guilty and received the punishment of 39 lashes "and after that to be kept at hard labor during two months and to receive a whipping....once every month...."

**Nova Scotia, Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, Shelburne County, RG 34-321, Series M.**

***Records: 1784-1880. Petition of Martilla Dixon, 1791 June 29.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4684>

Martilla Dixon of Annapolis and slave of Major Thomas Barclay, late of the Loyal American Regiment, petitioned the Shelburne justices to protect her and to require Barclay to prove ownership. She, again has a similar story to Mary Postell: after leaving her owners in Virginia to take "the benefit of his Majesty's proclamation respecting Negroes." She "fell in" with John Sergeant at Charles Town and worked for three loyalist officers before being employed to attend Major Barclay's Lady. She feared she would be sold to the West Indies and took refuge with her father in Shelburne.

**Nova Scotia, House of Assembly. *Journals: 1761-1846. An act for regulating inn holders, tavern keepers, and retailers of spirituous liquors, 1762 March 24, 30-31, April 3.***

<http://www.lib.unb.ca/collections/loyalist/seeOne.php?id=162&string=house%20assembly>

The 1762 *Inn holders Act* prohibited retailing alcoholic beverages on credit to soldiers, sailors, servants, and apprentices, indentured servants and Negro slaves. It was the only statute wherein the words "Negro" and "slave" were combined.

**Nova Scotia, House of Assembly. *Journals: 1761-1846. An act for regulating bound and free negroes and mulattoes, and for more effectually punishing such persons of that description as shall in future be guilty of offences, 1787 November 20-23, and 24.,***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4657>

The *Bill for Regulating Negroes* was first presented at the third (1787) session of Nova Scotia's Assembly, the first in which the new Loyalist townships of Shelburne and Digby were represented, having between them the bulk of the Black population. The Bill passed through first and second reading and had reached the committee stage when Solicitor General Uniacke successfully moved that it be deferred until the next session. The Bill was not passed. The 1787 Bill is not extant but can be recreated from the 1789 *Bill for Regulating Negroes*.

———. *Journals: 1761-1846. An act in addition to, and amendment of, an act, made in the fifth year of his present majesty's reign, entitled, an act for regulating servants, referred to as the bill for regulating servants, 1787 November 20-23, and 26.,*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4657>

The *Act for Regulating Servants* would figure in Richard Uniacke's defense in the slave Supreme Court case, *Delancey v. Woodin*, 1801.

———. *Journals: 1761-1846. An act for the regulation and relief of free Negroes within the province of Nova Scotia, 1789 March 27-28, April 2-3.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4657>

The new Negro Bill was drafted and presented by Charles Hill of Amherst; it did not pass Council. The

language in the Bill was worrisome as it implicated the existence of slavery as a statute right. One of the intentions of the Bill was to prevent the illegal re-enslavement of free Blacks.

———. *Journals: 1761-1846. William Allen Chipman (kings county), motion for a commission of inquiry, 1801 July 16.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4657>

Chipman wanted an enquiry into the "Rights which individuals had to the Service of Negroes and People of Colour as Slaves". William Tonge (Newport) moved for an amendment; Mr. Wilkins (Lunenburg County) moved that the Motion and the Amendment be deferred to the next Session. The commission of inquiry into the legality of slavery did not occur.

———. *Journals: 1761-1846. John Taylor petition, 1808 January 9.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4657>

Twenty seven slave masters of Annapolis County (most of whom were loyalists), petitioned for slaveholders' property rights. The petition was presented by John Warwick, Loyalist MHA for Digby and tabled; it did not proceed any further. The *Journals* provide a synopsis of the petition; the actual petition is available online at PANS.

———. *Journals: 1761-1846. Bill for regulating Negro servitude within and throughout this province, 1808 January 9, 11-12, December 3, 8, and 15.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4657>

On the same day as the Annapolis petition for slave owners' rights, Thomas Ritchie introduced this bill in January; resubmitted again in December with a change in title from "Servitude" to "Servants". David Bell states the "Ritchie bill explicitly recognized the slavery of Blacks as a statute right." The bill was twice deferred and does not seem to appear again.

———. *Journals: 1761-1846. An act to prevent the clandestine landing of liberated slaves, and other persons therein mentioned, from vessels arriving within this province, 1834 April 16.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4657>

With the coming into force of the *Slavery Abolition Act* in Britain, the Nova Scotia legislators did not want potentially burdensome freed blacks coming to Nova Scotia. This Act was disallowed by Order-in-Council. A digital copy of the document is available online at PANS.

**Nova Scotia, Land Records, RG 20, Series A. *Nova Scotia Land Papers: 1765-1808. Memorandum concerning land for John Fanning and others, 1786.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4642>

In this land document, Governor Parr approved two hundred acres for each person who has a family and one hundred acres for each single man. Jesse Gray is listed with 4 servants included in his household. Having 4 servants, thus, increased the amount of land Gray would receive. A Black, Mary Postell and her daughters, Flora and Nelly, were three of the "servants." Mary Postell would take Gray to court claiming she was a free Black being held as a slave.

**Nova Scotia, Lieutenant Governor RG 1, vol. 49. *Letterbooks: 1749-1824. Sir John Wentworth to Paul Wentworth or his attorney, 1784 February 24.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4682>

Wentworth purchased in Halifax in 1784 nineteen slaves for Paul Wentworth, his cousin, for his estate in Surinam. This letter gives a description of some of them, gives his intentions towards them and indicates that he had them christened before leaving the province.



**Nova Scotia, Supreme Court, RG 39, J Series, vol. 11, page 329. *Judgement Books: 1775-1823. Hecht v. Moody, Easter term 1799.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4072>

William Frederick Hecht, Justice of the Peace from Digby had his slave, Rachel Bross (Brass), illegally arrested for eloping. In response, Loyalist Solicitor-General Jonathan Serns filed a writ of habeas corpus in favor of Bross. Barry Cahill states that this case "confirmed that the criminal law could be brought to bear against the illegal detention of a Black person." While released pending the hearing, Bross went to work for Phebe Moody in Halifax. Hecht filed suit against Moody for damages for hiring a Black person who was not a "free agent." Hecht lost this case. This document is the judgement. The case files for *Hecht v. Moody* and *R. v. Hecht, ex parte Rachel alias Bross* are held at the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia.

**Nova Scotia, Supreme Court. RG 39, Series J, vol. 2. *Judgement Books: 1775-1823. R. v. Fennell et al, ex parte Francis, alias Prince, 1803, January 14 and 17.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4072>

Frederick Williams, a loyalist at Annapolis, was charged and convicted for assault for attempting to forcibly repossess the slave known as Prince.

**Nova Scotia, Township Records (Shelburne County) MG 4, Vol 141. *Local records: 1782-1860. Copies of wills 1784-1787.,***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

The wills in this township record depict that slaves were viewed as property and could be bequeathed as part of an estate. In Thomas Robinson's will, dated 10th August 1787, he bequeathed his slave, Manuel to his eldest son.

**Nova Scotia, Township Records (Shelburne County), MG 4, Vol. 141. *Local records: 1782-1860. A muster roll of free Negroes settled at Birch Town, Port Roseway, 1784.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

This muster roll makes reference to Mary Randon's husband who was tricked into re-enslavement by William Castels. He was sold to the West Indies under the pretext that he was to be sent to Barrington, a neighboring town to Birch Town.

**Nova Scotia, Township Records (Shelburne County), MG 9, B 9-14. *Local records: 1782-1860. Singletory, James application to Shelburne county special sessions, 1785 August 25.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

"James Singletory a negro Man having applied to James McEwen Esq. praying he might be discharged from the service of Samuel Andrews late of Augustine, who claims him as his slave." Samuel Andrews had commanded loyal militia in North Carolina. He had brought black people with him from Charles Town to East Florida before coming to Shelburne. Andrews indicated he had lost his bill of sale and was given a year to prove ownership of James, his wife and child; otherwise, he was to pay them as servants.

**Nova Scotia, Township Records, Shelburne County. *Local Records: 1782-1860. General Sessions of Shelburne: Molly v. Jesse Gray, 1786 April 12.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

Mary Postell, also known as Molly, ran away from her initial master, went behind British lines in Charleston and worked on public works, and received a certificate of protection only to have it stolen from her. She went into service with Jesse Gray in St. Augustine after leaving Charleston on the evacuation of that city. Postell left Gray's household with her children and took him to court soon after arriving in Shelburne because she was concerned he was going to sell her. Gray brings to court a bill of sale from his brother Samuel, whom he says he sold her to for a short period, and had witnesses testify they had known her as the property of Samuel

Gray in East Florida. She lost the case and she and her children went back to Gray in Argyle. One of the witnesses, William Mangrum, would later buy Postell from Gray.

**Nova Scotia, Township Records, Shelburne County, MG 4, Vol. 141. *Local Records*. Muster Roll of free Negroes settled at Birch Town, 1784 August.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

Benjamin and his wife Binah Trots are listed together on this Muster. It indicates Benjamin lived with Mr. Munn for a year and received provisions. In the remarks for Binah, who had lived with Mr. Gough, it indicates her husband was "carried to Jamaica" and sold by a Mr. Miller who lived in the same household.

**Nova Scotia, Township Records, Shelburne County, MG 4, vol. 141. *Local Records*. Some early wills of Shelburne, NS: Thomas Robinson, 1787 August 10.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

Thomas Robinson, formerly of Sussex County, Delaware, in his will bequeathed to his eldest son Thomas and "his heirs and assigns forever" his Negro Boy named Manuel along with other chattels." He bequeathed to his daughter Arcada "two hundred pounds in cash ....together with my Negroe woman Priscilla and her child Sally."

———. ***Local Records*. Muster roll of free Negroes settled at Birch Town, Port Roseway, 1784.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

Mary Clark Randon, aged 20, and Binah Trost, aged 25, were in similar situations after arriving in Shelburne as free Negroes with their husbands. Both their husbands were deceived and sold to the West Indies. These records contain the following headings: Heads of Families; Women and Children; Men, Women, Children [ages]; Families they lived in; Company they belonged to; and Remarks.

———. ***Local Records*. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

In this transcription of Thomas Robinson's will, dated 1787 August 10, had bequeaths to his eldest son, Thomas, his "pinchback watch, chain and gold seal, also my Negro Boy, named Manuel....to him his Heirs and Assigns forever." Thomas Robinson was formerly from Sussex County, Delaware before the war.

———. ***Local Records: 1782-1860*. Extracts from the general sessions of Shelburne, NS: R. v. gray, ex parte Postell, 1791 April 5, July 7-8, 11, 19, Nov. 4.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

"Mary Postell, a Negro Woman, appeared in Court, and Complained against Jesse Gray, of Argyle, for taking away her children." Gray had joined the South Carolina Loyalist militia after the British arrival in 1780. Postell stated in court that at the evacuation of Charles Town, she received a certificate of protection for having worked for the British after running away from her master, Elisha Postell, remarried to a Wearing. This certificate was taken from her by John MacDougal "under pretext of looking at it." She came with Jesse Gray as a servant with her two children. He thereafter sold her to Mr. Mingham and "took her children away from her;" sold her daughter Flora to John Henderson and kept Nelly as a slave. Scipio Wearing, witness for Postell, had reprisals done against his family: house on fire and loss of one child. The court required Gray to prove ownership of the child Nelly.

**Nova Scotia, Township Records, Shelburne County, MG 9, B 9-14. *Local Records: 1782-1860*. General Sessions of Shelburne: Joseph Robins v. Pero and Tom, 1791 April 12.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

Two Black men, Pero and Tom challenged Joseph Robins (Robbins) in court for their freedom just as Mary Postell had recently done. There were other similarities to the Postell case: Robbins had witnesses testifying to

his having owned them in East Florida and both Pero and Tom testified to having similar experiences which led them to believe they were not Robbin's property. The court sided with Robbins. Later Robbins would be brought to court again for the charge, of *Assault and Battery on Pew*.

**Nova Scotia, Township Records, Shelburne County, MG 9, B9-14. Local Records. Petition of Matilla Dixon, 1791 July 5.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4695>

Matilla Dixon, employee of Major Thomas Barclay of Annapolis, ran away to her father's place in Birch Town because Mrs. Barclay kept threatening to sell her to the West Indies. She asked the court for Barclay to prove ownership. The court told her she was "entitled to all the Protection of the law, and should have the same."

Odell, Jonathan, NBM F51/7. *Family Papers: 1766-1919*. Correspondence, etc., 1785-1822: Aplin, Joseph to Sampson S. Blowers, n.d. (draft).

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4382>

This letter references the slave court case *Delancey v. Woodin* and discusses the gathering of legal opinions of others. Attached with this letter is the Thomas Ritchie slave brief.

———. *Family papers: 1766-1919. Correspondence, etc., 1785-1822: Thomas Ritchie pro-slavery brief.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4382>

Thomas Ritchie was counsel for the plaintiff in the slave court case *Delancey v. Woodin*. In his brief he states: "I shall now endeavor to show that the right of slavery exists in the Province of Nova Scotia; and that that right is constituted by acts of the Legislature of Great Britain."

**Prince Edward Island, Executive Council, MG 9, C 9. Minutes. Deputy Clerk of Council to the Sheriff, 1814 Dec. 9, p. 184.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4659>

Sancho Byers was in prison charged with stealing bread and butter from Matilda Breckin. While in prison the Lt. Gov. ordered Byers to receive a pound of bread a day and the gaoler to be reimbursed for such.

———. *Minutes: 1770-1881. An account for James Wood, 1789 May 12.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4659>

Sheriff James Woodside had apprehended George Hardy on suspicion of murdering Thomas Williams, the slave of John Clark. The Supreme Court had met previously on Feb. 20, 1789 to decide whether Hardy should be indicted for murder. The indictment was quite descriptive in how Williams died. It appears there was not enough evidence to bring Hardy to trial on this bill of indictment. Hardy claimed self-defense which could not be disclaimed. For more information on this case, see Supreme Court Case Papers, RG 6, *The King v. George Hardy*.

———. *Minutes: 1770-1881. Petition from several of His Majesty's Subjects, 1792 July 2 and 6.*

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4659>

"Petition from Several of His Majesty's Subjects praying that the punishment of David Sheppard [Sheppard] lately convicted of [Larceny] may be remitted." Council advised the Lt. Gov. to remit the remainder of the punishment which was to have been inflicted, to which the Lt. Gov. approved. David Sheppard is said to have been the slave of the Lt. Gov.

**Prince Edward Island, Executive Council, MG 9, C9. Minutes: 1770-1881. An account of James Patterson, 1786 July 1.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4659>

This document relates to the apprehension of Jupiter Wise and John O'Neil who had escaped prison in Pictou. Wise was a black slave belonging to Captain George Burns of Charlottetown. On Feb. 23, Wise had been convicted of a felonious assault on John Clark and had escaped the death penalty by claiming the "benefit of clergy." He is known to be the first person in St. John's Island to do so. Consequently, he received the lesser sentence of deportation to the West Indies. The document pulled from Rg 6, Supreme Court, Case Papers called *James Stevens's Information against Jupiter Wise for a Burglary* is published in: Holman, H.T., *Slaves and Servants on Prince Edward Island: The Case of Jupiter Wise*, *Acadiensis* 1982, 12 (1): 100-104. Holman states this document gives insight into the "details of work, recreation and discipline, but the most interesting theme is the repeated discussion among the slaves concerning plans for escape."

**Prince Edward Island, Land Registry. *Land Registry Books: 1767-1830. Indenture between William Creed and his servant Benbo for his manumission after an additional 7 years of service.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4677>

Benbo, also referred to as Dimbo Suckles, was owned by William Creed, a Georgetown merchant. It is believed Creed brought Suckles with him from Boston. As stated in the indenture, " ...at the Expiration of the said Seven Years the said William Creed promises....to give onto the said Benbo one good cow, two sheep, one sow and suit of clothes." Rev. James D. MacGregor from Pictou. As referenced in Hornsby, "Creed appears to have been an indulgent master and allowed Suckles an opportunity to earn money to purchase his freedom." For Suckles' obituary, see Charlottetown Royal Gazette, 1845 Nov. 18.

**Prince Edward Island, Land Registry, RG 16 Series 1 Conveyances, vol. 11. *Land Registry Books: 1767-1830. Fanning, Lieutenant Governor Edmund to Bembo Suckills, 1803 Sept. 9, page 207-9.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4677>

Just before the expiry of his indenture to William Creed, Bembo Suckles was granted a town lot in Georgetown and a twelve-acre pasture lot on the north side of the Brudenell River by Lt. Gov. Fanning. It appears Mary Moore, Suckle's new wife, had been owned by Fanning. Suckles eventually bought himself 100 acres of land in Lot 59.

**Prince Edward Island, Land Registry, RG 16, Series 1. *Land Registry Books: 1767-1830. Indenture, Thomas Hassard to William Hassard, 1804 Oct. 21.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4677>

Thomas Hassard, also spelled Haszard, fought for the British during the American Revolution and brought with him slaves to the Island of St. John. This bill of sale to his son William is one of two known to have been recorded in Charlottetown and indicates the market value of a mixed-race slave.

**Prince Edward Island, Lieutenant Governor, RG 19. *Licence Ledger: 1787-1831. Dembo Suckills and Mary Moore, 1802 Dec. 11.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4662>

Dembo Suckles, recently manumitted by William Creed, married Mary Moore, referred to as Polly and believed to have been a slave of Edmund Fanning, Governor of the Island of St. John. Dembo had come to America from Africa, whereas, Mary seems to come from Nova Scotia. For more information on Dembo, see the article written by an acquaintance of his, J.M. Aitken, in "Slavery in Prince Edward Island" in the Charlottetown Guardian, 1906 June 23.

**Prince Edward Island, Lieutenant Governor, RG 7 G 8 D. *Records: 1769-1873. Observations upon the several acts passed in the present session, no. 356, 1825 Nov. 8.***

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4662>

In Lt. Gov. J. Ready's despatch to Secretary of State Canning, he indicated the Acts recently passed with

remarks; one of which was an Act to repeal an Act made and passed in the twenty first year of His late Majesty's Reign entitled *An Act declaring that Baptism of Slaves shall not exempt them from Bondage*. This Act is transcribed in the article, *The Baptism of Slaves in Prince Edward Island* by William Renwick Riddell in *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 307-9.

**Prince Edward Island, Probate Court, RG 6.2. Wills: 1807-1833. Will of William Schuman of Bedeque, 1819 Sept. 29.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4666>

Susannah Schurman, also known as Sook, was William Schurman's slave he had brought with him from New Rochelle after the American Revolution. William's feelings of affection for Sook are apparent in his will.

**Prince Edward Island, Supreme Court. Minutes: 1778-1823. The king v. David Sheppard, 1792, June 20 and 30. <https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4672>**

David Sheppard, believed to be a black slave of Lt. Gov. David Fanning, pled not guilty but was convicted of larceny and sentenced to receive 39 lashes. Sheppard was pardoned some suggest because of his relationship to Fanning. Sheppard's wife Kesiah remarried to Samuel Martin and together help found the black district of Charlottetown.

**Prince Edward Island, Supreme Court, RG 6.1. Minutes. The king v. black jack, 1804 Feb. 22, 23, 24.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4672>

John Byers, also known as Black Jack, and his wife Amelia were brought to St. John Island as slaves by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Robinson of South Carolina. Byers was convicted of stealing to the value of ten pence and his punishment is described in the documents. For more information on John and Amelia, see an extract from a memorandum book of one of the early residents of Charlottetown published in the *Daily Examiner*, 1881 Feb. 11.

———. **Minutes. The King at the prosecution of Joseph Avard v. John Byers, alias Black Jack, 1814 June 29, 30. <https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4672>**

John Byers who came to the Island of St. John as the slave of Lt. Col. Joseph Robinson, was charged and found not guilty of stealing "three hens and one cock." A rarity for a Black which might have been helped by the other rarity: Byers had an attorney, James Bardin Palmer.

———. **Minutes. The King at the prosecution of Matilda Brecken v. Sancho Byers, 1815 Feb. 21, 27.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4672>

Sancho Byers, son of John and Amelia, was convicted of burglary at the home of Lieutenant Colonel Robinson's daughter, Matilda Brecken, having stolen a loaf of bread and butter to the value of one shilling. By law, a robbery was not a capital offence unless it was done while someone was in the house and put in fear. It was unfortunate that at this time Lt. Governor Smith had directed magistrates to do whatever was in their power to convict and punish thieves. Byers was sentenced to hang.

———. **Minutes. The king at the prosecution of James Gibson v. Peter Byers, 1815 March 8, 11.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4672>

John and Amelia Byers' son Peter was convicted and sentenced to death for burglary and larceny at the house of tobacconist James Gibson. Byers admitted he was an accomplice to William Bellinger, also a Black man, and had some of the stolen coin in his possession.

**Saunders, John, 1754-1834. Papers: 1775-1910. Miscellaneous, n.d., #7.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4371>

An opinion in Saunders' handwriting that the Imperial Act of 1790 gives legislative recognition to the existence of slavery throughout the Empire and thus, "slaves which Loyalists took with them to their new settlement were and...are in this moment slaves". A similar opinion was anonymously published in the Royal Gazette, 28 July 1801. Saunders was a puisne judge of the Supreme Court.

**Trinity Anglican Church, Digby, Nova Scotia. Registers: 1786-1845. Marriage register, Charles Fane (Fare) with Rachel Bross (or Brass), 1792 December 27.**

<https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/node/4210>

Bross, the Black slave of Frederick William Hecht of Digby, wed a fellow Black of Digby, Charles Fare, without Hecht's knowledge or permission which was counter to the customary law of slavery. Hecht had her arrested.

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