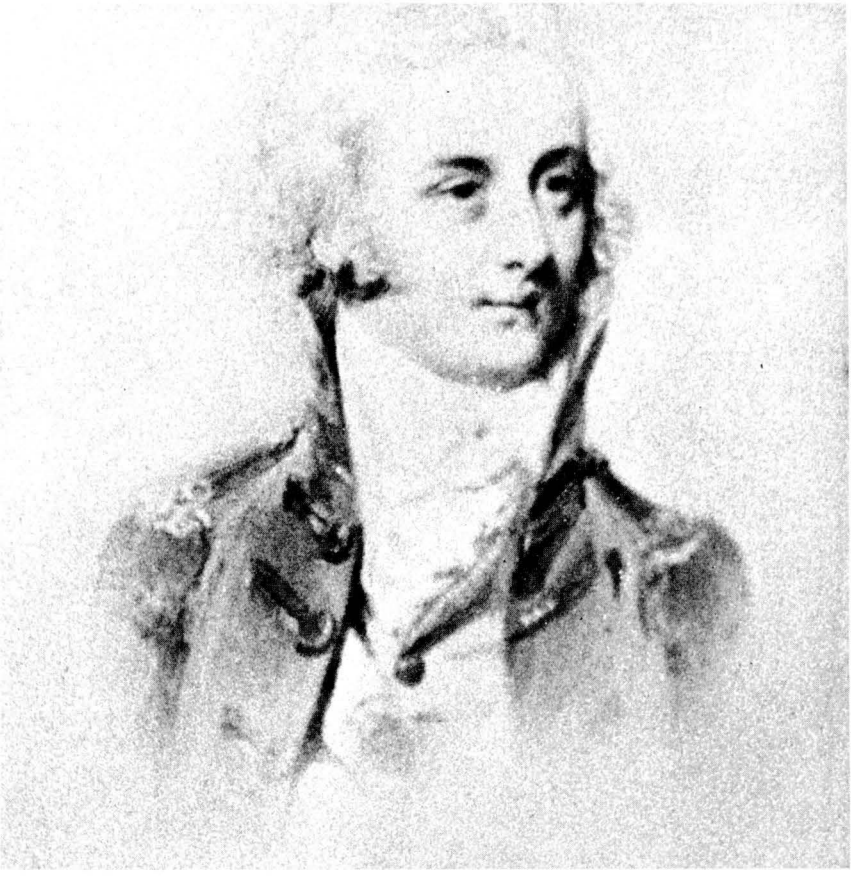
CLARKSON'S MISSION TO AMERICA



JOHN CLARKSON
(1764 - 1828)

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CLARKSON'S MISSION TO AMERICA 1791-1792

Edited with an introduction, notes and index

by

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PREFACE

John Clarkson's mission to America in 1791-1792 was a public-spirited and humanitarian enterprise designed to improve the lot of some of the negroes in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and to promote the colonization of Sierra Leone. His own account of that philanthropic venture, which is now being published for the first time, is an interesting and illuminating contribution to the history of those colonies in America and West Africa. Taken from the manuscript copy of his journal for 1791-1792, which is in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, it appears in this volume in an annotated edition, with an introduction which, it is hoped, may be helpful in putting the undertaking in its setting and in its perspective, as well as in giving a sketch of the career of Clarkson.

For their fidelity and care in transcribing the journal and in typing the material for this volume, my thanks go to Mrs. J. B. Hankinson and Mrs. Basil Sellars. For his help in getting a picture of the transports at Sierra Leone, I am grateful to Lieutenant-Commander A. J. Preston of Victoria, British Columbia.

C. B. Fergusson

INTRODUCTION

On August 19, 1791, John Clarkson embarked in the *Ark* at Gravesend in the Thames, in order to sail to Halifax, Nova Scotia. He did so as the agent of the Sierra Leone Company, whose object was a combination of philanthropy and philanthropic business. His purpose was to ameliorate the lot of some of the free blacks in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Not only might those negroes remain in Nova Scotia or enlist in the Black Carolina Corps which was then in the West Indies, but they were also to be offered repatriation to Sierra Leone. Clarkson was to arrange for the removal to Sierra Leone of such of those free blacks who wished to migrate. *Clarkson's Mission to America* is his own account of that interesting assignment.

JOHN CLARKSON (1764-1828)

John Clarkson, son of Rev. John Clarkson, headmaster of the Grammar School at Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, England, and his wife, Anne Ward, and brother of Thomas Clarkson, "that unwearied stickler for human liberty,"[1] was born on April 4, 1764. Joining the Royal Navy at the age of eleven, he served in a number of ships and took part in a number of engagements, without becoming inured to the means by which naval discipline was then maintained or to the bloody scenes of warfare.

His first ship was the *Monarch,* of 74 guns, which had been built in 1765, and whose commander was Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir) Joshua Rowley. The *Monarch* was then attached to the Channel fleet.

Afterwards he went to the West Indies with the same commander. There he served in such ships of the line as the *Suffolk, Conqueror, Terrible,* and *Princess Royal.*

Subsequently he served under other commanders in the *Proserpine* and *Southampton.* He was in action in all of these ships and the scene of carnage on the occasion of the boarding of a larger French frigate by the men of the *Proserpine,* which had engaged a French sloop of war at the same time, made an indelible impression on Clarkson's mind.

He was appointed Lieutenant in the sloop *Bloodhound* by the order of Admiral Rowley on the Jamaica station on October 16, 1782. Later this promotion was confirmed by the Admiralty.

On the coming of peace he returned to England in the *Bloodhound.* When the *Bloodhound* paid off at Deptford in 1783, he was placed on the half-pay list, on which he remained until appointed to H. M. S. *Sandwich,* guardship at the Nore, on May 24, 1790. He was again placed on the half-pay list on February 25, 1791, and his name was removed from the half-pay list on May 20, 1795.

He was strongly opposed to flogging as the means of maintaining naval discipline. He took delight in saying that he had never been the

1. *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-1793 Performed by A. M. Falconbridge* (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1967); 124.

occasion of any man being flogged in any of the ships in which he served. He always contended that the ships having the best discipline and cutting the most conspicuous figure in action were those whose commanders exercised a spirit of humanity and affectionate feeling towards their men. He began to question the moral legality of war, "till at length on a more perfect acquaintance with the principles of the gospel he left the naval profession."[2]

Soon he entered a new sphere of action. In 1788 he was in Havre de Grace for three months to observe the slave trade in that port. By that time it seemed as if he were about to become a member of the free community in the Province of Freedom, in Sierra Leone, which was being promoted by Granville Sharp.[3] Two years later he was appointed a member of a committee to examine records relating to the mortality in slaveships in 1783-1787.[4] In the same year he was chosen a member of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Sharing the views and collaborating to some degree in the efforts of his brother Thomas, the famous anti-slavery agitator, John Clarkson became more and more involved in efforts to relieve the black poor, to better the lot of freed slaves, and to found the colony of Sierra Leone. His mission to America in 1791-1792, which will receive a fuller comment in another section of this introduction, was a significant example of his active benevolence. By means of amiable frankness, prudent conduct, and tactful management, he assembled more than eleven hundred freed blacks at Halifax, supervised the arrangements for their embarkation, and commanded the flotilla which conveyed them to Sierra Leone, where he became superintendent and governor.

Having decided to return to England for the leave his health demanded, Clarkson left Sierra Leone on December 31, 1792.[5] He reached Dartmouth on February 11, 1793 and then he proceeded to London, where he conferred with William Wilberforce and with Henry Thornton, who was the chairman of the Sierra Leone Company.

A few weeks later, just as he was about to be married, Clarkson was informed by the Sierra Leone Company that his services were no longer required. Disillusioned by this turn of events, disgruntled with public service, and disappointed of promotion in the navy, he settled down as a banker in East Anglia, "only letting his benevolent emotions overcome his wish for quiet domestic obscurity by helping to found the Society for the Promotion of Universal Peace."[6] He continued as the treasurer of that

2. "Memoir of the late John Clarkson, Esq." by his elder brother, Thomas Clarkson.
3. Extract of a Letter to the worthy Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom, on the Mountains of Sierra Leone, dated Leadenhall Street, London, 16th May, 1788, by Granville Sharp, Esq., in *An Essay on Colonization Particularly Applied to the Western Coast of Africa With Some Free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce* by C. B. Wadstrom [1794], reprinted by Augustus M. Kelley, New York, 1968, Second Section, p. 339.
4. C. B. Wadstrom, *op. cit.*, 241.
5. The Right Rev. E. G. Ingham, *Sierra Leone After A Hundred Years* (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, 1968), 156.

society until he moved into the country, and he presided at the last two anniversaries of it previous to his death.

On April 25, 1793, John Clarkson married Susanna, youngest daughter of Ayton Lee, Esq., of Ingaldesthorpe, Norfolk. They resided for some years at Purfleet, Essex. Afterwards they went to Woodbridge, Suffolk, to live. There on November 10, 1824, their only son, John Clarkson, Jr., Esq., of the Stock Exchange, London, died, in his 26th year. Their youngest daughter, Emma, died there on August 26, 1825, at the age of 14. There were eight other children.

It is said that John Clarkson's greatest glory was to be a Christian. He was a member of the Established Church and a zealous friend to religious liberty. He read the scriptures daily and concentrated his reading almost entirely on religious books. He was an influential supporter of Bible Societies.

In his political principles he was a Whig. Towards those who differed from him, however, he always conducted himself in such a manner that, even if they were not convinced by his arguments, his amiable disposition and his sterling character evoked their kind feelings.

He was strongly opposed to the slave trade and to slavery. He did his utmost to aid the Anti-Slavery Society from the time of its formation in 1822 to his death. In his later years he suffered from heart trouble. He died at Woodbridge, Suffolk, on April 2, 1828.

CLARKSON'S MISSION TO AMERICA

The visit of Lieutenant John Clarkson to Nova Scotia in 1791-92 was a crowning act in the drama of the foundation of Sierra Leone. It was one episode in that attempt to suit action to the words about relieving the black poor, providing a sound solution to the problems of the freed slaves, and establishing a free settlement on the coast of Africa.

Sierra Leone had its origin, it has been said, in the social problem created by the judgment of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield in 1772 that the state of slavery was so odious that nothing could be suffered to support it but positive law. "Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from this decision," Mansfield declared, "I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged."[7] As a result, more than ten thousand slaves became free men,

6. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford University Press, 1962), 50.
7. *Select Statutes and Cases and Documents To Illustrate English Constitutional History,* edited by Sir Charles Grant Robertson (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1935), 485-486. Cf. Robin Hallett, *The Penetration of Africa* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1965), I, 269 and John Peterson, *Province of Freedom* (Faber and Faber, London, 1969), 19.

and soon so many of them became destitute that they could not be satisfied by Britain's parochial bounties and philanthropic institutions.[8] To meet their urgent needs, a remedial agency known as the Committee for Relieving the Black Poor was formed by Granville Sharp in 1786. It was soon evident, however, that simple charity could not provide a permanent solution to this social problem. Thought was given to settling the freed blacks overseas, and the noble design of establishing a settlement of free blacks in Sierra Leone, conceived by Henry Smeathman, a London naturalist, while he was on the west coast of Africa between 1771 and 1774, and formulated by him in 1786, was adopted by Granville Sharp, the friend and benefactor of the black poor, whose indomitable perseverance had previously been rewarded by the famous decision of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield in 1772.

This plan, animated by commercial, humanitarian, and religious motives, commanded the approval of the Committee, the support of official circles, and the favour of the blacks. Suspicions that it was a design to lure the blacks into a centre of the slave trade were overcome; but no provision had been made for protecting them after they reached Africa and after Smeathman's death in July 1786 the Committee again turned to the possibility of settlement across the Atlantic. By that time, however, ancestral urges had reinforced the resolution of the blacks to go nowhere else but to Africa.

The idea of establishing a settlement in Africa appealed to some whites as well as to many blacks. Nearly 700 persons signified their intention of going, but hostile reports and fear of being abandoned to slave traders reduced this number by the time of departure. Eventually 456 passengers, including about seventy white women, sailed from London for Portsmouth in January, 1787. At Plymouth the number was further reduced and finally 411 persons set out from Britain on April 8th in three transports, accompanied by the *Nautilus,* a naval sloop, under the command of Captain T. Bouldon Thompson.[9]

On May 10th the little flotilla entered the Sierra Leone River. Five days later the remaining 377 persons disembarked and began to build Granville Town, in the Province of Freedom, on land acquired shortly afterwards from a local ruler.[10] Bad luck at sea was followed by misfortune on land. Weakened by the long voyage, the emigrants were afflicted by disease and before permanent accommodations could be provided the rainy season began. By September 86 additional deaths had occurred

8. Robert I. Rotberg, *A Political History of Tropical Africa* (Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1965), 161, and Claude George, *The Rise of British West Africa* (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968), 19.

9. John Peterson, *op. cit.,* 23. Cf. Robin Hallett, *op. cit.,* 269-270, and Christopher Fyfe, *op. cit.,* 16-19.

10. The Treaty of June 11, 1787. Cf. Christopher Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance* (Oxford University Press, 1964), 112-113.

and 15 persons had run away to work on passing ships or for neighbouring slave-traders. Granville Sharp received melancholy accounts of his "poor little ill-thriven swarthy daughter, the unfortunate colony of Sierra Leone,"[11] and by March of 1788 only 130 persons remained in Granville Town.[12] A cargo of supplies forwarded by Sharp saved the settlement in August of 1788. In November 1789, however, Granville Town was reduced to ashes by King Jemmy, in retaliation for the burning of one of his own communities.

Although Granville Sharp had already been working on a scheme to provide sounder financial backing for the colony and the benefactors, eager to promote civilization and trade in Africa, were reluctant to tolerate failure, little effective action was taken for a year. Early in 1790, however, they associated under the name of the St. George's Bay Company, "for the purpose of opening and establishing a trade in the natural productions of Africa, to the free settlement in St. George's Harbour, . . ."[13] The Company purchased a thirty-four-ton cutter, the *Lapwing*, for the service of the settlers, but her departure was delayed, even after the dispersal of the settlers became known, while Sharp sought financial assistance for the venture. Denied aid from the government, Sharp turned to private investors for the means to relieve the settlers and to re-establish the settlement. To ensure that the enterprise would pay, they demanded control not only of expenditure but also of management of the colony.

Pending incorporation, the company's agent, Alexander Falconbridge, was commissioned to relieve and re-settle the dispossessed and scattered colonists. The *Lapwing* sailed from Gravesend in December, with a cargo more suited for trade than for relief, and Falconbridge followed early in January 1791 in a trading ship, the *Duke of Buccleugh*, belongind to Messrs. John and Alexander Anderson, bound to Bance Island, some distance up the River Sierra Leone.[14]

After seven visits to King Naimbana and other African chiefs, Falconbridge succeeded in persuading them to allow the settlers to return and to confirm to the company, in return for goods valued at £30, all the lands which had been purchased by Captain Thompson in 1787. Forty-eight per-

11. Claude George, *The Rise of British West Africa* (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, 1968), 21 and John Peterson, *op. cit.*, 26.
12. C. B. Wadstrom, *op. cit.*, 223.
13. C. B. Wadstrom, *op. cit.*, 225. They held their first meeting on February 17, 1790. At that time they agreed to take one or more shares of £50 each. Those present in person or represented by proxy included Granville Sharp, William Sharp, Alderman Richard Clark, William Wilberforce, Samuel Whitbread, Henry Thornton, Joseph Hardcastle, Joseph Corsbie, Philip Sansom, William Moore, Joseph Reyner, Robert Hunter, Theophilus Pritzler, William Ludlam, Abraham Harman, Henry Heyman, and George Sharp. Other gentlemen, not present, who also signified their desire to subscribe were Alderman LeMesurier, William Morland, J. Phillips, J. Shaw, and Vickeris Taylor. Alderman Clark presided.
14. *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone*, p. 10.

sons gathered under the care of Falconbridge, who took them to the eastern side of Fora, now Cline Bay, where a second Granville Town was founded on a site about a mile and a half from the previous one and where they were soon joined by sixteen other persons. The sixty-four settlers included 39 black men, 19 black women, and 6 white women.[15] By the middle of June in 1791 such progress had been made that Falconbridge felt that he could return to England to report to the directors.

By that time the association had been incorporated as the Sierra Leone Company. A petition to Parliament had been read in March, 1791, a bill had been introduced in April, and the bill had become law on June 6th. Thus the Sierre Leone Company was incorporated by statute 31 Geo. III cap. 55.

The management of the company was vested in a board of thirteen directors who, believing that philanthropy would be promoted by profit, chose Henry Thornton, a rich banker, as their chairman. Having heard Falconbridge's report, Thornton called a meeting of the shareholders for the purpose of formulating policy and providing the necessary capital. They resolved to raise £100,000, more than double the amount originally proposed, and that amount was also more than doubled by 1792, with more than £200,000 being subscribed. Prospective settlers were to have free passage, rations for three months, half rations for the next three months, land proportionate to the size of their families, with quit-rents payable for two years, followed by an annual tax. The company would sell goods to the settlers at a profit of 10% and purchase or market the produce of the settlers at a commission of 2½%.[16]

Henry Hew Dalrymple, a former Army officer, who had served on the West Coast of Africa and who wished to return to found a colony there, was chosen as Governor. His grandiose designs soon alarmed the directors and he eventually left them, taking some of the prospective settlers with him, to begin a colony of his own at Bulama, about three hundred miles north of Sierra Leone. Thereafter the directors provided for a Council of Eight, including the Superintendent, to manage things on the spot.

Meanwhile, as the company was considering schemes for augmenting the number of settlers in Sierra Leone, fortuitous circumstances disclosed that additional black colonists might be found in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. At that time Thomas Peters, a negro, who had served as a Sergeant in the Regiment of Guides and Pioneers, on the British side, during the American Revolutionary War, and who had subsequently settled in Nova Scotia, arrived in England to represent the "unhappy situation" of himself and some of his associates, numbering about 102 men, women,

15. C. B. Wadstrom, *op. cit.*, Second Section, p. 9.
16. *Ibid.*, 228-229.
17. Memorial of Thomas Peters to the Secretary of State. C.O. 217/63, f. 63. See Christopher Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, pp. 118-119.

and children at Annapolis Royal and about 100 or more families in New Brunswick, and to seek a redress of their alleged grievances.[17] Peters met Granville Sharp, the philanthropist, presented a memorial[18] to W. W. Grenville, Secretary of State, and won the sympathetic support of Henry Thornton, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, which offered to settle the freed slaves of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in Sierra Leone, as well as of the British Government, which was prepared to provide free passage.

There were more blacks in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick than the ones represented by Thomas Peters. In 1686 there had been a negro at Cape Sable in Nova Scotia, and by the time of the beginning of the American Revolutionary War a number of blacks were scattered throughout the Province. At the close of that struggle, moreover, hundreds of Loyalist blacks went to Nova Scotia.

Those Loyalist blacks numbered about two thousand. They settled mainly in Shelburne, Annapolis, and Sydney Counties. In January 1784 there were 1,485 free blacks on the victualling list in Birch Town,[19] near Port Roseway or Shelburne, and five months later 211 blacks were mustered in Annapolis County,[20] while 75 Loyalist blacks became grantees in Sydney County, which then comprised the present Antigonish County and part of the present Guysborough County. Other free blacks settled at such places as Cornwallis, Horton, Windsor, Newport, Saint John, Cumberland, Westchester, Minudie, Barronsfield, Preston, and Musquodoboit.

In general, the Loyalist blacks had emancipated themselves by fleeing from their masters in North Carolina, South Carolina, or Virginia and joining the British forces. In Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, which was separated from Nova Scotia in 1784, they were supposed to receive land as well as victuals, and many of them did obtain grants of land. In the Public Archives of Nova Scotia there are records of 100 grants of land and of 326 additional warrants for land,[21] and it has been computed that 408 Loyalist blacks were grantees in Nova Scotia.[22]

It must not be forgotten that the problem of settling the Loyalists, black and white, in Nova Scotia was no inconsiderable one. It was complicated not only by the size and the suddenness of the migration, but also by the fact that before anything like adequate land could be provided for Loyalists and disbanded soldiers the unimproved grants in the five and a

18. *Ibid.*
19. Muster Roll of Free Blacks of Birch Town, Port Roseway, January 8, 1784. Public Archives of Canada, M. G. 9 B 6 (1). Cf. Margaret Ells, "Settling The Loyalists in Nova Scotia," Canadian Historical Association Report, 1933, p. 106*n*.
20. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Documents, Volume 376.
21. Charles Bruce Fergusson, *A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia Between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government*, Publication No. 8 of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, (1948), 2.
22. Margaret Ells, *op. cit.*, 108.

half million acres of land granted during the previous thirty-four years had to be revested in the Crown by means of the legal process of escheatment.

Refugees had come into Nova Scotia in 1776 and in ensuing years, but as the war drew to a close Loyalists arrived in larger numbers. The postwar migration lasted for about two and a half years—from the late autumn of 1782 till the spring of 1785. It added about 22,000 people to peninsular Nova Scotia, doubling the population of that area, while approximately 14,000 persons who went to the territory which became New Brunswick in 1784 multiplied its population six-fold, and about 400 additional Loyalists went to Cape Breton Island.

A migration of this magnitude—on the largest scale the Province had yet seen—involved a heavy expenditure by the British Government. An allowance of provisions was generally made for three years, although it was stopped in some cases before the end of the first year and extended to others as late as the summer of 1787. Lumber, axes, nails, and hammers were issued. Picks, spades, hoes, and sometimes garden seeds were given to needy persons who were prepared to clear land and till the soil, while fishing gear was made available to Loyalists who undertook to make a living or to improve their means of subsistence on the water.

Good intentions and large expenditures eased the lot of some Loyalists, but they failed to eliminate the great hardships and gnawing disappointments of others. At the outset, temporary shelter was often found in crowded houses, hastily built flimsy structures, or sod huts containing but one room. Sometimes locations were remote from settlements and even far from roads. Sometimes land was difficult to clear or almost too arid to cultivate. Frequently there were delays and difficulties, arising from lack of instructions, poor communications, slowness in dealing with applications for land or assistance, inefficiency, neglect or even abuse. Pioneering conditions were not easy.

Yet a good deal was done to aid the newcomers in accommodating to their new conditions. With certain exceptions in 1783, the granting of land to Loyalists was not begun before February 1784. Such preliminary steps had been taken in 1783, however, that between February and August 1784 more than 4800 families got their grants. Before the end of 1786 land had been granted to 5,567 persons in peninsular Nova Scotia, as well as to many others in that part of the Province which became New Brunswick late in 1784, and by the time that the granting of land was stopped in 1790 grants were made to 6,220 persons in Nova Scotia. In the process the Court of Escheats freed about one and a half million acres, nearly half of which was in New Brunswick, in the six years from 1783 to 1788.[23]

Notwithstanding good intentions and sizable outlays, hardship and

23. Margaret Ells, "Clearing The Decks for the Loyalists," in The Canadian Historical Association Report, 1933, pp. 56-58.

unhappiness were poignantly illustrated in the lot of many of the blacks as well as a large number of the whites. At Shelburne in 1783 there were abuses and irregularities in drawing for lots,[24] and grievances and complaints led to discontent and disturbance.[25] There, as elsewhere, it was evident that some of the newcomers were ill equipped to cope with pioneering conditions.

When it was decided to place the blacks of Shelburne along the North West Arm of the harbour, they were well satisfied with the choice.[26] Subsequently, however, disbanded soldiers, dissatisfied because the blacks were willing to work for lower wages, turned against the negroes and in their frenzy to drive them out of the town pulled down about 20 of their houses.[27]

For blacks, as well as for whites, the migration into Nova Scotia meant a struggle for survival, frequently in pioneering conditions and sometimes in a different climate. There was an urgent need for shelter, for provisions, for livelihood, and for land, and delays all too often might be the cause of distress.

Not only might there be for some persons a harsh competition for paid employment, but the issue of free rations in many instances seemed to cease too soon, while the granting of land might seem to be too late. In midsummer of 1784 the Black Pioneers of Annapolis County, who had been promised provisions and land on the same terms as other disbanded soldiers, complained that their rations had already been stopped and that their land had not yet been granted. On August 21, 1784, Thomas Peters and Murphey Still, secretaries of the Company of Black Pioneers, drafted a petition to Governor Parr for a redress of these grievances.[28]

Soon afterwards 31 blacks in or near the town of Digby, who had not received any land, petitioned the Governor for lots in that area for fishing as well as farming. This petition of Tim Whiterow, Benj. Davis, Simon Colvill, Wm. Catchpole, Prince Laine, and others was signed by Solomon Hamilton and Joseph Leonard.[29]

Characterized by that which flattery described as a "benevolent disposition,"[30] Governor Parr tried to allay the discontents and dissatisfactions about land and to lessen the discomfiture of those persons who were in need of provisions. For the more speedy and affectual settlement of the town-

24. W. O. Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, No. 8, pp. 221, 226, and 235.
25. *Ibid.*, 236 and 266.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
28. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Documents, Volume 359, document 65.
29. C. O. 216/63, f. 169.
30. Thomas Millidge to Governor Parr, about March 1785. C. O. 217/63, f. 171.

ship of Shelburne, a board of agents, composed of Loyalist Justices of the Peace and other Loyalist inhabitants of the township, was established on August 5, 1784.[31] This board was required to assign land to all persons entitled to it, to hear the allegations of the parties involved in disputes over land, to report its opinion on such controversies, and to notify all persons concerned that no application for land would be received unless it was recommended by the board. Nor would any matter in dispute be received without a representation having been first made by the board. A similar board was also established in the township of Digby. Provisions were issued, including food for the blacks at Digby, specifically for the period of four months from the beginning of December 1784 to the end of March 1785.[32]

The complaints of the blacks in Annapolis County did not go unheeded, but their lives were still marked by vicissitudes. Although the case of Thomas Peters might not have been altogether typical, it does indicate some of the difficulties, for he felt himself and his associates in the county to be aggrieved over provisions as well as land.

When his rations were stopped by the man employed by Rev. Edward Brudenell to issue the provisions, Peters absolved Deputy Commissary Thomas Williams of any blame. Disappointed in the hope of getting land near his town lot in George Brinley Town in the Township of Digby, in the summer of 1785, Peters went to Saint John, where for a time he received rations and where he might have received more if he had had a certificate from Williams showing for what length of time he and his family had been supplied with provisions in Annapolis County. Although he thought that Mr. Brudenell had stopped his supplies, he admitted that Mr. Brudenell might have received orders from General Campbell not to issue provisions to those blacks who refused to work on the roads.[33]

Meantime, in accordance with procedures which had been initiated by Governor Parr, settlement was proceeding under the direction of boards of agents on the spot. Whenever a board furnished the office of the Surveyor General in Halifax with a plan of the allotments, signed by the board and by the surveyor who made the survey, it was the general practice for grants to be issued.

As Thomas Peters readily acknowledged, Governor Parr did his utmost to redress the grievances and to meet the wishes of the blacks.[34] Upon receiving a petition for land from the negroes near Digby, he arranged

31. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Documents, Volume 170, pp. 369-370 and 376-378.

32. Thomas Williams of Annapolis to Rev. Edward Brudenell of Digby, December 11, 1784. C. O. 217/63, f. 174. Also State of the Provisions sent to Rev. Mr. Brudenell, C. O. 217/63, f. 175.

33. C. O. 217/63, ff. 165-168.

34. C. O. 217/63, f. 167. See also Charles Morris to Major Millidge, November 19, 1785. P.A.N.S., MS. Docs., Vol. 395, p. 195.

for town lots of one acre each to be granted to them in 1785 and for additional land contiguous to their town lots to be laid out for them as soon as possible.

Several of these negroes quickly built comfortable huts, cleared land, and made gardens on the town lots assigned to them in 1784 and granted to them in 1785. Their town was about a mile from the upper part of the town of Digby, near a place called the Little Joggin, which was convenient for fishing.[35]

Unfortunately, however, their additional land was not so readily available. Major Thomas Millidge, deputy surveyor, laid out a tract early in 1785; but he was soon informed by Charles Morris, Surveyor General, that the land so laid out had already been reserved for the glebe, school, and other public uses.[36] Subsequently, many of the Black Pioneers, who failed to get land in this area, applied for land elsewhere and received it at Bear River several years later.[37] The deputy surveyors in the district of Digby seem to have been sympathetic towards the blacks and anxious to see that the blacks were satisfied with the land which they received.[38] In these respects they were in accord with the intentions of Governor Parr, who urged the surveyors to do all that they could to comply with the wishes of the blacks, so that they might be accommodated in such a manner as not to become a burden to the community.

In accordance with the orders of the Governor, the Surveyor General wrote repeatedly to his deputies to have additional land laid out for the negroes.[39] Unfortunately, there were also repeated delays. As the Surveyor General put it, "there has always been a Lion in the way."

On February 16, 1785 and January 25, 1786, Charles Morris, Surveyor General, urged Thomas Millidge, Deputy Surveyor at Digby, to lay out land for two groups of negroes numbering 31 and 99, respectively.[40] Before this assignment was completed, however, the pay of the Deputy Surveyor was discontinued, and the Surveyor General then directed his deputy to survey and lay out the land, provided the prospective grantees paid him for his time and expense. Although similar instructions were applied to lands for whites as well as for blacks, the Surveyor General observed in a communication to Lieutenant Governor Parr that "from the

35. C. O. 217/63, f. 171.

36. *Ibid.*

37. C. O. 217/63, ff. 165-167. Thomas Peters himself did not do so.

38. Parr to Major Millidge, April 8, 1785. C. O. 217/63, f. 170; Thomas Millidge to Charles Morris, May 18, 1789. C. O. 217/63, f. 173.

39. Charles Morris to Rev. Mr. Edward Brudenell, June 4, 1787. P.A.N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 395, p. 212.

40. Surveyor General to Thomas Millidge, January 25, 1786 and April 28, 1787. P.A. N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 395, pp. 168 and 182-183.

great attention which has been paid to these Blacks The White People have repeatedly complained of a partiality towards them."[41]

In order that action might be taken in the case of those negroes whose land had not been surveyed, owing to the pay of the Deputy Surveyor being discontinued, the Lieutenant-Governor signified that he would be paid for his work, provided the negroes would assist as axemen and chainmen, so that the expense might be as little as possible.[42] Evidently Phineas Millidge, the son of the Deputy Surveyor, offered to survey the land for about ten guineas, and the Surveyor General indicated that he would not mind a guinea or two extra to have the work completed. The Deputy Surveyor was requested to give his advice and assistance in the affair.

When it was reported that Phineas Millidge was about to go to New York, the Surveyor General requested Thomas Millidge to execute the business so that the good intentions of the Lieutenant-Governor for the black people might not be frustrated.[43] Further delays were caused by an exchange of views about a suitable situation and by the necessity for a new list of those who intended to become settlers, as well as by the ill health of the Deputy Surveyor, and the Lieutenant-Governor was very sorry that so many obstacles were being thrown in the way of settling "those poor unhappy helpless Black People."[44]

Desirous of completing the business without further delay, the Surveyor General instructed Thomas Millidge to turn it over to another man, if he or his son could not proceed with it. He also sent to Millidge a copy of that part of the plan of the Township of Digby which contained the tract proposed for the negroes.

During the summer of 1787 Charles Morris continued to press for action.[45] "If you or your son can find any land either in Digby or Clements that will accommodate the Negroes," Morris wrote to Major Millidge, "I hope you attend to them—at least so for as to prevent any Complaints if possible."[46]

It was proposed to place some of the black people on the south side St. Mary's Bay road in what was then Annapolis County, and on February 8, 1788 Charles Morris requested Major Millidge to delineate on the plan the improvements made by them in that area. "The Governor wishes,"

41. Charles Morris to Lieutenant-Governor Parr, April 19, 1787. P.A.N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 395, p. 201.
42. Surveyor General to Thomas Millidge, April 28, 1787.
43. P.A.N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 395, p. 184.
44. Surveyor General to Major Millidge, May 31, 1787. P.A.N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 395, pp. 208-209.
45. Surveyor General to Major Millidge, July 19 and September 1, 1787. P.A.N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 395, pp. 225 and 231.
46. Surveyor General to Major Millidge, September 1, 1787.

Morris wrote, "these Black People may be accommodated with the Fishery so far as the Magistrates can with Propriety allow them without interfering with the common rights of others to the same Fishery."[47]

Near the end of October 1788 Joseph Leonard and 130 of his associates were still looking for land, and the Lieutenant-Governor hoped to accommodate them in the Township of Clements, whence a considerable number of Loyalists had gone to the United States.[48] John Greben, a Deputy Surveyor residing in that township, was asked to point out some land along Bear River or lots in Clements on which those negroes might be accommodated and set to work.

Dilatoriness was not Greben's dominant characteristic. Instead of merely pointing out vacant land that might be escheated and regranted to the blacks, he made a plan and survey of lands for them in a surprisingly short time. The Surveyor General, when he acknowledged receipt of those documents on February 4, 1789, was so surprised as to be almost incredulous. He signified to Greben that he doubted whether the Deputy Surveyor would get anything for his work unless Joseph Leonard informed the Lieutenant-Governor that the work had been done to the satisfaction of the negroes and forwarded a list himself of the people who were to be in the grant, with the numbers of the lots to be assigned to each grantee.[49]

The Surveyor General directed Millidge to check the return.[50] Morris felt that, if Greben had really provided for all those negroes, even though he had not been ordered to make the survey, he would be entitled to pay. But it would have to appear to the Lieutenant-Governor that the negroes were satisfied and to the Surveyor General that the lots were vacant.

Millidge checked the matter with both Greben and Leonard.[51] He certified that the lands surveyed by Greben and laid out for Leonard and the others were lots previously assigned to persons who had never come to Clements or to grantees who had left the country without making any improvements on their lands, thus leaving them liable to escheat.

Major Millidge invited Joseph Leonard, "the Head and Supreme Representative of his Ethiopian Brethren from Digby" to his house to discuss other aspects of the matter. He ascertained that Leonard had been on the lands, that the black people were satisfied with the lands surveyed by Greben, and that Leonard was willing to sign a certificate to that effect.

47. Charles Morris to Major Millidge, February 8, 1788. P.A.N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 395, p. 240.
48. Charles Morris to John Greben, October 29, 1788. P.A.N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 396, p. 4.
49. Charles Morris to John Greben, February 4, 1789. P.A.N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 396, pp. 11-12.
50. Charles Morris to Major Millidge, February 4, 1789. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
51. Thomas Millidge to Charles Morris, May 18, 1789. C. O. 217/63, f. 173.

Such a certificate was signed and warrants were issued in 1789 providing 50 acres each for Leonard's associates and 100 acres to their teacher, Joseph Leonard.[52]

Despite the magnitude of the problem of dealing with a large influx of Loyalists, there were 6,220 Loyalist grantees in Nova Scotia, not including New Brunswick, of whom, it has been computed, 408 were negroes. Approximately 75 of those blacks were granted one-acre town lots in Digby Township in 1785, thus enabling them to receive free lumber and other materials for the dwellings which they required.

Such were the general circumstances in Nova Scotia when Thomas Peters' visit to London in 1791 coincided with the desire of the directors of the Sierra Leone Company to augment the number of settlers in Sierra Leone. He made the voyage on behalf of some of those negroes in Annapolis County, numbering 102, counting men, women and children, who had so far received only one acre per man of their allotments, as well as of about 100 or more families in New Brunswick, who were in similar circumstances. They contributed a small sum towards his passage, and Peters worked as a hand on board ship in order to pay the remainder of his expenses.[53] In London he became something of a celebrity, being lionized by the fashionable press, and becoming the newest object of philanthropy.

Peters was assisted in drafting a memorial in which the plight of those negroes whom he represented was described. It was asserted that some of those black people were earnestly desirous of obtaining their due allotments of land and remaining in America, whereas others were ready and willing to go wherever the government might think proper to provide for them as free subjects of the British Empire. Such relief as was most suited to their circumstances was sought. The petition was sent to W. W. Grenville, Secretary of State.

It prompted quick action. On August 6, 1791 a copy of Peters' memorial was sent to Lieutenant-Governor Parr, of Nova Scotia, who was ordered to investigate the matter and, if it were true that the promises with respect to land had not been kept, to lay out the full grants in a suitable location immediately.[54]

For those blacks there now seemed to be an attractive alternative. Having considered the terms offered by the Sierra Leone Company[55] for the proposed settlement in Africa, Peters expressed the wish that he and his family and such other blacks as might be disposed to become settlers

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52. *Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia,* Publication No. 4 of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. See also C. O. 217/63, ff. 165-166.
53. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1961), 178.
54. Henry Dundas to Lieutenant-Governor Parr, August 6, 1791. C. O. 217/63.
55. The terms were contained in a printed declaration bearing the date August 2, 1791. C. B. Wadstrom, *op. cit.,* Second section, 28-29.

in Sierra Leone might be removed thither. Compliance with this request would necessitate expense, but the British Government was ready to gratify those negroes in consideration of their military services. In order to ascertain how many of them would be desirous of going to Sierra Leone, Lieutenant-Governor Parr was directed to send a discreet officer to disclose the proposal to them and to offer to convey, free of charge, to Sierra Leone such of them as preferred going there to staying in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. Lieutenant-Governor Carleton of New Brunswick was requested to send over to Annapolis those persons in New Brunswick of the same description who desired to accept the terms offered. Shipping was then to be procured to convey those negroes to Sierra Leone.

There was also a third possibility. It had for some time been the intention of the government to recruit a certain number of negroes for service in the West Indies. Now it was felt that some of those blacks in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick whose condition was being considered, might, on a promise of British pay, as well as a bounty of one guinea per man, be induced again to enter His Majesty's service. This opportunity was to be made known.

To Lieutenant John Clarkson, R. N., the Sierra Leone Company entrusted the assignment of arranging for the removal to Sierra Leone of such of those free blacks as wished to go to that colony. From the time when he was induced to volunteer for this business on August 6, 1791 to August 19, 1791, when he sailed for Halifax, Nova Scotia, Clarkson busied himself in gathering useful information, in assisting Thomas Peters in preparing for his return, in satisfying himself about the assistance that might be expected from the governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and in obtaining detailed instructions from the Sierra Leone Company.

He desired Peters to break the news to his fellows and to inform them of his own intended visit. Accordingly he arranged for Peters to be back in Nova Scotia before he himself arrived there.

On August 12th the Sierra Leone Company authorized Lieutenant Clarkson of the Navy and Lawrence Hartshorne, a Loyalist merchant of Halifax, Nova Scotia, to screen the applications of the negroes who wished to settle in Sierra Leone. Certificates of approbation were to be given to those blacks whose characters were such that they were likely to become useful members of the new community. Each free black who produced such a certificate was to receive at least twenty acres of land for himself, with an additional ten acres for his wife and five acres for each child.

Although Clarkson embarked in the *Ark* at Gravesend on August 19th, unfavourable winds delayed his departure until September 8th. He reached Halifax on October 7th.

Meantime on September 24th, Lieutenant-Governor Parr had received Dundas's dispatch of August 6th, with the enclosed copy of the memorial of Thomas Peters, as well as a copy of the proceedings of the

Sierra Leone Company of August 2nd. "Concerning the complaint of Peters," Parr wrote, "I apprehend it to be a misrepresentation." "As I may well assure you, Sir, that having considered the degraded situation in which these people are beheld in general, by His Majesty's subjects of a different color," he added, "I have at all times particularly attended to their Settlements, which I provided in such places and manner as I conceived would be most satisfactory to them; as far as it was in my power."[56] "I think I may with safety say," Parr continued, "that these people were put on Lands, and in a situation, they much envied."

Parr acted with alacrity. Within three days of receiving Dundas's dispatch, he ordered a strict inquiry to be made of the distribution of lands amongst the black people in that part of the country mentioned by Peters, and he appointed several persons in different parts of the Province, with proper instructions, to inform the black people of the intended settlement in Sierra Leone and to assemble for conveyance to that colony those negroes of good character who wished to go. Moreover, he provided publicity for the offer of removal to Sierra Leone, by having published in *The Royal Gazette,* in Halifax, on September 27, 1791, not only an extract from Dundas's letter of August 6, 1791, but also the notice of the Sierra Leone Company of August 2, 1791.

Although Clarkson was much gratified at the manner in which he was received at Halifax, it was not long before he encountered real and imaginary difficulties. Deeply emotional, easily stirred by injustice and misery, and full of sympathy for the sufferings of the blacks,[57] he resented the comments about the lateness of the season, the reports of King Jemmy having driven the earlier settlers from Sierra Leone, and the rumours about the alleged deadly climate and heavy rent for land there. He felt that the Lieutenant-Governor would be pleased if he failed in his mission, "probably from an idea that if the people were averse to leaving the province, it would be a good argument to prove that they were content and that their complaints were groundless."

Peters had presented complaints on behalf of some of the blacks in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia, and of some of the blacks in New Brunswick, and the directors of the Sierra Leone Company hoped to prove that Africa could produce something other than the flesh and blood of slaves by means of which a profitable trade could be developed. It seemed as if neither Lieutenant-Governor Parr nor the Sierra Leone Company had any idea of obtaining from America more than twenty or thirty families of blacks who, it was supposed, would be enough for this experiment in the colonization of Africa.[58]

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56. Parr to Dundas, September 27, 1791. P.A.N.S., Ms. Docs., Vol. 48, Document 59. Also C. O. 217/63, ff. 84-85.
57. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone,* 33.
58. Stephen Skinner to Dundas. C. O. 217/63, ff. 357-360.

Perhaps this was the reason why, as Clarkson believed, the Under-Secretary of State had written privately urging Lieutenant-Governor Parr to do all in his power to retard the business. This suspicion seems to be reinforced by the observation of Parr to Michael Wallace, Halifax merchant and member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, who at the suggestion of Clarkson and Hartshorne,[59] had been appointed agent for procuring provisions and vessels for the removal of the blacks who were to go to Sierra Leone. "You need not be over anxious," Parr wrote to Wallace, "in procuring or persuading the Blacks to remove. Government is not sanguine in this Business, tho they countenance it, but I am to request you will keep this to yourself."[60]

This comment might have been limited in its circulation, but there was no restriction on the announcement of the proposal of the Sierra Leone Company or on the offer of removal to Africa. These propositions were made known not only to the blacks whom Peters had represented, but also to all the other blacks in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, through the news carried by Peters, spread by the announcements and by the appointees of Lieutenant-Governor Parr, and confirmed and amplified by Clarkson.

Clarkson himself not only conversed with the blacks in and near Halifax, but he visited Preston, Port L'Hebert, Shelburne, Birch Town, and Windsor. Although he had intended also to visit Annapolis County, he found that the pressure of a multiplicity of business prevented him from doing so.

Associated with him in part of his mission was Lawrence Hartshorne, who was also an agent of the Sierra Leone Company. In addition, Charles Taylor was sent out from England as surgeon and apothecary and several other Nova Scotians were assigned to specific duties.

Among those appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, besides Michael Wallace, were Alexander Howe, Job Bennet Clarke and Stephen Skinner. Alexander Howe, who was then both a representative of a distinguished family and a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, was put in charge of the undertaking in Annapolis County. He commenced his duties on October 3, 1791, posted notices, made several trips from Granville to Digby, conferred with the blacks, had what he regarded as a rough time, and afterwards claimed that he had sent to Halifax nearly, if not fully, one-third of whole number of blacks who sailed for Sierra Leone on January 15, 1792.[61] Job Bennet Clarke, Howe's assistant, was a Justice of the Peace for the County of Hants. He was expected to go to Annapolis County and to New Brunswick. Major Stephen Skinner was a

59. Lawrence Hartshorne to Henry Thornton, February 9, 1792. C. O. 217/63, f. 373.
60. J. Parr to M. Wallace, October 22, 1791. Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Manuscript Documents, Volume 224, document 77.
61. Alexander Howe to Honorable Richard Bulkeley, February 10, 1792. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Documents, Volume 224, document 79.

Shelburne Loyalist, who had been Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas of Middlesex County, New Jersey, as well as Treasurer and Member of the Council of New Jersey, was the agent for the embarkation of the free blacks in and near Shelburne.

News of the offer of removal evoked a widespread response. It was not limited to those negroes for whom Peters had appealed to the British Government. A number of the inhabitants of Birch Town appeared desirous of emigrating to Sierra Leone, and on October 10th Stephen Bluck wrote to Lawrence Hartshorne on their behalf for further information about provisions and transportation.

Clarkson was deeply touched by the reaction of the negroes and profoundly moved by their circumstances. He was scandalized by what he regarded as the shameful conduct shown to some of the blacks by many of the whites and stirred by the evidence of misery. He felt that he was being extremely careful in explaining the three alternatives to the blacks, and he advised those negroes who had surmounted their difficulties and were making progress not to abandon a certainty for a precarious prospect. In endeavouring to explain the terms on which the Sierra Leone Company engaged to receive settlers, however, he apparently held out more than the Company offered in regard to land. The Company had declared that every free black, upon producing a certificate of approbation, should have a grant of not less than twenty acres for himself, ten for his wife, and five for every child, upon such terms, and subject to such charges and obligations, with a view to the general prosperity of the Company, as should thereafter be settled by the Company, in respect to the grants of land to be made by them to all settlers, whether black or white. In explaining this proposal at Birch Town, Clarkson stated that those charges and obligations were by no means to be considered as an annual rent, but rather only as a kind of tax for charitable purposes, such as the maintenance of the poor, the care of the sick, and the education of children. This explanation was not necessarily in accord with the policy of the Company.

It is hardly surprising that there were differences of opinion about the projected removal of black settlers. According to his comments in *The Weekly Chronicle,* "Philanthropos" regarded the proposals of the Sierra Leone Company as too vague and indefinite for the basis of a colonial establishment.[62] If the effects of the industry and the enterprise of Nova Scotia merchants ultimately centred in Great Britain, he asserted, it was to be lamented "that interested views should so far contract the mind to lead it to measures injurious to the growth and prosperity of this province, however specious and plausible the pretext. . . ."[63]

It was reported that some whites were averse to being deprived of the assistance of the blacks in the cultivation of their land. It was alleged,

62. *The Weekly Chronicle,* November 12, 1791.
63. *The Weekly Chronicle,* November 19, 1791.

on the one hand, that there were some whites who wished the blacks to go so that they might acquire their land and, on the other hand, that there were other whites who wished to induce them to remain to aid in the development of the region.

However, if the free blacks were to emigrate, it was hoped by some Nova Scotians that they would be taken indiscriminately, lest the sick, the feeble, and the aged became a burden on the province. "Notwithstanding all that has been said by *Philanthropos* and others to deter them," it was stated in *The Weekly Chronicle,* "a very considerable proportion of the sooty Brotherhood seem determined to emigrate to the new-settled Colony at Sierra Leone."[63] "The inland parts of this Province," the writer added, "will probably experience the loss of them in a greater degree than the metropolis:—in either it must have an effect to raise the price of labour—but what renders it on the whole a very unpleasant circumstance, is, that the valuable part of them *only* will be selected—the maimed, the halt, the blind and the *lazy* (no inconsiderable number) will be left a burthen on the community—For G-d's sake, Gentlemen of the Company, take them indiscriminately."

It was soon evident that a surprising number of the negroes desired to emigrate. Evidently many of them were motivated not solely by their distress. "I am persuaded," Stephen Skinner wrote, "that nothing but the imaginary prospect of a fine healthy Clime, the extreme fertility of the soil and the very general invitation which the late Governors Proclamation held out to them, were the true motives that induced them to emigrate; . . ."[64]

Within a few days of Clarkson's arrival in Shelburne on October 25th, he and Skinner began to take down the names of those blacks who wished to go to Sierra Leone. Before the middle of November those who had already given their names at Shelburne amounted to 156 families numbering 540 persons and those who had given their names at Halifax numbered 250 men, women, and children. Clarkson had by that time also been informed that 30 families in Annapolis County were ready to embark and were only awaiting Thomas Peters with blacks from New Brunswick to join them.

Those at Shelburne who wished to go soon numbered 544[65] and on November 28th Clarkson reported that he had every reason to suppose that out of 560 men, women, and children who had given their names at Shelburne not more than one-half or two-thirds would be permitted to go. This, however, proved to be an unnecessary concern. By that time, moreover,

63. *The Weekly Chronicle,* November 19, 1791.

64. Stephen Skinner to Honorable Henry Dundas, C. O. 217/63, ff. 357-360.

65. The list is in C. O. 217/63, ff. 361-366. These negroes included 78 farmers, 19 carpenters, 10 sawyers, 11 laborers, 5 masons, 4 tailors, 3 carpenters and farmers, 3 coopers, 2 blacksmiths, 2 caulkers, 2 preachers, 1 blockmaker, 1 saddler, 1 barber, 1 shoemaker, and 1 weaver.

150 persons in Annapolis County had indicated their desire to emigrate. It was reported on November 17th that 100 people had sailed from Annapolis and that 70 more would soon follow. Before the end of the month Thomas Peters and 93 others arrived at Halifax from Annapolis Royal.

As the emigrants assembled at Halifax for embarkation to Sierra Leone, they were accommodated in barracks, storehouses, and other buildings. Eleven vessels carrying free blacks from Shelburne arrived at Halifax on December 9th, and four men from New Brunswick who had been prevented from embarking with Peters came to Halifax on foot. At this stage Clarkson was so busy that he appointed Thomas Peters, David George, and John Ball as intermediaries in dealing with the wants and complaints of the blacks. By December 12th, when another group arrived at Halifax from Shelburne, there were about 800 emigrants in the town. Two days later, it was reported, the free blacks in Halifax and the neighbourhood and those expected in the course of 24 hours included at least 521 from Shelburne, 99 from Annapolis and Digby, and 220 from Preston and Halifax. Over 200 others were said to be coming from Annapolis as well as a number from Shelburne, bringing the total to more than 1100. On December 17th a schooner arrived from Annapolis with 80 persons on board and on December 28th 180 persons arrived from Saint John. There were now nearly 1200 emigrants in Halifax.

If the number of free blacks who wished to take advantage of the offers of the Sierra Leone Company and the British Government greatly exceeded expectations, there were also some white settlers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick who would have been pleased to receive similar offers of assistance. ". . . I should consider myself as wanting in humanity," Clarkson wrote to Wilberforce on November 27th, "were I not to mention to you that the majority of White Soldiers (English & German) who were disbanded at the conclusion of the war, are in a [similar] situation to the Blacks, and many of them have with tears in their eyes, solicited me to give them a passage to Sierra Leone. . . ."

There is no doubt of the bad consequences in Nova Scotia of the loss of so many black settlers. "That they as well as numbers of the White Inhabitants have suffered, is notorious," Stephen Skinner wrote, "but no more than might be reasonably be expected, from the hardships and disappointments natural to the settling all new Countries; more particularly Northern ones; . . ."[66] This "new and unfortunate Settlement [Shelburne]," he added, "has been deprived of upwards of Five Hundred good and efficient Citizens, in which are included labour People and Servants who have been flattered by imagi[nary] prospects of happiness to leave a comfortable and decent maintenance. . . ."

In a petition to Lieutenant-Governor Parr, signed by Stephen Bluck

66. Skinner to Dundas, C. O. 217/63, ff. 357-360. ". . . the 800 Negroes who were carried to Sierra Leone," Gideon White of Shelburne wrote, "was a serious loss. . . . PANS, White Papers, no. 560.

and 50 others, the free blacks remaining in Shelburne County stated that "numbers of our brethren are so infatuated as to embrace the proposals of the Sierra Leone Company which (with all due Submission) we conceive will be their utter annihilation."[67]

In accordance with instructions from the Secretary of State, Lieutenant Clarkson was appointed to command the expedition to Sierra Leone. Lieutenant Wickham, a half-pay officer in the Royal Navy, who was a friend of Lawrence Hartshorne, went along with Clarkson, as a sort of second in command. For lodging in Halifax, for provisions, and for clothing, local contractors received over £6,000,[68] while the total amount of freight and demurrage for the fifteen ships which were chartered to convey the free blacks to Sierra Leone was £9,592.13.0.[69] The committee of the Council of Nova Scotia for superintending the embarkation of the black people was composed of Honorable Alexander Brymer, Honorable Thomas Cochran, and Honorable Sampson Salter Blowers.[70]

But Clarkson, aided by Hartshorne, supervised everything. He watched over the refitting of the vessels, the drying out of the sleeping quarters on board, the furnishing of clothing and provisions, and the completion of contracts. His amiable frankness facilitated the preparations on many an occasion. He arranged for the sick to be conveyed in the ship in which he himself sailed so that the best possible care might be provided for them. He arranged for rations, rules and signals, and he prepared instructions for the emigrants.

On January 15, 1792 the flotilla sailed from Halifax for Sierra Leone, carrying 1190 free black emigrants. Fever, breaking out on the transports, took its toll of 67 deaths on the voyage, and Clarkson himself, exhausted before departure, nearly died of the illness and arrived at Sierra Leone as an enfeebled convalescent. The transports, scattered by storms, reached their destination between February 28th and March 9th.

Meantime Richard Bulkeley, administrator of the government of Nova Scotia, informed The Right Honourable Henry Dundas of the departure of 1190 black emigrants from Halifax on January 15th. "This number," Bulkeley wrote, "exceeds my expectation; but as they had come from the Southern Colonies, where they & their Children had been well Clothed & Fed by their Masters, into a Cold Climate in which they were to depend on the Cultivation of the Country for their Subsistence, they readily embraced the Offer of going to a Warm Climate, with flattering hopes of a better condition."[71]

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67. A Petition from Stephen Bluck *et al.* to Lieutenant-Governor Parr. C. O. 217/63, ff. 367-373.
68. Cf. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone,* 34.
69. C. O. 217/63, f. 193.
70. Minutes of Council (Nova Scotia), December 6, 1791.
71. Bulkeley to Dundas, February 3, 1792. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Documents, Volume 48, document 67. Also C. O. 217/63.

Bulkeley explained how the undertaking involved unavoidable expense and how "the utmost attention" had been exerted to avoid every unnecessary expenditure. "Whilst these People remain'd here waiting for the Hire of Transports and Embarkation," he added, "an Unavoidable expense arose to furnish them with Provisions & Cloathing, to those who want it, together with the Hire of Houses to Lodge them in." He assured Dundas that care had been taken to proceed as economically as possible by having a Committee of His Majesty's Council to superintend the management and the conduct of the undertaking. To Clarkson, however, the proposals of the merchants for carrying the blacks to Sierra Leone seemed abominably high.

On the very day on which the transports sailed from Halifax, Dundas wrote to Bulkeley, urging him to refrain for the present from any further expense in collecting or transporting negroes from Nova Scotia or New Brunswick.[72] If any negroes remained at Halifax, who had been collected there before or since the embarkation of those who had already been sent to Sierra Leone, lands were to be located for those willing to become settlers and inducements were to be offered to the others with a view to having them enlist in the Corps of Negroes for the West Indies.

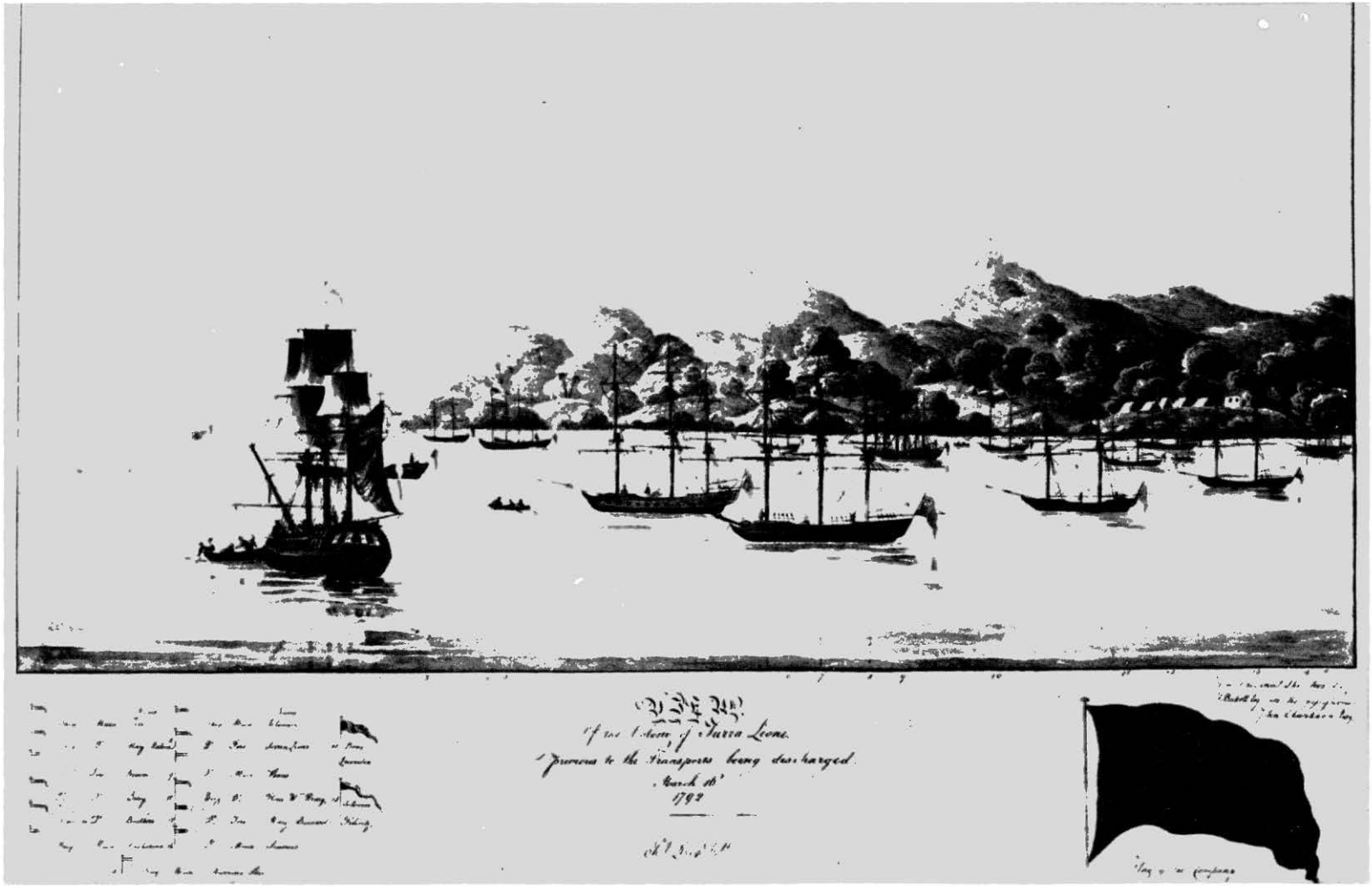
About two months later Bulkeley transmitted to Dundas a copy of the report of the Commissioners appointed by the late Lieutenant-Governor Parr to inquire into the complaints of Thomas Peters.[73] It comprised a detailed account of developments in relation to land and included answers from Peters himself to a variety of questions. Alexander Howe and Job Bennet Clarke conducted this investigation. "By this report it appears," Bulkeley wrote, "that every attention was paid to this Man & his People in general, and that they had Lands granted to them wherever they chose to settle in the Province—And that if he had not hastily quitted it, he would have receiv'd his full Share of Provision & Land with others."

It is patent that the scene looked somewhat different from various points of vantage. The main themes, however, are very much alike, and "Clarkson's Mission to America" is an interesting and colourful account of a significant humanitarian enterprise.

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72. Dundas to Bulkeley, January 15, 1792. C. O. 217/63.

73. Bulkeley to Dundas, March 19, 1792. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Documents, Volume 48, document 70. Also C. O. 217/63, f. 163.



View of the Colony of Sierra Leone previous to the Transports being discharged, March 16, 1792.

CLARKSON'S MISSION TO AMERICA

August 6th, 1791. Being in London at this time assisting my brother[1] and Mr. Wilberforce[2] in procuring the abolition of the Slave Trade, and knowing that a person was much wanted to go to America to enquire into the situation of a number of Free Blacks who had deputed one of their own colour, Thomas Peters,[3] to state their grievances to Government & understanding also, that the person who should undertake this business would have the power of representing their grievances to Government for redress, as well as to make them offers of changing their situation if they preferred that to a continuance in Nova Scotia, I was induced to become a volunteer in this business from a perusal of the underwritten Memorial presented by Thomas Peters to the Secretary of State[4] in behalf of his oppressed brethren and was strengthened in my determination from the distressing accounts which he gave me of their sufferings.

> Memorial of Thomas Peters and others to the Right Honorable W. W. Grenville one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.
>
> The humble Memorial and Petition of Thomas Peters, a Free Negro and late a Sergeant in the Regiment of Guides and Pioneers, serving in North America under the command of General Sir Henry Clinton,[5] on behalf of himself and others, the Black Pioneer and Loyal Black Refugees hereinafter described:
>
> Sheweth
>
> That your Memoralist and the said other Black Pioneers, having served in North America as aforesaid, for the space of seven years and upwards during the late war, afterwards went to Nova Scotia, under the promise of obtaining the usual Grants of land and provisions.
>
> That notwithstanding they have made repeated applications to all persons in that country whom they conceived likely to put them into possession of their due allotments the said Pioneers, with their wives and children, amounting together in the whole, to the number of 102 people, now remaining at Annapolis Royal, having not yet obtained their Allotments of land, except one Single acre each for a Town lot and though a further proportion of 20 acres each private man, viz (a fifth part of the allowance of land that is due to them) is actually laid out and located for them, agreeable to the governors order it was afterwards taken from them on pretence that it had been included in some former Grant and they have never yet obtained other lands in lieu thereof and remain destitute and helpless; that besides the said 102 people

at Annapolis who have deputed your Memoralist to represent their unhappy situation there are also a number of Free Black refugees, consisting of about 100 families or more at New Brunswick, in a like unprovided and destitute condition, for though some of them have had a part of their allowance of land offered to them, it is so far distant from their Town Lots (being 16 or 18 miles back) as to be entirely useless to them, and indeed worthless in itself from its remote situation.

That the said two descriptions of people, having authorised and impowered your Memoralist to act for them as their Attorney, he has at much trouble and risk, made his way into their country in hopes that he should be able to procure for himself and his fellow-sufferers some establishment where they may attain a competent settlement for themselves, and be enabled by their industrious exertions to become useful subjects to his Majesty—

That some part however of the said Black people are earnestly desirious of obtaining their due allotment of land and remaining in America, but others are ready and willing to go wherever the wisdom of Government may think proper to provide for them as free subjects of the British Empire.

Your Memoralist therefore most Honored Sir, humbly prays that you will humanely consider the call of your Memorialist and the said other Black people, and by laying the same before his Majesty or otherwise as you shall deem most proper that they may be afforded such relief as shall appear to be best adapted to their circumstances and situation—And your Memoralist shall ever pray &c &c

the mark of X Thomas Peters

From this day August 6th 1791 to the 19th inst I was employed in preparing for my voyage, gaining as much information as this short time would allow me on the business I had undertaken, assisting Thomas Peters in preparing him for his return, as I wished him to be at Nova Scotia before me to apprise his countrymen of my intended visit and waiting occasionally at the Secretary of State's office to suggest difficulties I might be liable to experience if not prevented by the orders he should send out to the Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick— On the 11th I received a copy of part of Mr. Dundas's[6] to Governors Parr[7] and Carleton[8] which sufficiently satisfied me as to the assistance I might expect from the governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and on the following day I received a letter from Mr. Williams[9] the Solicitor and Secretary to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, giving me instructions and enclosing me papers for my information as to the proposals they had made to the Nova Scotians. Before I proceed I will transcribe the part of Mr. Dundas's letter to Governors Parr and Carleton, as well as the instructions

I received from the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company with the printed proposals I took with me.

Extract of part of a letter from the Right Honorable Henry Dundas to Lieutenant Governor Parr dated Whitehall 3rd August 1791.

> I transmit to you herewith a Memorial of Thomas Peters a Black who served with the King's Troops in America during the late war and afterwards removed into the Province of Nova Scotia complaining that he and his associates have not obtained the allotments of land promised to be granted to them and that otherwise the Province of New Brunswick continue in the like improvided state I am therefore to desire that you will immediately after the receipt of this letter give orders that the several circumstances stated in the Petition, so far as regards the situation of the Petitioners and his associates in the Province, under your Government may be enquired into and if it shall appear that the engagements made on the part of Government with respect to the said grants of land, promised to them, may be immediately granted, and in a situation so advantageous, as may make them some atonement for the injury they have suffered by their unaccountable delay, and I must desire to receive from you, as soon as possible, a particular account from you of your proceeding in consequence.
>
> A plan having lately been formed by a number of gentlemen here for establishing a settlement on the River Sierra Leone and measures having been taken by them for obtaining a Charter of Incorporation, it has appeared to the Memorialist Peters, on a consideration of the encouragement held out by the gentlemen engaged in this undertaking, that the proposed settlement would be likely to afford to him and persons of a like description an Asylum much better suited to their constitutions than Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and he has in consequence expressed a desire that he and his family, and such other Blacks as may be disposed to become Settlers at Sierra Leone, may be removed thither. Although a compliance with this request will be attended with expence to the Public, His Majesty in consideration of their Service is anxious that they should be gratified and that measures should be taken for that purpose—In order therefore to ascertain the number of persons desirous of removing, it is His Majesty's pleasure, that you should immediately after the receipt of this letter, despatch a discreet officer to such part of the Province, where the persons in question may be now seated, and after stating to them the nature of the Plan which I now enclose, to offer to convey to Sierra Leone, free of expense, such of them and their families, as may prefer a removal thither to a continuance in Nova Scotia

As some persons of the same description are now in the province of New Brunswick who may possibly be inclined to accept the terms proposed, I have desired Lieutenant Governor Carleton to pass them over to Annapolis and as soon as the number shall be ascertained you will give orders that a competent quantity of Tonnage be procured and sent to the most convenient place for their embarkation and after taking them on board to convey them to Sierra Leone where they are to be put on shore.

The tonnage proper to be engaged for the execution of this service, it is conceived should be nearly equal to two Tons for each Man or Woman and one Ton and a half for each child. That quantity is looked upon to be sufficient for their complete accommodation, and will enable them also to take with them any articles of which they may be now possessed which may be useful to them in the new settlement.

It is necessary however upon this occasion that I should mention to you and that it should be fully understood by these People, that Government takes no part in this business further than with a view to gratify such of them as may happen to be dissatisfied with their present situation.

N. B. The orders to Lieutenant Governor Carleton, New Brunswick, were something similar to the above with the addition of desiring him to convey those who wished to become Settlers at Sierra Leone over to Annapolis, to be from thence forwarded to the place of general rendez-vous.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Williams Secretary and Solicitor to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company

Sir/

The Directors of the Sierra Leone Company after expressing the great satisfaction they have in the prospect of your kind assistance towards the collecting together and conducting to Sierra Leone such of the Free Blacks at New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as are desirous of becoming settlers at Sierra Leone desire to refer you to their printed Declaration for the terms upon which they are willing to receive those Black into their Colony.

Of the mode of conveyance you are already informed from the letter of Mr. Secretary Dundas to Governor Parr
It is left entirely to your discretion and that of your coadjutor Mr. Lawrence Hartshorne (acting together or separately as circumstances may require) to admit or to reject the application of Individuals as upon enquiry you shall find from the testimonial you receive of their characters whether they are

likely or not likely to become profitable members of the new Community.

To each person of whose character you are satisfied you will please to give a written Certificate of approbation submitted with your names or the name of one of you, with an intimation that it is to be produced to one of the Company's officers at the Settlement.

Wishing you a safe and pleasant voyage, and praying for a happy issue to the business you so liberally undertake the Directors commit all other matters to your own immediate direction in which they profess to have fullest confidence

Dated at London the 12 day of August 1791

By order

J R Williams Solicitor & Secretary

To John Clarkson Esq[r]

The following are the terms proposed by the Sierra Leone Company to the Free Blacks of the Province of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

FREE SETTLEMENT

ON THE

COAST OF AFRICA

The Sierra Leone Company being willing to receive into their Colony such Free Blacks as are able to produce their Agents, Lieutenant Clarkson of his Majesty's Navy and Mr. Lawrence Hartshorne of Halifax, or either of them, satisfactory testimonials of their character, (more particularly as to Honesty, Sobriety and Industry), think it proper to notify in an explicit manner, upon what terms they will receive at Sierra Leone, those who bring with them written certificates of approbation from either of the said Agents which certificates they are hereby respectively authorized to grant or withould

at discretion

It is therefore declared by the Company

that ever[y] Free Black upon producing such a certificate shall have a grant of not less than Twenty Acres of Land for himself ten for his wife and five for every Child upon such terms and subject to such charges and obligations with a view to the general prosperity of the company as shall hereafter be settled by the Company in respect to the Grants of Land to be made by them to all Settlers whether Black or White

That all stores provisions &c supplied from the Com-

pany's Warehouses, the Company shall receive an equitable compensation according to fixed rules extending to Blacks and Whites indiscriminately.

That the Civil, Military, Personal, and Commercial rights and duties of Blacks and Whites shall be the same and secured in the same manner.

And for the full allowance of personal protection from Slavery to all such Black Settlers, the Company have subjoined a copy of a clause contained in the Act of Parliament whereby we are incorporated, viz.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for the said Company, either directly or indirectly by itself or themselves or by the Agents or Servants of the said Company or otherwise howsoever, to deal or traffic in the buying or selling Slaves, or in any manner whatsoever, to have, hold, appropriate or employ any person or persons in a state of Slavery in the Service of the said Company

Given under our hands London the 2nd day of August 1791

Henry Thornton[11]	Chairman	)
Philip Samson[12]	Deputy Chairman	)
Charles Middleton[13]		)
William Wilberforce		)
Granville Sharpe[14]		)
John Kingston[15]		)
Samuel Parker[16]		) Directors
Joseph Hardcastle[17]		)
Thomas Clarkson		)
Vicaris Taylor[18]		)
William Sandford[19]		)
Thomas Eldred[20]		)
George Wolf[21]		)

N. B. For the convenience of those who are possessed of property which they cannot dispose of before their departure, the Company will authorize an Agent, who on receiving from any proprietor a sufficient power for that purpose shall sell the same for his benefit, and remit the purchase money through the hands of the Company to such proprietors at Sierra Leone.

On the evening of the 19 August, I embarked on board the Ark, Captain Waltham, at Gravesend and sailed immediately, we were beating about Channel with contrary and strong winds, till 3rd of September when we were obliged to bear away for Portland Roads where we anchored about noon. On the 4th we took a ride to Weymouth and returned in the evening.

On the 5th met my brother who was then on a journey to Devon-

shire but thinking from the winds that it was likely that the Ark would be driven into Port, he called at some of the Sea Ports as he passed them in the hopes of seeing me and was induced to come from Weymouth to Portland from a conviction that he heard my voice the preceding evening at Weymouth as he drove into the Gun Yard.

He informed me that two vessels had just arrived at Bristol from Sierra Leone, and that the Natives were inclined to be very friendly and that another vessel was hourly expected to confirm these pleasing accounts.

On the 8th we sailed and at 6 A.M. the Start point N.N.E. three or four degrees at 10 the Eddistone[22] Light House N ½ E 4 Leagues—9th September Fresh breezes and cloudy Lat 49.10 Long 8.50 W Eddistone N 71 E 63 Leagues.

10th Light Winds and cloudy weather—No observation Lat per acct 58.57N. Long 11.09 W Cows [Cowes] S-57 340 Leagues

11th Fresh gales with a heavy Sea from the Westward Lat. 48-52 Long 11.24. W. Cows [Cowes] S. 57 W. 336 Leagues

12th Light and Pleasant Weather with a long swell from the Westward, Lat. 48-36 Long 14-7 Cows [Cowes] S 54- W 304 Leagues—13th Do Ws. at intervals salin [sailing] lat. 48-35 Long. 14-48 Cows [Cowes] 53 W. 297 Leagues.

14th Do W. Saw a brig standing to the S. W. Lat 48.10 Long 17.10 Cows [Cowes] S. 50 W. 242 Leagues

16th Pleasant breezes and foggy weather with a heavy sea from the westward Spoke the ship Bell, Captain Rogers from London to Boston, 7 days from the land, Lat. 47-19—Long 22-25, Cows [Cowes] S-39 W 196 Leagues—17th Fresh gales and Cloudy at 11 P. M. saw a sail standing at the Westward—Lat. 46-47 Long. 26-24 Cows [Cowes] S 26 W 157 Leagues.

19th—Fresh Gales and cloudy weather rather thick at times, at 9 P.M. passed by a Brig close under our Lee. We were almost on board each other before we could see her and were then going at the rate of 9 miles per hour, so that had we touched, we must have both been lost. Lat 45.09 Long 34-28 Sable Island—S. 86-46 W. 361 Leagues—20th Moderate and rain at times. At 9 A.M. hard gales and clear weather, Lat, 44.48 Long 30-43 Sable Island—S. 88 W. 332 Leagues. 21st Fresh gales and cloudy at 4 P. M. spoke a French brig bound to Havre de Grace. A heavy Sea from the Northward. Lat 43-53—Long 39-09 Sable Island N. 89—W 296 Leagues, 22nd pleasant weather—Lat. 43-51 Long 41-47 Sable Island N. 88-44 W. 250 Leagues—24th Fresh gales a vessel passed us standing to the Eastward Lat 48-30 Long 46-06 Sable Island N. 86. W. 197 Leagues.

September 25th—Fresh gales and cloudy Lat. 43.50 Long 47.07 Sable Island N. 88 W 188 Leagues—26th strong gales with rain—Lat 44-07 Long 48.00 Sable Island N. 89—W. 167 Leagues.

27th—Fresh breezes and unsettled weather, a heavy sea from the North West several Bank Birds in sight Lat 43-24 Long 49-28—Sable Island N 84-W 150 Leagues Light air and variable Lat 43-28 Long 50-58 Sable Island N 84 W 127 Leagues.

29th Squally with rain A. M. very unsettled weather the clouds and the sea much confused wind all round the compass Lat 43-28 Long 52-48 Sable Island N. 82 W 101 Leagues—30th very unsettled weather a very heavy sea with constant squalls of rain. Lat 43-8 Long 54-24 Sable Island N 75 W 79 Leagues.

October 1st Fine pleasant weather Lat 43-17 Long 55-6 Sable Island N 75 W—70 Leagues—2nd Cloudy with Fresh breezes Lat 43-58 Long 56-22 Sable Island N. 86-W 49 Leagues—3rd Fresh breezes and coudy [cloudy] sounded 26 Fathoms Rotten Rock with Do Shells and fine gravel—suppose ourselves on Banquereau Bank[23] Lat 44 36 Long 58.03 Sable Island S 64-W 27 Leagues. 4th strong gales with a heavy Sea at 6 sounded 36 Fathoms gravel with large stone the size of an egg. Lat 44.42 Long 58-40 W Sable Island S 55 W 20 Leagues—5th from noon to 3 o'clock we ran W-SW. 9 miles at 3 spoke a schooner from Marble Head fishing at an anchor on Banquerall Bank who informed us that Sable Island bore W SW 13 or 14 Leagues—at noon light winds and pleasant weather, sounded 80 Fathoms mud. Lat 44 81 Long, 60-46 Sable Island S 60 E 15 Leagues Sambro Light House at the entrance of Halifax Harbor West 37 Leagues—6th October light airs and variable—bent the cables at 2 A.M. saw the land bearing to the Northward—at noon fresh gales and clear weather. Owls Head W NW 10 or 11 Leagues Latitude observe 44-41—N.

During the voyage my mind has been constantly occupied with the importance of my mission. I see it in a different point of view to what I did when I first offered my services, for then I was influenced by the feelings of the moment, in consequence of the affecting story I had heard Peters[24] relate, and the difficulties the Directors seemed to have in finding a suitable person to conduct it; but when I got to sea and had time for reflection, the case was altered, I had then leisure to perceive the magnitude of the undertaking, and although I felt an equal desire to assist these unfortunate people, yet I almost shrunk from the responsibility I had imposed upon myself and having embarked in it—I had no alternative but to go on—

Before I reached Halifax it was necessary for me to come to some kind of determination as to the line of conduct I should pursue upon my arrival there, and having carefully perused the letters I had received from my friend Mr. Wilberforce, and having duly reflected upon their contents, and also upon the various conversations I had had with many of the Directors on the subject of my mission I decided upon not soliciting any person to go with me, but to explain to all the views of the Sierra Leone Company and those of His Majesty's Government, and to leave to them to make their own choice for I considered them as men having the same feelings, as myself, and therefore I did not dare to sport with their destiny.

7th At daylight off Owl's Head at noon Sambro Light House W S—W-6 miles—Halifax Townn N ½ W 16 miles. At three this afternoon arrived at Halifax—The prospect of the town extremely beautiful, situated upon a declivity on the left-hand side of the river going up, and has a pretty appearance from the sea. Went on shore at ½ past four and waited upon the governor[25] with my Despatches, was received with every mark of civility and attention and was invited to stay dinner—

I found by the Governors conversation that Peters had arrived some days before and had set off for New Brunswick. At 8 left the Governor's and went to the Coffee House,[26] where some gentlemen of the Swedenburg[27] persuasion supposing me to be of the same were waiting to congratulate me upon my arrival; from there called upon Mr. Hartshorne[28] and paid my respects to Mr. and Mrs. Brinley.[29]

8th Delivered all my letters of introduction, and was much gratified at the general reception I met with, dined with a large party at the governor's where I met Mr. Hammond[30] and his Secretary Mr. Thornton,[31] who had just arrived in the packet[32] from England on his embassy to the United States—The Captain[33] of the Packet informed the Governor and his company that on the day he left Falmouth a vessel had arrived from Sierra Leone, giving an account that the few settlers sent out in the year 1787 had been cut off by King Jemmy,[34] and that he feared we should find some difficulty in landing in the River.

This conversation gave the Governor an opportunity of starting difficulties as to the accomplishment of the plan which I was obliged to cut short by saying that it should not prevent me from exerting myself to forward the business, as I was confident that neither Government or the Company would suffer me to sail from hence if they thought there was any danger from the Natives, and that we should have sufficient time to know the particulars before we could possibly be ready to sail—The conversation dropped by the Governors pushing about the bottle—

I could plainly see that the Governor would rather I should not succeed in my business than otherwise probably from an idea that if the people were averse to leaving the province, it would be a good argument to prove that they were content and that their complaints were groundless.

October 9th—Went to Church heard the Bishop[35] preach a good sermon dined with Mr. Hartshorne in the evening went home and wrote letters.

10th—Went on board the Packet to take leave of Mr. Hammond, dined with the Attorney General Mr. Blowers,[36] spent a pleasant day and did not return till late in the evening.

11th—Visited the different parts of the Town—called upon the Admiral[37] dined at the Coffee House in company with a Mr. Miller[38] a Lieutenant in the Army who had arrived from the West Indies about a

week before me to enlist any of the Free Blacks who were willing to become soldiers in preference of remaining in Nova Scotia.

Employed, preparing to get into my new house and writing letters to go by the Packet.

12th—This morning went over to Dartmouth which is about a mile across the river from Halifax with Mess[rs] Hartshorne and Putman[39] to visit some of the Free Blacks who were settled at a place called Preston about four miles from Dartmouth. At 10 in the morning we mounted own horses and rode through the woods till we reached Preston, called at the huts of several of the inhabitants and stated to them the offers of the Sierra Leone Company. Their situation seemed extremely bad from the poorness of the soil and from their having nothing to subsist upon but the produce of it. On our ride towards home we called upon an honest gardener who shewed me some of the Maple sugar, as well as the trees in his neighbourhood and also a specimen he had refined equal to any I had seen in England. This man is an excellent Botanist[40] and lays out a part of his garden for experiments—About two in the afternoon reached Mr. Hartshorne's Farm House distant about two miles from Dartmouth, where we dined. This Farm appeared to me in higher cultivation than any I have yet seen in the Province.

13th—Employed the greater part of this morning in paying visits and conversing with several of the Free Blacks. Tasted some Birch Partridge today not very partial to them though they were of the white kind, in the evening employed in writing letters. 14th This day busy in removing my things to my lodgings from the Coffee House—Hired a servant—In the evening the Packet arrived—Mr. Hartshorne brought me the following letter which he had just received from Colonel Bluck[41] a black man at Shelburne.

Birch Town, 10th October 1791

Sir

From a notification signed by the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, a number of the inhabitants of this place appear desirous of emigrating to that Colony, for which purpose they have applied to me for information concerning the adopted mode to be pursued for their subsistence when they may arrive there—My not having it in my power to satisfy them there being various reports on that head, occasions my taking the liberty of requesting the favour of your forwarding to me such conditions respecting their provision and transportation as the Directors have furnished for the encouragement of Adventurers—

I am sir
Your most obedient Servant
Stephen Bluck—

Mr. Lawrence Hartshorne—

October 15th Commenced housekeeping dined with the Chief Justice[42] and spent a pleasant day—16th Went to Church—dined with Mr. Hartshorne in the evening busy writing letters Mr. Hartshorne brought me the under written letter which he had just received from Thomas Peters—

St. John's October 10th, 1791

Sir

this is to inform you of my arrival in this place, and find the people in high spirits—Regarding the proposals, I mean as soon as I can to proceed to Frederictown and return with all speed back to this place, and from this to Annapolis by that time I hope to hear from the Honorable Mr. Clarkson and your self. I do not mean to make any return of names, until my return to this place, my reason is, for so doing, to give them time to consider—when you plan to write to me direct to the gentleman you recommended me to—

I remain Sir

Your most obedient, humble servant
Thomas Peters

PS Please give my respects to Mr. Putman, and my duty to his Honor Mr. Clarkson, and let him know that I shall be glad to see him

17th Confined at home the whole of the day writing letters—

18th Conversed with several Black people—Mr. Taylor[43] who was appointed as a Surgeon and Apothecary to attend me upon my different voyages and who had not been able from the short notice given him to sail with me from England, arrived this day in the Rashleigh.[44] Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Brinley, and as the Packet could not sail this evening I indulged myself by remaining at Mr. B's till 12 at night—

19th. This morning employed in seeing Mr. Taylors baggage removed to my lodgings with Medicine Chest &c, took a walk into the Dock yard, which is very commodious and to a part of Halifax called the Dutch Town.[45] On my return home was visited by the Bishop, to whom I introduced Mr. Taylor, dined at home; at half past six finished all my letters and took them to the Post Office, drank tea and spent the evening with Mr. Hartshorne and Captain Rogers.[46].

I shall transcribe part of my despatches to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company addressed to Mr. Thornton their Chairman, which will show the progress made up to the present day with my ideas of the business at the time.

Clarkson's Mission to America

Halifax 19th October 1791

Dear Sir

I am happy to inform you of my safe arrival at Halifax on the 7th of October, after a passage of 29 days from Portland, as soon as I landed I waited upon the Governor who received me with civility and attention—

I found that he had published part of Mr. Dundas's letter to him as I intend enclosing one of the Papers containing his letter I shall say nothing further on that head—

The next person I visited was Mr. Hartshorne who acquainted me that the day preceding my arrival he had written to you giving you every sort of information in his power as far as he could consistently at so early a stage of the business I feel myself happy in having a man of Mr. Hartshorne's character who is universally esteemed, employed in the same business with me, and I am particularly obliged to him for his attention upon every occasion.

I fear I shall not be able to add to the accounts you have already received, but must content myself by giving you my ideas upon the business, from the conversations I have had with many gentlemen upon the subject—In the first place, I was given to understand from those with whom I conversed (many of whom are friends to the Plan, and have offered Mr. Hartshorne and myself every assistance) that if I did not accept indiscriminately every one that offered I should meet with great opposition from the principal gentlemen in Halifax and that they would have it in their power to prevent the greatest part of the Black people from accepting the offers of the Company from their influence with them—

My answer to every one, as well as at the Governor's table and at other places has been that I should not solicit one Individual to accompany me and that I was likewise as determined to withhold the certificate which was intended as a reward to virtue and industry, from those who should appear to me not to deserve it That I did not intend to confine myself to Honesty, Sobriety and Industry in the strict sense of the words but that I should expect those who embarked for Sierra Leone should be men of a general good character—

We shall begin to examine and receive those who answer the description we wish, to-morrow or next day, and shall transmit by the next vessel a complete list of their names—The Governors coincides with me in thinking that the general

rendez-vous should be at Halifax, and that we should all sail together, and I am in hopes if it be possible to be accomplished, without adding greatly to the expense it will be done, for we have some thoughts of putting into the public papers of this Province and that of New Brunswick, a paragraph stating that vessels will be ready to sail from this place on such a day to receive on board all Free Blacks of a certain description who will be able to bring the desired certificate and that an equitable allowance will be made to such Captains of vessels who will give them a passage; you must understand that this advertisement is to be from the Governor—

It will be impossible for me to see every person that may go with me because I should not have time to visit half the places were I to set off tomorrow, and my presence will be absolutely necessary in Halifax to superintend the whole collected there and to see that the ships are properly equipped for the voyage, so that many may receive Certificates, that probably will not be deserving but I shall act accordingly and take care to write to the respectable people, in the neighbourhood of the place that are likely to send many to caution them in giving certificates to improper persons—

If we should be able to accomplish our wishes in sailing together I shall be very happy, as I feel myself much interested in the welfare of these oppressed people; indeed I never viewed the business I have undertaken to perform, with that degree of awe, that I do at this moment. I am fearful when in the company of these unfortunate men of opening my mouth, lest a word should be misconstrued, which might occasion their acceptance or refusal of the Company's offers, not but I am fully convinced, that those who do accept will be by far more happy than those who refuse, but still the future happiness or misery of a human being may depend upon their answer.

I have desired all those who say they wish to go with me, to consider and reflect upon the change they are about to make, and if they should make up their minds to attend me for a certainty, that they must from that moment look up to me as their guardian and Protector, and in return I shall expect their obedience and good behaviour; and I hope from what I have seen of them already, I shall have but little to fear from their not conducting themselves agreeably to my wishes—

I must now mention a circumstance which has given me much pain, and which may do a great deal of harm in preventing many of the Blacks from going with me; I mean a report which has been circulated here of King Jemmy's hav-

ing driven the Settlers from Sierra Leone, and having murdered the greatest part of them—

I was in hopes that I had silenced this opinion when it was first mentioned which was at the Governor's table, the day after my arrival—On that day I met Mr. Hammond the British Minister to the United States, who had just arrived in the Packet from Falmouth and dined with him in company with the Captain who brought him out—In the course of conversation after dinner the Captain[47] of the Packet said, Mr. Clarkson I hear you are going to conduct the Black people to Sierra Leone and therefore I wish to inform you of a report which prevailed at Falmouth on the day we sailed, in consequence of a vessel having arrived in Mounts Bay[48] from the Coast of Africa—He then mentioned what I have stated before, respecting King Jemmy and told me that he was informed of it by one of Mr. Fox's clerks at Falmouth, that my brother was at Mr. Fox's at the time, and that the people belonging to the vessel had waited upon him with the account—

I replied that he had convinced me from what he had said respecting my brother that he must have been misinformed, for I was certain he never would have suffered the Packet to have sailed for Halifax without writing two lines to have put me upon my guard, and that so far from the vessel's having brought bad news, I had every reason to believe she had arrived with the most favourable accounts—That I had seen my brother at Weymouth four days before he went to Falmouth and that he told me then that a vessel answering to the description of the one mentioned by the Captain to have arrived at Mounts Bay was hourly expected to confirm the most pleasing accounts received by two vessels, which had lately come from Africa to Bristol—

Mr. Hammond agreed with me and said he was sure my brother would have written to me, had there been any foundation for such a rumour, as the Packet did not sail till some time after the Captain had heard this story—

After all this, I find the Governor is not convinced for Mr. Hartshorne and myself waited upon him two days ago to talk with him on business when he said that the people could not go he thought with safety, after the accounts received of the savages having murdered the settler—I told him I thought it abominable for any person to cherish such an opinion, as it might influence many people not to go, who would be miserable if they remained here, that it was wrong to meet difficulties half way, and that he might be sure if such a thing had happened that he would receive official

accounts long enough before the people could possibly embark.

I must now tell you that I have heard reports similar to that propagated by the Captain of the Packet before I left England but I have never suffered them to affect me, because I know that there are many enemies to the plan who would be very happy if they could prevent the Colony from flourishing—But still I am of opinion that we ought to be upon our guard, that arms and ammunition ought to be sent out, with a proper Armourer to take care of them, and if I mistake not Mr. Kingston[49] will be able to recommend a man of that description. I am sure there can be no impropriety in sending them out as I have such confidence in the choice the Company will make of their servants who will be entrusted with the use of them, and I hope they will act with the greatest degree of prudence on every occasion.

For my own part, I feel myself so completely at peace with these ignorant misinformed people, who are led away by the wickedness of those who call themselves Christians, that I should rather pity them than return their fire, in hopes that I might be able by such a conduct, to convince them of their error, and to persuade them that I should feel as happy in promoting their comfort, as I should those more immediately under my care—

But I will now tell you what would certainly happen should I meet with any determined resistance while the people are under my protection, I shall keep uppermost in my thoughts that I have several innocent men under me, many of whom were comfortably settled in peace and quietness, and would have been very well content, had it not been for the inclemency of the weather for some part of the year, that these people place a confidence in me, look up to me to perform the promises made by the Company and assured by me that there was no immediate danger from the Kings of the country, but that I thought it necessary that all good Citizens should be upon their guard, that these poor unfortunate men have ever since Europe called herself enlightened experienced the greatest treachery, oppression, murder and everything that is base, and that I cannot name an instance where a body of them collected together have ever had the promises made them performed in a conscientious way, and therefore after having considered what I have said, in its fullest extent, and particularly recollecting that these people were in peace and quietness, before they put a confidence in me, I shall be at a loss (supposing we meet with resistance) to convince them of the Integrity and real feelings of my heart towards them, and I do declare that you will

never see me more if anything of the kind would happen, for I will sacrifice my life in the defence of the meanest of them on board, sooner than that they should entertain a doubt of the sincerity of my intentions—There is a probability of some of us reaching the Settlement by the latter end of December or the beginning of January—I mention this supposing we cannot sail together and I hope should this be the case, that Dalrymple[50] the intended Governor will have everything in readiness to receive us for I am advised by my friends here to accompany the first party—Their wishes (considering my report) entirely coincide with my desires, as I am determined to be the first who puts his foot on Shore at Sierra Leone from Nova Scotia.

I am happy to find that the greatest part of the free Blacks who will accompany me have tolerably good muskets and that many of them are excellent sportsmen. I shall take care to see that their guns are in order, before we sail and shall purchase powder and ball unknown to them, and shall keep them in my possession, ready to act as circumstances may occur, but really after all I have said, I am in my own mind convinced that every thing, will turn out as pleasant as we can wish, but I should not be easy had I not been as explicit as I have, after the various reports circulated here, and particularly in this letter that you may have the earliest information and act accordingly—

It is not in my power to describe the scandalous and shameful conduct shewn to the free Blacks by many of the White people in both provinces and although Government allowed to many of them from 60 to 100 acres of land, the greatest part have never been in possession of more than one or two acres, and they have so completely worked the land up that it will not yield half crops—

The white people now threaten to refuse certificates of character to force the blacks to remain in the provinces, but if I see a man's hut in decent order his land cultivated as well as it can be, and if he should be a man of moderate prosperity such as several possessing bushels of potatoes &c. &c. I shall not withold my certificate from him if his general character be good, and from what Mr. Putman the Member for Manchester or Chebucto told me this morning, I have every reason to be satisfied with the whole of the Preston people for he says there are not better working men, or more honest and sober Than those of the town of Preston,[51] and in consequence of this good character, I have promised to buy all my fowls &c of them in preference of others for my sea stock at the regular market prices.

> Before I conclude I must inform you that I had a conversation with the Governor yesterday, who has promised me that the whole shall sail together, if those from the out-ports can be collected within three weeks or a month of the time that those could be ready in the neighbourhood he has likewise told me that he will put into the public papers an advertisement for collecting them—
>
> I shall enclose you a copy of it which he had sent me, but as the Governor is considered an unsteady man and led away by other people I do not promise you that everything will take place as I have said neither shall I believe this information will be given till I see it in the papers—

The foregoing were the principal parts of my letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company—I shall now continue my journal.

October 20th, 1791—This day by appointment began to take down the names of the free Blacks who were willing to attend me to Sierra Leone, 79 men, women and children gave in their names—Dined with the Bishop spent a very agreeable afternoon, everything in very elegant style by far superior to any house I have yet visited—In the evening began to prepare for my voyage to Shelburne.[52] By the account given in by many of the free Blacks who gave their names in this morning there cannot be a doubt but that their complaints were founded on facts, for they have certainly been much oppressed and are now in a deplorable state.

Upon enquiry of their neighbours I have reason to believe that the majority are men of good moral character. I remarked how fearful the whole were of getting into debt, and that they questioned me closely relative to the assistance to be given them to enable them to support their families at Sierra Leone without borrowing money. The following will shew the manner in which their names were entered.

October 21st, 1791—Waited upon the Governor to tell him of my intention of visiting Shelburne, had a long conversation with him about the whole of the business and particularly mentioned to him my objection to his making use of the word Guinea[53] instead of Africa in his advertisement relative to the free Blacks as I was convinced it would be made a handle of by many to frighten the Nova Scotia blacks from accepting the offers of the Company—he promised me it should be erased.

He then consulted me respecting a gentleman being sent to Annapolis to superintend the collecting and embarkation of the New Brunswick people and also one to Shelburne to go from that place and the ports between Shelburne and Halifax.

A gentleman was immediately fixed upon to go to Annapolis and as I intended to visit Shelburne myself we dispensed with any further assistance at this time.

Called upon Mr. Clark[54] the gentleman appointed to go to Annapolis and New Brunswick and gave him instructions as well as several copies of the Company's offers, which I explained to him fully, and desired him to do the same to all those who wished for information furnished him with a copy of the form I made use of when I enrolled the name of each family so that each form might agree as to the history of every family who were willing to embark from every district requesting him to write to Halifax giving Mr. Hartshorne in my absence a weekly return of those already engaged, as well as the probability of the number likely to embark, so that shipping might be sought for accordingly, dined with Mr. Townsen[55] a very hospitable and gentlemanlike man, at 10 went home and prepared to embark for Shelburne—

October 22nd I went accompanied by Mr. Taylor on board the Dolphin[56] a small schooner about 30 Tons bound for Shelburne, which immediately afterwards fell down the river, passed by Sambro's Light[57] House at 6 A.M. and proceeded with a fair wind at the rate of 7 Knots per hour—towards evening apprehending there might be some danger in passing the Ragged Island[58] we put into Port L'Herbert[59] and anchored about 3 miles up the river.

The aspect of this part of the country is uncommonly wild, an illimitable wood presenting itself in every point of view, there are a few wretched inhabitants on the eastern side of the river, widely scattered and surrounded with a few acres of half cleared land over run with large naked rocks of granite, here during the summer season they plant potatoes and sow a little corn—the wealthiest of them perhaps possess a few sheep or a cow by these means they with some difficulty contrive to glean a scanty subsistence—during the winter season they traverse the woods with their dog and gun properly accoutred with snow shoes in search of wild fowl Moose Deer Carribooes &c. &c.

Mr. Taylor accompanied me on shore, on entering one of their huts we met with the most agreeable reception from a young girl about 15 years of age intrusted with the care of the house and two small children, her brothers during the absence of her parents, who had for several days been gathering in their winter stock of potatoes, on the contrary side of the river.

Her behaviour and polite attention would have done credit to a person of the first rank and education and might have reflected disgrace upon the inferior rank of people in Great Britain, her manner so simple, mild and unaffected, her general deportment so modest and respectful, left me at a loss for language to express the esteem I felt for this amiable little girl.

Having tasted no food since the preceding day we were rejoiced at the prospect of getting something to eat upon enquiry we found the whole stock of provisions consisted only of potatoes and butter milk, with a few dried salt fish; we made a hearty supper on this fare, and after due ack-

nowledgement for our feast, we quitted the hut and made an attempt to reach our schooner, we soon found however that the creeks we had before passed in our way to the house, were now filled up by the tide and rendered totally impassable, and as it rained expressly hard, being at the same time very dark, we determined to return to the house, which we had some difficulty in finding—On our knocking at the door, our little hostess received us with her own peculiar grace and sweetness, made an apology for the inconvenience of her little hut, said that she was well convinced that it was illcalculated for the accommodation of gentlemen, particularly as her mother being absent, had locked up many things which might have added to our comfort, yet that she should be happy during our stay to pay us every attention that lay in her power—

Finding all our persuasions ineffectual to induce her to take her usual repose, we laid down upon the bed which contained a small infant while our young friend during the whole night employed herself in recruiting the fire in order to render us less sensible of the inclemency of the weather—the wind and the rain was beating in at several parts of the house—

October 23—At six this morning arose and went on board the schooner but finding the Captain did not think it prudent to sail whilst the wind continued so boisterous we returned with the provisions we had laid up for the voyage—

After breakfast the morning being pleasant we took a walk, and visited all the inhabitants on the eastern side of the river, not however, without meeting with considerable difficulties in passing along the rugged paths which lead through this immense forest.

It would appear totally impracticable for any man to proceed or penetrate into these woods, upwards of five miles in the course of the day, by reason of the underwood, rocks and morasses, which must constantly impede his passage, unless by accident he should meet with some Indian paths, made by the Micmack Indians who have settled themselves in this neighbourhood—This Nation or People are now very much reduced in numbers and subsist upon the flesh of such animals as they kill in their excursions and chiefly consist of Bears, Lynxes or Tiger Cats and Moose, Deer, Caribooes, Foxes, Pole Cats, Ermines, the furs of these animals which are found in great numbers they sell in order to purchase fire arms with their necessary appendages powder and shot—

One of the huts we entered belonged to John McLean,[60] a poor man and whom we found confined to his bed by a disorder which had affected him for some months and in great want of medical aid, as Mr. Taylor said he thought this man's case would admit of considerable relief, we promised to send him on our arrival at Shelburne such medicines as Mr. T. thought best adapted for the removal of his complaints—

I could not quit the house without paying this poor man a trifle for a basin of milk.

In another of these huts occupied by a negro family we found a woman extremely ill whom we left with similar promises.

We were happy thus casually to have it in our power to inform this latter family and another at a short distance of the offers made to them by Government and of which in all probability they would have remained ignorant.

Their situation at this place was peculiarly hard, being under the necessity of cultivating the lands of a white man for which they were entitled to half its produce, and this was little indeed! It has reduced them to such a state of indigence, that in order to satisfy their landlord and maintain themselves they have been obliged to sell their property, their clothing, and even their very beds—

Upon our return we were gratified in having the opportunity of acknowledging the civility and attention of our little friend to her parents, who had just paid her a visit for a few hours from the opposite side of the water.

Upon enquiring into the circumstances of the father [61] I found he possessed 100 acres of land, which he had purchased for one guinea.

He begged us to accept of his house during our stay in this part, and after giving us in charge to his daughter returned with his wife in the evening leaving us every comfort his house could afford—

The wind still blowing hard and against us, we were under the necessity of staying here another night.

October 24th—At daylight the morning finding the wind still blew fresh and not the least probability of sailing, we went into the wood, to cut some fire wood—

During the time we were thus employed the wind became more moderate and the sea had got down considerably, finding we had it in our power to quit the harbour, we took leave of our charming little friend (Jenny Lavender) &c. regretting the little probability there was of seeing her at any future time, and paused to think that so valuable a maid, should be entombed in this wilderness and forever secluded from the social comforts of mankind in a state of society.

I must not leave this place without giving some idea of the manner in which the houses of Port L'Herbert are constructed.

Their first care is to fix upon some large stones or rock to serve the purpose of a fire-hearth, as well as the lower and back parts of the chimney at one end of the house, in the next place small trees are felled, their branches topped off, cut into proper lengths and then piled upon each other in a horizontal manner so as to form a regular quadrangular building, the extremities of such trees as form the two ends of the building, and in such a manner as to project 6 or 7 inches beyond each other—

When the house is formed, the roof is thatched with dry twigs, hay, &c. and whatever they can scrape up, finally the vacancy between each tree is well caulked up with moss which last operation requires renewing annually at the commencement of the winter season. The whole or greater part of the inhabitants have a kind of cellar or excavation of the earth for containing their stock of potatoes, and to which they descend by a small hole, just capable of admitting the body and covered over with loose planks—

We got underweigh at 11 A.M. the wind N. B. W. which enabled us to lay along the shore, and as our Captain was thoroughly acquainted with every rock and creek upon the coast, we gained considerably by keeping close along the beach frequently passing the most frightful breakers at a very short distance on each side of us—On passing by Sable River[62] we were much struck with the appearance of its entrance—

The Ragged Islands which we next passed are several barren rocks inhabited only by the feathered creatures and are very dangerous to such people as are unacquainted with the coast— We however without the least fear went through a narrow channel formed by the largest of these Islands and the mainland.

From hence we made the Light House[63] which stands on a small Island at the mouth of Shelburne river — The ebb tide soon after beginning to make and it being now dark, obliged us to come to an anchor for the night under the highland to the eastward of the harbour.

25th October. At one this morning got under weigh and worked up the harbour. At 7 landed at Shelburne and immediately on quitting the vessel were met by a black man of the name of David George,[64] one of the principal Baptist Ministers among the blacks in this district.

He was on the point of embarking for Halifax, having been previously chosen by his brethren to go there and inform himself from me of the real intentions, both of government and the Company, as they were at a loss to know how to act from the various reports circulated by interested people, some to induce them to stay, and others to persuade them to accept the Company's offers — both parties had their interest in view.

Breakfasted and bespoke lodgings in the Merchants Coffee House on Water Street. The same man who addressed us upon landing came to inform us that the principal inhabitants and white people of this neighbourhood were averse to any plan that tended to deprive them of the assistance of the Blacks in the cultivation of their lands, well knowing that people of their own color would never engage with them without being paid an equitable price for their labour.

He said his companions were kept in the most abject state of servitude and that if it were known in the town that he had conversed with us in private his life would not be safe. He cautioned us from appearing in the town or country after it was dark for as some of the inhabitants were

them to do us an injury — Previous to this intelligence we entertained some idea of travelling on foot through the woods to the town of Annapolis Royal and Digby, distant about 72 miles but appeared probable, we might men of the vilest principles, our business in this might probably induce be waylaid by some of these violent people so we thought it most prudent to alter our plans and return from this town to Halifax, thence afterwards if it was found necessary to proceed over land through Windsor to Annapolis Royal.

The Whites of this district we learnt had been exerting all their influence to induce the Blacks to remain in the province pointing out to them the paragraph in the Sierra Leone Company's proposals, "whereby in return for the lands granted them, they were to be subject to certain charges and obligations, which they insisted was nothing less than exacting an annual rent and most probably at an exhorbitant rate—They also endeavoured to instil into them ideas of a dreadful mortality which they asserted would inevitably take place during their passage and residence in Sierra Leone and distributed the following copy of an Abstract of the proceedings of the Society for propgating the gospel in Forein parts for 1789.

AFRICA

In the last year's Abstract it was mentioned that Mr. James Fraser[65] was gone, attendant upon the Negroes to Sierra Leone with an allowance of 50 guineas from the Society

That the experiment has turned out very contrary to the expectations of those who were induced from the best motives to place and encourage it — Mr. Fraser's health had been so much injured by the undertaking that he was constrain- to return home, and though many months have elapsed since he has not yet found the blessing of a perfect restoration. While he was there he wrote two letters to the Society, of the respective dates of July 24th and September 15th 1787, in the former he expressed his concern that there was no probability of a permanent Settlement, from a variety of causes, some of them unavoidable and others unfortunate, that they had the misfortune to arrive first, at the commencement of the rainy season, so that the Blacks could build comfortable huts for their security, nor raise grain to supply provisions when their allowance from Government should be exhausted — the unhealthiness too of the climate, added greatly to their misfortunes—

This proved fatal to Mr. Irwin[66] their conductor, the School Master, and 20 other white people and 30 Blacks, besides that 140 died on the voyage, and of the 330 persons remaining there were no less than 150 in the sick list.

This had so prejudiced the Blacks that many of them there proposed to work their passage to the West Indies after their provisions should be expended which could not last more than five or six weeks —

In the second letter he said that the conditions of things was very little altered their number was diminished, the Whites were still sickly, and the Blacks though healthier were still far from being reconciled to the place, or attentive to the cultivation of their plots of land, that they had sowed little or no seed, had built few comfortable houses for themselves nor any house for Mr. Fraser, or for Publick Worship, and that they were very little disposed to remain in the settlements— soon after this he came home in a very ill state of health—

Major Skinner[67] of this town, whom we accidentally met with after our arrival appeared upon the whole disinclined to the present undertaking, yet being himself appointed an agent to receive the names of such families who were inclined to accept the Company's proposals and afterwards to convey them to Halifax; he advised me in order to follow as much as possible the intentions of government to send some person immediately over to Birch Town, inhabited solely by the Blacks, in order to assemble the whole of them together, the ensuing day to have the proposals properly explained to them and to save the unnecessary trouble of repeating them to each individual, this advice was readily adopted and the Black teacher[68] was dispatched for that purpose—

Dined with Major Skinner in company with Mr. Miller, Lieut[nt] in the Black Corps in the West Indies who was appointed to enlist those whose inclinations led them to become Soldiers in preference of adverturers to Sierra Leone.

October 26th At ten this morning waited upon two of the Justices of the Peace in behalf of a boy whose master was going to leave this Province to settle in the United States and who wishes to take him with him.

At half past ten mounted my horse accompanied by Major Skinner, the Chaplain[69] and Mr. Brinley,[70] and arrived at Birch Town about noon.

The Blacks had by this time collected in great numbers and after waiting a short time were upon account of the rain desired to assemble in their Church, which they did, to the amount of about three or four hundred—

Considering that the future happiness, welfare and perhaps life of these poor creatures depended in a great measure upon the discourse I was about to deliver, I was at a loss how to begin, but having ascended the pulpit and seeing the eyes and attention of every person fixed upon me I thought it best to state to them the intentions of Government from Mr. Dundas's letter to Governor Parr and Carleton, and those of the Company from their printed declaration—

I began by telling them that in consequence of the Memorial of Thos. Peters in their behalf, His Majesty in consideration of their services had made them three offers which each individual was at liberty to accept or reject as he thought proper, wishing them to adopt that which they imagined would be most conducive to their happiness—

The first was that if it should upon enquiry appear that the engagements made upon the part of Government with respect to their grants of land had not been fulfilled, His Majesty had directed that the full proportion promised them should be immediately given, and in a situation so advantageous that it might make them some atonement for the delay. Secondly, such as were inclined had the liberty of enlisting as Soldiers to serve only in the West Indies — They who adopted this proposal would be greatly protected and entitled to the same privileges as the British Army. The third and last proposal was that as a plan had lately been formed by a number of gentlemen in England for establishing a free Settlement upon the river Sierra Leone on the Coast of Africa and measures have been taken by them for obtaining a charter of Incorporation. It appeared to Thos. Peters on a consideration of the encouragement held out to him and his associates from the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, that the proposed Settlement would be likely to afford to him and persons of a similar description, an asylum much better suited to their constitutions than Nova Scotia or New Brunswick and that Thomas Peters had in consequence expressed a desire that himself, his family, and such other Black people as were disposed to become Settlers at Sierra Leone, might be removed thither, although a compliance with this requisition would be attended with considerable expense to the public His Majesty was anxious to gratify those who should feel disposed to go and had given orders to the Governors of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to furnish them with shipping for that purpose and to allow such a tonnage to each person as would enable them to take such articles as would be useful to them in the new Settlement—

It was necessary however upon this occasion to mention and to be thoroughly understood by them that His Majesty took no further part in this business than to convey to Sierra Leone free of expense all such as appeared dissatisfied with their present situation.

I afterwards read to them the proposals made by the Sierra Leone Company and explained as well as I could the meaning of each paragraph and earnestly entreated they would take the three foregoing proposals into their most serious consideration and as they had sufficient time for that purpose, I begged them not to come to an immediate conclusion, but desired them to confer and advise with each other before they determined in their choice—

I declared that I was perfectly disinterested in this business and had no view to answer but that of gratifying my feelings in endeavouring to render their situation more comfortable and happy— I nevertheless advised all such as had via great measures surmounted their difficulties and

were getting up in the world and possessed of some little property to remain in the province telling them it would be rather in my opinion running a risk for persons of this description to resign a certainty for a prospect extremely precarious.

With respect to the first proposal made to them by Government in giving all those fresh grants of land in an advantageous situation who were desirous of remaining in this country I could only say it would give me pleasure to assist any of them in their wishes on that head—

As for the second I thought it best adapted to such as were not in the habits of industry. I represented to them that the West Indian climate was warm and congenial to their constitutions and that all persons who were inclined to enlist by applying to Lieut Miller would receive a bounty of one guinea and a half and enter into immediate pay.

I desired them to think seriously on the third and last proposal to weigh it well in their minds and not to suffer themselves to be led away on the one hand by exaggerated accounts of the fertility of the soil, and on the other by the representations of the badness of the climate—I cautioned them not to be influenced by the novelty of the thing and particularized the various difficulties which they might expect to experience in a newly established Colony, pointing out that if they were not determined to work and be industrious they would in all probability starve and therefore I hoped they would not blame me should it not turn out according to their expectations. I explained to them such expressions in the Company's proposals as they did not comprehend and informed them that what was meant by the term, "holding their lands subject to certain charges and obligations," was by no means to be considered as an annual rent which idea had been industriously disseminated amongst them but as a kind of tax for charitable purposes such as for the maintenance their poor, the care of the sick, and the education of their children—

I told them that all such as were determined to become Settlers in the New Colony must not recede from this engagement after they had given in their names as it would put Government to a great expense in providing shipping for them that as soon as they arrived at Halifax the general rendez-vous, they must look up to me as their friend and protector, that I should at all times be happy to redress their grievances and ready to defend them with my life, in return for which, I expected their good behaviour during the passage that they would give as little trouble as possible and lend a willing hand whenever their assistance might be required, giving them however to understand that this last request would be entirely voluntary on their parts for they must consider themselves in every respect as passengers, no compulsive measures would be adopted towards them, nor would a white sailor upon any account be suffered with impunity to lift up his hand against them.

Upon their arrival in Africa I promised to make it my business to see that their proper allotments of land were given them and declared I

would never leave them till each individual assured me he was perfectly satisfied.

Upon the conclusion of my discourse which notwithstanding all remonstrance to the contrary had been frequently interrupted by the plaudits which burst forth from these poor creatures, they assured me they were unanimous in the desire for embarking for Africa, telling me their labour was lost upon the land in this country and their utmost efforts would barely keep them in existence, that being now sunk to the lowest pitch of wretchedness, their condition could not be otherwise than meliorated, and as they had already made up their minds for quitting this country, they would not be diverted from their resolution though disease and even death were the consequence.

I now requested that all those who after serious reflection were determined to embark for Sierra Leone would call upon me, at my lodgings any time between the hours of nine in the morning and one in the afternoon the three following days when Major Skinner and myself would enter their names. About 3 O'Clock we returned to Shelburne, dined with Mr. Humphries[71]—politics the chief topic of conversation, passed an agreeable afternoon.

27th October — Major Skinner and myself employed during the fore part of this day in taking down the names and history of each family, advising all of them to dispose of their property though they might not get the full value for it, reserving however a sufficient proportion to maintain them till the first week in December at which time Major Skinner would provide vessels properly victualed to convey them safe to Halifax.

Dined with me this day at the Coffee House Major Skinner, Mr. Humphries, Mr. Brinley, Mr. Miller and Dr. Sullivan. I cannot avoid mentioning part of the conversation after dinner Major Skinner having said that he had declared and would still continue to do so in all companies, that what I had advanced was just and equitable, that through the whole business I had conducted myself with the greatest candour, and that every white inhabitant he had conversed with in the town agreed with him these sentiments, and wholly acquitted me of exerting any kind of influence to induce the Black people to quit this country.

28th October. Employed as yesterday. Upon inquiry I found that the greatest part of the people who had given in their names had not done it with the idea of improving their own condition, but for the sake of their children whom they wish to see established (as they expressed it) upon a better foundation—

A most affecting scene occurred this afternoon occasioned by a Black *slave* who came to me in order to resign his wife and family who were free.

With tears streaming down his cheeks he said, that though this separation would be as death to himself, yet he had come to a resolution of resigning them up for ever, convinced as he was, that such a measure

would ultimately tend to render their situation more comfortable and happy—He said he was regardless of himself or of the cruelties he might hereafter experience for though sunk to the most aject state of wretchedness he could at all times cheer himself with the pleasing reflection that his wife and children were happy—

Much more he said, which is impossible to convey in language adequate to our feelings on this occasion.

The room as usual was crowded during this pathetic address and every individual, both Black or White were struck with the noble and elevated sentiments of this poor *slave* joining in paying a willing tribute of tears to such an unparalleled instance of heroism.

I was much affected with this scene that admiring the man, and commiserating his condition told him I would purchase his freedom if I could do it and wrote to his master immediately about the business—Dined this day with Dr. Sullivan, Messrs. Humphries, Ogden,[72] Brinley and Bruce.[73]

October 29th, Received an answer to my letter respecting the poor Slave, John Cottress, and was much affected to find that the intrusion of the law as applied to this man's case prevented the master from selling him.

Major Skinner who appeared anxious to procure his freedom gave me no hope of succeeding from the short time I could stay in the Province and I was therefore obliged though reluctantly to give him up.

A plan being now in agitation to obtain an act of Parliament for making the Town of Shelburne a free Port and reports having been industriously spread among the Blacks that if such a circumstance took place their former masters, would come and claim them, I thought proper to draw up the following advertisement which was printed and distributed through the neighbourhood and in all the chapels of the Free Blacks—

ADVERTISEMENT

> Whereas several of the Free Blacks have given in their names to go to Sierra Leone, and since that time it has been reported by many people of that Colour that their sole motive for accepting the Company's Proposal, was not from an idea of bettering their condition, but in consequence of their believing that if they remained here, and this place should be made a Free Port their former Masters will come and claim them, this method is therefore taken to assure them that all Free Blacks who choose to remain here will meet with the same protection as any other of His Majesty's subjects; and should any of them be inclined after this assurance to alter their intentions the Agent of the Sierra Leone Company during his continuance in this town will be ready to erase their names, especially of all such as have surmounted their diffi-

> culties, and are men of decent property—And it is understood likewise, that many others are desirous of embarking for the new Settlement, and it is recommended to all those, who have not already given in their names, not to dispose of their effects, till they are assured that a sufficient quantity of shipping will be ready to receive them, Major Skinner who has been appointed as Agent for this district will, as soon as an opportunity offers, go to Halifax, and upon his return notify to the Free Blacks in general, the proper mode they are to pursue in future.
>
> John Clarkson—Agent
> for the Sierre Leone Company,
> Shelburne, October 29, 1791

The numbers who had given in their names for the last three days being made greater than I had previously expected and fearing that vessels could not be obtained to receive them, I thought it prudent to insert the above advertisement to prevent them from disposing of their property in the manner they were doing and to convince them that I did not wish any of them to go with me, if they did not think they could be benefited by the change, Colonel Bluck a Black man and one of their principal leaders dined with me today.

October 30th,—Dined and passed the day at Major Skinner's with an agreeable party of ladies.

October 31st—Several people came to me this morning to have their names taken down which by great perseverance and the most earnest entreaties they effected, notwithstanding all my resolutions to the contrary —They were, however, requested not to sell their property till they were informed that vessels could be procured for them— One of them, in language, which is impossible for me to convey, in the simple, unaffected and forcible style in which it was delivered most sensibly remarked that though they were all impressed with the liveliest sense of gratitude to His Majesty for the offers he had made to them, yet it would be unwise, in his opinion for many of them to think of remaining in the Province even if they were certain of having their full proporton of land granted them, in the most advantageous situations, for said he

> had we received our allotments of land upon our arrival in this Province from the States of America, when we were allowed provisions for three years with implements of husbandry, as well as arms a [and] ammunition we might have cultivated our lots to advantage, and by the time our provisions were stopped the lands of industrious men would have been in such a state of improvement as to have seemed to them a comfortable support; on the contrary, instead of receiving our promised and proper allotments upon our arrival in the province, the greatest part of us have received small al-

lotments in a soil so over run with rocks and swamps that vegetation, with our utmost care, is barely sufficient to keep us in existence; nay some of us have actually perished from hunger and the severity of the climate—

It is therefore too late for the greatest part of us to reap any benefit in this country from the kind offers of His Majesty, for myself and many of my companions have been obliged to give up our small lots, finding that we could not live upon them and necessity obliged us to cultivate the lands of a white man for half the produce, which occupies the whole of our time and we should certainly perish, even if the best land were given us now before we could clear it and receive the benefit of a crop—

He concluded by saying that some few of his companions had received their full allotment of land and had nothing to complain of but the improductive quality of the soil—

In the afternoon one of the Free Blacks called upon me to say that he had stolen his son from his master, who was going to carry him with him to America, and that he had secured him in the woods till the vessel sail'd which has to take his master away — The boy was the occasion of my waiting upon two Justices of the Peace on the 26th inst.

The circumstance is as follows: the master was a butcher of the most vile and abandoned character who had resided at Shelburne for some time; the boy had been bound as apprentice to him till he arrived at the age of 21 years; his master was going to quit the Province and become a subject of the States of America, meaning to reside at Boston and he had according to the Laws of the Province notified his intention in a public manner previous to his departure, he claimed the right to take his servant with him and the two Justices partly acquiesced with him, but finding there was no time to lose, as the vessel was upon the point of sailing, I told his parents to steal the child if they could and I would bring it to a trial for them afterwards as I was convinced the master meant, upon his arrival in Boston to sell the boy for a slave—Having obtained the best legal opinion on the business I secured the boy and came forward openly to justify the measure, but no one appearing against him, he continued with his family, and was enrolled for embarkation.

1st November—Entered the name of a few families on condition that they should not sell any of their property till they were assured sufficient shipping could be procured to convey them to Africa. Erased the name of a few others who being men of decent property had altered their intentions.

Dined at the Coffee House with Major Skinner, Messrs. Humphries, Brinley, Bruce, Mr. Keller, Miller and two officers of the 4th Regt. Messrs. Davies and Winkley[74] — Sent by a small schooner to Port L'Herbert the

medicines which we promised, and which Mr. Taylor thought necessary for John McLean and the wife of Shephard the Black.

2nd November. Took down the names of a man conditionally as before he came from the Coast of Africa originally and spoke English indifferently. The following dialogue passed between us "Well my friend, I suppose you are thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the proposals offered to

> you by His Majesty? Mr Massa, me no hear, nor no mind, me works like slave, cannot do worse Massa, in any part of the world, therefore am determined to go with you Massa if you please
>
> You must consider that this is a new Settlement and should you keep your Health must expect to meet with many difficulties, if you engage in it. Me well know that Massa, me can work much and care not for climate; if me die, me die, had rather die in me own country than this cold place Dined and spent the evening with Major Skinner.

3rd November — All this morning employed writing letters for England. Dined at home and in the evening went to a ball at Major Skinners, returned at 11 to finish my letters.

4th November — The weather very cold, and the ground covered with snow — This morning employed making preparations for my return to Halifax, dined at the Barracks on the opposite side of the river, with Mr. Davies of the 4th Regiment. David George a preacher among the Blacks called upon us. He appeared to stand in fear of the principal white people of this town, who had thrown out several menaces against him, with a view to prevent his taking an active part in this business; He nevertheless was resolutely bent on leaving this country, and had sold off all his property for the purpose. Two of the most inveterate against the plan, the one a Magistrate, and the other a gentleman of this place, could scarcely refrain from insulting me in the room. I made public for enrolling the names of the Blacks.

5th November. Mr. Miller dined with me today — closed my letters for England, received several visits to take leave but the wind suddenly changing, obliged us to give up all thoughts of sailing today— Drank tea with Major Skinner's family and received a present of an American Prayer Book from Miss Parker.[75]

The following are the extracts of my letter sent to Mr. Thornton

Shelburne, N. Scotia Novbr 6th 1791

Dear Sir,

> I reached this place on Tuesday the 25th October and on my landing was met upon the wharf by a black Minister[76]

who was just going to embark to Halifax in hopes of getting the Company's proposal explained—

I immediately waited upon Major Skinner Who has been appointed Agent for conducting the business in this district, and we agreed to send the above mentioned clergyman to inform the Free Blacks that if they would be ready by 12 o'clock the following day, we would attend to answer any questions they might wish to put to us—We accordingly mounted our horses in company with many gentlemen and arrived at Birch Town of Wednesday a little before noon — The people amounting to 300 or 400 were assembled were assembled [*sic*] in their Church anxious to hear the intentions of Government and the Company—

I have not time to enter into any particulars. I can only say that during the whole of my explanation I kept an eye to the expenses likely to be thrown upon Government, the honour and prosperity of the Company, and the general happiness of these oppressed people

Major Skinner and myself appointed the three following days to take down the names of such as were willing to go but on the third day finding that so many were determined to embark and that the spirit of emigration appeared to be general, we were obliged to leave off, till we could be certain that vessels would be in readiness to receive them, for the people are so infatuated with the ideas of leaving this place that many of them have actually sold all they had, and some to such disadvantage, as distresses are beyond measure when I think of it—

I am and have been since my arrival in this place, extremely unhappy, not from any part of my own conduct, the conscious rectitude of which is the only support I have in my present trying situation but I cannot help feeling an indignant warmth when I reflect upon the various modes and delusive arguments made use of by interested people to deceive these unhappy men; some on the one hand actuated by the vilest motives persuade them to go that they may purchase their property on the most shameful terms, while others are making use of every artful device to retain them in this country— I must give you an instance to exemplify what I have advanced — Potatoes before my arrival at Shelburne sold for one shilling to one & three pence per bushel, and at this time people are buying in their winter stock at 2½ per bushel. The Instance I now adduce may be trifling of its kind but there are others of much greater magnitude—

Another circumstance which affects me is this that the

number who have already entered their names (and there are yet no accounts from the other parts of the Province) have been so much greater than I had any previous reason to suppose, that I am apprehensive there cannot be a sufficient tonnage procured to convey them to Sierra Leone unless the same steps are pursued in the different parts of the Province, as have been taken in the neighbourhood of Shelburne and I have my doubts on this head, if I may judge from the slovenly and ignorant manner in which the business has as yet been conducted, and from the influence Peters must necessarily have over all those with whom he may converse—What then will become of these poor creatures should they be obliged to remain here during the winter after having disposed of their property! this idea strikes me with horror, and on the other hand the enormous expenses which must of consequences accrue to Government will I am certain greatly surprise & alarm them—

After seriously reflecting on the various circumstances mentioned above, & having my feelings hourly tortured by scenes of accumulating misery and distress, and being at the same time informed by several Black people, that many of their comrades had given in their names to go with me, not from an idea of bettering their condition, but from a report which had been circulated among them by men who were desirous of purchasing their property, that if they remained here, and this place should be a Free Port, their former masters would have legal authority to claim them, and knowing that the whole of them looked up to me as their friend and protector, and that anything from me would have greater weight, than from any inhabitant of this town, I was induced to draw up the enclosed advertisement (see page 88) which I caused to be printed and distributed through Shelburne and its environs; for though I was convinced that the most guarded expressions with my name annexed to them would be perverted and expounded in a sense contrary to their real intent, yet upon mature consideration I thought the advantage resulting from the publication would be more than equivalent to any evil arising therefrom though I must say it was with the greatest reluctance I adopted such measure, for I was in hopes to have steered clear of having my name adjoined to any part of the business, except after having received the volunteers when it would become my duty to see them properly conducted and the engagements of the Company performed.

I wish I could speak to a certainty respecting the number likely to become Settlers, as you might then act accordingly for you must not suffer us to starve after our arrival, but I think I may venture to say that 1200 Tons of shipping will be

ready by 20th December if I may believe what the Governor told me previous to my leaving Halifax — however I hope to be there in the course of a few days as I am only waiting for a conveyance and shall then be able to speak with greater certainty.

I shall enclose you one sheet of paper (see page) filled with the names of such as will attend me, by which you may form some idea of the people and the articles likely to be wanted—

The extent of a Town Lot is 40 by 80 feet; many of the women and children can spin, but have no wheels; the implements of husbandry are upon an average, more than half-worn out — The barrels allowed to each family are intended for holding their pots, kettles &c. to keep them from being thrown about the ship—

I hope there will be a surveyor ready to mark out the proper allotments of land, and if Dalrymple[77] could employ any of his men to prepare wood for raising the huts it would be very serviceable—

With respect to the property which any of these people may leave behind, I am sure it will not answer to appoint an Agent to dispose of it, except in some few instances, this I shall keep an eye to—

I hope likewise the Lapwing will be upon the Coast by the time we arrive, She will be of the greatest use to us— Some seeds of esculent vegetables adapted to the climate would be acceptable, I know that the people would be happy to purchase them—A few lines, hooks, &c would be serviceable, and if we could have a good, I should not fear supplying the whole with fish, in case of need — Wine will be necessary for the sick — you will pardon my being so minute, but it satisfies my mind though I am in hopes we shall arrange matters so as to claim the bounty — All the pregnant women and those who may be a little indisposed will go in the vessel with Mr. Taylor and myself.

I must now conclude promising that you shall hear from me by the earliest opportunity after my arrival in Halifax which I have reason to expect will be in the course of a very few days, I shall then be able to speak with greater certainty when I have had another conversation with the governor, but he is a very unsteady man, and although he told me that 1200 tons of shipping would be ready by December, yet he may be led away by the opinion of others, and now say he cannot procure half that quantity—

"I mention this to put you upon your guard, that you may not be too hasty in putting yourselves to any unnecessary expense, on the presumption that 1200 Tons will actually sail—

I remain dear Sir, with respectful compliments, to all my friends,

Your most obliged & obednt Servant

"John Clarkson"

November 6th — At ten this morning embarked on board the Deborah Schooner[78] bound for Halifax, having on board Mr. Miller and 14 Black recruits with their families who had enlisted to serve in the West India Islands and also Major Skinner — at half past three in the afternoon, passed Port L'Herbert, where we had received such hospitality from our little friend Jenny Lavender — At Midnight the Major and Captain of the Schooner wished to put in at Liverpool, but as the night was fine and I was anxious to get to Halifax I persuaded them to relinquish their intention; it was nearly calm, and we employed ourselves with fishing with great success—

November 7th — The weather being pleasant and the wind in our favour we proceeded on our voyage and at 3 in the afternoon passed between Sambro Light House and the Main — At 5 ran along side the Wharf, and could not help smiling at the number of people collected together, to see our Black recruits land: soon after we had been at home we were visited by Mr. Harshorne [Mr. Hartshorne] and several of the Free Blacks, who came to congratulate me upon my arrival—

November 8th — Waited upon the Governor, who declared in the presence of Major Skinner and Mr. Hartshorne, that from what he could learn the whole of my conduct had been candid, fair and irreproachable, upon reading the advertisement of October 29th he so much approved of it, that he desired Major Skinner to get it inserted in the Newspapers and signed with his (the governor's name) and said he could now begin to take up the shipping — The Major made an objection to people of every description leaving this Province on a supposition that Government did not mean to take away such as were men of decent property, to which the Governor replied, as the property was their own, they had a right to dispose of it in any way they thought proper—

November 9th — Mr. Winlock,[79] Master of the assurance, was this day interred with Military and Masonic honours; the procession was grand, beautiful & solemn, and well calculated to strike a reverential awe due to the mournful occasion on the minds of every spectator. He was formerly a shipmate of mine on board the Proserpine in the West Indies—Called upon the Admiral Capt. Tripp[80] of the Navy, and the Governor, the latter informed me that Mr. Dundas had desired him to give me the choice of any

ship I might choose to fix upon & to fit her up for my reception. Dined on board His Majesty's Ship Penelope and spent the evening with Mr. & Mrs. Brinley.

November 10th — Had a conversation with the Governor, and suggested the propriety of every person being examined by a Medical man, previous to their embarkation, to prevent a contageous disorder on board the Fleet; he accordingly appointed Mr. Burn[81] for the Shelburne district. I particularly charged Major Skinner to pay every attention on this head— Mr. Hartshorne and myself also enforced the necessity of a person being appointed at Halifax to purchase the provisions & necessary things for the voyage, and to superintend the general equipment of the Fleet—as an agent on the part of government. The governor coinciding with us, we proposed Mr. Wallace,[82] one of the Members of the Province and a merchant at Halifax, this he approved & appointed him accordingly—

Mr. Hartshorne dined with me today. An advertisement appeared in the Papers today signed Philanthropos[83] reprobating the proposals of the Company to the Free Blacks which he described as wanting in clearness & precision & too vague & indefinite to form the basis of a Colonial Establishment. It also represents the climate of Africa in the most frightful colours & foretells that the whole will fall victims to the mistaken principles of commerce. As I have upon every occasion been candid & honest in my explanation of the Company's proposals, I thought it most prudent to be silent & leave Philanthropos to write again if he pleased.

Nov. 11th — Paid morning visit to the Bishop, Rector,[84] Messrs Townsend and Dight,[85] the Attorney General, Captain Rogers &c. Had a long conversation with the Bishop relative to my business. He expressed his surprise that the first offer of government to the Free Blacks had not been made public & said from everything he could learn I had fully stated it myself upon every occasion—Dined with Mr. Townsend the conversation turned on the Slave Trade, every one appeared to reprobate it. The Bishop & the whole company were much surprised and affected at the cruelties mentioned to have been practised: they all seemd strangers to the miseries some of these unhappy men continually experience.

November 12th — Waited upon the governor in company with Major Skinner, Messrs. Hartshorne, Wallace & Clark—I told the Governor that I understood he had given an order to Major Skinner on his return to Shelburne to shut the door against any further applications for conveyance to Sierra Leone, upon the idea that the people were infatuated with the notion of a change of situation, which he thought would be the means of sending many of them to their graves—I requested to give him my opinion on the business (which I had never done either in public or private to any Black man in the Province) which was that everyone that made up his mind to go to Sierra Leone would in the end be more happy than if he remained in the Province and thinking as I did, it appeared unfair, as well as diametrically opposite to the wishes of Government to prevent any one from choosing for himself—The Governor replied that I might think so,

but that he was of a contrary opinion. I however pledged myself to prove to him or any other person he would appoint the wretched state of the greatest part of them in this Province and that it would be impossible for them to make a change for the worse. He at length consented to comply with my wishes, that every one should have a free choice, as far as vessels could be had to convey them, and that he would represent to the Secretary of State the wishes of those who might be left behind—Before I took leave I requested the governor to hasten the embarkation from Annapolis to New Brunswick. Dined with Mr. Hartshorne & in the evening called upon Mr. Wallace to look over the proposals for conveying the people to Sierra Leone—Another paragraph appeared in this day's paper signed Philanthropos, which acquits myself and Mr. Hartshorne of using any unfair method to entice the people to leave the Province and paid us many compliments for our conduct throughout the business—Returned home in the evening & after finishing my letters for England, sent them on board the Argus[86] 44 guns which was to sail in the morning.

The following is a copy of my letter to Mr. Thornton

Halifax November 12th 1791

Dear Sir

As two vessels will sail tomorrow morning I cannot help informing you of my safe return to Halifax.

I still have it not in my power to acquaint you for a certainty when we shall sail or the number that will actually go with us—Those who have already given in their names at Shelburne amount to 156 families, containing 540 Souls, and at Halifax 250 men women & children—Upon my arrival at this place from Shelburne the Governor advertised for shiping[87]—I shall enclose you a paper containing the advertisement, you will see by that, that the people of this country are doing all that they can to prevent the Blacks from going;[88] they may write but I shall not get into any dispute in attempting to answer them.

The proposals of the merchants for conveying the Free Blacks have not yet been given in to the governor but I suppose they will in the course of the day—

If the advertisement in the paper should not have the effect the writer of it wishes (for you must know the White people are reading it to the Blacks in every part of the town) I expect, and if I dare speak to a certainty, I should say that I shall have 800 people ready to sail, properly arranged by the 20th of December, and from the accounts received from Annapolis 30 families are now ready to embark & are only waiting for Peters & those from New Brunswick to join them I have written to Peters desiring him not to fail being at Halifax by the second week in December.

I am too busy to add more by this vessel and am induced to conclude because I know I shall have an opportunity of writing to you in the course of ten days but I must beg you to take such steps for our protection, when we arrive, as will not fail to answer—

Believe me with respect to my own person that is quite out of the question, but how miserable I shall be during the remainder of my life, if these people should be driven away or molested by the Natives or should we experience an uncommon mortality from any delay—I do not feel in the least alarmed for what may happen on the voyage, because I am sure that every attention will be paid to the preservation of their health—

A thousand people to conduct across the Atlantic, with everything to arrange in consequence is an arduous task & will occasion me many anxious moments, but I am determined to persevere & endeavour to surmount every difficulty that may occur.

with respectful compliments to all my friends, I remain dear Sir yours

very Sincerely
John Clarkson

PS. Since writing the above I have seen, the proposals of the Merchants for carrying the Blacks to Sierra Leone,[89] they appear to be abominably high; I cannot enter into particulars. I have told the gentlemen employed on the part of Government that I am determined to see justice done on both sides, to the best of my abilities, that I wish the merchants to have a fair profit, but at the same time I should be sorry if Government was imposed upon—

I shall by the next vessel send you a duplicate of my letter from Shelburne, as the Newspaper is just come out, I cannot help sending it to you, as there is another paragraph respecting our business—

November 13th — Went to Church, dined with Mr. Wallace in company with Messrs Hartshorne, Wickham[90] & Tremaine[91] and took a long walk in the evening, not having had any exercise for the last four days—

Desired Mr. Taylor to write to Col[l] Bluck and wrote myself to Thos. Peters the copies of which are as follows—

Halifax, November 13th, 1791

Col[nl] Bluck
Sir

Upon looking over the certificate given by you to such

Free Blacks as were inclined to leave this Country and become Settlers at Sierra Leone, they were in general found to vary from each other in very essential points, and in such a manner as might readily admit of an evasive construction, for instance, some were characterized as sober & industrious others honest & sober, and one or more described as industrious only—

Mr. Clarkson would be glad to be informed whether he is to consider these as men of unexceptionable characters, or whether you had any particular reason for with-holding (or could not with justice give them) the general one of honesty sobriety & industry

The following is a list of such as come under the aforesaid description & appear deficient in character

Pompey Rutledge[92] Sober & industrious
Bristol Garnett—Sober
Simon Proof[93]—industrious
Saml. Lawson[94]—sober and industrious
Josh Lucaine, honest and sober—
Wm. Ash—industrious and honest
Rich. Sloane—sober and industrious
Robert Keeling—no character
Mary Robinson, sober & honest
Ezekl. Campbell [95] sober & industrious
Abegl Godfrey—Sober and industrious
London Bligh[96]—sober & industrious and honest
Jno Tory industrious
Jno Thomas[97] honest & industrious
Jno Waring[98]—sober and industrious
Lucy Bambury—sober & honest
Peter Weeks[99]—honest & sober
Harry Cook,[100] sober & honest
Job Allen[101]—honest & industrious
Anthony Wilkin
Lewis Pandarvis[102] no character, the quantity of land only being specified

Trusting to hear from you the first opportunity and wishing you all possible happiness & success in your undertaking I remain with real esteem

Sir,
Your obedt humble servant
Charles Taylor

Halifax, November 13th, 1797

Mr. Thos. Peters,

Sir

The multiplicity of business which now more than ever engages my attention puts it entirely out of my power to visit Annapolis as I first intended—The shipping will be ready to sail the second week in December. I should wish you therefore to use all possible expedition in order that the whole may

sail together. At all events I hope to see you before the time of our departure, as I shall wish much to have you with me.

I am Sir your obedient servant
John Clarkson

November 14th — Employed all this morning in taking down the names of those who produced good certificates. Many of them in a body called upon me with a present (as they termed it) which they delivered to me in a contemptuous way, telling me it was a paper which the Whites had been circulating amongst them at Preston, and which they had brought to me to make me sensible how much they despised it. It was the newspaper which contained the paragraph signed Philanthropos.

Dined with Mr. Hartshorne, on my return home found a letter from a Black man desiring me to ordain him as a Preacher to a particular Sect.

November 15th — The whole of this morning conversing with several Black people—was much pleased and astonished at the conversation of many of them—Walking in one of the streets I observed an Indian Canoe, which had been conveyed thither from the water; it was between 18 & 20 feet in length and measured two feet 8 inches across in the broadest part, it was constructed in the following manner. Three slender pieces of wood are laid parallel and close to each other, and fastened firmly at each extremity and again by five cross pieces of wood at equal distances but of unequal lengths; two of them are separated in such a manner as to form an elliptical curve, which serves for the outer edge or gunwale, while by the same means, the third piece naturally falls into the same curve but in a contrary or vertical direction & forms the keel or lower part of the boat from the gunwale across the keel are bent Several thin laths two inches broad leaving a space between each of nearly the same breadth, over these externally the same kind of laths, but in a horizontal direction are fixed close to each other the whole length of the boat, and lastly over all is an extensive covering of birch tree bark, the seams of which are well closed with a glutinous substance that effectually excludes all water from penetrating through into the boat—It appears to be built entirely without iron-work in lieu of which twisted sinews of such animals as they kill serve to keep each part tight & firm together, nor are there any seats, so that whoever is carried in boats of this construction, must necessarily sit or lie at the bottom—Canoes of this kind are so light that any man might with great ease carry one upon his shoulder almost any distance.

The Company which came in this boat consisted of three women, a boy about 15 years old, and an infant at the breast as I saw them in the street I desired them to follow me home.

These women were somewhat low in stature and all of them had a yellowish or copper coloured complexion with long straight black hair— Their dress consisted of a flowered woollen jacket reaching to the waist and a coarse blue short petticoat, a cap mad [made] of cloth angular to the upper and back part of the head, and ornamented with small white beads

round their neck, they likewise wore several strings of different coloured beads to which was affixed a silver cross. The boy had on a coarse blue jacket and canvas trousers.

What little these Indians understood of the English language was spoken with a very drawling accent, they appeared well acquainted with the value of each article they had brought (viz Cranberries & wild fowl) singly, but when they had sold several at the price they required they were entirely at a loss in what manner to calculate the amount or sum total—In this respect, therefore, they were wholly at the mercy of the Whites, who might readily have cheated them with impunity and without fear of detection, seeing that these poor Indians implicitly relied on their honesty—I am afraid there are many in this Province who take every advantage of them.

I offered these Indians each a glass of spirits which I imagined they were fond of, but they rejected it with marks of abhorrence, giving me to understand that they could eat bread or biscuit. I presented them with some of the latter, which they accepted with visible pleasure.

I understood they had left their Wagwams this morning and intended returning immediately. Their residence therefore could not be a great distance from Halifax. After buying of them their Ducks, &c. &c. Dined at Mr. Stanser's and spent the evening there—the subject of my Embassy the topic of conversation—Found the company ignorant as to the situation of the poor Blacks and rejoiced that it was in my power to refute their arguments.

November 16th — Waited upon the Admiral[103] & paid him the compliment of asking his permission to hoist my pendant with which he readily complied—Called upon Mr. Wallace, the Agent appointed by the Government for forwarding the embarkation. Went with him on board several vessels to fix upon those which I thought would answer my purpose. Came to a resolution not to accept one double decked vessel unless she had five feet clear from deck to deck. Visited several single decked vessels & gave my approbation to their being engagd—Messrs. Hartshorne, Miller & Wickham dined with me today. A woman (Rose Murray) called upon me to request she might take her daughter with her to Sierra Leone; as I understood the girl had been unsteady for some time past, I would not give her an answer but left it to her future conduct to guide me in my determination.

November 17th — This day being appointed to take down the name of those who wished to go with me, the room was full by nine in the morning—Several gentlemen called upon me & stayed with me till the business was finished. Many of the Free Blacks were very particular in their enquiries about Sierra Leone, and the promises made to them; they wished to know if they should be prevented performing their worship on board a ship, as they said they knew that Captains and sailors were not

very religious, and made many other suitable observations, relative to their future prospects, all of which were gratifying to me, and I took the opportunity of reasoning with them on the change they were about to make, and to point out many difficulties likely to arise in the formation of a colony, which I had no doubt would be met by them in a way consistent with their professions and that I should have little trouble in managing a set of men so virtuously inclined.

After writing to the Masters of some, listening to the complaints of others, and endeavouring to satisfy the whole, I felt myself quite stupid & took a walk for an hour before dinner—Mr. Taylor & myself dined at home, several people called after dinner—Mr. Wallace brought me a letter from Mr. Clark informing me that one hundred people had sailed from Annapolis, and that seventy more would soon follow—Sent off an express immediately to Annapolis to hurry the whole—Conversed a long time on the exhorbitant charges of the merchants & particularly reprobated the account he shewed me of the charge of the sloop, which had sailed from Annapolis with one hundred people on board, viz £100 for one hundred persons of every description and mentioned a merchant in this place who had offered to convey from the same place from two to three hundred for the same money, but as I found there would not be vessels in the harbour sufficient to convey the whole, and as the contract must be closed with the Merchants, I thought it most prudent as I could not help myself to say nothing further on the extravagant terms, but insisted that each ship with two decks should cut Scuttles in their sides to admit of free circulation of air if upon examining them I should think it advisable.

November 18th — Several people called upon me this morning amongst whom some of the Free Blacks, whom I had promised to convey to Shelburne as they had business to do there, and as Mr. Wickham was appointed to go to that place to see the whole property embarked, and to conduct them to Halifax. The greatest part of this day was taken up in writing instructions for him, and giving him such hints for his guidance, as would in all probability frustrate the attemps [attempts] of those who might wish to put a stop to some of the people embarking. After furnishing him with a list of all the people who gave their names to me at Shelburne and attaching to each name the particular circumstances relating to that family, I drew up hastily the following instructions.

> It will save you a great deal of trouble if you will tell David George who is one of the Black men, that there will be a sufficient quantity of shipping ready for all those whose names were given in to me, and of which you have a copy & that the names of others who are desirous of going will be taken down & sent to the Governor that he may transmit them to England if there should not be vessels to take them at this time.
>
> You must be very cautious in receiving them on board, and not suffer one to enter the vessel unless you are convinced

he or she is in perfect health. You should likewise inspect the articles they will bring on board, to see that their chests and barrels are full and that the things they may contain, are really serviceable, because the ships will be sufficiently encumbered without taking any useless articles.

You must be very careful not to bring too many at one time into your vessel—

If you can make your observations as to the abilities of such as may accompany you, I shall feel myself much obliged to you, as it will save me a great deal of trouble in arranging them on board the different ships—I have not time to look over my papers to find out the characters of those whose names are on the other side of the paper, therefore if you will tell every one who may accompany you that if I should find that their characters do not answer to the description given in to me neither Mr. Hartshorne or myself will give them Certificates to receive lands on their arrival at Sierra Leone and it will entirely depend upon their behaviour on board the vessels in their passage whether they receive any or not.

It is probable that many may be detained for debts—I think it would be proper the moment you arrive at Shelburne to publish the names of such as will go to Sierra Leone and after eight days I understand it is the law of the Province that no person can detain a man if he should give him ever so much.

If any are detained in consequence of debt you will do me the greatest favour in making yourself acquainted with the sum against each individual and the circumstances relating thereto.

I think you should object to take any people of the following description—Those that are lame and cannot work for their living as they will certainly starve in an unsettled Country; elderly single women, and in short anyone who cannot maintain him or herself, unless the lame man or woman &c. has a father, brother, sister or some relation &c to take care of them. This I call common justice.

I think a dog should be allowed if they ask it, to every six families, probably there may not be applications to that amount—I have promised the following people that they shall carry their dogs: viz—David George, Stephen Trickley, a dog and a puppy, John Thomas & Henry—(whose other name I cannot make out) pigs ought not to be suffered to come into the ship—Fowls may be allowed but no tables or chairs.

If any of the people should have their children bound

out, and cannot get them with them, I should advise the parents to leave the Indentures in the hands of Mr. Humphreys and shall thank you to take down the names of such as do so—

If any of them should not have sold their property, and should have as much left, as would be worth appointing an Agent to sell for them, I think they cannot appoint a more proper person than Mr. Humphreys. The names of all such, I should wish likewise to have.

Every man whose name was down was asked by me if he served the King during the late war, and every widow, if she had been wife to a man of this decription, or every single woman if she were a daughter of a man who gained his freedom for his services for it is my opinion that these are the only people whom Government means to put themselves to the expense of removing.

Will you ask Colonel Bluck to give me an answer to the queries I sent him in a letter addressed to him from Halifax—

Will you be so obliging as to request the favour of Mr. Burn[104] to send me a list of such as he may think proper to refuse in consequence of their indisposition or incapability—

I will thank you to enquire for John Cottress* a slave to Mr. Farish[105] whose freedom I should be happy to purchase Major Skinner will inform you of the particulars relative to this poor fellow and you will oblige me to use your utmost endeavours to get him with you.

I must trouble you also to enquire for two poor men, who live at Port L'Herbert in great distress their names are Thomas Shepherd[106] and

*This man (John Cottress was taken in execution by the Sheriff,[107] together with all his master's property & Major Skinner assured me it would not be possible for me to purchase his freedom from the Pecularity of his situation.

John Martin,[108] if you speak to David George he would most likely send a person to Port L'Herbert to inform them that they may get a passage to Halifax if they could be at Shelburne before you leave it, or if they could avail themselves of the Governor's proclamation by taking a passage to Halifax by any vessel which might be going there, as the Captain would be paid a fair price for their passage—

John Clarkson

In the evening I called upon the Governor & was not admitted in consequence of his being extremely ill.

November 19th — The fore part of this day employed writing letters—Dined with Mr. Hartshorne, and at three in the afternoon set off

on my journey to Windsor with Messrs. Hartshorne, Tremaine & Taylor. Drank tea at a Major Scott's[109] about eight miles from Halifax, while our horses were taken to ford the river as the bridge at this place was under repair; in the evening arrived at a public house[110] about thirteen miles from Halifax where we staid for the night.

November 20th — At daybreak mounted our horses and proceeded on our journey. The road which had hitherto been extremely good now became intolerably bad, the weather excessively cold and the ground covered with snow.

Breakfasted at a house[111] twenty-two miles from Halifax, which is supposed to be about half way between Halifax and Windsor. Set off at 11 O'clock and when we had reached within 7 miles of Windsor the face of the country was quite changed from a thick wood to a quantity of land in high cultivation. At sunset we reached Windsor where we dined and passed the evening. About 7 miles from Windsor we passed a river[112] running through some good well-cultivated arable land; near the bank of this river, a little below the bridge is an extensive ridge of rocks, several yards high, consisting entirely of plaister of Paris or Gypsum. This stone has lately been found by many experiments to be of the greatest utility as a measure for some kinds of soil which it fertilizes in an amazing degree, and the river happening to be convenient & navigable from the Basin of Minas as far as these rocks for vessels of small burthen, great quantities are exported for the above purpose to different parts, particularly to the United States of America.

November 21st — Took a walk this morning to a small eminence on the banks of the river in order to take a survey of the town & neighbourhood of Windsor. The town is pleasantly situated upon a gentle slope and may contain about 100 houses. The river is broad & beautiful & the tide sometimes rises to a height of 40 feet, which is strangely different on the other side of the Province, for at Halifax if the tide exceeds 8 feet, it is thought a remarkably high one. This river after running a course of three leagues from Windsor discharges itself into the Basin of Minas, which is at the head of the Bay of Fundy.

Windsor was originally settled by the French who were compelled to abandon it to the English after receiving the most inhuman & dishonourable treatment. About two miles from Windsor a college[113] is erected for the education of boys and His Majesty has given a thousand pounds sterling towards completing it. The country in the neighbourhood of Windsor is cleared to a very considerable extent, the soil is very deep and of good quality, and much better cultivated than any I have yet seen in the Province.

After breakfast called upon Mr. Joseph Grey[114] a Mineralogist, he shewed me a few specimens of such minerals as he had been able to procure from different parts of the country. These consisted of lead, iron & copper, of the latter, he shewed us two pieces in its native state and

assured us that lumps of this metal weighing several pounds were found in large quantities at Cape D'Or[115] in the Bay of Fundy, not only fixed in the but as frequently in detached pieces among the stones upon the beach.

We could not help noticing a beautiful specimen of iron ore, strongly attracted by the magnet without previous roasting and which he informed us contained from 60 to 80 per cent of pure malleable Iron & was found in great quantities he told us it came from the Bay of Fundy but declined mentioning the particular spot from whence it might be procured.

Messrs. Hartshorne, Tremain & Barker[116] having some business which required their presence a few miles from Windsor, it was agreed that Mr. Taylor & myself should set out upon our return to Halifax precisely at 11 o'clock this forenoon & proceed on our way as far as O'Briens where it was intended we should all dine & sleep. At the time appointed we mounted our horses, the weather now being extremely pleasant and the roads much better for travelling the snow having by this time been formed into a well beaten track. Called at the Stars[117] for some refreshment and arrived at O'Briens[118] about 4 in the afternoon an hour and a half before the other party joined us—The dinner was excellent and served up in the neatest style, the landlord polite civil & attentive, the beds as good as we could desire and our horses well taken care of. Upon the whole I cannot help considering this house with respect to accommodation & good treatment superior to any of the same kind in those parts of the Province which I have visited.

November 22nd — Set out from the Inn at daybreak and breakfasted at Falconer's. Knowing that the bridge before mentioned which was under repair could not in the short time we had been absent, be rendered passable, & seeing another bridge about a mile above the former with a tolerably good road leading towards the wood on the contrary side of the river and in a direction which we imagined would soon bring us in to the main road, we determined to follow it, which we did, into the middle of the wood, after passing two or three hundred yards, the path we had been pursuing became on a sudden so contracted and at the same time so rugged, as to compel us to dismount in this manner, we proceeded leading our horses behind us, till in a short time we had lost every trace of the road. The wood now becoming still closer and the rocks increasing in size, we stopped to consider whether it would be more advisable to force our passage through in the same direction, or endeavour to return the same way we came, for my part, the attempt either way appeared greatly difficult & dangerous, for what with the steepness of the rocks and the deep holes formed by the roots of trees barely covered with moss, I was under the most fearful apprehension for the safety of our horses—After a few minutes deliberation we endeavoured to return and with great difficulty succeeded. This business retarded up an hour & a half—upon our arrival at the bridge some labouring men conducted our horses over the river for us and we proceeded on our journey to Halifax. About six miles from Halifax

is the house[119] of Governor Wentworth. It is pleasantly situated on a rising ground & has a beautiful and extensive prospect over the Basin and adjacent country. The house though somewhat small is built with the greatest taste, and the apartments are fitted up in the most elegant style.

Upon alighting here, the Housekeeper told me she was directed by the Governor who had written to her from England to inform me that during my continuance in this Province, it was his particular request I would make this my principal residence and consider his servants as my own—She appeared surprised I had not called before having sent me word soon after my arrival in Nova Scotia of the governor's wishes and seemed anxious that I should pass some of the time here before I quitted the Province. My avocations however were such as rendered my presence necessary in Halifax, therefore it was impossible for me to accept this polite attention of the Governor's, but I promised to pass the last few days I had under his roof, for the purpose of writing without interruption. I arrived at Halifax about 3 o'clock and dined with Mr. Hartshorne and the rest of our party.

I shall in this place take the opportunity of observing that the road between Halifax and Windsor lies through one continuous forest—The scenery on each side was beautiful and was presented to our view in the greatest variety and in the wildest aspect of nature. Here on the one hand may be perceived a deep valley, enveloped in perpetual obscurity, and admitting through the variegated foliage of the trees just so much light as to render darkness visible. On the other hand is observed a deep acclivity, adorned with the lofty and ever verdant spruce whose growth is of such a nature, that each tree forms as it were, a regular and well defined pyramid, these being interspersed with the birch, whose silvered bark is heightened by the contrast it exhibits, cannot fail of striking the most unobservant mind with the manifest superiority which these irregular scenes of nature have over the laboured & methodical beauties of Art.

The lakes which occasionally offered themselves to our view were even still more beautiful. I shall briefly observe that the diversity of forms they assume, their various extent, their shores to the very brink covered with wood, their beautiful inlets, islands & peninsulas altogether impress the mind with a most pleasing sensation, and present a world in miniature; many of them we had the opportunity of observing but many more fortified as it were by Nature against the encroachments of mankind will in all probability remain unexplored for ages to come.

November 23rd — Employed the fore part of the day in writing letters to go by the Ark.[120] Received a petition desiring me to ordain a man as Preacher to a particular sect. Dined at Mr. Wallaces merely to talk on business. Came home in the evening and employed myself in writing. Called upon the governor as he was rather indisposed and found he was confined to his bed.

November 24th — All this morning busy in hearing complaints from

the Black people, taking down their names &c. Dined at home—A Black man living on the Windsor road about fifteen miles from Halifax called upon me this afternoon to have the Company's proposals explained & apparently with a wish to have his name entered among the number of those who had accepted the conditions. His appearance and demeanour were very much in his favour and though he had never received the least proportion of land to which he was entitled from Government, and had for several years been cultivating the estate of a White man, he notwithstanding by indefatigable perseverance & industry had surmounted the greatest difficulties, and I have reason to believe at this time is the richest man of his complexion in the whole Province. Considering the comparative situation of this man with the rest of his brethren and the contingent prospects of a new settlement, I used many arguments to dissuade him from entering any idea of leaving a country in which he was doing so well, promising at the same time to exert all my influence with the Governor to obtain for him that grant of land which had hitherto been withheld and which he so richly deserved; this man left me with the most unfeigned expressions of gratitude.

November 25th — About two o'clock this morning His Excellency John Parr Esq. Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia, departed this life aged 66 years; he had long been accustomed to frequent attacks of the gout, which occasioned his death. He had presided in this Province at the head of Government upwards of nine years.

This day the Honorable Richard Bulkeley[121] was sworn to the administration of the Government of this Province. Employed all this day in superintending the fitting out of the different vessels and ordering the Lucretia[122] from Dartmouth to this side of the water to be prepared for the reception of myself & Mr. Taylor.

November 26th — Received an invitation to attend the funeral of the late Governor—Wrote a note to the President of the Council telling him I was anxious to pay my respects to him, but that delicacy would not permit me till the late Governor was interred. Busy all this morning in giving orders respecting accommodations for the Free Blacks on board the different vessels.

November 27th — Went to Church, called upon Mr. Brinley—Dined at house—drank a glass of wine on board the Ark. In the evening called upon Mr. Lee[123] respecting a slave of his, who in my opinion ought to be free.

I was received by Miss Lee, supposed to be one of the greatest beauties in this Province—had a long conversation with her father, found him to be an honest, well-meaning, good sort of man, convinced that he actually bought the person, but am sure that Captain Mason of the Deleware and his Surgeon contrived to forge a title and sold him in that way.

It seems to be the greatest wish here that Governor Wentworth should succeed to the command of this Province.

The following letter to Mr. Taylor was this day received from Colonel Bluck.

Birch Town November 24th, 1791.

Sir:

I received your letter of the 12th inst relative to the Certificate given by me to such people as are desirous of leaving this for Sierra Leone.

Those that have not the General I trust will (from their decent carriage) merit the Agents Certificate, previous to his arrival on the Coast of Africa which that you & they may be blessed with a speedy & safe arrival & with more than you can seriously expect is my best wishes.

Believe Sir, that my confidence in Mr. Clarkson's probity & candour, does not permit me to suppose that the Emigrators under his concern, will in any degree suffer in their expectations, for when that gentleman harangued them, he promised even to those who could not produce a Certificate that their decent deportment during his administration should entitle them to every emolument & indulgence that the others could probably expect, & as a man of credit, Mr. Clarkson cannot suppose that I should subscribe to any thing that was derogatory to the principle of Truth; and when he considers the number that removes, he cannot be surprised to find so few are destitute of the character demanded by the worthy gentlemen of the Sierra Leone Company.

With respectful compliments to Mr. Clarkson and my best wishes for your and his perfect health, & for the success of the Company's undertaking

I remain with due esteem, Sir
Your most obedient Servant
Stephen Bluck

NB. Permit me to recommend the honest & industrious in the liveliest terms to the Agents the others are in his power to keep sober. Lewis Pandarvis is an old man—Simon Proof I did not recommend. To Dr. Charles Taylor

November 28th — Employed writing the fore part of this day, and superintending the vesseys &c. Dined with Mr. Hartshorne and in the evening closed my letter for England. Received intelligence that the British Queen of this town belonging to Mr. Forsyth,[124] the vessel in which I intended to hoist my Pendant, was wrecked upon the Island of Grand Manan in the Bay of Fundy, all the crew were however saved.

There are not many places probably so dangerous for shipping as

this Bay. The number of breakers & sunken rocks together with the uncommon influx and reflux of the tides, which run here, at the rate of six or seven miles per hour render navigation at all times hazardous, but particularly in calm weather unless the utmost precaution is taken & experienced Pilots sent out. I received so many applications this day from various quarters that it is impossible to relate either of them without the whole.

The following is a copy of a letter sent to Mr. Henry Thornton—
Halifax, November 28th, 1791

Dear Sir

Agreeably to my promise I now take up my pen to give you all the information I can up to the present day and am happy I have it in my power to acquaint you that we are now in a fair way of coming to a conclusion.

Eleven hundred tons of shipping are at length agreed for though I think upon the most shameful & extravagant terms, but that I cannot help. I have gratified my feelings in speaking my sentiments on that head. and shall do all in my power to save every farthing to Government as if it were my own, it will however be pleasing to the Company to know that whatever expenses Government is put to in an extravagant way in consequence of this business they have had no share in it.

On my arrival here I determined not to have anything to do where money matters, were concerned, (exept in reprobating any improper expense) but to be ready at all times to assist the governor in putting into execution any order he might give for the reception of the Free Blacks and after that to protect them and see that the offers on the part of the Company were fulfilled.

I hope therefore you will enable me to stick to my determination which may be easily effected by ordering two of your vessels attending the Lapwing to be upon the coast by the time we arrive. The Lapwing I shall want probably every hour of the day, and the reason why I wish two other vessels to be out is, that in case it should be necessary to send one of them home (of which I see no likelihood at present) I should wish the other to remain at Sierra Leone, to give me the use of herself, her spars and sails for according to the contract, the vessels are obliged to remain in the harbours of Sierra Leone ten days after their arrival before the demurrage money commences. I shall be authorized to detain the whole if I think proper, much longer at a certain price per day, according to the size of the vessels, this I wish to avow & I am sure I shall have it in my powers, if I can have a sufficient

number of spars & sails to construct tents for the reception of the colony till we can raise proper houses—I shall be answerable for their being erected in the most advantageous situation, and well adapted to the preservation of their health; and consider what a good thing it will be to say, that you have not in the least added to the general expense, which will be immense.

I have every reason to suppose that out of 560 men, women & children who gave in their names at Shelburne not more than one half or two thirds will be permitted to go, this is the reason why I do not send you the names of such as have given them in to me, as I shall not be sure of them till I get them on board when you may depend upon receiving a full account of the whole. I have strong suspicions that the principal inhabitants will tell these poor creatures that shipping cannot be procured and therefore they cannot go which will send them back to their homes and prevent them from making further applications when the vessels arrive to convey them from thence to Halifax; however, if this should happen I can readily point out all those who may have been the cause of preventing them and as it was thought proper to send a person under government to see them properly embarked, and this person happened to be a man I could put a confidence in, I have given him my sentiments in writing upon the subject and have desired him to act accordingly so that I am certain of knowing if any foul play has been used—With respect to Annapolis & New Brunswick I cannot tell how many we shall get from thence but hope to hear on Thursday—I am sure that not half will have the opportunity of ever hearing the Company's proposals explained for the person who has been appointed & sent from hence for the purpose is the son of the man supposed to be the author of the paragraph in the paper signed Philanthropos and of course is very much against the plan.

I am sure you will feel very much for me when I tell you I am to have the command and direction of not less than eight vessels, all of which I hope will be ready to sail by the 20th December I dare not refuse this arduous task though I hope had I known when I was employed that the business was upon such an extensive scale and surrounded by so many difficulties which require our unremitting attention, I should have had the diffidence to have rejected it, but as I have once embarked in it I am determined to persevere & do my best.

As soon as the Governor had informed me that I was to superintend the whole, I immediately waited upon the Admiral and paid him the compliment of asking his permission to

hoist a pendant, as it would give me greater consequence, and the Captains of the Merchant ships would more readily obey my orders I might give them. This request met with the Admirals concurrence.

You will be much surprised to find that eight vessels on [only] contain 1100 Tons We certainly could have procured ships of greater burthen, but I did not approve of their height between decks, and as the small vessels were only single decked by laying a platform we could give to each vessel good five feet consequently we had so much more air for each individual to breathe in—

I have taken care to see that after allowing five feet for their accommodation sufficient room would be left in the hold to stow away the full allowance of water & provisions with the different articles allowed to each family; however we have been under the necessity of taking two, whose height is no more than five feet between decks but I would not give my consent for their being engaged till I had made the merchants promise to cut scuttles on each side to give free vent to the fowl air which will be driven out by windsail and likewise to give up the steerage to be joined to the whole range of the deck, for the accommodation of the Blacks, which is good five feet from deck to deck, of course the sailors who always occupy the steerage will be obliged to live in the cabin—I was assured by the agent on the part of the Government that employing a number of small vessels would not be more expensive than taking a few large ones—

With respect to provisions &c. I shall inspect and take an account of the whole to see that it is sound and wholesome, and to ascertain the quantity of beef & pork and other articles contained in each cask, so that I may know if any has been improperly expended during the voyages. As soon as I am acquainted with the exact quantities of stores, provisions &c purchased by Government, I shall ask the Governor what is to be done with the over-plus, should we make a favourable voyage, I know his answer will be "the whole must be given for the good of the Blacks, but it will be satisfactory to have his approbation.

I have read a Petition from the inhabitants of Preston, desiring to be settled together on their arrival in the new colony; indeed I should wish them to be separated from the rest for I can assure you without the least enthusiasm, that the majority of the men are better than any people in the labouring line of life in England: I would match them for strong sense, quick apprehension, clear reasoning, gratitude, affection for their wives & children, and friendship and good-

will towards their neighbours. If I speak more favourably of these men than the rest, it may be because I have seen more of them, as they live in this neighbourhood, but I have good grounds for having formed a favorable opinion of the whole.

I think you should be very cautious in permitting any Blacks from England joining the Colony, I have four or five going with me, but I have given them strict charge to conduct themselves properly as I should always have my eye upon them.

I hope you have made up your minds respecting the different Lots to be granted to each family, and that you will not split upon the rock which this Country has done by granting Town & Country Lots; in my opinion every man should have his work under his eye as an inducement to industry but if they are directed to different objects their industry is in fact lost—You will pardon me for giving my opinion who cannot be a judge, but as that idea appeared reasonable I could not help mentioning it, particularly as I have seen the baneful effects of it here.

We shall I hope have several mechanics particularly ship Carpenters you may probably wish to settle them in a different way from the rest, but I shall rest satisfied conscious that on my arrival in Africa, I shall find that the Surveyor has marked out the different allotments of land for five in a family, four, three, six or any other numbers so that we may put them in possession without delay and that every other order for the good of the Colony will be given so that I shall not be at a loss how to conduct myself on my arrival I shall endeavour during the voyage to find out the particular genius of each individual, that he may be put in that station where he can do the public most service; this I hope to have an opportunity of doing as it is my intention to visit each ship, every day, if the weather will permit, and it should be necessary & prudent to do so.

I will have a fast sailing Schooner in the Fleet that will be stationed on the weather quarter ready to bear down if I should make the signal to take me on board, so that I shall at any rate be able to speak to every vessel without detaining them, and if I should wish to go on board, I can easily do it.

You will probably hear in England various reports respecting this business and I am convinced it will be said by many that the Free Blacks were very happy & comfortably settled here; do not believe anything they have to say for I am better acquainted with the situation of the people in this

Province than the generality of men. I have had the satisfaction of demonstrating their misery to a number of the inhabitants who have on every occasion spoken of their comfort and they have left my room with the greatest astonishment, after being convinced that what I advanced was just & founded on truth.

I have just seen a letter from Annapolis, written by a Major Bouckly [Barclay][125] wherein he says that to his knowledge all the families who will embark from thence and Digby, are men of decent property; he does not mention the number, but on the last return 150 souls had given in their names.

Thinking as a Commercial man I rejoice in having such valuable Settlers but I cannot help regretting that I have not had it in my power to visit the above places as I am sure there must by many poor creatures working upon the land of other men, without the probability of ever having any of their own: these are the men which I am sure Government intended should go, and the description of people I have so long anticipated the pleasure I should receive in being partly instrumental in relieving.

Peters I expect every hour, his wife & children were to sail from Digby about five days ago and he talked of coming by land.

I have heard nothing from Governor Carlton, but Hope to in the course of a few hours as an express was sent to him about ten days since.

Since writing the above, a strange revolution has taken place in the Province, nothing less than the death of the Governor. I have written to the President of the Council, and have just received for answer, that orders have been issued out, for carrying on the business as usual, and with the utmost despatch.

The general opinion and wish of this Province is that Governor Wentworth to whom I had the pleasure of introducing you, should succeed to this Government; he has the greatest knowledge of this Country in every respect and is universally esteemed.

I cannot conclude this letter without acknowledging the readiness Mr. Hartshorne has upon every occasion shown to forward the views of the company, and though he does not write to you nor his name appear in my letters yet he has not been deficient in contributing every thing in his power towards assisting me.

I have not received one letter from England since I left and fear I shall not before I quit Halifax as the October Packet has not arrived, and it is supposed she has been obliged to bear away for New York; if so the letters will not be here till the middle of January—I must say I have been anxiously waiting for her arrival as I so much wished to have the report circulated here by the Captain of the former Packet cleared up, but do not be alarmed for me, let what will have happened, as I shall take with me four Four-pounders and about two hundred muskets with ammunition of every kind, those articles with a great deal of coolness & prudence will I have not the least doubt, enable me enable me [*sic*] to hold out a siege tii fur: succor arrive from England.

With sincere regards to all my friends—I remain dear Sir
With the greatest esteem
Most truly yours
John Clarkson.

In this letter a bill of fare of the rations to be allowed to each family was enclosed

See Appendix

The following is a copy of a private letter to Mr. Thornton—

Halifax, November 28th, 1791

Dear Sir

As the number of people going with me are greatly beyond our expectations, and though I suppose £40 sterling will pay all their debts, yet as they have been obliged to leave their property here to very great disadvantage and many of them have not been able to sell it all and will not have it in their power to carry with them their pigs, fowls &c. I think I shall be under the necessity of drawing upon you for £100 it may only be £60, but a hundred will certainly be the outside to purchase stock and other articles for their comfort on their arrival in the New Settlement to make them some amends for their losses in leaving this Province in such a hurry. Before I left England I received 10 guineas from Mr. Whitbread,[126] 10 from Mr. Parker, 10 from his father and 10 from my brother and I understood 70 men were subscribed and paid into your hands and that I was to draw upon you for the money if I should think it needful.

If it should not be so, you will speak to my brother about it as he will inform you the names of the gentlemen who wish to become Subscribers for I really think it will but be proper

to assist these people at their first taking possession of their lands which I think I shall be able to do by sending one little Sloop to the Cape de Verd to purchase them various articles to begin with.

If you wish to make the people of this Province happy who generally speaking are in a state of misery and if you wish it to be in a flourishing state which it has not been for these ten years, you will use all your interest to get Governor Wentworth appointed to this Government if he should think it worth his acceptance; for if such an arrangement should take place it would give heartfelt satisfaction to all descriptions of men here you must know that he is related to Lord Fitz William[127] and is intimate with the leaders of Opposition though I believe he is always received with marks of respect at Court—but talking of parties, when the happiness of thousands is depending is illiberal and absurd—

I do not know whether the Governor would accept such an appointment, the reason I mention it to you is because it is generally wished for here and I know him to be a man of an unspotted character and whose heart is as susceptible of the fine feelings as any that ever throbbed.

Believe me dear Sir most truly yours

John Clarkson

Copy of part of a private letter to Mr. Wilberforce—

Halifax November 27, 1791

Dear Sir

Having two hours leisure this afternoon, I cannot spend it more to my satisfaction than in dedicating it to you—I have so much to say to you that I am at a loss where to begin and fear I shall be obliged to defer the greatest part till I have the pleasure of seeing you.

I have written a full account of the business I have undertaken to perform to Mr. Thornton, therefore I must refer you to him for any information you may wish on that head—Many of the Free Blacks in this Province are in a very distressed situation, and though I feel rather more interested for them, than for those of my own colour, from the misery they have continually experienced, yet I should consider myself as wanting in humanity were I not to mention to you that the majority of White Soldiers (English & German) who were disbanded at the conclusion of the war, are in a simi-[similar] situation to the Blacks, and many of them have with tears in their eyes, solicited me to give them a passage to

Sierra Leone which you know I had not the power of granting, however my inclinations might lead them to gratify them—It hurts me beyond expression, when I hear how liberal Government has been to the Loyalists and liberality and gratitude are done away by the supineness & ignorance of their servants.

You will not believe me when I tell you I can bring innumerable witnesses (all of whom were parties concerned) who have not yet received one year's provisions though they were allowed three, and you may depend upon it, Government paid the most extravagant price for these three years because to my certain knowledge, they always purchase the best of everything; nay many of them have neither received a mouthful of provisions or so much as an implement of husbandry (though these articles were allowed also) and as for their lands, as I have said before, they have been given to some of them, but how! at such a distance that nineteen out of twenty of those on my list have never seen though many of them have been obliged to pay the fees of office to the amount of from 5 to 15 as the price seems to me to have varied considerably—it is certain those in office were happy to take what they could get, without considering that probably they deprived a poor distressed person of his last farthing.

You will be surprised to hear that since my writing the above the Governor has departed this life; I can say of him with great truth that he always behaved to me with a great deal of civility & attention and appeared ready upon all occasion to forward the views I am here upon; this is the more extraordinary when I tell you that to my certain knowledge he received at letter by the same conveyance as brought him his dispatches relative to our business desiring him to do all in his power to retard it; I will pledge myself to you to prove this at any time, but shall leave you to guess the author of it. I can likewise say that this very letter has been the cause of adding to the general expenses for the Governor was irresolute and gave very improper orders not knowing which way to act, and in the midst of his distress he produced the letter—Is not this abominable? I have hitherto kept it to myself but I am almost ashamed to let it remain a secret, but for your satisfaction I will endeavour to be silent till I see you.

If Administration have any wish to see this Province in a flourishing state they will without any hesitation, appoint Governor Wentworth to succeed this Government, should he think it worth his acceptance, for they will not be able to appoint a man so well acquainted with with every part of

the country, and so universally beloved by every description of men. I should not wonder if a Memorial should be presented by the principal inhabitants of this Province in his favour—It is my opinion, though I cannot be a sufficient judge that Military men are very improper persons to govern any place, they generally speaking are debauched men and mind their bottle more than their duty; and accustomed to idleness & dissipation from their youth, it is not to be wondered at, that they should neglect the affairs of State & be men of no business, they are likewise so haughty & proud in general that they are apt to add a little illiberality with it and think that no man is, or can be a gentleman unless he is a Soldier, therefore they principally associate with them taking their advice upon every occasion, sooner than that of a man who has seven times the judgement & sense of the whole group of them put together. I never knew that the prosperity of a place depended so much upon a governor as I do since my knowledge of this country. Upon my honour, I think I should be as scrupulous of accepting such a post as I should that of a Bishopric—

As I understand that the vessel will sail in the course of an hour, I must conclude for the present wishing you may carry the Abolition this year as I am sure that will add greatly to your happiness; and with my best compliments to all my friends.

I remain my dear Sir,
Most sincerely yours,
John Clarkson

Peters arrived here this forenoon from Annapolis Royal in the Bay of Fundy. He brought with him 90 people besides his family—At one o'clock being dressed for the funeral, I went by invitation to the late Governor's house. At two the procession began in the following order.

The several Lodges of Free Masons in their badges His Excellency being Grand Master of the Order,

The 20th Regiment in which he formerly served & commanded for many years

The Church Wardens
The Physicians to the deceased
The Body
covered with a black velvet Pall
adorned with eight escutcheons—
The Pall supported by

The Honble Mr. Brymer[128] The Honble Mr. Blowers
Major Boyd[129] The Honble Mr. Cochran[130]

The Commissioner[131] Major Rollinson[132]
The Admiral[133] The General[134]

Servants of the Deceased (The Relations and Particular Friends) Servants of the Deceased

The Sheriff of the County

The Hon (The Hon Mr. Bulkeley) The Hon

Mr. Morris[135] (President of the Council) Mr. Newton.[136]

Judge Benton[137] and Judge Hutchinson[138]

The Treasurer[139] of the Province

Speaker[140] of the House of Assembly

Members of the Assembly in Town

The Custos Rotulorum[141] of the County

Justice Brinley[142] [Binney]

The Magistrates

Gentlemen of the Bar

Staff of the Army

Officers of the Navy and Army

Officers of the Militia

The Mayor[143]

Gentlemen of the Town

The Garrison was under Arms and paid every honorable attention and respect to his remains—Minute guns were fired by the Fleet under the command of His Excellency Sir Richard Hughes Bart and a party of the Royal Artillery from the Citadel during the procession.

The Royal Artillery the 16th and 21st Regiment formed a line through the streets from the Governor's house to St. Pauls.

At the entrance within the Church the Body was received by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Nova Scotia who also performed the solemnities of the funeral service after it was in the middle aisle leading to the altar.

During the interment and while the corpse was depositing in the vault the 20th Regiment fired three volleys.

He was of inferior abilities and in my opinion not calculated for the situation he filled.

Dined at home—Mr. Wallace & Mr. Hartshorne drank wine with me. The remainder of the evening employed writing letters—

The following is a copy of a letter sent to Major Skinner.

Halifax, November 29th, 1791

Dear Sir

I am so pressed for time that I know not which way to turn myself but cannot avoid taking up my pen by the first opportunity to return you my sincere thanks for the attention Mr. Taylor and myself received from your family during our visit at Shelburne.

We shall find no difficulty in procuring shipping, I believe 1100 Tons are already agreed for, therefore I think the offers of Government should be made general—With my respectful compliments to Mr. Skinner and the ladies in which Mr. Taylor begs leave to join—

I remain dear Sir
Your most obliged
and obedient servant
John Clarkson

November 30th — Waited upon Mr. Bulkeley the President of the Council who received me with attention and promised to do everything in his power to forward my business and further said that he & every other gentleman would and ought to do every thing in their power to assist me, who had upon every occasion conducted myself with so much candour & fairness—Came home, received several visits from people of every description and of whom was a young woman a Black named Lydia Jackson; her case, which I have taken from her own mouth I shall relate since it will serve to give some idea of the situation of the Black people in this Province.

Mr. Henry Hedley[144] of Manchester finding Lydia Jackson in great distress having been left by her husband, he invited her to come & reside in his house, to live as a companion to his wife, after she had been there for seven days, he required her either to pay him for her board or bind herself to him for seven years; she was unable to pay him and refused to be bound; at length gradually shortening the period by a year at a time, he by dint of fair promises obtained her consent to be indented to him for one year; the writings were in consequence drawn up by a Mr. Harrison of the same place, but taking advantage of her ignorance the term of thirty nine years was specified in the Indenture, instead of the one she had consented to; and to this paper she without the least suspicion made her mark—Henry Hedley told her the next day that she was to serve out the year with Dr. Bulman[145] of Lunenburg and sent her round for this purpose in a Schooner commanded by Alexander Brymer, Dr. Bulman soon after her arrival at Lunenburg informed her to her great astonishment that she had been articled for the term of thirty nine years, and that she had been made over to him for the consideration of £20 which he had paid to Henry Hedley.

Dr. Bulman turned out to be a very bad master, frequently beating her with the tongs, sticks, pieces of rope &c. about the head & face, his wife likewise was by no means backward to lend him her assistance on these occasions. For some words she had spoken with the least intention of giving offence Bulman took occasion to knock her down, and though she was then in the last month of pregnancy, in the most inhuman manner, stamped upon her whilst she lay upon the ground; for these and other cruelties she lodged a complaint against him before Mr. Lambert[146] an Attorney at Lunenburg. This gentleman took up her case which was brought into Court but was soon silenced by the overbearing manners & influence of Bulman, who then or soon after expressed his intention of selling her to some Planter in the West Indies to work as a slave. In the meantime he sent her to work upon his farm about three miles from the town, giving authority and sanction to his servants to beat & punish her as they thought fit. After she had continued with Dr. Bulman three years, she made her escape in a wonderful way through the woods & after experiencing innumerable hardships, she reached Halifax, and got a Memorial drawn up and Presented to the Governor, who paid little or no attention to it. At length she applied to the Chief Justice,[147] who promised to enquire into the business and lastly she came to me. I immediately wrote to Dr. Bulman respecting her and consulted a Lawyer on the business who gave it as his opinion that her wages could be recovered for the time she lived under Bulman but the forms of law would most likely prevent its being finally settled, so as to enable her to go with me. Finding there was no chance of the business being settled, while I remained in the Province I advised her to give it up and leave Bulman to his own reflections.

I do not know what induced me to mention the above story, as I have many others of a similar nature; for example, Scott's case, Mr. Lee, Senr. case, Smith's child, Motly Roads child, Mr. Farish's[148] negro servant, &c.

This day being the Feast of St. Andrew I received an invitation to dine with a party of one hundred,[149] the first toast after dinner was to the memory of the late governor, when the band of music immediately played "How stands the glass around &c." passed a very pleasant day, & stopped till late in the evening.

December 1st — All this morning employed taking down the names of people hearing complaints, giving advice writing letters, &c. Received a letter from Jas. Mercer of Saint John's New Brunswick. An old soldier complaining that he, and many of his associates were in a similar situation with the Blacks and wished to become Settlers at Sierra Leone, that several English and German soldiers were disbanded at the conclusion of the war, and promised land of Government, but have been treated the same as the Blacks and are at present in a deplorable state. It is impossible for me to admit these people generally as it is contrary to my instructions but as there are two or three in the neighborhood of Halifax, I intend to enroll them with the Blacks to go with me to Sierre Leone.

At a conversation I had with two of the Council of the Province this morning one of them the most intimate friend of the late Governor, told me that Governor Parr received a letter from the Secretary of State's office with my despatches, desiring him to do all in his power to retard the business.

This information communicated to me before from another quarter, accounts for the delay in the outset and may be considered as the principal cause of the extraordinary expence for the Governor was irresolute and gave very improper orders not knowing which way to act, and in the midst of his distress he produced the letter from E. N.[150]

Dined at home and in the evening employed on board the Lucretia in fitting her up for the reception of myself and the sick people. Received several petitions from individuals.

The following is a copy of a letter sent to Henry Thornton Esqr.

Halifax, December 1st, 1791

Dear Sir:

Although I wrote to you a few days ago by the Ark,[151] and have sent you a duplicate of my letter in the same vessel which will convey this yet it is the last opportunity I shall in all probability have of addressing you before I quit this place & particularly as Peters has arrived, I am induced to take my leave of you for the present and give you every account in my power up to the present day.

Peters arrived here about six days since with his wife and children and several of his companions amouting to 94 men &c. From everything I can learn he has conducted himself with great propriety and though he was insulted and even knocked down by a White man at Digby, yet upon his return to that place, he put an end to the prosecution on hearing that the man was intoxicated at the time he commited the outrage—From has [his] account the people at New Brunswick are in a deplorable state, the Agent appointed for carrying on the business (who is Secretary to the Governor) has done everything in his power to prevent their going by telling them that I intended to sell them for the Company and that Peters was to have so much per head for his trouble; they have also been guilty of forgery, in producing Indentures & agreements on the part of the Blacks to work upon their lands, and in their service for certain terms, at the same time have said that if they should offer to go, they would prosecute them for not performing their contract, and others to prevent some of them from going would not pay them their just debts, telling them that if they would stay they should have their money, but if they were determined to go they would not pay

them one farthing and some of them actually came down to Halifax without receiving that which the [they] probably have been working for many months to obtain. What a pity I could not visit Saint John to make these wretches act like men! I think I have reason to say it would have been the case here, had I not arrived just as I did—The late Governor[152] made several obstacles telling me I came out too late, it was impossible for anything to be done this year, that the Blacks were not so miserable as had been represented and made a thousand difficulties—I replied I would be bound to do the whole in two months, though a stranger to the geography of the country, if he would give me power to issue the necessary orders—You may judge how everything was going on, when I tell you that in my arrival at Shelburne which was three weeks after my reaching Halifax) not so much as an order had been issued, though Peters had then been in the country near five weeks.

Since writing my last letter I have seen the President of the Council[153] who is now acting as governor, his behaviour was everything I could wish so that the Governor's death has not in the least retarded his business, for to do him justice I must say, that he always appeared forward, to promote the embarkation from the time I arrived in the Province.

I hope Dalrymple[154] has put down in his Pocket book the private signal I gave him so that he may know us when we appear off the land of Freedom which was a Dutch Jack reversed at the Fore Top Gallant Mast head. The reason why I wish him to know us is that he may send out Pilots to conduct us into the Harbour. I shall hoist my pendant on board the Lucretia and as I intend that my own vessel shall be the Hospital ship I shall then be ready to administer comfort to those who may want it, I have got her fitted up accordingly. I expect at least 7 or 8 births in the course of the voyage as many of the women are pregnant so that I have to have more room in my own vessel than I have given to others, and then I have made up the complement which I do not take in the Lucretia on board another Brig, whose height between decks is better than five feet which will be better able to carry those above her complement that would complete mine than one or two other vessels will theirs.

I have now mentioned I believe almost all I have to say to you that is worth communicating, but cannot leave off without telling you what I think respecting the New Settlement.

The people I shall carry with me are generally speaking sober, hardworking men, and extremely grateful & rather

enthusiasts in religion which I hope to be able to moderate on the voyage, though I commend them for their intentions upon every occasion, and I firmly believe the majority practice what they preach.

With respect to their industry their neighbours have declared to me their surprise at their being able to support themselves upon such a barren & stony land as they have done, which could never have been brought to the state their Lots are now in, but from unwearied industry—I have told every person, they must if they go with me either work or starve, and fearing an expression of mine might induce them to go, I have stated to them that the country is a great deal worse than I believed it to be. so that I hope they will be agreeably surprised. I have told the single women likewise that they must not expect to get Washing for their subsistence but that they must work in the fields, as there is no town to go to and at the same time observed that the Company would not advance any provisions to those who did not show every endeavour to get their living in an honest way &c. but I have taken care that not one single woman has given in her name, unless she could find a man to be answerable to maintain her so that I have put them down in the different families accordingly. I have likewise told the men that I shall form a very unfavourable opinion of those who may show an inclination to be servants to any gentlemen. when they have an oppointment of becoming their own masters, and valuable members of society if they please, and that in short, the character of the Black people forever after will depend on the manner they conduct themselves and that the fate of millions of their complexion will partly be affected by it.

After mentioning this and having seen every individual amounting at least to one thousand souls, I can positively say that if the Settlement should not succeed, it will not be for want of proper people to colonize it.

I can plainly see many obstacles in the way, though the great one is removed and therefore shall venture to give you my advice as I may not have it in my power to do it again as life is very uncertain.

In the first place your governor must strictly adhere to every order you give and put those orders into execution in the most mild and pleasant manner to convince the people at large that the whole of his study is to promote their happiness. He must always be on the watch to shock an unpleasant expression from any of the inferior officers, who from passion or partly from prejudice may wound their feelings; you may

probably say that none will be appointed but those who detest slavery and who feel for the misery those people have undergone, but consider the education of many, and the world at large, and you will have reason to fear, for the people are taught to believe from me that they are to become men and that no distinction is to be made, between them & the Whites—You must understand me. I particularly allude to captains of your vessels, sailors, keepers of the store-houses and inferior people, who would think no harm in calling these people what I cannot mention on paper; if that should take place, without an immediate check they will be disgusted and begin to doubt the sincerity of the Company's intention, but the worst of all would be setting a bad example—Begin well at first and there is a chance of continuing; but if a bad example is set in the infancy of the Colony, I know not what may be the consequence.

The people as I before have said are enthusiastis in religion, and are divided into different sects principally Methodists, yet I should not despair of getting them in our way of thinking if a conscientious clergyman of the Church of England were sent over who had a good delivery & who would do his duty properly, for if he would read the prayers of the Church which are so very beautifully pleasing & gratifying when read in an impressive manner. I am convinced it would have a wonderful effect—But if a person is sent out at £50 a year, what can you expect from it? I know that if the colony succeeds, these people would be very happy to pay a man of the description I have mentioned, therefore, I hope you will give this a very serious thought—Consider the general good this Colony may do and you will not then let it fail for want of support.

All the Coopers & Carpenters I shall take with me ought to be employed some way or other by the Company at a fixed rate per day, according to the price the company will be able to afford to sell their provisions &c at.

The Packet arrived yesterday which we had given over on the supposition that she had been obliged to bear away for New York. I was rather disappointed at not receiving letters from the Company by her, but trust I shall meet with some at Sierra Leone. The Rashleigh[155] which will take this is now getting under weigh which obliges me to conclude this letter by assuring you

I am with the greatest esteem
Most sincerely yours,
John Clarkson.

I wish I could send by this vessel a complete list of names of all such as will attend me, but you may depend upon it I shall leave one here to be forwarded by the first opportunity.

December 2nd — Had a long conversation with Captain Rogers respecting the gun for the Lucretia. Arrived unexpectedly the Packet[156] from England, which brought me two private letters the contents of which made me extremely happy. Perplexed all the morning with complaints of one kind or another—Although I was busily employed in writing & had forbidden any person being admitted, yet as soon as Black people called I could not refuse them, fearing they might have come many miles and probably lost a days work in consequence. Many of the women & children indisposed for want of proper lodging &c. Dined with Mr. Tremaine & passed the remainder of the evening at his house.

December 3rd — All this morning extremely busy in finishing my letters as the Rashleigh & Ark, the only two vessels in the Harbour bound to Europe were to sail this day. Teazed as usual.

The Ark sailed at noon & as I had reason to believe the Rashleigh would not go till tomorrow morning, I dined with Mr. John Grant;[157] as soon as dinner was over returned to finish my letters & at two o'clock in the night was informed the Rashleigh was then under weigh. Mr. Taylor & myself went down to the wharf to order the Lucretia's boat to put us on board, but as the men were all asleep and the Rashleigh's anchor just a trip, we were obliged to steal about and paddle on board, with an old broom for an oar; fortunately for us Captain Murray[158] of the Triton happened to be on board, and was good enough to tow us on shore—Passed the remainder of the evening at Mr. Grants.

Received the following Petition

We whose names are underwritten has determined to leave Halifax and Preston on Dartmouth side to settle on that place for which your Honour is appointed Agent; and being free Ethiopians would crave your Honour's permission to grant unto them the privilege of nominating amongst themselves as Teachers or Preachers of the Baptist persuasion as each of us severally of that denomination would solicit from your Honour's hand and your testimonial to their request, which will be gratefully acknowledged by each of us the

Subscribers

Hector Peters[159] his X Mark
Simon Collvill his X Mark
Robert Harrison his X Mark
Richard Richards his X Mark
Thomas Saunders his X Mark

Halifax, Nova Scotia

To Mr. Clarkson Agent for New Sierra Leone Society—

December 4th — Employed writing all the Morning—Major Courtland[160] and several Gentlemen called upon me—Dined with the Admiral[161] and spent a pleasant afternoon—Supped with the Attorney General.[162] Sat up till past one o'clock preparing the most clear and simple signals, with the least possible expence to Government for the Squadron, putting down heads of orders for the internal description of the different ships, &c. —

December 5th — Numbers of people still constantly calling—Waited upon the President of the Council—Called upon Mr. Mordon[163] the Ordnance Store-Keeper to talk about the Guns—Went with Peters on board the different ships to give necessary orders—visited all the Black people who came from Annapolis & Digby gave them my advice for their future conduct; made some of the children little presents—Received a note begging the favour of my attendance tomorrow at 12 o'clock, at the Council Chamber. Dined on board the Sphynx Frigate[164] with Mr. Philpot—The subject of Slavery was at length introduced and supported by the Doctor[165] of the Sphynx, but all his arguments were refuted by the Master[166] who had made twenty voyages in the Slave Trade, and who Said that everything I had advanced was true—I was charmed with Philpot's zeal, in trying to do away with the arguments of the Doctor—Returned on Shore at seven, had two hours conversation with Mr. Wallace, on the subject of embarking the people, talked an hour afterwards with Mr. Hartshorne; returned home and busy the remainder of the evening preparing signals & instructions for the different Captaines—

December 6th — Till 12 o'clock my room was constantly full, but was obliged to leave off business to attend at the Council Chamber; on entering the room was politely received—The President[167] ordered a memorial to be read from Mr. Wallace, stating his reason for having made the contract with the shipping in the manner he had done and therefore hoped they would assist him in carrying on the business accordingly—After this was read the President desired me to pay attention to the contract, which was ordered to be read by the Secretary; when he had finished, I was asked if I had any objections to it—I answered that I could not immediately say that I had, but that I would beg the favour of them to take it home with me, where I could be better able to form an opinion—I stated my wishes to do justice to the Merchants, and at the same time not to be forgetful of the Free Blacks—A few questions were then asked Mr. Wallace by Mr. Blowers, the Attorney General, concerning the contract—such as, if he thought it was the cheapest method to take up the vessels by the Ton, or to have paid by the head—As I knew the business *was done, and could not be* altered, I paid but little attention to their conversation, only observing that I *thought it was a very shameful charge*—When they had finished I asked their permission to put a few questions & to give my sentiments on the business, they readily complied with.—

I asked an explanation relative to the Demurrage to be paid to the ships at Sierra Leone, and advised the Council to be cautious in giving any

temptation to the Captains to part company with me, I advised them to allow me a certain time to make the voyage, either six, seven, or eight weeks, and in case any ship should arrive at Sierra Leone before that time had expired the Demurrage should not commence on board that ship till ten days after the time allowed me to make the voyage; such a clause, would in a great measure take away any inducement on the part of any of the Captains to leave the Fleet—I expressed myself very anxious that we should keep together, that all the vessels might receive the benefit of the surgeon and other comforts, which one might be able to afford another—

I also recommended that the whole Fleet should sail together, at one time, if it could be done without greatly adding to the expence, and stated a variety of advantages attending it—

From the information I had received from the Out-Ports, I had every reason to believe that the whole would arrive at Halifax, in a very short time; but if the Council thought that the Demurrage about to commence on the vessels already engaged, would be considered as an objection to waiting for the rest, I declared myself ready to sail with those now at Halifax in a week—I also thought it would be prudent for each ship to have a Mediterranean Pass which was agreed to—

I spoke next upon the subject of clothing those who were in *real* want—An objection was made to it, as it would be liable to great abuses—In reply I mentioned it as the late Governor's idea and enforced the necessity of it myself, by assuring them, many of the people were at this time, nearly naked, and some of them would certainly be starved to death, if this request were not complied with; but to satisfy them there should be no abuse, I would contrive to find out the *real* want of every individual without giving them a suspicion of what I wanted—

I then desired the form of the discharging Certificate to be written out, before I sailed, as I should have nothing to do but sign, if I thought the Captains had done their duty—Agreed to—

One of the Council asked me what course I intended to steer after quitting the Harbour, and my ideas upon the best-way to secure a safe & quick passage I thanked him for his question, and assured the Council if they had not asked me, I had made a minute to consult them upon it, as I did not wish as a young man to be too positive in my opinion and requested to see a Chart, and having fully explained to them my intention, *in every situation* in which we were liable to be placed, they were fully satisfied, and were please to make an apology for having put the question, and Said they asked it as a Matter of duty—

I desired they would mention in my instructions what was to be done with the Provisions, Stores &c furnished by Government, after the expiration of the voyage: they answered, "to be given to the Blacks"—

The next subject was on Stowage—I said I would plainly see, if *it could be done,* more would be put into the vessels then Government in-

tended. For my part I should have no objection, if even thirty or forty were left after the ships had all received their complement to distribute them among the rest, sooner than put Government to the expense of taking up another vessel; but if their should be more left, after all were full, then the number contained in any one vessel, I should certainly object to their being distributed, and should expect another vessel to be hired for them, as it would only be complying with the wishes & orders of Government, for should an Extraordinary mortality take place on the voyage, great-blame would justly attach to all parties, for having deviated from the instructions of the Secretary of State, so pointedly given on this head.—

Our next conversation was on the Tonnage of the vessels, here I got extremely warm and apologised for it, in consequence of understanding that the vessels were to be *measured for the purpose*—I assured the Council, if that were the case, I should measure them myself according to the custom of measuring Transports, but should not give myself that trouble if their Tonnage was to be taken from their Registers at the Custom House, for though I had volunteered my services, both to Government & the Company, yet I was determined to do all in my power to keep down every prodigal expence, and to reprobate every proceeding, from whatever quarter it might come, which did not appear to be strictly honourable & correct—After this declaration, I had a conversation with the President, on the subject of Guns for signals & which was complied with—

The Council now broke up, the President assuring me of his readiness to assist me in anything in his power—visited all the vessels, to hurry the workmen, ordering fires to be constantly burning between decks, to dry the bed places which were obliged to be fitted up with *bed planks,* as no others could be obtained—The Carpentors had received orders to fit up the Lucretia's[168] Cabin & bed places in a Superior manner for my comfort & accommodation, which I prevented, as it was only for a limited time, and contrary to my notions of economy—Dined at house—After dinner, visited the Annapolis & Digby people, in their Barracks—In the evening busy writing letters, preparing signals and looking over the Contract—

December 7th — Breakfasted with Mr. Putnam at 8 o'clock—Agreed to the Contract & addressed the following letter to the President of the Council—

Halifax, December 7th 1791

Sir/

> Having signified your intentions of investing me with full authority to conduct the Convoy with the Free Blacks from hence to Sierra Leone, I am of opinion that Guns & Ammunition sufficent for signals, should be put on board the ship in which I embark, as it may probably consist of not less than eight vessels, which might be laible to separate in the

night or during thick weather, without having proper signals—

Should this meet your approbation, I would request that directions may be given accordingly, as soon as possible.

I am Sir, with the greatest respect
Your obedient Servant—
John Clarkson

To/The Honorable Richard Bulkeley—

Called upon several people to persuade them to give up some children whom they called their slaves, whose parents were going with me—It is a practice in this Province for Masters to turn their Slaves out of doors to maintain themselves & family, if the family should be so large as to become burthersome to the Master, and there are many instances after seven years have elapsed, that the Master has retain: his Slaves, because they were useful, and sold & disposed of them,as he thought proper—Visited the different vessels—The Parr[169] & Venus[170] will not stow the people so well as the other vessels—Objected to the manner the Bed places were putting up on board the Venus—Went on board a new ship just arrvied, she appeared to me as well calculated for carrying the people, as the generality of the others; told the Owner I should recommend her to be taken up, and as he had not named her, I asked him to call her the Sierra Leone, which he did—Dined at home—Drank tea with Mr. Hartshorne—Had a long conversation respecting Mr. O.[171]—Secretary to the Governor of New Brswk whose conduct from all accounts, has been extremely reprehensible, with respect to the business, I am here upon—In the evening called upon Mr. Putnam, respecting some information about the Preston People—At seven returned home, and employed myself in arranging my papers—This day received a letter from a Gentleman of respectability named Clarkson, living in Philadelphia, telling me that not long since his family and mine were one, as I had an opportunity of sending a letter by a vessel, which was to sail from this place, I immediately answered it—In the course of the evening received the following answer to my letter to the President of the Council—

Sir/

Mr. Morden will deliver the Guns & Stores whenever you will apply for them, giving him a receipt, expressing that on your arrival at Sierra Leone, you will deliver them to the Governor, or person in chief command there, for His Majestys Service

I am Sir
Your most obedient
Humble Servant
Richard Bulkeley

December 7th 1791—

Public Archives of Nova Scotia
HALIFAX, N. S.

December 8th — Not very well this morning Busy writing letters till eleven o'clock Called upon Mr. Morden about the Guns—A Carpenter from the Ordnance Department was employed on board Lucretia, to fit the Stanchions up to support the Guns—People busily employed—Visited the Mary[172] and gave orders about fitting up the berths in a manner which appeared to me best calculated to preserve health—From there visited the Felecity,[173] and gave particular charge to her owner, to see himself, that she was properly balasted—From there went to the Morning Star,[174] in this vessel the Carpenter had received orders from Mr. Wallace, to fit-up berths, amidships, this I objected to, and desired the Carpenter to leave off till he heard from me again—

Called upon Mr. Wallace with Mr. Hartshorne, merely to speak our sentiments to him, upon the subject of berthing the people—I positively declared to him, that I would never give my consent, for one man more than the complement, to be put into a ship, till the whole were completed, when I should be able to judge whether it would be prudent or not—I told him I was determined to obey order of Government, for if there should be any extraordinary mortality happen on the voyage, I should be blamed for suffering so many to be stowed together, and as I was to have all the anxiety & trouble, it would be a comfort to me to have a vessel or two in the Squadron, where I could put a man who was recovering, from my ship, to stretch his legs, after an illness—I afterwards declared I had come to another determination, which was to insist that each vessel should carry the luggage of her own passengers, as well as a sufficient quantity of water for each, with provisions accordingly, for if a vessel could not do that, she would not be fit for the voyage, and who would be answerable to these people, for the loss of furniture & c, & c, if the luggage was on board one ship, and the people another?—

The Morning Star, appears to me not to have sufficient room to put the proper quantity of ballast in her & at the same time to Stow her quantity of provisions & c, because they have put the platform too low; however I have charged the Owner & Captain[175] for her to see that she has everything proper on that head, as I shall examine her before she sails; and if they should think they would not be able to put a sufficient quantity of ballast into her, to make her safe, I should insist upon the deck being taken up, and raised a good six inches higher—Came home and was busy writing till half past three; then visited the Lucretia & gave several orders respecting her—Dined and drank tea with Mr. Hartshorne—At ten Peters called upon me and related several melancholy stories, respecting the injustice of the Whites to the Blacks in New Brunswick—Employed arranging my paper & c—This day I delivered to the Secretary of the Province, a list of the Free Blacks from Annapolis, Digby and that neighbourhood who had given in their names to go to Sierra Leone, to be exposed in his office for a certain time, agreeable to an Act of this Province—In addition to this public notice, I stated through the Newspapers, the steps I had taken for the information of the Public, although I was not bound by law to do more than to expose the names for a certain time in the Secretary's Office, yet

I was determined to show all descriptions of men, the fairness of my intentions—

The following is a copy of the list—

Thos Peters _____ Wife & family
Saml Wright[176] _____ Do
Tho Brown[177] _____ Do
Robert Stafford[178] _____ Do
Jarvis Frost _____ Do
Henry Lawrence _____ Do
Danl Carry _____ Do
David Edmond[179] _____ Do
Timthy Withers _____ Do
George Carall _____ Do
Ralph Henry _____ Do
York Bamson _____ Do
Terence Davies _____ Do
Jno Salter _____ Do
Henry Floyd[180] _____ Do
Adam Greene _____ Do
Isaac Williams _____ Do
James Austin _____ Do
James Banks[181] _____ Do
Saml Fryer _____ Do
Pompey Campbell[182] _____ Do
Titus Robinson _____ Do
Henry Warren[183] _____ Do
Jacob Lynch[184] _____ Do
Abrhm White _____ Do
Tony Wering _____ Do
Thos Jones—Yaff Benson—Hannah Kirby[185]
Law Hartshorne
John Clarkson (Agents for the Sierra Leone Company

December 9th — At eight this morning Mr. Tremaine called upon me to inform me that the vessels from Shelburne, were in sight & would be in the Harbour very soon—Went down to the Wharf & saw two Schooners, which had just arrived with part of the luggage; they were sent ahead to inform me that the others would be here very shortly, the whole consisting of eleven sail—Went to the Ordnance Wharf, and fixed upon my Guns, and ordered them to be sent down—Gave several orders on board the different Ships, and at eleven o'clock went over to Dartmouth with Mr. Wallace, and the Master Carpenter, to measure the Somerset[186]—Objected to their vessel if a better could be obtained—At three o'clock four of five of the vessels arrived very much crowded—Mr. Hartshorne & myself busy running over to town to hire store houses for their reception, fortunately met with one which could easily contain 300 Souls—In *three hours* after we had everything taken out, the place properly swept, and two stoves

fitted up, and by eight at night, when the rooms were sufficiently aired, I ordered the vessels to the Wharf adjoining the Store House, for the people to come on Shore—At ten the people had got their supper, and laths were laid upon the floor to put their beds upon; a sentinel was placed also at the door to watch them during the night—This evening I had three of the Captains of the vessels to sup with me, I explained to them my signals and my ideas of the best method of making a quick and safe voyage & how I could advise them to act in different case of emergency; gave an order to all the Captains to send me an account, of their sails, rigging, anchors, cables & c, that I might be sure every vessel had her proper quantity on board—Agreeable to the Contract—During our conversation, we were surprised by the unexpected visit of four Blacks just arrived from the Province of New Brunswick; they had been prevented from embarking with Peters and since detained under a false pretence of debt; the very Agents in this Province have taken the most unjustifiable means to prevent these people from gratifying their wishes, and when they found that the generality of them were not in debt, they contrived to produce false Indentures & Agreements to deter them, and at length said, that none should go, who could not produce his Free Pass, knowing that many of them had lost theirs, and others were so worn out, as to render them unintelligible—this is the most shameful of all their conduct, because, the very men whom they refused, had lands granted to them in the neighbourhood of St John, St Anns[187] &c which were registered in the Office, and who would not have been entitled to them, if they had not produced their Free Pass, on their first arrival in this Country—These people were determined to quit a country, at the peril of their lives, whose inhabitants treated them with so much barbarity; they had the temerity to undertake a journey over land from St. John to Halifax, which accourding to the route they must have taken, could not be less than 340 miles; they set out for this Purpose the 24th of last month, went round the head of the Bay of Fundy, & notwithstanding they had to combat with difficulties, that might appear insuperable to a considerate mind principally arising from the extreme closeness of the woods, and the river they would be under the necessity of fording, they arrived safe & in good health, fifteen days after their departure from St Johns—

The greatest distress must have driven these men to form a resolution so uncommon, and to preserve a journey so replete with danger & difficulty, their passage for a few days being through such parts as I am convinced were never before visited by man—

The names of these four men, are Richard Crankipine, William Taylor, Sampson Heywood, and Nathaniel Ladd; another friend of theirs accompanied them, but they were obliged to leave him, about forty miles from Halifax, as he had lamed himself, but he is expected every hour—I wished much to have given each of them a reward for their intrepid conduct, but as I have now better than 800 Souls under my care, the greatest part of whom are in extreme distress, it makes me cautious how I act, and

therefore I am often obliged to let prudence get the better of my feelings, till I have a proper opportunity of indulging them—

Just after these people left me, two Preachers from Shelburne, one of whom was my steady friend David George came to pay their respects to me, and although it was eleven at night, they took a boat from the vessel which brought them from thence, on purpose to see me as soon as possible —It distresses me beyond measure to see the gratitude of the generality of these unfortunate people—

December 10th — Received a great deal of Company—Called upon Mr. Kelley[188] Keeper of Newgate, respecting a child of Prince Murrays, did all in my power for the poor man—Delivered to the Secretary[189] of the Province a list of the remainder of the Free Blacks, who gave in their names to go with me, the form of which was like the preceeding—Visited the different Barracks—Several applications were made to me for clothes; upon a rough calculation there appears nearly 300 people almost naked— Was pleased to find that some of the people detained for debt at Shelburne, had been relieved by the Comrades, who had a little property—As it is my intention to pay their debts, and to clothe all who are in real want, I am obliged to be careful in giving them any kind of intimation of it, as it might induce some to sell what clothes they had, and others to contract debts, as well as occasion people to be more active in bringing actions against them—

I mean to fix upon a day for a general muster, when I intend to gain a complete history of the whole, and shall do it in such a way as will ensure to me that most accurate information, without giving them the least reason to believe I intend to relieve them—I have been so cautious on this head, that I have never mentioned my intentions to any one except Mr. Hartshorne, not even to a friend going to fetch the people from Shelburne, fearing the consequence—I have publicly thanked all those, who advanced money to their comrades, and have desired them to deliver to me their receipts, that I might endeavour to make the people pay them, whenever they were able after their arrival at Sierra Leone—

Visited all the ships to expedite the equipment, and to see that the work going on was properly done—Called upon a Mr. Hughes[190] in the Dockyard, to endeavour to persuade him to give up Ceasar Smith's child who had three years to serve, before the time she was bound for, was expired, but to no effect—

To all probability this child will be sold for a slave at the expiration of her apprenticeship, in consequence of not having father or Mother, or any relation left in the Province—

I saw Mrs. Hughes, and solicited her in the most affecting way to induce her to give up the child—I called upon her as a mother, and described the distressed state of Smith's whole family at the thought of leaving the girl behind, and brought to her recollection the circumstances which occasioned the child to be indented for five years, which happened in con-

sequence of Smith's family having lost all they had in the world, by their house being burnt down, that the poor Mother was constantly in tears about her child, and I therefore hoped she would feel the case, as if it were her own & do as she would be done by; but could not make the least impression Called upon Mr. Wallace and requested to know the method used for measuring the ships, also the quantity of provisions allowed to each individual daily specifying the kind and to let me see them—I informed him that two or three of the vessels from Shelburne, had sailed with only two day's provisions, & the people had been on board, five. I mentioned this to him, that he might not pay for five—I requested also that he would fix a day for Mr. Hartshorne & myself to inspect the provisions for the voyage, and also to procure fresh beef for the whole during our stay at Halifax; I desired him also to procure more stores for the Barracks, ordered the baggage vessels from Shelburne, to haul alongside the wharf, adjoining the store house, inhabitated by the Shelburne people, that they might be discharged before night—Reminded Mr. Wallace to think of the people at Preston, and also desired him to engage more vessels immediately —Dined at Mr. Hartshorne's with the Salt Fish Club, many of them there declared that the Free Blacks were as well used as the Whites; the majority of the company against them I promised to convince them to the contrary, if they would attend me any day next week—Wickham who returned this afternoon from Shelburne informed them, that it was out of his power to describe the misery he had seen during the last fortnight, and he was ashamed of the conduct of the White inhabitants in general—

December 11th — Mr. Wickham breakfasted with me this morning; he recommended a young man to me qualified for Chief Mate of a vessel, whose appointment I procured—

Several people called upon me of every description—I was not well this morning which prevented me from going to Church—At 3 in the afternoon visited all the Barracks, found about a Sixth of the people very neat & clean, and the rest as neat as they could be—Went up to the top of the Sugar House Barracks, which contained 200 of the Free Blacks where I found my friend David George preaching, and I never remembered to have heard the Psalms, sung so charmingly, in my life before; the generality of the Blacks who attended, seemed to feel more at singing, than they did at Prayers—I left them sooner that I wished, fearing that David George, if he had seen me might have been confused, but I have too good an opinion of him to think that the presence of any one, would in the least deter him from offering up his praises to his Creator—

Gave relief to some people in distress Dined with Mr. Wallace, had much conversation respecting our business, begged him again to take up the ships immediately; he informed me that the Council had ordered a vessel to sail from hence immediately to bring all those from Shelburne who were left behind—As two poor families, whom I had met by chance at Port L'Herbert, were not yet arrived, and as the vessel which sailed last night, received orders not to bring one family more, unless there was a

probability of her reaching this place, by the 25th of this month, I did everything in my power to hasten the embarkation of those who were left at Shelburne, by writing to Major Skinner, respecting the whole, and saying it was my particular wish to have the two families attended to sent up to me, and that I had sent him two pounds; to be given to one of the men who had five children, and one pound to the other, who had only one child, to relieve them if they were determined to remain in this country, or on the other hand, to assist them in coming here, if they had the least inclination—

I likewise wrote to the Major respecting other people, who had left their clothes & c behind—Spent the evening with Mr. Hartshorne, and received many complaints respecting the manner the people had been sent from Shelburne—

Finding from the number of the applications constantly making to me from individuals, that it prevented me from paying proper attention to objects of more consequence, I this evening, appointed Thomas Peters, David George, & John Ball to superintend the whole, & to communicate to me their wants and complaints, desiring them to inform the people at the different Barracks, not to come to me with their particular complaints, but to inform me through them—

December 12th — Several people were with me till ten o'clock—Breakfasted with Captain Rogers[191]—He promised his men should make me some Sky Rockets False Fire Muskets, Cartridges & c, & c—

We afterwards waited upon Mr. Morden about the Guns & ammunition—Wrote the following letter, and sent it by the vessel ordered for Shelburne, to bring the remainder of those left there—

Halifax December 12th 1791—

Dear Sir

I received your favour by Mr. Wickham, for which I am much obliged There are two families now at Shelburne for whom I feel deeply interested, viz: Thomas Shepherd & John Martin—I understand the latter set off for Liverpool, in the hopes of joining Wickham and trusting that his wife & children would follow in the Deborah; he has not arrived at Halifax, & Wickham informs me his wife would not come with him, because she did not know where her husband was gone—If John Martin should now be at Shelburne with his family, I have paid into Mr. Wallace's hands for his use either to enable him to join me, or to do him some little good, if he be determined to remain in this Province, two pounds Currency —If he should not be at Shelburne, he in all probability, will endeavour, to reach this place by land, and therefore I think it would be best to send his wife & children to Halifax, if she should have a desire to come—After her arrival here, should her husband not be in this town, I shall advise her to go back

to Shelburne in hopes of seeing him there—If her husband should be in Halifax I shall not take him without his wife & family, and shall give him his passage to Shelburne to join her—

With respect to Thos Shepherd, if I mistake not he has only a wife & daughter—I have paid into Mr. Wallace's hands for their use one pound currency, either to enable them to come to Halifax, or to give them some little relief, if they should have a desire to stay at Shelburne—

Wickham has just informed me that John Martin is in debt, and that Mr. McCloud says he is indebted to him near £7—Martin has kept an account against Mr. McCloud, which I shall send you, & you will be the best judge how to proceed—Mr. Richardson[192] of Port L'Herbert told Wickham, strictly speaking, he believes McCloud has not that claim upon Martin, which he has demanded, this I tell you for your own information, and should not wish McCloud to know that Richardson said so, as it might occasion a quarrel between him & his neighbours—

I have received a letter from the following people telling me they wish to embark for Sierra Leone, and will be ready in twelve hours, after they are informed that a vessel is equipped to re-to receive them viz, Andrew Egar, Danl Moore,[193] Nathl Turner,[194] Absalom Dixon Wm Huston, Ahey a Sawyer, Nero Montague,[196] Cudjo[197] a Pioneer, and William Ash[198]—

I shall send you this letter, and you will be good enough to send them, with those of whom you have given a list to Mr. Wallace—

I have written a letter to Moses Kelly from Thos Godfrey, desiring him to send different articles belonging to him, which he was obliged to leave behind, & should therefore teem it a favour if you will forward it to him at Birch Town—

I am sorry to give you so much trouble, but I cannot avoid it, as I am so much interested in the happiness of the poor Blacks—

Wishing you every earthly blessing and with my most respectful compliments, to Mrs Skinner, and the Ladies,

I am dear Sir, your most
Obliged & obedient Servant
John Clarkson

Major Skinner—

Wrote the following note to Mr. Wallace

Mr. Clarkson presents his compliments to Mr. Wallace, and will be much obliged to him if he will send him as soon as convenient, the Ratio & kind of provisions issued out to every individual, Man, Woman, & Child, each day, because he intends to divide them into Messes, where every Man will know the proper allowance due to his Mess, and if particular days are fixed for serving out the provisions, Mr. Clarkson will appoint proper people to receive and distribute them accordingly, by this arrangement, great confusion will be prevented—

Halifax December 12th 1791

Visited the different Barracks, Another party of Men arrived from Shelburne—and as the Barracks called the Sugar House, were to small to contain them, and as the people there were uncomfortable, I employed myself all the morning in endeavouring to get another house—

I was much surprised to find that Mr. Wallace had taken up the Somerset and Prince William Henry,[199] when better vessels were in the Harbour, and particularly the former vessel as I had all along objected to her—

I felt extremely angry with him and expressed myself accordingly—I again urged him to take up more vessels, that Government might not be imposed upon, by being obliged to take them after the people arrived, and told him that I should report all the people from Shelburne & Annapolis, ready to embark in eight days—I particularly asked him to fix a day for me to inspect the provisions, telling him that if I should find them decayed, or not proper for use, (provided I had not seen them myself before I left this place) I should at the back of the Certificate I was to give as a discharge to each Captain, specify the quantity bad of every kind—I again requested that I might be informed of the method used for measuring the ships—Went on board the Lucretia to hasten the workmen—

As the Council had told me & Mr. Hartshorne, that they intended to furnish all those who were distressed, with clothes, as soon as we could inform them of their situation, and finding that if we waited till the account could be made out which could not be till the latter end of the week, many individuals would suffer greatly for want of covering, I was determined to write the President, begging him to order a certain number of Shifts, shirts, petticoats, jackets & c, to be got ready *immediately,* for more than half the people from Shelburne are entirely naked—I did this, that we might not be detained for those articles, which were absolutely necessary for us to take, for every day we stay here after the 20th inst. will be at least an additional £100 to Government—

Came home at 4 o'clock, extremely ill with anxiety & fatigue—It is

impossible to describe my situation every day—There are not less than 800 souls of every description here under my particular care, who come to me for all their trifling wants, in spite of the regulations I have made to prevent it, and perplex me more in giving answers, to each, than any part of the business—

Went out this evening for the first time by the advice of the Doctor & Mr. Hartshorne to the house of a private friend to divert my thoughts and relax myself from the fatigues of the day

December 13th — As it rained very hard this morning, I employed myself at home arranging my papers, and preparing to take a general muster of all the people at two walked out, & gave several orders respecting the people's comfort in the different Store Houses, and others on board the different Ships, Moved near 200 out of the Sugar House, into a new Store House which we obtained yesterday so that now we may be said to be extremely comfortable—Two or three old people are very ill, whom I am afraid we shall lose before we quit Halifax—Dined at home and received several visits—

At six Mr. Wickham called me—We went to the Barracks, where we found the people at Prayers. The Preacher Moses Wilkinson[200] is blind: during this man's discourse, I felt frequently distressed for him, his feelings were so exquisite and he worked himself up to such a pitch that I was fearful, something would happen to him—The Congregation appeared very attentive & the discourse tended to glorify God, and to point out to men the sure & certain road to eternal happiness—

Bought 150 shirts which I mean to stow away with Osnaburgh sufficient to make as many trousers to distribute to those who may stand most to need. Not a soul is acquainted with this in Halifax, except Mr. Hartshorne, for I want Government to give these people as much as they intend, and then when we get into warm weather, their rags and old clothes, I mean to throw overboard, to prevent infection, and make them a present of those, in lieu—

Wrote the following letter to the President of the Council—

Sir/

> From the relative situation we are placed in, with respect to the Free Blacks, we think it our duty respectfully to represent to you Sir, the misera- plight a great number of them are in, for want of clothes, several of them are literally naked, and to request that you will take the same, into your immediate consideration, and afford such relief, as to you may appear necessary & proper—We are further induced to make this application from the late Governor,[201] having signified

to us, it was his intention to afford such clothing as was necessary for the preservation of their lives—

We are Sir &c.
J Clarkson) Agents to the
(Sierra Leone Company
L Hartshorne)
The Hon[ble] Richard Bulkeley President of the Council—

December 14th — As usual received a great deal of Company—At eleven went to the Annapolis Barracks & began to take a general muster of the people there, from thence called upon Mr. Wallace and found he had engaged two or three vessels, in my opinion, not calculated so well as others, in the Harbour, and stated candidly to him my feelings on the subject, declaring that as I had embarked in the business from motives of conscience, and as I was fully acquainted with the instructions of Government relative to my mission, I was determined to reprobate any transaction, which did not appear agreeable to the spirit, of the instructions sent out by the Secretary of State—This put Mr. Wallace into a most violent passion, and caused him to make use of language, highly unbecoming, but too contemptible for me to take any notice of to him, I soon after left him and waited upon the Attorney General & Mr. Putnam and consulted with them, what I had best do, to induce him to become more pliable; they advised me to lay the business before the Council tomorrow—

I was so much fatigued and so very ill with anxiety, that I was obliged to go to bed, for two hours after dinner, but as I had promised the people in the Annapolis Barracks to call and finish taking down their names this evening, I did not like to disappoint them, and therefore got up at the appointed time, but was so ill, that I could only make them an apology for not performing my promise, I did this to convince them that it was my wish to be punctual, and that therefore I should expect the same from them besides, I told them that if I ever promised, I was sure to keep my word, let what would happen except indisposition

In the evening Mr. Putnam and Mr. Wickham called upon me, had a short conversation with them, afterwards wrote letters to Mr. Thornton, by the way of New York—

Received the following letter from the President of the Council in answer to our letter of the 13th instant—

Gentlemen/

I have received your letter concerning clothes for the Black people who shall be in want of them, and I am to acquaint you that Mr. Wallace has already had directions in regard to it.

I am Gentlemen
Your most obed[t] servant.
Richard Bulkeley—

December 14th 1791—

Wrote the following note to Mr. Wallace—

Mr. Clarkson begs leave to inform Mr. Wallace, that the vessel which brought stores from Government is under no engagement whatever, that she is a vessel of 256 Tons (Register) and in his opinion better calculated to carry the Free Blacks from hence to Sierra Leone than any vessel in the Harbour (unengaged) that she will certainly sail from hence in the course of 36 hours, if she should hear of a freight—

Mr. Clarkson cannot help mentioning likewise, the number of Free Blacks, now in Halifax and the neighbourhood, and those expected in the course of 24 hours viy, 521 Shelburne, 99 Annapolis & Digby, and 220 Preston & Halifax— These are below the real number, besides Mr. Hartshorne has by this nights post received information from Annapolis that better than 200 are now on their way from that place, these added to the number sent from Shelburne will amount to more than eleven hundred Souls—Mr C is convinced he shall be able to report to the President of Nova Scotia that twelve hundred will actually embark, should all the vessels arrive that he has received account of; this makes him rather uneasy, fearing Mr. Wallace will not be able to procure vessels to carry the whole, at the Tonnage allowed by Government, and Mr C mentions it, that proper steps may be taken accordingly

Mr. Wallace
Decr 14th 1791

Decr 15th Wrote the following note to the President of the Council—

Mr. Clarkson presents his most respectful compliments to Mr. Bulkeley and will esteem it a favour if he will allow him the honour of paying his respects to him previous to his attending the Council—

Thursday morning December 15th 1791 — At eleven called upon him by appointment, and stated to him the behaviour of Mr. Wallace. He seemed much hurt and greatly surprised, and requested me to write him a letter on the Subject and he would lay it before the Council

I told him I had no other view in my application to him than to expedite the business I was upon, with the greatest dispatch & frugality to Government, and with strict justice to all parties, that I was ready to receive & forgive every insult offered to me, sooner than that the business should be delayed, and as Mr. Wallace had taken up nearly all the ships, and had bought up provisions from probably 20 different people, I should

be sorry to have anything done that might irritate him, and probably induce him to give me his resignation, that he was a man of business, and calculated, for what he had undertaken to perform, and all I requested was that he should not take offence at questions, I felt it my duty to put to him, when I was to have all the trouble & anxiety attending the wants and comforts of 1200 people, in a Country far distant from the probability of succour of any kind—Therefore suggested to him the propriety of having some kind Tribunal appointed to expedite the business, to attend to the general embarkation, and to be always ready for all parties to refer to, who might feel, it necessary to ask for explanations &c—

The President, Mr. Bulkeley, promised he would attend to my suggestions, and after paying me many compliments, he said, he was convinced, and he knew it to be the opinion of the whole Province, that I had conducted myself through out the whole business with the greatest candour and propriety &c—he begged me to be ready, and he would send for me when they were all met in Council—

I cannot help mentioning every particular, as I know this business must be attended with an immense expence, and people at home, may think that I have been enticing these people to leave the Province, therefore I feel it right to record the opinions of leading men, as a justification of my Conduct—

Having quitted Mr. Bulkeley, I met the Attorney General and Dr Halliburton[202] going to the Council—I informed them of the nature of my interview with the President, and requested them to speak to Mr. Wallace privately on the subject and endeavoured to impress upon them what it was necessary for him to know—

The Council met, and everything was conducted there in the manner I wished—As soon as they broke up the Attorney General was desired to wait upon me & Mr. Wallace singly to inform us of the resolutions the Council had taken—He afterwards told me that the whole Council commended my behaviour throughout and condemned Mr. Wallace's warmth—I am glad I occasioned this little bustle, as it was necessary and will tend greatly to forward the business, and that in a way consistent with the orders from Government—Soon after the Attorney General left me, I received the following Minute of Council—

> The Council December 15th 1791.
>
> The Council advised that Messrs Brymer, Cochrane, and Blowers, be a Committee to inspect the embarkation of the Black people, and their accommodation on board the vessels, and to expedite with all convenient speed their departure, while the season remains favourable, and to provide what allowance of clothing, it may be necessary to afford such as are destitute—
>
> By order of the Council
> James Gautier,[203] Clerk.

Believing that everything was now put in a fair train, for bringing the business to a speedy & happy conclusion, all parties concerned, were requested to meet the new Committee, at Mr. Brymer's house—

On Mr. Wallace entering the room, I met him at the door, and shook him by the hand, and afterward addressed the whole of my conversation to him in the same free way I formerly did, and after inquiring into the state of the business at large, and every necessary order having been given to expedite the work, in every department, I took my leave of the Committee, but not before I had spoken my mind freely to the Speaker of the House of Assembly concerning a report, which he and some Gentlemen of this place, have been busy in circulating, viy, that an Epidemic disorder prevailed amongst the Blacks assembled here, and that they intended to set fire to the town—

Dined with Mr. Hartshorne, and as I felt much fatigued both in body & mind I indulged myself, in taking tea, and spending the evening at Mr. Blowers', where I met a very pleasant Lady party

December 15th — Breakfasted with Mr. Hartshorne—At 9 visited the different Store Houses containing the Free Blacks, and made myself acquainted with the quantity of luggage belonging to each family, with the situation of each as to the clothing &c—This I did in such a way as enabled me to come at the truth without giving any one the least suspicion that it was my intention to give them a single article of clothing—I desired the whole, to have all their things packed up, by Monday next, and to put a cross upon the Chest belonging to each family, which contained their clothing, because I would give orders for all those with crosses upon them, to be stowed away, so as to be easily got at every week or fortnight as circumstances might occur, desiring at the same time, all those who had had changes of clothes, to take them out of their box and keep them in a bag, so as to cause as little trouble as possible during the voyage—

Finished taking an account of 300 this morning, afterwards attended by Mess[rs] Hartshorne & Wallace, inspected into the beef & pork contracted for the use of the voyage; it appeared very good, but had not time to look at the whole—Gave several orders respecting the shipping—Plagued to death with the numberless complaints—Dined at Dr. Allmans,[204] drank tea & spent the evening with Dr. Halliburton—Came home and employed writing till one in the morning—

December 17th — Inspected into the remainder of the Beef & Pork, breakfasted with Mr. Hartshorne—

A schooner arrived from Annapolis with 80 people on board, provided places to receive them, and gave orders for their landing immediately —finished taking an account of all the Annapolis people—Gave orders about colours for signal painting Guns, putting the provisions on board the different vessels Secured the vessel which brought stores from Government (the Eleanor)[205] which I had pointed out to Mr. Wallace—Employed running about to settle disputes, making calculations respecting those who

wanted clothes—Dined with Mr. Tremaine, and in the evening tried my Sky Rockets Tank fires &c, and found them to answer very well, got the Poop Lanthorn fixed with its appendages The following Bill of Fare was submitted to the consideration of the Council and approved by them—

Bill of Fare

Daily Breakfast

4 oz Rice or 8 oz Indian meal with ½ Gill of Molasses or ½ oz Brown Sugar

Dinner

1 lb Salt Fish & 1 oz butter with 2 lbs Potatoes 4 day in the week 1 lb Beef or ¾ lb Pork with ½ Pint Pease on Pork days & 1 lb Bread with Turnips on Beef Days—3 days in the week—

Supper

4 oz Rice or 8 oz Indian Meal with ½ Gill Molases or ½ oz Brown Sugar

The above a man's or woman's full allowance—Supposing a 1000 Blacks embark for Sierra Leone, and that 600 of them are 16 years of age & upwards and 400 under 16, the following provisions will be necessary for 12 weeks allowance, admitting that all those under 16 years of age, have only half the allowance of Grown men & women

1200 Bushels Potatoes	120 Bushels Rice
300 Bushels Turnips	22400 lb Indian Meal
45,000 lbs Bread	2100 Gallons Molasses
38000 lbs Fish	12,600 lbs Brown Sugar
2400 lbs Butter	600 Gallons Vinegar
9800 lbs Pork	tea and wine for the Sick
14,500 lbs Beef	

December 18th — This morning obliged to continue mustering the people to find out their situation with respect to clothing, by four in the afternoon finished all in the neighbourhood of Halifax, amounting to upwards of 700 Souls—Dined with Mr. Tremaine and in the evening went to Mr. Marchinton's Meeting House,[206] to hear him address the Blacks. The whole of his discourse was well adapted to the occasion, but I have no time to enter into particulars, came home in the evening & employed writing & c—

December 19th — Met the Committee of Council at Mr. Brymer's, and had a long conversation respecting the Shipping already taken up & various other business. As the Sierra Leone was reported to be out of repair, and could not be got ready for a fortnight, it was thought most prudent not to engage her, but positively to engage the Eleanor, which before was only conditionally determined—I particularly talked about my own commission—Went to Mr. Bulkeleys office and took down the names that had been stuck up for the last few weeks, agreeable to an act of the Province—Gave orders for all the Free Blacks in this neighbourhood to be

victualled from this day—Visited the different Barracks, found all well, returned home and at six o'clock in the evening, fifteen Captains of vessels engaged to carry the Free Blacks came to drink wine with me—Had a long conversation with them relative to the course, we should steer, & what I should do in various situations, cautioned them to be very circumspect relative to cleanliness, and likewise not to be harsh with the poor Blacks In the course of our conversation, I introduced my signals, and to make them thoroughly understood, I got all the flags drawn upon separate pieces of paper numbered them, and placed them one above another according to the signals intended to be made—They all told me they fully comprehended them, and that they were very simple—Towards the close of the evening, one of them made a proposal which was, that they should all stand up, fill every man his bumper, & then drink the Commodore's[207] health, with three cheers, this they did, with not a little noise—At one in the morning they left me, and I went to bed, rather exhausted with the exertions of the evening—

December 20th — My room continually full from eight to eleven—At that time I went to Mr. Brymer's to meet the Committee, appointed to expedite the business. Visited all the shipping, from thence went to the Ordnance office & examined all the guns, stores & c, I was to receive from that department—Gave several orders on board the Lucretia; perplexed with numberless applications—Dined & spent the evening at Mr. Dights—The whole of the company remarked the decent orderly behaviour of the people here; passed a very agreeable evening—

At ten at night it began to snow, hail and rain, and appears as if winter was likely to set in—

Received the following petition from the inhabitants of Birch Town—

> To the Honorable Mr. Clarkson Agent of the Sierra Leone Society—
> Whereas a number of us formerly were inhabitants of Birch Town, near Shelburne Nova Scotia, but now intending under inspection to embark for Sierra Leone would therefore humbly solicit that on our arrival, you will be pleased to settle us as near as possible to the inhabitants of Preston, as they and us are intimately acquainted, so in order to render us unanimous, would be glad to be as nearly connected as possible, when the tract or tracts of land shall be laid out. Humbly relying upon your interest in this matter and in compliance with this request will be bound to pray—The inhabitants of Birch Town—

December 21st — Wrote a few lines to Mr. Thornton—Called to take leave of the Admiral—The Sierra Leone upset along side of wharf in consequence of a hard gale of wind, and all her ballast being out, but fortunately she was got up again with little or no damage—Employed the whole of this day in forwarding the business in all its various branches—

Departed this life—Wilkinson, a middle aged woman, her death was occasioned by a miscarriage on board one of the vessels coming from Shelburne, here, this death affects me much—Dined with Mr. Marchinton, and drank tea with Mrs[208] and Miss Newton, returned home in the evening, and busy writing till one in the morning—

December 22nd — Busy all the morning in getting part of my Stock on board the Lucretia—Visited the different stores and all the shipping to hurry them as much as possible—Dined with Mr. Cochrane;[209] upon my return home Peters met me by appointment to arrange the people on board the vessel, he intended to go in—I was extremely mortified and distressed at the behaviour of Peters this evening I can only attribute it to his ignorance—I could not possibly enable him comprehend how necessary it was for regularity and subordination on board the ships, he still persisted in his obstinacy; he vexed me extremely and I went to bed, much indisposed—

December 23rd — At eight this morning visited Mr. Cochrane's Brig Betsey[210] and gave orders respecting the manner of fitting up the Berths—The whole of this day entirely employed in getting on board my stock, medicine chests & c, visited the different stores—

Received the following Petition from all the people assembled here—

Halifax—December 23rd 1791

> The humble petition of the Black people, humbly beg that if it is convenient to your Honour, as it is the last Christmas Day we shall ever see in America, that it may please your Honour to grant us, our day's allowance of Fresh Beef for a Christmas dinner, if it is agreeable to you, and the rest of the gentlemen, to whom it may concern
>
> Thomas Peters
> David Edmon[211]
>
> In behalf of the Black People at Halifax bound for Sierra Leone—

As the people here have hitherto conducted themselves, not only to my mind, but to the satisfaction of the whole town, I promised them, as a reward for their good behaviour, that I should order the whole to have fresh Beef on Christmas Day—This pleased them very much—Distributed clothes to those immediately in want—Busy about the Signals—dined with Mr. Hartshorne—visited the Lucretia—At half past 7 Mr. Wallace, Mr. Hartshorne and myself came home and began to arrange the people & their baggage, to go on board the different ships; Settled sufficient to fill the Venus, Parr, Mary & Beaver:[212] parted at 12 o'clock—

December 24th — At eight this morning mustered the men I had previously settled to go into particular Ships—Ordered all their baggage on board Was greatly teazed in arranging them. one wished to go with one family, and another with another—In the midst of our hurry the

General[213] ordered all the vessels from the Government Wharf, without I am sure one justifiable reason, I suppose it was because I had not paid him the compliment of asking his permission for them to remain there; however this business prevented the people from getting their things on board, and by this delay, I am sure Government will lose from £150 to £200. At 4 o'clock the luggage belonging to the Venus and Beaver was all safe on board—ordered fires in each of those vessels to air the bed places 'tween decks, ready to receive the people—

Dined with Mr. McIntire[214] and at seven returned home, and engaged till 12 o'clock in writing out my signals & c—The order given by the General Commanding the Army here has been attended with great inconvenience and loss to Government, independent of the misery the poor Blacks are exposed to, from being obliged at this inclement season of the year, to go off to the vessels in boats from the Transports, having been obliged to quit the Government Wharf—If I had had the least suspicion of giving offence, I would have called upon the General, or done anything which etiquette required, but as the Wharfs belonged to Government, I had not the least idea, but that the ships were entitled to lay alongside, and that matters had been arranged by Mr. Wallace with the proper departments, or I would have got the President to settle the business with the General—

But I am sorry to observe how little the interest of Government is attended to, even by those whose conduct ought to be influenced by the highest feelings of Honour & Patriotism—

December 25th — Several people called upon me this morning—At eleven went to church, received the Sacrament The Bishop[215] administered the bread and the Rector[216] the wine. I was gratified at having this opportunity of attending at the Altar, as I shall not in all probability have another for some time, for life is very uncertain, and particularly where I am going, and more so when I consider the weighty charge which will occasion me the greatest anxiety of mind—It therefore is particularly pleasing to me that I have had this opportunity of gratifying my feelings previous to my voyage—From thence went on board the admiral's[217] ship to inform him I intended to hoist my pendant tomorrow, and that I should scale my guns either on Tuesday or Wednesday—Called upon two or three of our sick people, and was happy to find them somewhat better, particularly my friend David George The weather very cold—Dined with Mr. Hartshorne and spent the day with him—

December 26th — This morning at daylight hoisted my Pendant on board the Lucretia—At eight visited the Beaver, Venus, Mary & Parr, to see if proper fires were burning to air the vessels—

Mr. Hartshorne returned to breakfast with me—Settled some disputes—Plagued as usual, Took a walk with Mr. Cochrane, to visit part of his premises, which he had kindly allotted for the use of my poultry—Made out the list of the Preston people, and appointed them to go on board

the Eleanor[218] of 270 Tons, with part of the Halifax people—This vessel will contain the flower of the Black people—Had a conversation with Messrs Blowers & Newton relative to the embarkation,and settled some business with Mr. Wallace—Dined with Mr. Hartshorne and at six, visited several of the vessels, to see that the people were punctual to their duty—Drank tea at Mr. Hartshornes and at eight met, by appointment, several of the Captains of the different Companies, and fixed upon the number to go on board the Somerset, Prince William Henry, Brothers,[219] and Felicity; made out all the lists for the above vessels, and arranged them according to the Tonnage, and gave the Captain of each Company a complete list of all those intended to embark with them, with positive orders that all the Companies must be ready to embark, having all their clothes perfectly clean, at any time after two hours notice—At 12 began to write a fair copy of Signals, and at one went to bed—Received this day the following Petitions, and a letter desiring me to deliver up Nathaniel Snowball[220] for debt Delivered him up accordingly although it is my intention to pay the debt of the Free Blacks—I dare not make it public at present, as I should be liable to great imposition

> To John Clarkson Esqre Agent for the Sierra Leone Company and a Lieutnt in the Royal Navy—The Memorial of us the Black people of Preston, humbly sheweth that your Memorialists hath got some Pots & Beds, and sundry other things, which are too heavy for us to carry five or six miles upon our heads, we therefore hope you will be pleased to order carts, or sledges, whichever may be most convenient, when the time comes to remove us, and we shall, as in duty bound, forever pray—
>
> To John Clarkson Esqre Agent for the Sierra Leone Company and Lieutenant in His Majesty's Royal Navy—
>
> The Petition of us whose names are under-written humbly Sheweth, That your Petitioners hath lived neighbours in the Township of Preston between six & seven years, and are all united together and are well acquainted with each other, and our Petition is, that you will be pleased to settle us altogether on our lands at Sierra Leone without being intermixed with strangers, and your Petitioners, as in duty bound shall ever pray—
>
> John Stobo
> Saml Eliot
> Robt Mower
> Francis Roberts
> Prince Murray
> George Saunders
> Sebe Barnett
> Thos Cato
> Andrew Moore[221]
> Crispin Dewitte
> Jonas Brutus
> Cuffee Preston
> Thos Richards
> Henry Morris
> Richard Webb
> George Stephens

Wm Bell	Caesar Smith
Willm McDonald	Smart Fuller
Abraham Moore	Adam Abernatha
Thos Bryan	Jemh Riggie
Sippio Yearman	Dydimus Murkley
Robt Goshall	Lazaras Jones
Thos Saunders	Joseph Saunders
Tony Eliot	British Freedom
Somerset Logan	James Sestor
Shirley Kanty	Tobias Hames
Saml Williams[222]	Samson Baker

Richard Williams

December 27th — All this morning running about to see that the different work-people were industrious—Gave orders for the Captains of the different Companies, to send proper people on board their respective vessels, to attend the fires made in the 'tween decks for drying the berths—Distracted with Petitions of various kinds—It is impossible for me to walk the streets three yards without meeting some one who is in great distress, asking me to lend them money to give them a shirt, shift & c. Dined with Mr. Hartshorne—Fitted the Beaver with her full complement of men; in the evening visited some of the sick people, and employed arranging them on board their different ships—

December 28th — Could not get out of my house till near one o'clock from the number of people continually coming in—I dread what anxiety and trouble I shall have in fixing these people on our arrival in Africa, every body seems negligent on board the vessels, I no sooner leave them than they forget everything I have been desiring them to do; in short I find myself so ill by four in the afternoon, that I am sometimes inclined to let them do as they please; sooner than injure my health, particularly when I consider that most of my anxiety, is on account of the heavy expence to Government every day the vessels are detained here—

At 5 dined with Mr. Tremaine, and at eight appointed all the Captains of the Companies to meet me this evening—

This morning 180 people arrived from Saint John's—Ordered them to form themselves into Companies, and their respective Captains to meet me this evening—At half past two in the morning, I settled the lists of near 1200 of them on board their respective ships, and I hope to the satisfaction of nine tenths of them

December 29th — At eight this morning breakfasted with Mr. Blowers the Attorney General, went on board all the ships, at least three times each during the day, and was much hurt to find that neither the Captains or owners, paid any attention to the drying of the vessels, though Mr. Hartshorne & I particularly desired them the preceding day; this displeased me much, as the vessels are only detained for want of the berths being dried, and it appears that the Merchants here wish to delay them—Dined with

Mr. Hartshorne at eight, met all the Captains of the different Companies & c—issued out orders for their general behaviour & discipline—The Free Blacks have hitherto conducted themselves to the satisfaction of everyone in this town—As I felt myself extremely fatigued with business, I indulged myself this evening after ten with a party of young ladies at Mr. Hartshorne's—

December 30th — This morning wrote two letters to the President of the Council copies of which are as follows—

To the Right Honorable Richard Bulkeley, President of His Majesty's Council, Commander in Chief & c

Sir/

Apprehending as we do, that the present embarkation of Black people for Sierra Leone, is more imperfect, on account of the number of people going than we expected either by Government or the Company, and feeling it a duty encumbent on us, to represent to you, whatever appears necessary for the safety of those people, we think it proper respectfully to inform you, that if they should prove sick on the voyage, it would be impossible for Mr. Taylor the Company's Surgeon, to attend to many in a manner that appears to us necessary for their general safety, we therefore submit to you whether if an assistant Surgeon could be had, it would not be complying with the intentions of Government, in the *Complete accommodation* of those people—We have further to observe, that there is (as Mr. T informs us) plenty of Medicine in the Company's chest, for the purpose without any additional expense on that account, we therefore respectfully submit it to your consideration, whether such an appointment be necessary or not and remain with due respect

Your most humble Servants
John Clarkson) Agents for the
Law[ce] Hartshorne) Sierra Leone Company

Halifax December 30 1791

Sir/

As the vessels bound for Sierra Leone will be ready to sail the beginning of the ensuing week, and as you have done me the honor to appoint me, to conduct them, I am desirous of being informed how I am to act in the various Situations I may be thrown into, in consequence of having such a Command—

First I wish to know what I am to do with the vessels, should it happen that one or more of us are obliged to put into a foreign Port from distress, and secondly how are the

different articles, allowed by Government for the better keeping together of the Fleet, and for the accommodation of the Free Blacks, to be disposed of upon our arrival at Sierra Leone, such as the boards which form the berths for each family, the wind sails for the ships, the provisions of every kind which may be left after our arrival, the sauce, rum, vinegar & c which may not be expended, Signal Lanthorns amounting to four Poop lanthorns, provisions casks, Signal flags amounting to three, with four Pendants & c, in short the most trifling articles which Government has been at the expense of furnishing—

I remain Sir, with the greatest respect
Your most obedient Servant
John Clarkson--

To the Honorable Richard Bulkeley—

Visited all the Barracks and ships gave orders for the long boats of each ship to be over at Dartmouth by Eight o'clock tomorrow morning, to bring over the baggage of the Preston people, found the ships in a damp State, and the Captains & Owners as usual negligent—

At five dined with Mr. Belcher;[223] the generality of people there, seemed to think, that our business would not succeed, but as they have been used to Slavery all their lives, and probably prejudiced against the measure, I did not wonder at their conversation—

December 31st — This morning I received the under-written letter from the President of the Council, & gave the following receipt for Ordnance Stores

Halifax December 13th 1791

Sir/

It having been represented to the late Lieutenant Governor of this Province by the Right Honorable Henry Dundas, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, that Lieutenant Clarkson of the Royal Navy, is appointed to conduct such Black people residing here as are willing to go and settle at Sierra Leone

And he having represented to me that the number of vessels which will be under the Convoy, will amount to sixteen, which will require frequent Signals, especially during the night as well as at othertimes and for other Services that may arise during the voyage—

And that four Carriage Guns, either three or four pounders, with as much Gunpowder and Ball, as will amount to 50 rounds a gun, with a small proportion of Muskets, together

with the several other appendages necessary thereunto, will be required for said services.

You are therefore hereby, required and directed, to issue out of His Majesty's Stores, the aforesaid, Guns, Arms and Ammunition, taking his receipt for the same, and engaging himself, upon his arrival at Sierra Leone, to deliver the Guns and arms, together with the Stores, that may remain, to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or the person in chief command of the Settlement for His Majesty's Service—I am Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

Richard Bulkeley

James Morden Esq[re]

A proportion of Ordnance & Stores for Lieutenant Clarkson of the Royal Navy is required and directed in the forgoing letter

Ordnance—From—3 Pndrs	4
Ship Carriages complete 5 Pndrs	4
Aprons of Lead—Large	4
Boxes for—(Tubes	1
(Case	2
Bayonets	10
Belts for Cartouch Boxes	10
Breechings—3½ inch	5
Chests—Laboratory	1
Crows of Tron—4½ Feet	4
Cases of Wood—3 Pndrs	4
Cartouch boxes—Musket	10
Cartridges—(Empty 3 Pners (Flannel	
(Paper	
(Paper with Ball (Musket	
(Carbine	
Flints—Musket	500
Frogs for Bayonets	10
Flammers—Claws	1
Hand crow levers—5 Feet	6
Horns—Powder	4

Hoops—Copper H B		20
Trunk—CW^{r}		2
Irons—Pruning		8
Lades with Staves—3 Pndrs		2
Locks—Pad		1
Muskets—Ships Company Black		10
Match Slow—lbs		28
Marline—Skeins		1
Measure—Copper—3 Pndrs		1
Powder Corn'd—	(lbs	65
	HB 45 lbs	4
Port fires	(Dozens	1
Punches for vents		2
Sheep skins		2
Shot—3 Pndrs	(Bound loose	150
	(Case fixed to Wood bottoms	50
Sponges with Staves—3 Pndrs		4
Scabbards for Bayonets		10
Sponge Tacks		200
Sticks—Portfire		1
Tompions for Guns—3 Pndrs		6
Thimbles double for Breech Gun to run through 4 & 3 Pndrs		4
Tubes fixed		50
Tackles complete with blocks & hooks 1½ Inch		9
Wad hooks with Staves—3 Pndrs		2
Worsted—lb		½

Office of Ordnance
Halifax 31 December 1791

Received of James Morden Esq^{re}—

Ordnance Storekeeper, the before named Ordnance & Stores, agreeable to my representation to Richard Bulkeley Esq^{re}—

Commander in Chief of the Province of Nova Scotia, and his order for the delivery there of, And I hereby engage myself to deliver the Guns, Carriages and what stores may remain, when my voyage with the Black people is ended to the person in Chief Command at Sierra Leone for His Majesty's Service
Witness John Clarkson

Attested

James Spry Heaton[224]

James Morden

Employed all this morning in hearing disputes and deciding upon them— The weather uncommonly fine; it really appears as if Providence favours the place, for since my arrival here, we have experienced the most pleasant mild weather, such as the oldest inhabitant never witnessed before—Visited all the ships, the Captains & Owners still negligent in drying the berths, in spite of everything I can urge for the necessity of it, the consequences will be, not only detention of the whole, at an enormous expence to Government, but I fear the people's health will be greatly affected by it—I still feel myself very much indisposed—Dined with Mr. Sterns,[225] in the evening called upon Mr. Stuart[226] to read over the Charter Parties, returned home, wrote for two hours, and passed the remainder of the evening at Dr. Boggs,[227] parted at two in the morning, having taken a happy farewell of the old year—

January 1st 1792 — A little before eight this morning, thirty of the Black people going to Sierra Leone, came to my door, with each of them a gun to salute me, and wish me many happy returns of the day; as I am obliged to be very circumspect in my conduct, I thought it most prudent to desire them to go down to the Wharf, when they might salute there— This morning at breakfast, I was informed that one of our women Mrs Fennel had been delivered of twins and was doing well. After this intelligence, the most distressing account was brought me of one of our people being suffocated on board the Somerset through carelessness; this man whose name was Thomas Miles, was of the age of thirty-six, a hearty, Stout, industrious, good man—I want words to express my anger & distress upon this occasion, but it is out of my power to help myself, for I cannot call the Captains or any of the men to account, as the Charter Parties are not yet signed, and I have reason to believe, some of the people, whose vessels will go with me, will raise objections when they come to the last push, thinking that as there are no other vessels in the Harbour, which could be got ready in the course of a fortnight, they may demand & do what they please—

This morning, prayers at S^{t} Paul's were offered up to Almighty God, for a safe voyage to the Fleet, bound for Sierra Leone, and thanks given for the fortunate passage made by the different vessels with Free Blacks on board, from the different Out-Ports—Dined with Mr. Wallace,

at nine returned home, employed in writing till past one in the morning, preparing instructions & c for the Fleet—

January 2nd — This morning, accompanied by Mr. Hartshorne, visited every ship in the Harbour—The weather the most pleasant ever known—Took a family dinner with Mr. Hartshorne, and at eight, according to appointment, met at my own house the Black Captains of all the Companies to the amount of nearly forty people—Employed myself till past one in the morning fixing the number of clothes wanted by each family—against their names in each list—Gave several orders, particularly for the first six vessels hired by Government to put off from the Wharf & anchor in the Stream

Received the following letters

Halifax January 2nd 1792—

Sir

His Majesty's Council having referred us to your letter to the President, of the 30th of December requesting that an Assistant Surgeon to the one sent out by the Sierra Leone Company may be appointed and sent with the Fleet from hence, we are instructed to inform you that the President would be happy to comply with your request, from a conviction of the utility of such a seasure, but His Majesty's principal Secretary of State not having authorized the incurring of any such expence on the part of Government, the Council cannot advise it, nor the President, take upon him to incur any additional cost to Government on that account. We are Gentlemen

Your Most obedient Servants

Alexander Brymer) Committee

Thomas Cockrane) of

S S Blowers) Council

Mr. John Clarkson

and

Mr. Lawrence Hartshorne

Halifax January 2nd 1792

Sir/

His Majesty's Council having referred your letter to the President, of the 30th ult^{mo} to us, as their Committee for superintending the embarkation of the Black people destined for Sierra Leone, requesting to be informed, what you are to do as Agent of the Fleet, with any of the vessels that may

be obliged to put in a foreign Port in distress, and also how you are to dispose of the Property of Government, that may be put on board for the use or accommodation of the Passengers, or vessels, after their arrival at Sierra Leone—

In answer to the first inquiry we are instructed to say that you will receive a commission or warrant from the President to act as Agent for the Fleet, together with a copy of the Charter Party entered into with the owners of the vessels, and you must use your best discretion in all emergencies, that may happen after you leave this Port, for the safety of the Passengers and the good of the voyage—

As to the Second inquiry, you will see that by the Charter Party the Master of each vessel is obliged to deliver over to you at Sierra Leone, all the Provisions and property that may be then unexpended belonging to Government, which you will dispose of for Government, as you may judge best at your arrival

We are Sir

Your most obedient Serv^{t}—

Alexander Brymer

Thomas Cockrane

S S Blowers

Mr. John Clarkson

January 3rd — From eight in the morning till four in the afternoon I was not able to quit my house, from numberless people constantly crowding in—Found myself extremely faint and my spirits were not in the least heightened at the news of another poor fellow having lost his life, but this was from sickness: his name was Lot Slaine[228]—Went on board the Lucretia and called on board the different vessels, to settle complaints respecting the manner of receiving the people as well as their luggage—Took a family dinner with Mr. Hartshorne to talk over the business generally—At eight by appointment met all the Captains of the different Companies, and began, with the assistance of Mr. Hartshorne to make out the Certificates, for every individual, that he might receive the proper proportions of land, agreeable to the proposals of the Company—Went to bed at half past one—

January 4th — This morning received the following letter from Mr. Marchinton—

Dear Sir

I take the liberty to give you a hint of my opinion in regard to Lotting out the land to the people at Sierra Leone, viz Take 15 in number, or more, according as they are in

Companies, and begin at that part of land you intend to make the first settlement, calling it No 1 & so on to 15 or more according as you divide your Companies, and let every Captain draw for himself and Company, and he that draws Lot No 1 shall contain lands for that whole Company, and the following numbers in same manner, after that I conceive the people will be better satisfied for the people in every Company to draw amongst themselves—I think the Church School and burying Ground, should be lotted out first in such parts as may be found most useful—But I suppose you will have Town Lots laid out according to the Harbour—This you will be best judge of—The sooner the people is put on their lands the better—I cannot tell what more to say on the matter—Sincerely wishing you a good passage to Sierra Leone, and a quick return to your friends in London

I remain with my best wishes

Your most obedient Servant

Philip Marchinton

Employed, visiting the different vessels and running over the town to get charcoal for the different pots, to dry the decks and Bed places—The greatest part of the Free Blacks, on board their different vessels—Teazed as usual to such a degree, that it occasions me to speak cross to the people, when they make their applications—This upon reflection hurts me much, and makes me quite ashamed of myself, but on the other hand it is vexing to have at least one hundred applications daily, of the most trivial nature, when I have it not in my power to gratify them, or if I had I dare not tell them so, fearing the consequence; but God knows, their applications are from extreme misery and want—

Took a family dinner with Mr. Hartshorne, and in the evening appointed the different Captains of the Companies to meet me, to assist me in making out their certificates. Employed till past one, wrote out my night signals and at two went to bed—Received a letter from Peters, complaining that Mr. Sheriff Clark,[229] had taken a man out of one of the ships for debt

January 5th — All this morning employed as before in looking after the ships—At four dined with Mr. Hartshorne and at six met by appointment the different Black Captains, at nine dressed and went to the Assembly, returned at 12 and went to bed—

January 6th — This morning people calling upon me as usual with numberless wants, kept me in my room till five o'clock—Dined with Mr. John Grant, returned home early in the evening and employed myself in making out a form of weekly account & arranging my papers & c—

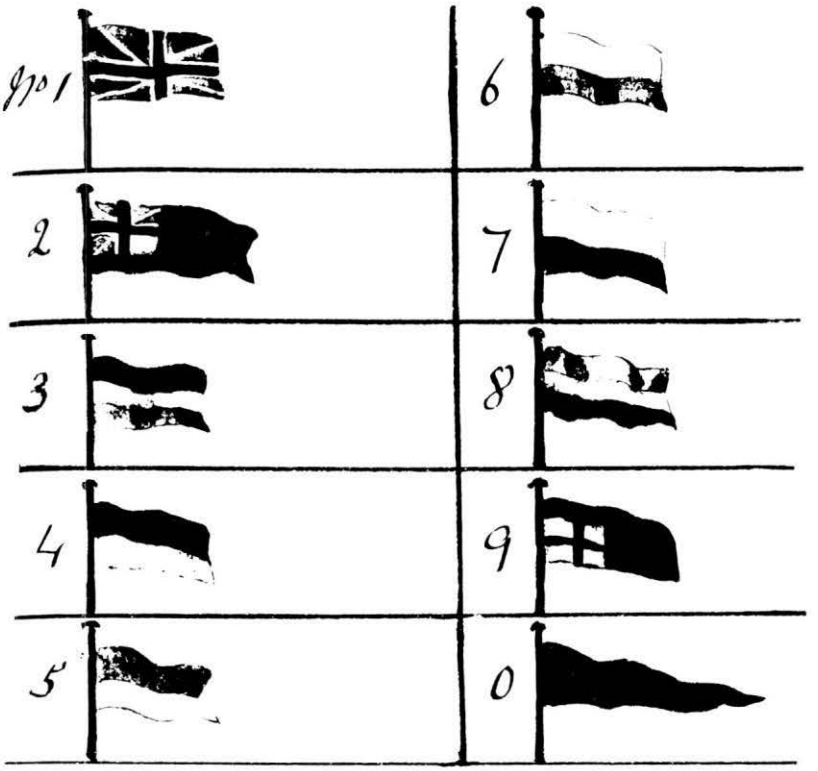
January 7th — This morning busy in packing up my clothes, and

sending them on board the Lucretia—The Attorney General[230] and Collector[231] called upon me this morning, the latter with the Register Tonnage of each ship from the Custom House—By four in the afternoon, got everything on board and dined afloat for the first time—Received a letter from Peters desiring me to pay a bill for him to Mr. Sheriff Clark—Received my Commission to command the Expedition from the President of the Province, agreeable to the instructions from the Secretary of State—Attended at Mr. Wallace's to meet the owners of the different Transports, to see them sign the Charter Party of Affreightment, between them and the Government, took this opportunity of suggesting to them the necessity of their giving private instructions to their different Captains to pay proper attention to the terms of their agreement, more particularly as to the behaviour of the Captains to the Free Blacks, their zealous attention to all orders received from me for the comfort and health of the Passengers and their best endeavours to keep Company with each other during the voyage—After the agreements were signed the different Captains met at my house, when I explained and delivered to each of them, the signals I had formed for the guidance of Transports during the voyage—In the course of the day the Bishop called upon me and gave me a Sermon, which was intended to have been delivered at Digby to the Free Blacks going to Sierra Leone, by the Rev[d] Mr. Viets[232] Missionary at Digby, but they having embarked, sooner than was expected, the Bishop presented it to me In the evening called upon Mr. Hartshorne and supped with Mr. Wallace to talk over the business of the day, and to suggest matters for his consideration—

A copy of the Charter Party, will appear in the Appendix, as well as the Signals for the different Ships also the Sermon given me by the Bishop

The following is a copy of the Tonnage of the shipping delivered to me by the Collector of the Customs—

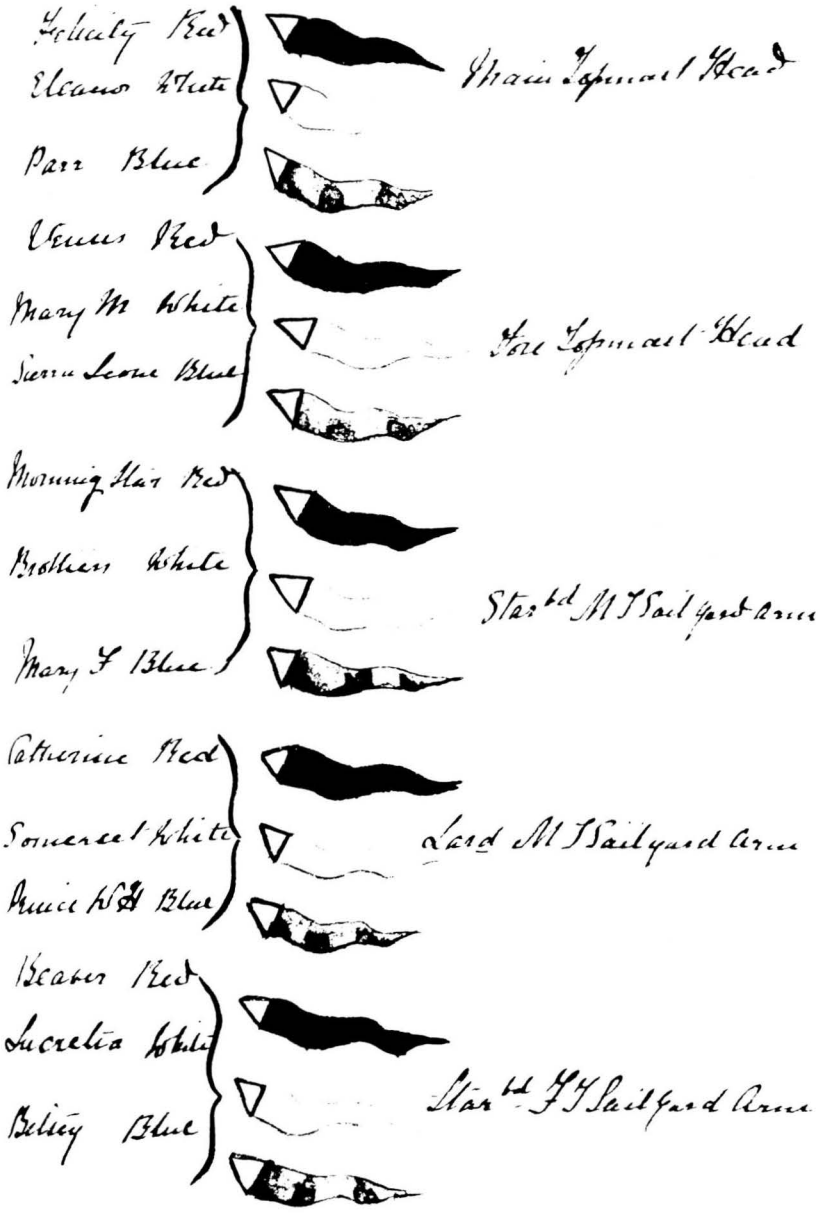
Vessels	Owners	Tons by Register	Tons as hired
Ship Venus	Mess.rs Cochrane	167	200
Scow		170	174
Brig Betsy		79	74
Beaver	Wallace	60	80
Mary	Fairwaine	135	158
Sch.r Juliety		96	84
Ship Sierra Leone	Dickson	200	225
Brig Lucretia	Starbuck	120	135
Somerset		122	105
Mary	Folger	82	93
Ships Eleanor	Isaac Sons & Co	256	275
Brig Morris Star	Smelt	108	121
Sch.r Two Brothers		88	98
Brig Catherine	Hallowell	77	92
Bruce & Henry	Watts & Hardy	92	78
Total Tons by Register		1852	

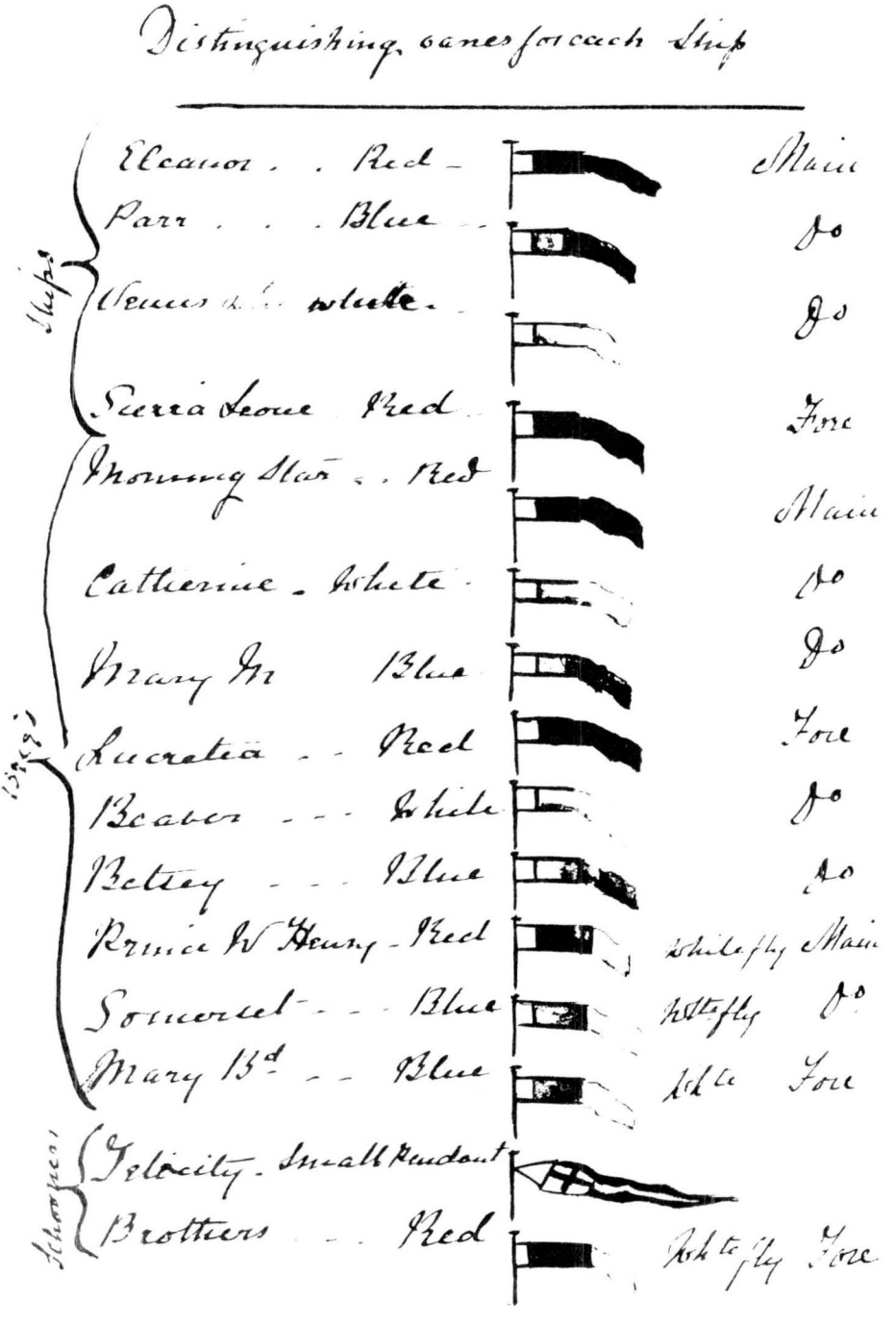


Numerary signals for the use of the Convoy bound to Sierra Leone—

The Flags No 123456789 may be hosited singly, or one above the other, if singly, it will denote the signal of that number, for instance, if I hoist the half red, half white flag, by itself, it denotes the 4th signal, and if I hoist the half white half red flag by itself it denotes the 7th signal—When two flags are hoisted, the uppermost must always be considered as the superior Flag—The number of the upper, or superior Flags to be reckoned ten, the under or inferior a unit—Shifting the Flags over or under varies the number, viz: if No 2 is hoisted superior or above No 6, it is signal 26, but if 6 is hoisted superior, or above No 2, it is signal 62, again, if No 3 is hoisted superior or above No 2, it is signal 32, but if No 2 is hoisted superior or above No 3 it is signal 23—The Cypher 0 (a Red Pendant) hoisted under No 1 denotes signal No 10, under No 2, signal 20, under No 3, signal 30, and so on up to 90—

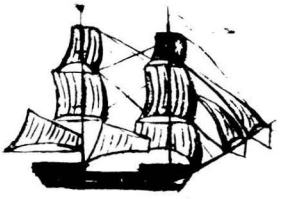
Whenever a signal is made with one or more Ship's Pendants, those particular ships must instantly obey it, but when a signal is made, and no particular Ship's Pendant with it, the whole Fleet are to obey the signal—

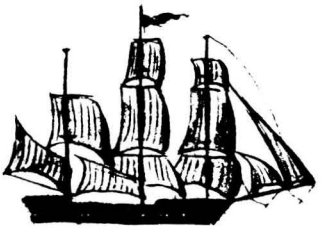


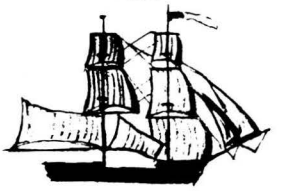

Distinguishing Vanes for each Ship
Ships
Eleanor . . Red
Main
Parr . . . Blue
do
Venus . . White
do
Sierra Leone Red
Fore
Morning Star . . Red
Main
Catherine . White
do
Mary Jn Blue
do
Lucretia . . Red
Fore
Beaver . . . White
do
Betsey . . . Blue
do
Prince W Henry . Red
White fly Main
Somerset . . . Blue
White fly do
Mary 1st . . Blue
White Fore
Schooners
Velocity . Small Pendant
Brothers . . Red
Fore

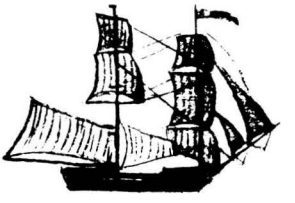


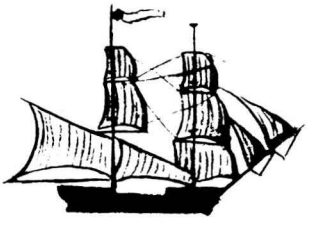




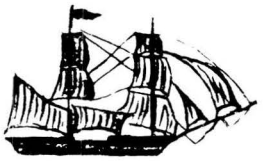






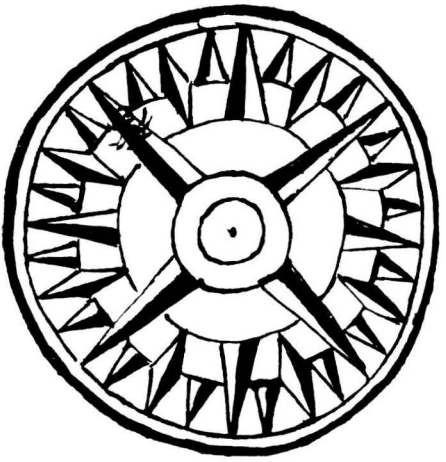








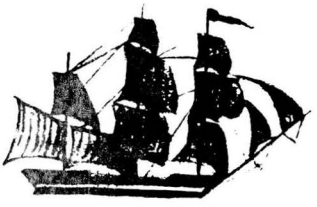












January 8th — This morning called upon the President, the Bishop, the Attorney General, and all my very numerous friends to take leave, and spent the remainder of the day with Mr. Hartshorne—Slept on board— It is very gratifying & pleasing to me, when I reflect upon the very great kindness and attention, shown me by all descriptions of men—We were all prayed for at Church this day, and a Sermon was to have been preached under my care, as a pattern for others to imitate, having had not less than 1200 people in the town and up wards of 5 weeks in the depth of winter not so much as the least disorder from any one of them, but it could not be got ready in time—

January 9th — At 7 this morning, hauled off from the wharf, at noon received on board all our powder, at one Seated our guns, and at two fired a gun & made the signal for all the Captains, delivered to each of them a copy of the rules to be observed on board the different vessels during the voyage, with various other papers, dined with Mr. Hartshorne, and in the evening Mr. Hartshorne & myself signed the Certificates for the Grants of Land, ready to be delivered to each individual according to the extent of each family, and Mr. Wallace brought me the receipts for the Provisions received on board the different ships—

The following is a copy of the rules delivered to the Captains of the different vessels bound to Sierra Leone, under my Command.

It is expected, that every attention is paid by the Masters of the different vessels, in keeping their ships clean, and wholesome, by causing them to be swept between decks every morning, noon, and night after meals—In the morning, after breakfast, the boards which form the Bed places of the Free Blacks must be unstripped & cleaned underneath weather permitting—The decks and sides of the ships to be washed down every morning, and when we get into warm weather, so that the lower decks can be washed with safety, it must be done three times a week, & as soon in the morning as possible, to give it time to be thoroughly dry before night on those days the beams must be washed with vinegar, taking care that a hot iron is put into a bucket of vinegar previous to swabbing the beams, so that the steam may get into every little crevice. When vinegar is not used a loggerhead or any hot iron, must be put into a bucket of Tar, which will fumigate the ships occasionally—

It would be advisable to fumigate more particularly in moist weather, and whether the decks are washed or not, they must be fumigated three times a week—

The Masters of the different vessels must not trust to the Black people, in fumigating or any thing else which requires experience, but must see it properly done themselves, specifying in the LogBook, the days, the lower deck was washed & fumigated—The beds must be got upon deck every fine day, and care must be taken, that they are stowed in a place, so that the air will get to them, and the spray of the sea not wet them—

The greatest attention must be paid to the steering of the vessels,

that through neglect, wilfullness or any other cause, the Convoy may not part Company, as the strictest scrutiny will be made upon our arrival at Sierra Leone, should that happen, and the Captains will be required to declare upon oath the cause which occasioned their separation—To prevent it as much as possible the different vessels, must set my light at the end of every watch, and specify the bearings in the Log Book—

Two days in the week will be allowed for washing, and the Free Blacks or sailors will not be permitted to wet the decks upon any other days, for that purpose—The provisions must be issued out daily and given to the Cook, to be distributed, after they are dressed, (and not before) to the different vessels—

Whenever a cask of Beef, Pork, or any other Cask is opened, the quantity it contains must be told to the Black people who are appointed to Govern the rest, and if it should run short, the deficiency must be put into the Log Book, with the people's names, who were witnesses to the same—The Masters must every day visit the Coppers and see that they are properly clean—

When we approach the coast of Africa every caution must be paid to the sudden guests of wind which prevail there, by having the Top-sail Sheet, haulyards, and everything clear for running at a moment's warning—The Chest belonging to the Free Blacks, to be got upon deck every fortnight, if they should have an inclination to open them, and struck down at night—

I should wish the people to breakfast at 8 o'clock, dine at noon, and sup at 4 till the days lengthen, and at 5 afterwards, or as near to those hours as possible, because if there is not particular regularity at meals, the decks will be constantly dirty—

A weekly account in the following manner must be kept by every Captain, and signed by him at the end of every week, so that I may know the state of every vessel, whenever I think proper to make the signal for it—See Page 335 &c I hope the Captains and Officers will set a good example to the Seamen in their behaviour to the Free Blacks, they must consider them as passengers who have paid the price demanded by the Owners for their accommodation, and must be treated as such upon every occasion, and from what little I have seen, of the different Commanders who are going with me to Africa, I have not a doubt, but we shall be happy and peaceable together, as it will be as great a satisfaction for one to promote their interest, as those more immediately under my protection

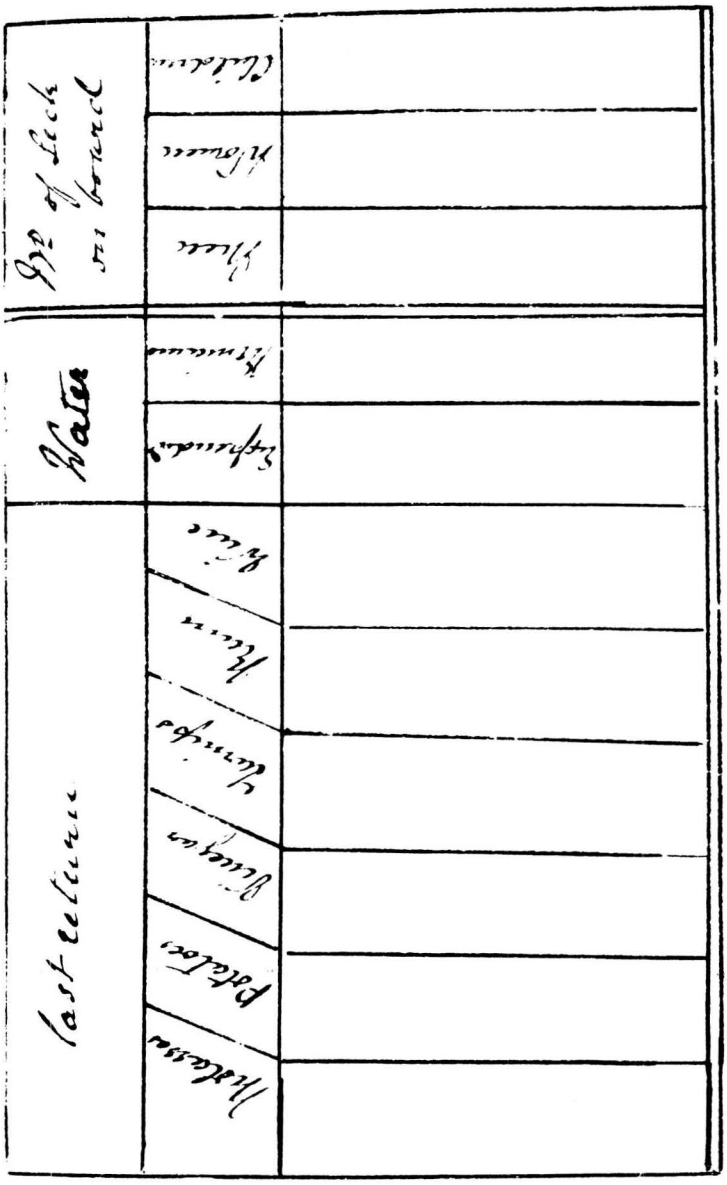
Given under my hand

on board the Lucretia

Halifax Harbour

John Clarkson

January 7th 1792


Age of Each
in Years
Males
Females
Last Returns
Whites
Blacks
Other Free
Persons
Slaves

A List of the Provisions allowed to the Brig Lucretia which will serve as a specimen for the other Ships — Halifax - Nova Scotia 1792 - I do hereby acknowledge to have received from Michael Wallace on board the Brig Lucretia, whereof Jam Master, the following articles, viz —

1248 lbs Mess Pork - -	One Thousand, two hundred & forty eight pounds
2128 lbs Mess Beef - -	Two Thousand one hundred & twenty eight pounds
1456 lbs Cod Fish - -	One thousand five hundred & fifty six pounds
3148 lbs Bread - - -	Three thousand one hundred & forty eight pounds
1790 lbs Rice	One thousand seven hundred & ninety pounds
1568 lbs Indian Meal - - - -	One thousand five hundred & sixty Eight pounds
142 lbs Butter	One hundred and forty two pounds
372 lbs Brown Sugar	Three hundred and seventy two pounds
~~1374 Bushls Peas~~	Thirteen and one quarter Bushels
24 Gallons Brotalles	Twenty four Gallons
32 Gallons Rum	Thirty two Gallons
34 Gallons Wine	Thirty four Gallons

58 Gallons Vinegar	Fifty eight Gallons
62 Bushels Potatoes	Sixty two Bushels
30 Bushels Turnips	Thirty Bushels
7 lbs Bohea Tea	Seven Pounds
2 Windsails	Two
100 lbs Tobacco Twist	One Hundred Pounds

All in good condition being provisions and necessaries for the use and accommodation of the Free Blacks, embarked in the said Vessel bound to Sierra Leone in Africa, and to be issued by them conformable to a Bill of Rations, now delivered to me —

In witness whereof I have signed three receipts of this tenor & date —

Jonathan Coffin

A Bill of Fare similar to this for the Slaves was delivered to each of the vessels carrying the Free Blacks to Sierra Leone

32 Men — —
48 Women — —
15 Youths — —
54 Children under 10
169 in all

All full allowance — 115
At half allowance 27
Rations making 142 full

PROVISIONS	28 days 1 Beef one pound per day	28 days 1 Pork 3/4 pound per day	28 days 1 Fish one pound per day	56 days Bread one pound per day	56 days 1 Rice 1/2 pound per day	28 days Flour 1 pound per day	28 days Butter 1/2 oz. per day	28 days Peas 1/2 pint per day	28 days 1 Gill Molasses per day	56 days Sugar 2 oz. per day	Potatoes	Lemmon Juice
Allowance for 84 days												
Quantities Shipped	3744	2912	3920	8114	4002	3920	354	31	62	990	134	

Weekly Bill of Fare

Breakfast	Dinner	Supper
Indian Meal	Sunday - - - - Pork with Peas	Indian Meal
with Molasses	Monday - - - Fish with Potatoes & Bread	with Molasses
every day so long	Tuesday - - - - Beef with Bread	as long as it
as it lasts, after-	Wednesday - - - Fish with Potatoes & Butter	lasts, afterwards
wards Rice	Thursday - - - Beef with Bread	Rice with Sugar
with Sugar	Friday - - - - Fish with Potatoes & Butter	
	Saturday - - - - Fish with &c - -	

January 10th Breakfasted with the Attorney General, from thence we called upon the President of the Council respecting my Commission, as the one he had made out for me, did not appear to me sufficiently explicit to answer the purposes of every situation in which I might be thrown; he very readily saw the propriety of my request, and begged me to point out what I thought necessary to satisfy my mind, so as to ensure as far as possible, the prosperity of the undertaking—When I took leave of him, he shook me most heartily by the hand, and expressed before the Attorney General his hearty wishes for my health and success, in the cause I had so zealously advocated, declaring to me again, his entire approbation of my whole conduct—Called upon Mr. Wallace to assist me in mustering the whole on board each respective ship, and as we called over the names, I gave to each a Certificate, of the following form for their proportion of land upon their arrival in Africa, at the same time addressed them upon their future conduct, and read to the people on board each ship the regulation and advice, which Mr. Hartshorne & myself had drawn out, for their future Government. This was a necessary but laborious business to me, as I did not feel well, and we did not finish the whole till eight o'clock at night, the consequence was, I caught a most violent cold from rowing about the Fleet, standing upon the deck for half an hour together, and afterwards visiting the decks below, which made such a sudden change from excessive heat to a keen frosty air, as to occasion the inconvenience I felt from it—Returned on Shore—Went to Mr. Hartshorne's, and slept at his house. Copy of the Commission given me by the President of the Council

Seal Richard Bulkeley Esq[re]

of the

Province President of His Majesty's Council, and Commander in Chief of the Province of Nova Scotia, &c, &c, &c

To John Clarkson Esq[re] Lieutenant of His Majesty's Navy.

Whereas His Majesty, has been pleased to signify His Royal pleasure, that such of the Black people now residing here, as are desirous of going from hence to be come inhabitants of Sierra Leone, shall be provided with shipping and all things necessary to transport them there, And whereas for the end purposed, and in order that the said Transport may be kept together on their voyage to Sierra Leone, and may with the more security & safety arrive at their destined Port, & for the preservation of the health of the Passengers, from any distemper which may arise from various causes, it is necessary that some fit and proper person should be appointed to conduct, govern, and Convoy the several Transports on their voyage, and to give such orders, and make such rules & regulations, during the said voyage, as shall be requisite & necessary—

And Whereas you the said Lieutenant Clarkson, of the

Royal Navy have been sent here by the Sierra Leone Company in England, as their Agent, and have been also recommended by one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State to the late Government as a fit person, to have the charge of the said Free Blacks—

I do therefore, by virtue of the power & authority to me given and granted by His Majesty, hereby appoint you the the said Lieutenant John Clarkson, to take all and every of the said Transports, together with the said Black people on board them, under your care and charge, and to convoy them as soon as may be from this Port to Sierra Leone, and there to land and deliver them over, to the Governor or chief person, in the administration of Government, together with all and everything which may remain of what has been provided for them by Government and also their property—

And you are hereby authorized to give such orders, and make such regulations as shall appear to you fit and proper for keeping together the several Transports, and conducting them safely during their voyage, and for the preservation of the health of the Passengers, according to the tenor of the several Charter Parties, and further to do what shall appear necessary on any extraordinary emergency which may arise—

Given under my hand and seal at Halifax the seventh day of January one thousand, seven hundred, and nine two, in the thirty second year of His Majesty's reign

Richard Bulkeley

By order of the Commander in Chief J. M Freke Bulkeley[233]
Acting Secretary of the Province

The following is a form of Certificate, Given to each person to entitle them to receive their proportion of Land upon their arrival in Africa

Sierra Leone Company—

The bearer _____ having produced to us a satisfactory Certificate of character, as required by the Company, we do hereby certify, that upon _____ arrival at Sierra Leone _____ shall receive free of expence _____ acres of land, for_____ and family consisting of _____ being the proportion _____ is entitled to, agreeable to the printed proposals of the Company

John Clarkson) Agents
) for the
Lawrence Hartshorne) Sierra Leone
) Company

Halifax Nova Scotia Jan^{y} 9th 1792

Instructions for the Free Blacks respecting their conduct, during their voyage to Sierra Leone

Halifax January 9th 1792

The Agents for the Sierra Leone Company presume that the Free Black people now embarking for Sierra Leone are persuaded that they have no other view in the undertaking but to promote their general happiness, for which purpose they recommend the following rules and regulations, to be strictly adhered to both with regard to their present & future happiness—1st—a modest and decent behaviour towards the Officers of the ships considering the old proverb, that soft words turneth away wrath, this we recommend to prevent broils; not to make free with the Seamen, lest they in turn should make free with you, and by improper behaviour bring on disturbances, to live on friendly terms with each other, to mutually bear and forbear, considering that any little inconveniences or hardships which you may experience on the passage will be of short duration. We further recommend a particular attention to Divine Worship, in the best way you are capable of, constantly remembering with humble gratitude, the goodness and power of God, and that if you conduct yourselves in such a manner as to have His approbation, you must be happy—

We further recommend a particular attention to cleanliness in person & clothes, without which you cannot expect to preserve health, that all order and regulations on that head be strictly attended to, and that you assist one another in promoting so essential a measure—particularly that you assist the aged, the infirm, and the sick, never forgetting the Christian duty of Charity, and to do by your neighbour, as you would wish him to do by you—

2ndly If any of the Free Black people should be so ungrateful as to neglect the foregoing advice, and to get intoxicated with liquor, to be quarrelsome or to be guilty of any improper behaviour, tending to create disturbances in the ship, or to neglect the necessary washing and cleanliness, it is our desire that the Chief Black Captain shall appoint five good men to determine (four of whom must agree) what kind of punishment the person offending deserves, which determination or verdict shall be submitted to Mr Clarkson for his opinion before it is inflicted

3rdly If (which we do not believe will happen) any crime of a worse nature should be committed, such as one man beating another, improper conduct to the women, or theft, it is in such a case expected that the Black Captain will take the first

opportunity to acquaint Mr Clarkson with the offence, that such serious mode of trial and punishment, may be had, as the nature of the crime may require—

4thly It is expected that these rules and regulations be read every Sunday after Divine Service or oftener if necessary—If it should so happen that there is no Black Man on board the Ship who can read it is our desire that the Chief Black Captain shall wait upon the Captain of the Ship, and request it as a favour to us, as well as to you, that he will be so kind, as to either read them himself, or cause them to be read to you, in a decent and audible manner—

John Clarkson

Lawrence Hartshorne

The following is a list of David George's Company on board the Brig Lucretia which will serve as a specimen for the others—

No	Heads of Families	Women	Women going with the Families	Children above ten years	Children under ten years	
1	David George	wife	1	1	3	
2	Rich[d] Sloane	wife	1	"	"	
3	Thomas Smith	wife	"	"	"	
4	Widow Cowen	"	"	"	3	
5	John Colburne	wife	"	"	3	
6	Jos Blain	wife	"	"	3	
7	Godf[y] Thomas	wife	2	"	3	
8	Isaac Shallow	wife	1	"	"	
9	Chris[r] Wiett	wife	1	"	"	
10	Widow Brunt	"	"	"	1	
11	Charles Williams	wife	"	"	2	

12	Peter Peters	Wife	"	"	"	
13	Alexander Pate	"	"	"	"	
14	William Elliott	Wife	"	"	1	
15	Jas Robinson	Wife	1	"	1	
16	Danl Curry	Wife	"	"	4	
17	Wm Hooper	"	"	"	"	Total Yrs
18	Danl Allmon	"	"	"	"	20 Men 40
19	Hannah Pell	"	"	"	"	20 Women 40
12	Henry Warren	Wife	"	"	"	1 Girl 1½
						24 Children 24
20		11	6	1	24	65 105½

General Embarkation List of Free Blacks on board the Fleet for Sierra Leone

No	Surnames	Christian names	Men	Women	Children from 10 to 16 years	Children under 10 years	Total of Females	Total of Souls
1	Eleanor	Hedman	53	47	15	55	170	277½
2	Sierra Leone	Joston	48	39	9	44	140	231½
3	Venus	Lewis	44	37	6	35	122	206
4	Nova	Kelly	32	35	6	23	96	166
5	Mary	Mallachi	34	30	4	28	96	162
6	Somerset	Brown	21	19	2	19	61	102

7	Mary	Barnard	21	19	2	19	61	102
8	Brothers	Smith	17	18	6	15	56	94
9	Lucretia	Coffin	20	20	1	24	65	105½
10	Thomas Jun	Fullerton	17	20	6	37	80	120
11	Catherine	Nicholls	19	15	4	16	54	90
12	Betsey	Ray	15	11	3	22	51	78½
13	Felicity	Peckham	15	15	4	17	51	83
14	Hannah Hussey	Coffin	13	13	2	13	43	72
15	Beaver	Beadle	18	14	0	18	50	82
			385	349	73	383	1190	1960½

This morning I received a present from the Bishop of some books for the Free Blacks, Teacher's and also Bishop Wilson's[242] sermons—Fired a gun and made the signal for every person to, as Mr. Wallace assured me he should be ready to give me all the necessary papers to take with me by eleven this morning—I waited upon the President, to beg the favour of him, to ask the Admiral to assist me with boats tomorrow morning to help us weigh our anchors—I made this request of the President, as I had not time to call upon the Admiral—I received in about an hour after this a very polite message from Sir Richard Hughes, telling me that I should have every assistance from him—At three went on board the Lucretia, fired a gun, & made the signal for all the Captains, desired them to meet me at the Coffee House at eleven this evening to receive their final orders, and to prepare to sail early tomorrow morning; as I found we could not sail tomorrow I wrote a note to Captain Hope[243] of the Flag Ship to inform him of it, that the boats from the Men of War might not be sent to us. At ½ past 10 this morning met the Secretary of the Province[244] by appointment, paid off the debts of all on board who owed money, and got his receipt for every man I shall take out of the Province It is a great relief to me having settled this business, for I have been obliged to suffer two or three people, to be taken out of the ships, for debt, and to remain in custody, sooner than divulge my design for paying their debts for them, for if the least idea of my intention had been known I should have been liable to great imposition and the trouble in consequence would have been more than I could have attended to. But having kept all quiet till the Secretary of the Province appointed a time to meet me, to give me a receipt for the whole, whose names had been exposed in his Office, the appointed time, according to the laws of this Province, without any demand having been made upon them—I met him accordingly & having received his receipt for all except a few detained for debt, I immediately paid the demands upon them, amounting to £50 " 0 " 10, and received a receipt from the Secretary to be given to the Captain of each Transport for the Passengers on board his ship in the following form—

Form of Passport from the Secretary's Office
to the Master of each Transport
" Nova Scotia

"The foregoing Black people having com-
"plied with the Act of this Province
are hereby permitted to depart in the
"— — Master for Sierra Leone
"J F Bulkeley.
Secretary Office
"Halifax 11th January 1792 —

Account of debts paid.

"For Thomas Peters in all £26 - 4 - 3½
William Ash - - - 3 - 5 - 7½
Wm. Snowball - - - - 13 - 17 - 11
Several others amounting to 6 - 13 -
50 - 0 - 10

Received of each Captain a return of
the state and condition of his ship
in the following form —

Provisions	Four Months Complete Provisions											
Water in Jars	3500											
Rope	7 Cord											
Sails	Compleat											
Cables Anchors	2 Cables 1 Stream 1 Kedge											
Colours	1 Jack 1 Ensign 1 Pendant											
Swivels Guns &c	1 Swivel 5 Oars											
Lanthorns Candles	3 in Box											
Mola Candles	2½ Lbs 20 Lbs											
Lead Lines	2 Lines											
Hand lead Lines	1 Deep sea Line 1 Hand line & Lead											
Fish for Sea												

At twelve this night gave the Captains their final instructions, copies of which are as follows—Felt myself extremely ill at one o'clock, and went to bed with a violent fever—

Copy of a letter to Henry Hew Dalrymple Esq[245] the intended Governor of Sierra Leone sent by each ship, enclosing a form of Certificate to be given to each Captain, upon performing the conditions of his Charter as well as an account of Provisions which each Captain had given a receipt for, as also the mode of distribution & c

Halifax January 11th 1792

My dear Sir

Should Captain Smith[246] of the Brothers, by stress of weather or any other accident, part convoy from me during the passage to Sierra Leone, and this be handed you by him before my arrival, it will apprise you of my sailing from Halifax with fifteen sail of vessels, having on board 1193 Free Blacks, from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and there being ten days allowed by the Charter, for such vessels discharge at Sierra Leone, before a heavy demurrage commences, I have thought it necessary to enclose you his receipts for the provisions he received, on board, at Halifax, for the use of the Blacks, together with the daily allowance to be issued to them, on the passage, that you may direct some person to settle the amount of provisions and stores with him, and receive the surplus, agreeably to the Charter, a copy of which he carries with him, and if there does not appear to you reason to withhold them, you will please to furnish him with a receipt for the provisions & stores he delivers, and a Certificate as near as maybe, to the enclosed form—

Do pray discharge the vessels as soon as possible, and if one should arrive before me to apprize you of my coming I hope you will begin to erect tents, with the sails and spars of the different vessels belonging to the Company, in the most advantageous situation for our reception—My private signal to you, when I make the Harbour, will be a Dutch Jack, reversed at the Fore Top—mast head, when I shall expect every assistance in the Pilot way—In great haste

I am dear Sir

Yours most sincerely

John Clarkson.

Form of Certificate to be given to each Captain, upon his discharge at Sierra Leone provided he complies with the Conditions specified in the Charter Party—

This is to Certify that the ship _____ Master Chartered at Halifax, to carry Free Blacks to Sierra Leone, has performed that service, and that the Master thereof during the voyage has conducted himself towards the Free Blacks, and in all other respects, honestly & fairly according to the terms of his Charter and the orders given by

_____

Agent for the Fleet—

I also further certify that there is due to the owners of the said vessels the sum of Sterling for days demurrage, for the necessary detention of the said ship at Sierra Leone, beyond the Say days allowed by the Charter—

Given under my hand at Sierra Leone

This day of 1792—

A copy of sealed orders given to each Captain, in case of Separation to be opened in 24 hours after—

Lucretia, Halifax Harbour.

January 11th 1792

Sir

The intention of this letter is to desire, since you have been so unlucky as to part company with me, to make the best of your way to Sierra Leone, and upon your arrival there immediately wait upon the Governor, as Commander in Chief, and deliver the letter which you have addressed for him, who will give you every possible dispatch, and a certificate with the unexpended provisions, stores & c, put on board your vessel by Government, provided, upon enquiry he finds you have duly fulfilled, the conditions of your Charter—

I would advise you not to go to the Southward of 33 degrees, until you have nearly run down your Longitude, and as you are deprived of the benefit of a Surgeon, to be more particularly attentive to the health and preservation of your passengers

I am Sir

Your obedient Servant

John Clarkson

To Cap^{tn}—

January 12th At seven this morning the boats from the Men of War came on board the Lucretia to assist us, but as Mr. Wallace had not closed his papers we were prevented from sailing, indeed, I was very glad of it, for I have been so ill the whole day with fatigue and a violent cold I caught in mustering the people, that I have not been able to stir out of the house—

As I had distributed the clothing of the different families on board their respective ships, the Committee of Council intimated to me, that it would be necessary to write them a letter, specifying the exact quantity of the various articles necessary for the health and preservation of the Free Blacks—

Mr. Hartshorne & myself addressed to them the following letter—
Slept on shore this night, as it was considered most prudent being still greatly indisposed

The Honorable Alexander Brymer

Thomas Cockrane & Samson Blowers

Gentlemen

The President in his answer to our letter to him, respecting the necessary clothing for the Free Blacks, tells us that Mr. Wallace has already had directions in regard to it, but as you have expressed a wish that we would ascertain the quantity necessary and communicate the same to you in writing, we take the liberty of representing to you, that we have carefully and conscientiously, examined into the state and quantity of their clothing, and do not hesitate to give it as our opinion that the underwritten quantity of different articles are absolutely necessary for their health and preservation now, and during the voyage to Sierra Leone—

Men's Woollen & Linen Shirts	234
Do Linen Trowsers	153
Women's Linen Shifts	234
Do Petticoats	106
Do Bedgowns	55
Children's Wollen & Linen Gowns	276

We are Gentlemen
with respect
Your most obedient Servants
John Clarkson
Law^{ce} Hartshorne—

Account of clothing sent on board the vessels bound to Sierra Leone

Women's Shifts	Childrens' Shifts	Mens' Shirts	Mens' Trowsers	Womens' Petticoats	
9	23	11	10	8	Ship Sierra Leone
20	21	23	19	17	" Eleanor
7	6	6	3	4	Schooner Brothers
5	8	8	3	1	Brig Mary Barnard
10	18	8	5	6	" Mary Mattocks
3	6	3	"	"	Prince William Henry
17	22	9	6	7	Brig Lucretia
23	22	23	14	9	Ship Parr
3	13	3	"	"	Schooner Felicity
18	27	13	8	8	Brig Morning Star
9	21	14	12	7	Ship Venus
3	4	8	8	1	Brig Catherine
4	20	1	"	2	Brig Betsey
6	13	6	6	6	Brig Somerset
14	10	5	3	6	Brig Beaver
151	234	141	97	82	Distributed on board the Ships
83	42	93	56	24	Left on board the Lucretia
234	276	234	153	106	Total quantity

January 13th — As the wind was rather baffling and it looked very heavy to the S W, I gave up all thoughts of sailing today—At eight in the morning made the signal for everybody to repair on board their respective ships As I was fearful that the Captains and sailors of the different vessels, would not behave to their passengers with that kindness and attention they had promised (from the Black people being considered in this Province, in no better light than beasts) I requested each owner to give his Captain written instructions for that purpose, holding out to them the chance of my keeping back from them the proper certificate from their not having performed the conditions of their Charter, if I found upon our arrival in Africa, there were any just grounds for complaint against them—I accordingly received letters from the different owners of the vessels enclosing me the orders they had given to their Commanders, one of which I shall transcribe

Captain Jonathan Barnard[247]

You being Master of our Brigantine Mary, taken into Government service for the purpose of carrying Black people to the river Sierra Leone, on the Coast of Africa, our orders & directions to you that you follow the orders you may receive from Lieutnt John Clarkson, of His Majesty's Navy, who is appointed Agent to conduct the Fleet from this Port, during the course of the voyage, and as you will receive instructions from him to keep in the Fleet, we trust you will use your utmost endeavours for that purpose And as I have no reason to doubt your humanity, I trust you will endeavour to make the Black People, as comfortable as possible, attending particularly to keeping your vessels, and them as clean as you can—I wish you to be attentive to your ship's Crew, and not permit them to treat the Blacks with ill language and disrepect, as is too often the case, but that you and your Crew exercise patience towards those unfortunate people, whom the King is endeavouring to render more happy by sending them to their native Shore

We are your friends & Owners

Timthy Folger—[248]

This day I distributed on board the different ships the complements of clothing I intended for each person previous to our sailing, as will appear on the other side in a list, brought forward from page 38

Women's Shifts	Children's Shifts	Men's Shirts	Men's Jackets	Women's Petticoats	
151	234	141	97	82	
14	"	7	2	"	Somerset
10	9	16	5	3	Morning Star
8	1	8	8	3	Eleanor
13	6	7	2	"	Prince W Henry
"	"	1	1	"	Catherine
1	1	2	"	2	Felicity
4	2	2	"	"	Two Brothers
2	1	1	"	"	Mary Mattocks
"	1	11	"	"	Lucretia
2	1	"	"	"	Mary Barnard
"	"	"	"	4	Venus
1	1	1	1	"	Parr
"	"	2	"	"	Sierra Leone
206	257	199	116	94	Balance of Seven Clothing
28	19	35	37	12	kept on board the Lucretia
234	276	234	153	106	To be distributed as circumstances might seem to bring the remainder of those purchased by Government

As Mr. Hartshorne and myself had only demanded from Government what clothing we conceived *absolutely necessary* to preserve the lives of many of the Free Blacks, we agreed to purchase at a sale the following articles, viz, 41 Bed Ticks 47 Rugs and 48 Blankets, which we distributed on board the different vessels where we found they were most wanted, and as we had an opportunity of buying some linen shirts at a reduced price, we also purchased 139 white ones with three rolls of Osnaburg containing 380 yards with thread, needles, scissors &c, meaning to distribute them on board the respective vessels upon our arrival in warmer latitudes; I was additionally induced to buy these articles, as I was fearful the woollen ones given to keep them from the inclemency of the weather would be a nuisance between the Tropics, and by giving each person a linen article for an old woollen one, (which I intended upon the exchange to throw overboard) it would be the means of satisfying them, as well as insuring greater cleanliness on board the different ships—

As I never have had time since my arrival in Halifax, to take any amusement, and as I had now finished all my business, and was only waitin for a fair wind, Mr. Hartshorne prevailed on me to take an airing with him in his Slay, which I did, in company with some young ladies, afterwards, I dined with Mr. Hartshorne & with him supped at Mr. Wallace's, went on board at 12 o'clock & ordered everything ready for sailing on the morning—

January 14th — This morning the wind still against us, waited till 12 o'clock in hopes of the weather clearing up The Admiral sent on board an Officer to beg the favour of me to wait upon him, went on shore, took Mr. Hartshorne Slay and drove up to the Naval House. The Admiral wished to give me his advice, respecting my sailing, telling me that he understood that Government was paying at least £150 per day, every day I remained here, I assured him that the detention was not on my part, that I had been ready to sail for at least a week, and that I certainly should take the first moment in getting under weigh—After wishing me success, my health &c we parted, and as the horse was in the Slay, and I saw it impossible to sail today, besides as some young ladies expressed a desire to have a ride, I took them out; at four, returned and dined at Mr. Hartshorne's. At seven in the evening, I received a message, that some person wanted me—Upon going to the door I found that a Slay was ready with some agreeable company, to take me a ride by night, we drove for about five miles, returned and drank tea at Mr. Deblois[253]—At four this afternoon Captain Ray[254] of the Betsey waited upon me to inform me that his provisions ran short, which alarmed me much, as Captain Redman[255] of the Eleanor said he was rather deficient. I immediately sent off to the Lucretia, ordered a gun to be fired, and a signal made for all the Captains, and gave out the following orders

Lucretia January 14th 1792—

The Captain of the different ships bound to Sierra Leone, are desired to make an immediate calculation of the different species of provisions

on Board, for the Free Blacks, to see if they have the proper quantity on board for three months complete, and make their report to me, by nine o'clock this evening at Mr. Hartshorne's

John Clarkson

To the different Captains of the)

Sierra Leone Squadrons)

Having desired all of them to inspect their account of Provisions received on board their respective vessels, they accordingly waited upon me at 9 o'clock with their accounts, but as Mr. Wallace had explained to me the reason of the apparent deficiency, I dismissed them, telling them to have their vessels ready to sail, by day light next morning—

> Mess[rs] Hartshorne, Wallace and myself were busy till 12 o'clock in checking the various provisions sent on board each ship, and upon the whole we found rather a day over than under—Of course I repaired on board satisfied

January 15[th] — At Day light calm—Made the signal for every person to repair on board their respective vessels—At 9 a light air sprang up from the W N W—Made the signal immediately for the Fleet to weigh, at 11 all the Fleet under sail—Made the Felicity's signal to lead the Fleet out of the Harbour—Ordered Captain Coffin[256] to stand off and on till I went on shore took leave of my friends upon the Wharfs and wrote the following letter to Henry Thornton—

> Halifax January 15[th] 1792
>
> Dear Sir
>
> I am now under sail with a fair wind and fine weather, having on board 1100 Souls, in fifteen ships, all in good spirits, properly equipped & I hope destined to be happy—
>
> I must refer you to my friend Mr. Hartshorne for every particular, and with affectionate regards to all my friends I remain dear Sir
>
> most Sincerely & affectionately Yours
>
> John Clarkson
>
> To Henry Thornton Esq[re]

Returned on board at noon & saluted the Admiral and the Town by lowering my Main Topgallant sail, as I passed it, which was returned by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs

I cannot express too strongly the obligations I am under to Mr. Hartshorne, who upon every occasion gave me his advice and assistance, and it would have been impossible for me to have brought this business to a conclusion, as far as we have already gone, if it had not been for his

good and unwearied application to it. He never considered his own business which is upon an extensive scale, when compared to the forwarding the views of the Company, and his house was at all times open to myself, and to any other person who could aid us in it. I consider myself extremely fortunate in his being appointed to act with me, and though Halifax is divided into various political parties, he has the confidence and good will of the whole. I must also notice the great assistance I received from Mr. Wallace who was appointed the Agent on the part of the Government: for though we differed sometimes in our ideas of the business, yet I am sure Halifax could not have produced a man more fit for carrying it on with dispatch and method than himself—I want words to express my gratitude to the Town at large, who upon every occasion behaved to me with marked attention & respect, and I know of no place where there is such universal hospitality shown to Strangers as at Halifax—They have, & will for ever have, my most sincere wishes for their prosperity. After I had passed the Town I made sail to join the Fleet which was about six miles ahead running under an easy sail

January 16th — At 4 P M took my departure from Sambro's Lighthouse[257] bearing West four leagues, made the signal to Steer S S E for the night, and for the Fleet to form the order of sailing Made the Eleanor's signal to make more sail, and get into her station. A little before dark I shortened sail to Shew the proportion I meant to carry for the night. At 12 at night fresh gales, with squalls of snow, and a high sea, the Eleanor's light bore S W to S about one mile distant At daylight shortened sail for the Fleet to close—One of the Fleet missing—Peter Cockburn an infant died this morning—

At 9 A M made the Felicity's signal to come within hail, and desired her to look out upon each beam, and a'stern for the missing vessel, at the same time desired her when she was a'stern to make a signal for the Sternmost of the ships to make more Sail—At noon the missing vessel joined us—Lat Obs 42-47-N Long-61-18-W—

January 17th — Strong gales with a rough sea, at 3 PM made the signal for the Sternmost vessels to make more sail—Read the burial service over the body of the late John Cockburn—At midnight all the vessels in sight & in their stations—A M stormy gales with squalls of snow, At noon all the Fleet in company—Lat Obs 41-12-N-Long 60-09 W—

January 18th — At 2 P M made the Felicity's signal to come within hail, desired Captn Wickham to hail all the vessels to know how they all did, and if they wanted any assistance—At midnight, squally weather, with heavy showers of hail & rain—The ships in their stations at 9 A M fumigated between decks, at noon all the Fleet in Company—No observation Lat Pr Acct-39-34 N Long 58-16 W—

January 19th — Fresh gales at 1 P M made the signal with a gun, for the Fleet to alter their course one point to Port—At 8 A.M. the wind

headed us—At noon made the signal for the Fleet to tack—All the ships in company—Lat Obs 28-4- Long 56-34—

January 20th — At 2 P.M. made the signals to form the order of sailing—At 4 Strong gales. At S S E made the signal for the Fleet to have to on the starboard Tack—At 2 A.M. two of the ships missing At 8 made the signals for the Fleet to close, and at 10 for the ships to make more sail.

The Felicity made the signal for two sail in the S E quarter. At noon the wind N W to N, blowing strong. Close reefed the Topsails, fumigated between decks—the missing vessels joined the Fleet Lat 39-3- Long 55-37—

January 21st — Strong gales & stormy At daylight found three of the vessels had parted Company—Made the signal for the Felicity to come within hail, and desired her to haul in each quarter, and a'stern to look out for the missing ships—Found myself so extremely ill, that I was obliged to quit the deck, informed Captain Wickham of it, and begged him to do all in his power, to keep the Fleet together—Made the signal for the Sierra Leone and Mary Barnard to shorten sail, and get into their stations—At noon two of the missing vessels joined the Fleet, and at 4 P.M. all the vessels in the stations except one which parted company last night—By the advice of the Doctor I shall not interfere with the management of the Fleet until I get better—The indisposition I felt at times, previous to my leaving Halifax, and the fatigue and anxiety I have had since, has quite knocked me up, as I have regularly had fever, with violent pains in my head, since I quitted Halifax—The remainder of this journal is taken from the Log Book of the ship, till the 17th February—Lat Obs 38-16 Long 52-18

January 22nd — Heavy gales with rain and hail, and very heavy claps of thunder & lightening—split the Main Top Sail and hove to, under the reefed Trysail—At 6 P M last sight of the Fleet—at Midnight got down the Fore & Main yards—At noon six sail in company. Lat Pr acct 33-57 Long 51-15.

January 23rd — Strong gales and cloudy—five sail in Company—Several of the ship's company taken ill. Lat Peracct 37-24 Long 50-41

January 24th — Fresh breezes and squally—The Main Yard remains down, not having people to get it up—five sail in Company Lat Obs 36-38-Long 51-13 W—

January 25th — Hard gales and squally weather. Christophr Pratt, one of the Free Blacks died—Lat 35-05 Long 49-19

January 26th — Strong breezes with hail Hailed the Felicity, and desired her to speak the ships in company & request assistance, having only the Captain and Mate capable of doing duty. Lat Per Acct 33-35-Long 47-53—

January 27th — More moderate. Made the signal for the Fleet to heave to, boarded the Felicity; Venus & Eleanor, and got a man from each—Departed this life John Colman one of the Free Blacks Lat Obs 32-38-Long 46-14—

January 28th — Moderate gales and clear weather—Unbent the Main Topsail to repair, five of the vessels in company Lat Obs 31-23 Long 44-36—
January 29th — Strong gales with rain in Main Topsail—Close reefed the Fore Topsail—A heavy sea from N W—At midnight was pooped by a heavy sea Stove in the dead lights, furled the Fore sail and scudded under the Close reefed Fore topsail. Lat per Acct 30-52 Long 41-34—

January 30th — Fresh breezes & clear weather—set the Fore topsail & close-reefed the Main Topsail, at noon five sail in company—Lat Obs 30-23 Long 37-47—

January 31st — Fresh breezes & cloudy five of the Fleet in company—Lat per acct 30-23-Long 34-42—

February 1st — Hard gales and squally weather—Made the signal for the Fleet to heave to, in consequence of a heavy beam sea—At midnight more moderate made the signal for the Fleet to make sail—William Bell, one of the Ship's company died—Lat 30-50 Long 31-49

February 2nd — Strong gales with a heavy sea—five sail in company—Lat per acct 30-28 Long 29-03—

February 3rd — Light breezes and fair weather—washed and fumigated between decks—A heavy sea from the N N W—five sail in company Lat obs 30-20-Long 26-31

February 4th — Light airs and clear weather—Made the Betsey's signal to make more sail—five sail in company Lat obs 30-22-Long 25-20
February 5th — Do weather—saw a sail standing to the Southward—Made a signal for the Betsey to speak. Cleared the ship Fore & Aft, and fumigated between decks. Lat obs 30-30 Long 23-50

February 6th — Made the signal for the Venus to come within hail, and requested Captain Evans[258] to send us some men on board, to assist in repairing the sails & rigging, those received on the 27 January from the Felicity, Venus & Eleanor, were sick. The Venus could not give us any assistance, but Captain Ray[259] of the Betsey sent five men on board who were returned in the evening—Lat obs 30-39-Long 23-06

February 7th — Light breezes and fair weather—Made the Eleanor's signal—signal to speak a vessel to the Westward At noon she informed us the vessel, she spoke was from Amsterdam bound to Surinam, and was in Long 28-30 west—At noon five sail in company Lat Obs 29-30-Long 23-29—

February 8th — Do weather—The Venus made a signal for a sail in the N W—Made her signal to chase in that quarter, but sent the widow

of the late William Bell, on board the Eleanor, her relations being there—At noon calm Lat Obs 29-09-Long 22-19 W—

February Light airs & fine weather — Made the Venus signal to come within hail, She informed us the ship she spoke yesterday was from Denmark, bound to America, she was in Long at noon yesterday, 24-30-W-Lat Obs 28-51-Long 2-48

February 10th — Light airs and clear weather—saw two sails, one standing to the Westward, and the other to the Northward—Set the rigging up Fore & Aft—Lat obs-28-26 Long 21-06—

February 11th — Do weather; employed cleaning the ship Fore & Aft Lat obs 28-02 Long 20-33

February 12th — Light airs and clear weather—Sent the Surgeon to visit the Eleanor's sick—Several whales in sight Lat obs: 27-37 Long 19-51—

February 13th — Light airs and clear—At 8 A.M. made the Island of Ferro[260] bearing E N E, fifteen Leagues, At noon five sail in company—Made the signal to tack Lat Obs 27-18-Long 19-15—

February 14th — Light airs—Sent the Surgeon on board the Venus, which had upwards of forty of her passengers sick, and some of her ship's company Lat obs 26-42-Long 18-24—

February 15th — Do weather—Captain Coffin[261] confined to his cabin with a fever, and the whole of the passengers & crew in a convalescent state—Lat Obs 26-06 N-Long 17-44-W—

February 16th — Do weather—Made the Eleanor's signal to chase to the S W At noon five sail in Company—Lat obs 25-52-Long 17-39-W—

Feb 17th — Do weather—Saw a strange sail standing to the Southward—Washed between decks & fumigated with 'Tar Vinegar & 'Tobacco—Lat obs 25-03 N Long 17-29-W—

February 18th — Light airs & clear weather—departed this life Peter Peters, my poor servant, who from great attention to me during the days that I was delirious is supposed to have caught the fever of me—his death affects me greatly—I was this day brought upon deck on a Mattress, as I was not able to walk or to be moved in any other way—My friend Wickham kindly assisted in doing this, and in otherwise making me comfortable—This was the first time I had been on deck since the 21st January—Had my cabin and bed place cleaned out and washed with vinegar as well as fumigated with Tar & gunpowder balls—From my poor servant's illness, as well as Captain Coffin's I experienced great neglect in the latter part of my illness, as previous to the latter being taken ill, all the crew were sick on board except himself and the Mate, and I should certainly have been killed during the gales of wind, on the 29th Jany when the vessel was pooped, if it had not been for that accident which providentially obliged the Captain to come down into the Cabin to secure the dead lights, which had been stove in, when he found me rolling from side to side, quite exhausted, covered

with blood & water and very much bruised, for I had at that time four blisters upon me—I have but a faint, if any recollection of this dreadful situation, and indeed, what I have already mentioned, is more from the account of the Mate of the vessel, than from any recollection of my own, but it was evident to those on board, that the disorder took a turn after the 29th January, the day on which I was so mercifully preserved. The Venus sent her boat on board for some clothes for the passengers—Spoke the Eleanor, she informed me that the vessel she had chased yesterday, was from Cadiz sixteen days ago, she was in Longitude at noon yesterday 17-15 W--Captn Coffin dangerously ill—Lat obs 24-26 N-Long 17-16 W—

February 19th — Fresh breezes & squally with a heavy swell from the N W. Lat obs 23-13 Long 17-12

February 20th — Light airs and clear Spoke a Spanish vessel at anchor in 29 fathoms, who told us Cape Barbas[262] bore S S W, five leagues. At six p m, saw Cape Barbas bearing S & by E five leagues. Caught several fish, and bought as many as served the Crew and passengers, for some salt beef—At 8 AM, made the signal with a gun for all the Captains and desired they would carefully investigate the situation of their passengers on board, as to their want of clothing, and make a report to me the following day of their wants—

Captain Coffin still continues dangerously ill—My illness has made me so nervous and occasioned such debility, both in body and mind, that I requested the Captains on board today to speak their minds freely to me, upon every occasion as to the course we should steer &c—I find that I cannot remember any one thing told me before, neither can I remember anything as yet as to the navigation of a vessel—Lat Obs 22-15-Long 16-58—

February 21st — Light airs & clear weather—Caught a quantity of fish—Sounded 24 fathoms Lost sight of Cape Barbas Lat obs 22-03 Long 17-18—

February 22nd — Calm & clear—At 4 A.M. Captain Coffin died—I canont but consider that his death was occasioned by his attention to me, after losing my servant Peters, as he died of the same fever as that with which I was affected so long—He was a worthy, good man, and his loss will be greatly felt by his Owners—As a last mark of attention to his memory, I endeavoured to read as well as I could, the burial service over him at 11 o'clock, when he was thrown over board although I was not able to stand or to hold the book The Surgeon advised me this day to take an airing in the boat, and to row around the Squadron, I was accordingly lifted into the boat and lowered with her into the water—Upon my going alongside each ship, the Black passengers had collected themselves upon deck with their Muskets, and fired three volleys, and afterwards gave three cheers, as they had entirely given up all hopes of my recovery, which was to them of the greatest consequence Lat obs 21-58 Long 17-57—

February 23rd — Moderate breezes and clear weather—At 4 P.M.

the Somerset joined us after a separation since the 22nd January—Made her signal to come within hail—She informed me her Captain & Mate had been both confined to their beds for three weeks, but were both getting better and that her passengers were upon the whole in tolerable health—Lat obs 20-15-Long 18: 23 W—

February 24th — Pleasant weather Fumigated and washed between decks—At noon six sail in company Lat obs 18-20-Long 18-53

February 25th — Light airs, people employed in repairing boats—Washed & fumigated between decks, and distributed to the different ships the following clothing, in lieu of woollen ones which were thrown over-board—Made the signal for all Captains to come on board & Gave them a dinner for the first time since my illness—As the rest of the Fleet had parted company, I gave to those with me the remainder of clothing purchased by Government, and kept for the other ships the white shirts and Osnaburgs which I intended to distribute to them upon my arrival in Africa—Lat Obs 16-28 N Long 19-20—

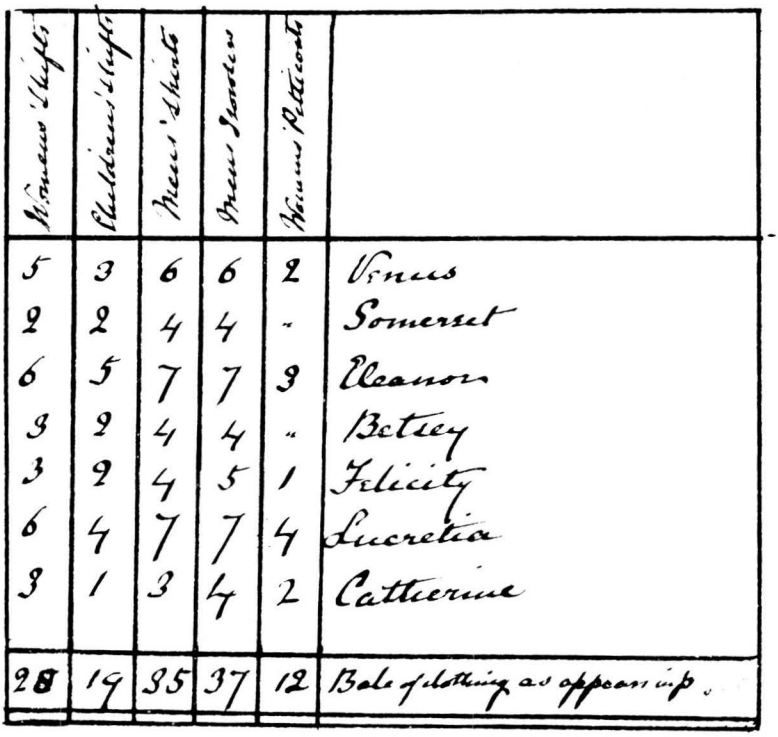
February 26th — Moderate breezes and fair weather—Made the signal for Captain Wickham of the Felicity to come on board, and gave him some casks of Beef & Pork, with some money to go to the Cape de Verd Islands to purchase stock for the Colony; desired him to make every enquiry, relative to the best method of supplying the Colony with live stock, or provisions of any kind, the best mode of receiving intelligence from Europe or conveying to thither, and every other information likely to promote the Comfort and happiness of the Colony, requested him also to make all the haste he could to join me at Sierra Leone—At noon parted company with the Felicity—Lat Obs 15-10 Long 19-39—Read prayers and attempted to preach to the passengers, but I was so exhausted that I did not recover myself for some time.

February 27th — Light airs and clear Washed and fumigated between decks Rowed round the different ships and invited the Captains to dine with me Lat obs 13-54 Long 19-35—

February 28th — Light airs, visited the different ships, and enquired into the state of each as to cleanliness, and was obliged to be hoisted in a chair on board the several vessels, found them all remarkably clean, and the people recovering from their illness—Lat obs 12-39-Long 19-32—

February 29th — Light breezes and clear weather—Isaac Gratton, one of the passengers died—The Betsey made the signal to speak me—She informed me her Captain had just died—These deaths coming upon me so suddenly, affect me greatly, and very much retard my recovery, particularly when I consider that Captain Ray a fortnight since, would not have changed situations with me—Made the signal for the Captains to come & dine with me—At noon five sail in Company. Lat obs 11-53-Long 19-29—

March 1st — Light breezes & clear weather Washed and fumigated the



Women's Chests	Children's Chests	Men's Chests	Men Sailors	Women Passengers	
5	3	6	6	2	Venus
2	2	4	4	-	Somerset
6	5	7	7	3	Eleanor
3	2	4	4	-	Betsey
3	2	4	5	1	Felicity
6	4	7	7	4	Lucretia
3	1	3	4	2	Catherine
28	19	35	37	12	Bale of clothing as appears up.

'tween decks Rowed round the vessels and went alongside all of them—Dined with Captain Redman on board the Eleanor, and an old woman of 104 years of age who had requested me to take her, that she might lay her bones in her native country, begged to be brought on deck to shake hands and congratulate me upon my recovery—Lat Obs 10-15 Long 19-13 W

March 2nd — Do weather—bent the cables several Whales in sight—Saw an immense number of fish—Made the signal for the Captains to dine with me, and as it was calm, I gave leave to the passengers to visit each other on board the different ships—At noon all the vessels in company Lat Obs 09-28-Long 18-22

March 3rd — Light breezes and clear weather Got the people's chests upon deck that they might inspect them and arrange them ready to be put on shore—Washed and fumigated the b'tween decks—the passengers and crew recovering fast Three of the sailors returned to their duty this day, and many of the Free Blacks quite recovered—Captains Redman and Evans dined with me today—Lat 8-55 Long 17-1—

March 4th — Fine moderate weather—Saw a sail in the N E quarter—hoisted our Colours, and fired a gun—At 5 P.M. fired a shot to bring her to—At 6 spoke her, She was the Mary of Bristol—Thos Grimes Master from Lisbon—bound to Annamabo[263] for Slaves. At 11 A.M. made the signal for Divine Service, and read prayers and preached to the passengers;

took this opportunity of addressing them as well as my strength would admit as to their future behaviour, and expressed to them my approbation of their conduct since they left America—At noon all the Ships in company. Lat obs 8-44 L 15-42

March 5th — went on board the different ships and addressed their passengers in the same way that I had done those on board the Lucretia—All seemed in high spirits, and promised obedience and attention to all orders given them upon their landing—I was much pleased with the happy and contented countenance of all of them—Their expressions of respect and gratitude upon this occasion were most gratifying and affected me much Most ardently do I hope that the change they are about to make will ultimately turn out to the advantage of them and posterity—At two P.M. returned on board, and made the Eleanor's signal to make sail and steer E N E to sound At 8 P.M the Eleanor returned, but could not get any soundings—Hailed her and desired her to make sail ahead, and carry a light, at such a distance at to discern signals, and to sound every hour—At 2 P.M. she made the signal for sounding and joined us Heaved the lead, and found we had 53 Fathoms water—red and white sand—At 6 A.M. sounded 30 Fathoms, and at noon sounded 21 Fathoms—red and white sand with grey specks—Lat obs 8-53-Long-14-10—

March 6th — Light breezes and clear Made the Eleanor's signal to go ahead and make the land, desired her to carry a light and to sound every half hour, and when she came into 8 Fathom water to heave to, and make a signal—As we were now so near the land, and as we were all strangers to the coast, I could not be prevailed upon to quit the deck—At 2 A M the Eleanor made the signal for getting into 8 Fathom water—Fired a gun and made the signal for the vessels to heave to—Sounded 7 Fathom water, small gravel Went to bed till daylight, At 6 A M made the signal for the ships to make sail, and for the Eleanor to go ahead and make the land—At 8 as I was walking the deck, I was the first to see Cape Sierra Leone bearing S E to E—distant about five leagues, and soon after two of the Squadron made the signal for seeing the land—The passengers on board the different ships gave three cheers and fired the vollies—It is not in my power to describe my sensations at this moment, for I knew not what the next hours might produce The fatigue of being up the greater part of the night added to the great anxiety of mind, had quite exhausted me and filled me with gloomy ideas—I could not help fancying the report I had heard at the Governor's table at Halifax, respecting the hostile disposition of the Natives at Sierra Leone might have some foundation in truth, At other times I thought, as I had not heard from England since I left it it was possible some of my letters might have miscarried, and the Directors might not have provided for our reception, but particularly when I reflected upon the small quantity of provisions on board, the Transport (not having more than sufficient with most rigid economy for a month) with no probability of recruiting them should it be necessary, our ignorance of the Coast and its inhabitants, and my total inability to any exertion should it be required, I could not help giving way to those

desponding reflections, which had I been in health would probably never have occurred—At ten sent the Mate to the Mast head to look if he could see any ships lying under the land, and made an attempt to get up to the Fore yard myself, but could not succeed—At noon Saw Leopards Island bearing E b N four or five leagues. Cape Sierra Leone S.E. three leagues, and soon after, to my inexpressible joy, one of the headmost Transports made the signal for ships at anchor up the river, which I soon perceived from the deck, and satisfied myself from the size of one of them that the succours from England had arrived—This circumstance, gave to my mind a relief which I cannot express—I felt quite renovated, and began to indulge the hope of a speedy termination to my anxieties and fatigue—Lat obs 8-36 N

March 7th — At 1 A.M. fired a gun and hoisted a Dutch Jack, reversed at the Fore top Gallant Mast head, as my private signal to the Governor, as well as for a Pilot—At 2 sounded 3 Fathoms water—At half past 2 saw seven or eight vessels at anchor up the River, and soon after perceived two boats coming out, in one of which I thought I saw the Governor, and ordered a salute of thirteen guns to be fired, upon his coming on board—At 4 P.M. the vessel struck upon the middle ground—tacked immediately and made the signal for the Fleet to do the same—observed several of the vessels strike the ground—At ½ past 4 the boats came alongside, one was the Harpy's belonging to the Sierra Leone Company, and the other the Parr's belonging to the Transports—In the former came several gentlemen in the Sierra Leone Company's Service, who informed me on coming on board that Mr. Dalrymple[264] the intended Governor had resigned, and that the Directors had appointed me Superintendent of the Colony, with a Council of seven members, all filling important situations, and all having an equal vote in the Government, except that the Superintendent had the casting vote in Council—My astonishment was beyond measure great at this information, and particularly as I had positively declared before I left England, that nothing should induce me to continue in Africa, or to undertake anything more than collecting the people in America and afterwards seeing them properly conducted to Sierra Leone—As the Guns were ready for saluting, I paid the Council the compliment of saluting them with thirteen guns, but soon perceived from the conversation of every gentleman, that nothing but quarrels had taken place during the voyage, on board the Harpy and Amy, and that in short, every one seemed to speak of each other with a degree of asperity highly reprehensible; but the delight I felt in having safely arrived in Africa, so entirely engaged my mind, that it prevented the least reflection upon my new appointment, although I could not but feel disappointed at the idea of not being likely to enjoy the quiet & repose I so much required—

In working the Lucretia into Harbour the Catherine ran on board us, and carried away our Bowsprit, I immediately made the signal to anchor, and after seeing the vessel safe and being much exhasuted from working the ship, and being up the preceeding night the Gentlemen Councillors persuaded me to attend them into the Harbour—At 11 at night I

arrived on board the Amy, where I was determined to take up my quarters, in preference to the Harpy, as I found that Captain Wilson and the Officers could not agree, I therefore wished to avoid joining any party, and as Falconbridge[265] who was appointed Commercial Agent, and first in Council, whom I had known in England, was on board the Amy with his wife, I was convinced I should be more at ease on board this last vessel, enjoy greater quiet, and get better nursed, than I should on board the Harpy— I sent immediately for Captain Robinson of the Lepwing,[266] and ordered him out to the assistance of the Lucretia, and to Pilot her in the next morning—

The conversation turned after supper to the form of Government, and I cannot say after everything I have heard that I was much pleased with the anticipation of filling my new situation—Seven of our Fleet had arrived at Sierra Leone, and in tolerable health, the Morning Star the only vessel missing—

March 8th — This morning the gentlemen of the Council waited upon me, and the ships in the Harbour saluted me, afterwards all the Black Captains, very neatly dressed came on board, and expressed the general joy of themselves & comrades at my safe arrival with them at the Land of Promise which by the by from the river, exhibits a most rich and beautiful prospect

The respect and gratitude expressed in every look, affected me very sensibly, their decent dress, and their becoming behaviour, was noticed by all who were present, for the most perfect peace and harmony reigned on board each Transport—After a little conversation with them relative to the particulars respecting each ship during the voyage, I was so exhausted that I was obliged to be carried to bed, where I was in violent hysterics for nearly two hours, I believe my debilitated state, with the joy that we had all arrived safe, after experiencing such bad weather, added to the grief I felt at the accounts given me of the death of some valuable men during the voyage, whose loss I had not heard of till this time occasioned my indisposition—The Captains of Transports also waited upon me, and returned me their thanks for the regular and orderly behaviour of the Nova Scotian Blacks during the voyage, and the Black Captains in behalf of their brethren, expressed to me their gratitude for the kind behaviour of the Captains of the vessels towards them—

In the evening arrived the Morning Star,[267] the only vessel missing belonging to the Squadron, I was very uneasy about her, as I had fitted her up for a receiving ship for the pregnant women—found she had added three to her number since she had sailed from Halifax, and that all were in tolerable health—Parties from the different transports employed clearing away the wood to build the town which is to be called Free Town.

March 9th — People employed clearing the ground and discharging the Transports. It is grievous to me that my weak state of health prevents me taking such an active part as the present occasion requires—The

Council appear not at all equal to the task, and are besides at variance with each other. Arrived the Felicity which I had sent to St Jago, to purchase stock, she could not obtain any for the Colony, neither could we depend on any supply from that quarter—My attention is principally confined to the discharge of the Transports to prevent the expence of the demurrage—Yesterday Phillis Somerset, wife of E Somerset[268] belonging to the Henry Beaverhoft's[269] Company on board the Sierra Leone, was brought before me, charged with abusive language, and threatening to kill another woman—I desired a Jury to be formed from Beaverhoft's Company to inquire into the matter and report to me their proceedings—

March 10th — Cloudy, though neither rain nor storm ensued, the fresh sea breezes render the heat very tolerable—Ordered the only house erected on Shore to be fitted up for Divine service tomorrow, Our people have regular morning and evening prayers, in their tents, and out of doors—The Jury upon P Somerset reported to me this morning that after a full investigation, they had found her guilty of the charge, and recommended her to be flogged, but as her conduct had been exemplary for the last two years, except in the present instance, they advised that she should be dealt with as I might think best for the preservation of the law, and for an example to others—I therefore admonished her, before the whole of the Company to whom she belonged & pointed out to her the bad consequence of giving way to passion, and how necessary it was for us who were about to form a new settlement, in a heathen country to be circumspect and watchful over our actions, that as her name was the only one reported to me, during the voyage, I did not like to record it by a severe punishment, and therefore I should forgive, in hopes that she would see her error and alter her conduct—I particularly requested the Captains of the Company to watch her, and report to me should they see any impropriety in her behaviour—

March 11th — Divine Service on Shore the gentlemen, and as many of the Colony as could attend were there, and it was truly gratifying to me to have the opportunity of thus returning my public thanks for our safe arrival—

The Revd Mr. Gilbert[270] preached an excellent sermon from the following text 127 Psalm 1st verse. "Except the Lord build the house, the labour is but lost that build it"—The fatigue I feel from going on shore, generally occasions a fainting fit in the evening. Wrote a note to Mr. Elliot,[271] King Naimvanna's[272] Secretary, requesting him to endeavour to find out some Seamen belonging to the Harpy, who were on shore in a state of intoxication, and to send them on board, fearing they might go into the Native towns, and give offence to the inhabitants—

March 12th — The Settlers rather sickly on board the vessels with fevers & c—A Captain of one of the Transports died several days ago, and another is very ill—The progress made by the Nova Scotians in clearing the woods is visible every day and the Company's officers are continually commending their industry and exemplary behaviour. Mr. Pepys,[273] the Surveyor appears much pleased with their conduct He reported to me

today with the highest encomiums, both upon their industry and sobriety, and as an instance of the latter he stated that a Company of Labourers, 70 or 80 men who had worked under him had drunk only three bottles of Rum per day diluted with water, though they had been left to help themselves.* Dr. Bell one of the Council arrived from Bance Island,[274] this is the first time I ever saw him, and he was so drunk, as not to know who I was—A seaman from the Harpy was confined in the tent last night for quarreling with one of the Natives, but upon investigation he was released to the satisfaction of both parties and sent on board the Harpy—

March 13th — Before 10 o'clock A.M. or before the sea breeze sets in, very sultry but afterwards cool & cloudy—Wrote a short letter to Mr. Thornton, informing him of my arrival in Africa, but not having more than a very short notice, as the vessels lay to till I could finish my letters, I had no time to take a copy, sent also by this conveyance a letter I had prepared after I had spoken the Mary, belonging to Bristol, on the 4th inst, to be sent to her owners the first opportunity, giving them information of the safety and situation of the vessel on that day—Ever since I embarked on my present undertaking, my mind has been alive, to take advantage of every possible chance of rendering service to the cause I espouse, and altho' the vessel I spoke on the 4th inst, was employed in the Slave Trade, and some people may blame me for writing to inform the Owner of the safety of such a vessel, yet I conceived it my duty for the sake of the Colonists, to be civil & courteous to all, as long as I did not compromise Principle, in the hopes, at least, that I should remove the prejudices of the Slave Traders against us, as they had it in their power to do us much injury in a variety of ways, and also to render us essential services, should they be inclined—

Dined on board the Harpy & heard the delirious ravings of Dr. Bell,[275] who was confined to his bed with a fever, from the effects of drinking—he was very noisy till half an hour after nine, at 10 his servant passing through his Cabin found him dead—I was determined had he not died to have sent him to England—Before I left the Harpy it was hinted to me that it was the intention of the Council that he should be buried tomorrow with Military honours—

March 14th — This morning the members of the Council called upon me to say it was their wish that Dr. Bell's funeral should take place about noon, that the Company's ships should have their Colours half struck and that minute guns should be fired from the time the Corpse left the Harpy, to the end of the ceremony, and hoped I would oblige them by endeavouring to attend the funeral myself—I replied, that if I had not heard it from their own mouths I could not have believed it possible, that any set of men situated as they were, as the representatives of the Directors of the Sierra

*This fact, in addition to others before recorded of the character of the Nova Scotians, fully corroborates the statements I have made to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company as to the qualifications of the new Settlers—

Leone Company, to form a Colony on virtuous principles could have made so extraordinary a request, for the person to whose memory these honours were designed had been almost constantly drunk, from the time he left England, to the day of his death, and although I had been in the Colony six days, he had never been in a state free from intoxication to know who I was—

I pointed out, in as strong, yet in as delicate langauge as I was able (perceiving that their minds were set upon it) the impropriety of their wishes, and begged them to consider the effect it would have upon the Nova Scotians, who had been taught by me to believe that they were about to form a settlement upon Christian principles, and the life this person had led having been in open contradiction to these principles, it would appear to them highly inconsistent, that any honours whatever should be shown to his remains; for these reasons I had made up my mind not to consent to it. Those of the Council who were most conspicuous in supporting their consequence, could not help shewing their disappointment—I urged many other forcible remarks in support of my opinion, but instead of producing the effect I wished it was hinted to me that I had only the casting vote in Council: thus decided the business and orders were given to prepare for the funeral, and every honour was shown accordingly—The affair being thus settled, and feeling that I had done my duty by the great opposition I had made to the measure, it struck me that as it was the act of the Government, and knowing the disappointment the Council would experience if I did not attend, I thought for the sake of preserving harmony, that it might probably be better, to give way a little and comply with their wishes, but I was so ill, as to be obliged to be carried up the hill at the watering place, and having proceeded in the procession but a very little way, I was quite exhausted and obliged to retire—On my return to the boat a person came on board to inform me that a man had lost his arm in firing the guns on board the Harpy—This completly overcame me, and on my arrival on board the Amy, I was seized with the most violent fainting fits and hysterics, which closed the mortifications of the day—

March 15th — The Ther^{mr} 79½ this morning in the shade, but no breeze stirring, the heat very oppressive—Thos Thomas the man whose arm was blown off yesterday, died this morning—Many of the Transports were cleared yesterday—The Council this morning opened Dr Bell's papers, and passed them about to each other in a very unbecoming way, I remonstrated upon the indelicasy of the thing, but without effect, for I found that he was suspected of having made private observations of the proceedings on board the Harpy, during the voyage, which were not the most creditable to either party and this was the occasion of the search—

The gentlemen of the Council are far from satisfied with the observation I made yesterday respecting the funeral of Dr. Bell nor with my remarks this morning on the manner in which they opened and exposed his private papers—I tremble for the consequences of having such frivolous and indiscreet Coadjutors—The Nova Scotians industriously employed clearing

the ground for the Town, but many of them are affected with fever & dysentery—

March 16th — This day the Transports being cleared of their provisions, stores, and passengers, I invited the Captains to meet the Ladies & Gentlemen from the Company's ships to a dinner, I had provided on shore under a tent, as the last mark of attention I could pay them, for the kindness they had uniformly shewn to their passengers—A Turtle of 40 lbs weight was caught in the Amy's seine, and dressed for dinner—Finding myself extremely fatigued, I retired after dinner on board the Amy, where with the assistance of the Secretary of the Government and the Clerks, I prepared the papers, ready for signing to discharge the Transports tomorrow, requested the favour of Mr. Wickham to visit all the ships, to see that everything was taken out belonging to Government—Retired to bed extremely ill from the fatigue of going on shore—

March 17th — Mr. Wickham having reported to me that the stores of every kind were taken from the ships, I discharged all of them this day—I propose settling the whole of the Nova Scotian business, before I attend to that of the Colony, and shall insert all the papers attached to it, before I proceed with my journal—

The Natives both Male & Female flock every day to the Settlement in great numbers, bringing with them such fruit as they find in the woods, which principally consist of Ananas, Bananas, Plantains, Limes, oranges Cassadas & c, these they exchange for biscuits, Beef, Soap and Spirits, which I am sorry to observe are ordered from the Stores in the greatest profusion & irregularity—Thermometer, in the shade 94, in the sun 114—

I cannot close the proceedings of this day without noticing the obligations I shall ever feel for the valuable service rendered to the cause, by my friend Lieut Wickham of the Navy; he volunteered his services in Nova Scotia to assist me in conducting the Transports by repeating my signals—To him I must ever feel indebted, not only for his unwearied and kind attentions to me throughout the whole of my illness, whenever the weather would permit him to come on board, and when I reflect upon the state in which he found me, in the midst of my malady, and bring to my recollection as far as my memory will allow me & from the report of others, his kindness, as the most cleanly, active, and tender nurse, how he performed the duties, of the most attentive and valuable servant, and how alive he was to cleanliness, and the purification of the air which surrounded me, I am at a loss to express how much I feel, for such affectionate and kind treatment—To him was intrusted, with two of the Company's clerks the whole management of landing the Colonists, checking the expenditure of stores and provisions on board the ships and making inventories of the surplus of every article remaining: & having reported to me that the stores of every kind were taken from the ships, I requested 3 of the Council to satisfy themselves as to the accuracy of the account, as I should require of them a receipt for the various articles specified in the

Inventory, as having been landed in the Colony—agreeable to the orders I received from the Government at Halifax—

Sierra Leone, M^ch^ 1792

Received from John Clarkson Esq^re^, from on board the Fleet under his command the under written provisions, for the use of the Sierra Leone Company, viz

Beef	/Ten thousand one hundred, & forty three Pounds
Pork	/Twelve thousand eight hundred & seventy Pounds
Fish	/Five hundred & twenty six Pounds
Bread	/Thirty two thousand, two hundred & thirty six Pounds
Rice	/Twelve thousand three hundred & eighty nine Pounds
Meat	/Nine hundred & thirty six Pounds
Butter	/Two hundred & fifty one Pounds
Sugar	/One thousand 7 hundred & 16 Pounds
Peas	/One hundred & forty three Gallons
Mollasses	/Twelve Gallons
Rum	/Seventy one Gallons & a half
Wine	/Eight Gallons
Vinegar	/One hundred & five Gallons
Tobacco Stems	/One hundred & twelve Pounds
Windsails	/Twenty

Signed

(Alex Falconbridge) Members
)
James Watt[276] of the
)
(Richard Pepys) Council

Sierra Leone, March 1792

Received of John Clarkson Esq^r the undermentioned Ordnance, and Stores for the use of the Sierra Leone Company &c.

Iron 3 Pounders		4
Ship carriages complete 3 P^ds		4
Aprons of Lead large		4
Boxes for {Tube / Case}		1
Bayonets		10
Breechings 3/4 Inch		5
Chests Laboratory		1
Crows of Iron 4 1/2 Feet		4
Musket Cartouch Boxes		10
Cases of wood 3 lbs		4
Flints for Muskets		480
Cartridges {Empty 3 P^ds}	Flannels	50
	Paper	200
{Paper with ball}	Muskets	3560
	Carbine	1870
Frogs for Bayonets		10
Clay Hammers		1
Hand Cross Cleaves 5 Feet		6
Powder Horns		4
Hoops Copper H B		20
Punches Cast		1 1/2
Priming Irons		8

Saddles with Stirrups 3 Pdrs	2
Padlocks	1
Muskets. Ship company	10
Iron Hoops	16 lbs
Marline Skeins	1/2
Measures Copper 3 Pdrs	1
Powders Round	20 lbs
Half barrels of 48 lbs each	4
Portfires	6
Punches of Vents	2
Sheep Skins	2
Shot 3 Pdrs Round loose	145
Case fixed to wood bottom	50
Portfire sticks	1
Sponge Tacks	200
Scabbards for Bayonets	10
Tompions for 3 Pdrs	6
Thimbles double for breeching to run through 3 & 4 Pounders	4
Tubes fixed	50
Tackles complete with blocks & hooks	9
Wadhooks with Staves 3 Pdrs	2
Roasted	1/4 lb.

Alex Falconbridge } Members of the Council at Sierra Leone
James Watt
Richard Peters

The following is a copy of a letter addressed to the Right Honorable Henry Dundas (one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State) and intended to be sent to England by the first opportunity—

Sir

I have the honour of informing you of my safe arrival at this place, with the Black people under my command—We sailed from Halifax on the 16th day of January, in all fifteen vessels, having on board 1190 persons of Colour, coming hither as Settlers, of whom 65 died at sea, chiefly old and variously diseased at the time of their embarkation—For the first three weeks of the voyage, we experienced heavy gales of wind, during which seven of the Transports parted company with me, and arrived first at Sierra Leone—Having suffered myself, at sea from a severe fit of illness, the effects of which I still feel in a great loss of memory and much weakness I am prevented entering into those details which I should otherwise have done—I am happy to say that none of the vessels which arrived with me incurred any demurrage, those that came in before me were unavoidably subjected to a short delay in consequence of the unprepared state of the Colony to receive their passengers on shore—the whole amount of demurrage incurred by such delay is as follows

Beaver 5 days £3 . 17 . 6 in all £	16	17	6
Sierra Leone 3 days £9 . 0 . 0	27	0	0
Mary Capt. Mattocks 9 days £6 . 0 . 0	54	0	0
Mary Capt. Barnard 4 days 3 . 15 . 0	15	0	0
Parr 9 days 6 . 15 . 0	60	15	0
Two Brothers 9 days 3 . 15 . 0	33	15	0
	207	7	6

Finding on my arrival here, that the people had conducted themselves remarkably well upon the Passage, and their whole behaviour from the time I first knew them having convinced me of their great attachment to His Majesty and the British Government, I took upon me to give them by way of reward

for their good conduct, and of encouragement to their future exertions, the surplus of provisions which remained in the different ships, after the termination of their voyage, and I flatter myself that my conduct herein will fully meet your approbation—

I have given the several Captains Certificates of the due performance of their respective contracts, the form of which I send you a copy (see Page) which will entitle their Principals to receive the money due to them from the Treasury

I have the honour to be
with the greatest respect Sir
Your most obedient Servant
John Clarkson

P.S. I should have sent you the form of the Several Charter Parties, but knowing that they would be transmitted to you from Halifax I thought it unnecessary

Having discharged all the vessels, and obtained receipts for the various provisions Stores & c, landed in the Colony from on board the ships, agreeable to my instructions from the Government of Halifax, I consider myself as having performed all I agreed to do for the Sierra Leone Company and shall therefore give a general account of the expences incurred by me on their account, for the completion of my mission up to the present day—The bill which I have made out for my expences from the 6th 1791 to the present time, which includes the payment of my passage from London to Halifax; the rent of house, and maintenance of Mr. Taylor and myself, and wages of servants there, the travelling expences of Mr. Taylor and myself to Shelburne and other places; the payment of stationary, copying and printing advertisements; the purchase of nautical Instruments for the voyage, with that of money advanced to Thos Peters for his support at New Brunswick and to make him and his family comfortable on their voyage, and for Sea Stores for Mr. Taylor and myself for the voyage from Halifax to Sierra Leone & c, amounts only to £287—

March 18th — This morning at daylight struck my Pendant, having discharged all the Nova Scotian vessels— Attended Divine Service on Shore—I feel happy at being able to dismiss the Transports which arrived with me, without putting Government to the expence of demurrage for I have uniformly been as strenuous to keep down expence, and to prevent unnecessary charges on their account, as I have been economical in the expenditure of the Sierra Leone Com-

pany's money. I wish I could say that I feel equally satisfied at the thoughts of my new appointment—but what can I do? I am not bound in honour to the Sierra Leone Company, or to the Nova Scotians, to remain in Sierra Leone beyond a limited time, because I did not engage with the former to do anything more, than to collect the people in America & deliver them over to the Government of Sierra Leone, and as to the latter I particularly mentioned to each individual, when he applied to me to become a Settler, that I should not stay with them in Africa, and that it was my intention to return to England, as soon as circumstances would admit, after having landed them safe at Sierra Leone, and when I look to the shattered state of my health, and contemplate the scenes before me (with the heartfelt satisfaction that I have fulfilled all I had stipulated to do, and that with some little credit to myself) and am now without the power of controlling what I see to be wrong, I ought not to hesitate in doing justice to myself and connexions, by returning to a Northern climate without loss of time, as the only probable means of restoring me to health; as nothing but extravagance, idleness, quarrelling, waste, irregularity in accounts, insubordination, and everything that is contrary to what is good and right, is practised by those who are sent out to Govern, as well as instruct by example these poor people, in forming a society upon good & virtuous principles, and completely at variance with the advice I had given to the Directors in my letters from Nova Scotia, on the absolute necessity of beginning well at first—On the other hand the pressing letters I have received from the Chairman and Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, as well as private ones from Individuals, in the direction, entreating as the unanimous wish of the Directors that I should not return to England but accept the Government, if it were only for a few months, to give them time to look out for a suitable person to succeed me, as I have said before (for I had positively declared before I left England, that nothing should induce me to extend my services beyond what I had offered) with such flattering expressions of their approbation of my conduct, and the high sense they entertained of the services I had rendered the Company and the cause in general, added to the affection & regard I felt for the Nova Scotians for their obedience and regular behaviour during the voyage, and my ardent zeal for the civilization of the surrounding nations, and Africa in general, and knowing that there could not be any people in existence, in every point of view, better calculated for forming a new Settlement, than those I brought with me from America, if properly managed, and being convinced, from what little I have already seen of the Natives of Sierra Leone,

that an honest, open, conciliating, yet firm conduct towards them would in time, encourage them, to place a confidence in the purity of our intentions & c. Feeling additionally impressed with the conviction that if I left the Colony, inevitable ruin must be the consequence, I was compelled to sink all private considerations, and agree to remaining here; and though I may be disgraced by blending my services with those of others, over whom I have no proper control, I have made up my mind to take the consequences, and accept the Government under its present objectionable form, and to remain with the poor Nova Scotians till the Colony is established or lost—

NOTES

1. Thomas, son of Rev. John Clarkson, who was the head-master from 1749 to 1766 of the free Grammar School at Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, England, was born at Wisbeach on March 28, 1760. He was educated at St. Paul's School, 1775-80, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, from which he graduated B. A. in 1783, and after which he was in deacon's orders. He wrote a prize essay against slavery in 1785 and he published it in 1786. Appalled by what he read on the subject of the horrors of the slave traffic, he resolved to devote all his energies towards its abolition. He was one of the members of a committee formed in 1787 for the suppression of the slave trade, and he visited such places as Bristol and Liverpool, not only to collect information with regard to the slave trade, but also to hold meetings in favour of its suppression. He urged abolition of slavery on the French government in 1789-90 and on the Czar in 1818. Meanwhile, his health had given way in 1794, and for a considerable time he had to cease active work. During his enforced leisure however, he wrote "A History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade." In 1823 he was appointed one of the vice-presidents of the Anti-Slavery Society, which had just been formed. To his exertions is the abolition of the slave trade due in large measure, for his researches enabled Wilberforce to bring such convincing evidence of its horrors before Parliament. His works include pamphlets on slavery, theological tracts, and a memoir on William Penn. He married Catherine, daughter of William Buck of Bury St. Edmunds, and their only son, Thomas, was killed in a carriage accident in 1837, in his fortieth year. Thomas Clarkson, the anti-slavery agitator and philanthropist, died at Playford Hall, near Ipswich, on September 29, 1846.

2. William, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Bird) Wilberforce, was born at Hull, England, on August 24, 1759. At the Grammar School in Hull, his skill in elocution, not his diligence as a scholar, attracted the attention of the master. Before the end of his tenth year he lost his father and was transferred to the care of a paternal uncle in London; in his twelfth year he returned to Hull; and soon afterwards he was placed under the care of the master of the endowed school of Pocklington. In 1776 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, where he formed a close friendship with Pitt. At the death of his grandfather and his uncle, he became the possessor of an independent fortune under the sole guardianship of his mother. On leaving Cambridge he was elected to Parliament for Hull in 1780. He at once opposed North, especially in regard to the American War; but on Pitt becoming Prime Minister he gave his support to the struggling government. In 1784 he was elected for Yorkshire. He strongly supported Pitt's measures for parliamentary reform. In 1784-85 he travelled on the continent with Dr. Isaac Milner, under whose influence he adopted more serious views of life. He advocated a reform of the criminal law and in 1787, having made the acquaintance of Thomas Clarkson,

he became the parliamentary leader of the agitation against the slave trade, with which his name is most familiarly associated. Notwithstanding the unremitting labours of Wilberforce inside parliament and of Thomas Clarkson outside it, it was not until 1807 that the abolition of the slave trade was achieved. In 1812, on account of failing health, Wilberforce exchanged the representation of Yorkshire for the less demanding one of Bramber, and in 1825 he retired altogether from parliament. Meantime, when the anti-slavery society was formed in 1823 Wilberforce and Clarkson were made vice-presidents of it. Before their aim was accomplished Wilberforce had retired from public life, and the Emancipation Bill was not passed until August, 1833, about a month after his death on July 29, 1833.

3. Thomas Peters, a negro, who had been born about 1741, became a mill-wright and, in 1776, preferring liberty under the flag of empire to slavery under the flag of liberty, escaped from his master in Wilmington, North Carolina, and served as a Sergeant in the Guides and Pioneers, under General Sir Henry Clinton's command, during the American Revolutionary War. At the close of that war he sailed from New York to Nova Scotia in the ship *Joseph,* in 1783, with his wife Sally and one child under 10. Blown off course, they wintered in Bermuda and then proceeded to Nova Scotia, arriving there on May 25, 1784. He and his family were among the negroes mustered in Annapolis County in the spring of 1784 who intended to settle at Digby. At Annapolis Royal on August 21, 1784, he was one of the two secretaries who drafted and signed, on behalf of the Company of Black Pioneers, a petition to Governor John Parr, for land which they had been promised and for a further issue of provisions which had been stopped. In 1785 he was granted one acre of land in the Township of Digby. After waiting vainly for six years for the remainder of his land, he determined to go to England with a view to securing a redress of the grievances of some of the free blacks in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Imbued with faith and courage, and motivated by a desire to improve the lot himself and his fellows, Peters went to England in 1791. There he was soon in touch with Granville Sharp, the philanthropist, who, by bringing James Somersett before the courts in 1772, had given the "Black Poor" their charter of freedom. Peters also presented a memorial to the Secretary of State, and when the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, which was interested in establishing a colony for negroes, heard his story they offered his people assylum in Sierra Leone. Peters was so attracted by this offer of the Sierra Leone Company that he expressed a desire that he and his family and such other blacks as might be disposed to become settlers in Sierra Leone might be removed thither. Although compliance with this request would be attended with expense, His Majesty, in consideration of their service, was anxious to gratify them, and it was decided to offer free passage to Sierra Leone for all those blacks who preferred to settle there rather than remain in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick.

Lieutenant John Clarkson, R. N., whose brother Thomas Clarkson was a director of the Sierra Leone Company, volunteered to go to America to look into the situation of those blacks and to ascertain how many of them wished to accept this offer. Meantime Peters returned to Nova Scotia to tell the people the news. By the time that Clarkson reached Halifax, Peters had set off for New Brunswick, going first to Saint John and intending to proceed from there to Fredericton before returning to Annapolis Royal. On November 27th Peters arrived at Halifax, bringing with him not only his wife and children, but also over ninety additional blacks for the voyage to Sierra Leone. Peters reported that the blacks in New Brunswick were in a deplorable state and that efforts were being made to prevent them from leaving. In order to save time for other matters, Clarkson appointed Thomas Peters, David George, and John Ball as intermediaries in dealing with the complaints of the blacks who awaited embarkation at Halifax. The expedition sailed from Halifax on January 15, 1792, with the transports arriving at Sierra Leone, between February 28th and March 9th. Without an official position, Peters gradually lost to Clarkson the influence among the blacks which he had previously possessed. Humiliated and mortified by developments, Peters fell ill with the prevailing fever and died in the night of June 25th-26th.

4. William Wyndham Grenville was Home Secretary, 1789, and Foreign Secretary, 1791-1801.

5. Sir Henry Clinton (c. 1738-1795) was the son of Admiral George Clinton, Governor of Newfoundland and subsequently of New York. He served as aide-de-camp to Ferdinand of Brunswick in the Seven Years' War. He became Major-General in 1772, and he was on active service in America during the War of Independence. He took part in the battles of Bunker Hill and Long Island, subsequently taking possession of New York. After the battles of Saratoga in 1777 he succeeded Sir William Howe as Commander-in-Chief in North America. Concentrating the British forces at New York, he pursued a policy of foraying expeditions instead of regular campaigns. In 1779 he invaded South Carolina, and in 1780 in conjuction with Admiral Arbuthnot he captured Charleston. There was friction between him and Lord Cornwallis and after the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781 he was superseded by Sir Guy Carleton. He was appointed Governor of Gibraltar in 1794, and he died there in 1795. He was also a member of Parliament.

6. Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, (1742-1811), was Home Secretary, 1791-1794, and Secretary at War, 1794-1801. Subsequently he was First Lord of the Admiralty.

7. John, son of John and Eleanor (Clements) Parr, was born in Dublin, Ireland, on December 20, 1765. After being a student at Trinity High School, he went into the army as an ensign in 1744 and he reached the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in 1771. From 1778 to 1782 he was Major

of the Tower of London. He was Governor of Nova Scotia from 1782 to 1786, when Sir Guy Carleton was appointed Governor-in-Chief of British North America, and Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia from 1786-1791. He died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on November 25, 1791.

8. Thomas son of Christopher and Catherine (Ball) Carleton, and brother of Sir Guy Carleton, was born in Ireland in 1735. He went into the army. During the Seven Years' War he served in Europe and from 1765 to 1769 he was in garrison at Gibraltar. In 1776 he became Quartermaster General in Canada. On August 16, 1784 he was appointed first Governor of the newly created Province of New Brunswick. The name of his office was changed to Lieutenant-Governor in 1786. Although he returned to England in 1803, he retained this office until 1817. He died at Ramsgate, England, on February 2, 1817.
9. J. R. Williams of Chatham Place.
10. Lawrence Hartshorne, (1755-1822), who was born in Shrewsbury, New Jersey, was a Loyalist who went from New York to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1783. He was a merchant and a man of property. He not only built several houses, but also, in association with a friend, a corn mill and a bake-house. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia for Halifax County from 1793 to 1799, and a member of the Council of Nova Scotia from 1801 to 1804 and from 1807 to 1822. He was also Commissioner of Revenue. He was a Quaker. He resided in Halifax and in Dartmouth. He died on March 10, 1822.
11. Henry, son of John, a rich merchant, and Lucy (Watson) Thornton, was born on March 10, 1760. He engaged in banking. He was a member of Parliament for Southwark from 1782 till his death. He was not only one of the most influential members of the Clapham Sect of Evangelicals, but he supported Wilberforce's anti-slave trade agitation and he took a leading part in the foundation of the colony of Sierra Leone. He carried through parliament an act for the formation of the Sierra Leone Company, and he was the chairman of the company for the whole of its existence. He procured the capital, drafted the constitution, selected the governor, superintended the despatch of settlers, and in 1807 arranged for the transfer of the colony to the British government. He was the first treasurer of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, which was founded in 1799, and soon afterwards became the Church Missionary Society. He was also the first treasurer of the British and Foreign Bible Society. On March 1, 1796, he married Marianne, only daughter of Joseph Sykes, of West Ella, near Hull, and he left nine children. He died on January 16, 1815, in Wilberforce's house at Kensington Gore, and he was buried at Clapham.
12. Philip Sansom, a London merchant, was present at the first meeting of St. George's Bay Company on February 17, 1790 "for the purpose of opening and establishing a trade in the natural productions of

Africa." At that meeting he agreed to take one share of £50. He was not only one of the original subscribers of the Sierra Leona Company but the purchaser of 9 shares. Following the incorporation of the Sierra Leona Company by Act of Parliament in 1791, Sansom was chosen not only as a director but also as Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors.

13. Charles Middleton, first Baron Barham (1726-1813), served in the navy. He was on convoy service and he cruised in the West Indies in 1761. He was comptroller of the navy from 1778 to 1790. He was created a baronet in 1781 and he was elected M. P. for Rochester in 1784. He became a rear-admiral in 1787, a vice-admiral in 1793, and an admiral in 1795. He was appointed lord commissioner of the admiralty in 1794 and at a very critical time (although about 80 years of age) he was appointed first lord of the admiralty in 1805. He was also created Lord Barham in 1805. He resigned office in 1806 and he died on January 17, 1813. He was one of the original subscribers to the capital joint stock of the Sierra Leona Company, subscribing for 10 shares, the original price of each share being £50.

14. Granville Sharp, (1735-1813), philanthropist, was born at Durham, England, the son of Thomas Sharp, a theological writer and biographer. He attended Durham Grammar School and was apprenticed to a London draper. In 1758 he entered the ordnance department of the Government. He published several treatises on biblical criticism, but his fame rests largely upon his efforts for the abolition of slavery, which became the main object of his life. He became involved in a law suit with a slave owner in the Somersett case in which the doctrine was established that a slave becomes free the moment he sets foot on English soil. Sharp advocated the cause of the American colonies, supported parliamentary reform in Britain and the legislative independence of Ireland, and joined the crusade against the press gang. As early as 1783 he proposed the idea of establishing a colony of free slaves on the coast of Africa, and he became one of the original subscribers of the Sierra Leona Company, taking 5 shares. In 1797 he founded a society for the abolition of slavery, and in 1804 he took a prominent part in founding the British and Foreign Bible Society. He also helped to found the African Institution in 1807. He lived chiefly in rooms in Garden Court, Temple, London, but he died at Fulham, and a memorial to him was erected at Westminster Abbey.

15. John Kingston was one of the original subscribers of the Sierra Leona Company, taking 10 shares.

16. Samuel Parker subscribed for 15 shares.

17. Joseph Hardcastle subscribed for 20 shares.

18. Vickeris Taylor subscribed for 5 shares.

19. William Sanford subscribed for 5 shares.

20. Thomas Eldred subscribed for 1 share.

21. George Wolff subscribed for 15 shares.

22. The Eddystone rocks lie about 14 miles off Plymouth, England. Winstanley's Tower was built in 1695-98, Rudyerd's Tower in 1706-09, and Smeaton's Tower in 1756-59.

23. Banquereau Bank, extending from about Latitude 44° 30′ N. Longitude, Longitude 57° 20′ W., westward to the meridian of Longitude 60° W., is a plateau of sand and gravel, and shells, with depths of from 15 to 20 fathoms.

24. Thomas Peters.

25. John Parr.

26. Probably Mrs. Sutherland's Coffee House, opposite the Commissary Offices on Bedford Row, or perhaps the British Coffee House, kept by John Gallagher, on the eastern side of Water Street, adjoining the north end of the premises of the Ordnance Wharf, near the foot of Marchinton's (Bell's) Lane.

27. Swedenborgianism is based on belief in Emanuel Swedenborg's claims to have witnessed the last judgment, or the second coming of the Lord, with the inauguration of the new church, through the system of doctrine promulgated by him and derived from the scriptures.

28. Lawrence Hartshorne.

29. Mr. and Mrs. George Brinley. George, son of Colonel Francis and Adelph (Malbone) Brinley, of Newport, Rhode Island, became a merchant in Boston, Massachusetts. On October 29, 1765, he married Mary, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Deering) Wentworth, and sister of Lady Wentworth. George Brinley was proscribed by the Massachusetts Act of 1778. He was in England in 1783. In 1797 he was Deputy Commissary General at Halifax and in 1799 he was appointed Commissary General of His Majesty's forces in British North America. He died in 1809 and his wife died in 1819. One of their daughters was Mrs. Moody, the mother of Mrs. Gore, the novelist.

30. George Hammond, (1763-1853), son of William Hammond, of Kirk Ella, East Riding of Yorkshire, was the first British minister accredited to the United States of America. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford. In 1783 he was secretary to David Hartley the younger who was at Paris conducting negotiations for peace with France and the United States. He was charge d'affaires at Vienna, 1788-1790, first British minister to the United States, 1791-1795, and under-secretary for foreign affairs, 1795-1806 and 1807-1809.

31. Edward Thornton, (1766-1852), was a son of William Thornton, a

Yorkshireman settled in London as an innkeeper. He was educated at Cambridge University. He became the tutor of the sons of James (afterwards Sir James) Burges, under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, who took a great liking to him and recommended him to George Hammond as secretary on Hammond's appointment in 1791 as the first British minister accredited to the United States. Thornton filled various diplomatic posts and he negotiated treaties of alliance with Sweden and Russia in 1811. He was created G. C. B. in 1822.

32. The *Grantham* arrived in Halifax on October 8, 1791.
33. Captain Bull.
34. James Dowder, King Jemmy (Jimmy) (Jimi), was a local ruler whose animosity contributed to the misfortunes of the more than 400 colonists who sailed from Portsmouth, England, in February, 1787, to found the Province of Freedom in Sierra Leone. Upon their arrival at Sierra Leone, Captain Bouldon Thompson, who was the commander of the naval escort, selected a tract of land for settlement, which was purchased from King Tom, the local ruler, on June 11, 1787. Subsequently, Tom's overlord, Naimbana declined to accept the treaty by which this land was purchased, and a second treaty had to be made with him on August 22, 1788. The settlers lacked not only the experience and the captial needed for development and trade, but the colony was unable to withstand attack. The existence of the settlement was resented by slaving captains, and King Jemmy, who succeeded King Tom, resolved to plunder the little colony in retaliation for a raid of a ship's captain upon his own town. In these circumstances, the surviving settlers dispersed in November 1789, before King Jemmy carried out his threats to the letter.
35. Charles Inglis (1734-1816) was the first Anglican bishop of Nova Scotia. Born in Ireland in 1734, he was the third son of the Rev. Archibald Inglis. Following his education in Ireland he crossed the Atlantic and became a teacher in Pennsylvania in 1755-1757. He went to England in 1758 to take holy orders, and he was ordained deacon and priest in the same year. He was then appointed as missionary at Dover, Delaware. In 1765 he was appointed assistant to the rector of Trinity Church, New York. During the American Revolutionary War he was known for his loyalty to the crown. He went to England in 1783, and in 1787 he was consecrated first bishop of Nova Scotia. He was made a member of the Council of Nova Scotia in 1809.
36. Sampson Salter, son of Lieutenant John and Sarah (Salter) Blowers, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 8, 1743. He was educated at Boston Latin School and at Harvard College, where he obtained his B. A. in 1763. He studied law with Governor Thomas Hutchinson and he was admitted to the bar of Massachusetts in 1766. In 1779 he was appointed judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode

Island. Later in that year he went to England. He was appointed Solicitor-General of New York in 1781. On the evacuation of New York by the British in 1783, he went to Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was appointed Attorney-General of Nova Scotia in 1785. In the same year he was elected as the representative of Halifax County to the Legislative Assembly of the Province, and he was selected as the Speaker of the House of Assembly. In 1797 he was appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia and President of the Council. He was also Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, 1821-1833, and Master of the Rolls, 1824-1826. On April 5, 1774, he married Sarah, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Kent of Boston. He retired from public life in 1833, and he died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on October 25, 1842.

37. Sir Richard Hughes, Bart., (1729?-1812), was the son of Sir Richard Hughes, first baronet. He was educated at the Royal Academy, Portsmouth, England, and he entered the Royal Navy in 1742. He was resident Commissioner of the navy at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1778. He was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia from 1778 to 1781. He was promoted to be rear-admiral in 1780. In 1781 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the squadron in the Downs. He was Commander-in-Chief at Halifax from 1789 to 1792. He was promoted to Admiral in 1794 and he retired in the same year. He died on January 5, 1812.

38. Lieutenant Francis M. Miller. He invited all able bodied free negro men who were willing to serve in the Black Carolina Corps then in the West Indies to apply to him at his quarters in Sutherland's Coffee House. Enlisted men were to receive a bounty of one guinea and a half, rations of provisions, good quarters, and the same pay and clothing as men in the land forces.

39. James, son of Judge James and Elizabeth (Chandler) Putnam, who was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1756, educated at Harvard College, and went to Nova Scotia as a Loyalist. He was barrack master and a member of the commissary department. He represented Sydney County in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia from 1785 to 1793. He died on March 2, 1838.

40. Titus Smith, (1768-1850), the eldest child of Reverend Titus and Damaris (Nash) Smith, was born at Granby, in Hampshire County, Massachusetts. He obtained a broad education at home and he also attended a private school in New Haven, Connecticut. He not only became proficient in languages, but he studied botany, mathematics, and astronomy. He became a land surveyor. In 1801 he was commissioned to make a survey of the unfrequented areas of Nova Scotia for the purpose of describing their natural resources, agricultural potentialities, and suitability for settlement. In 1801 and 1802 he made such a survey of the eastern, western, and northern parts of peninsular Nova Scotia. He also continued to be a land surveyor. He delivered lectures at meetings of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute;

he contributed articles to Halifax newspapers on such topics as agriculture, botany, chemistry, education, geology, and history; he collected for Miss Maria Morris, the artist, specimens of the wild flowers of Nova Scotia, and he prepared suitable descriptive texts for her sketches. He was for many years secretary of the Central Board of Agriculture, and he came to be known as "The Dutch Village Philosopher." At the time of Clarkson's visit, he was living on his father's farm at Preston, just west of Salmon River, near where W. Silver lived later. Subsequently Titus Smith moved to Dutch Village, near Halifax, and in 1803 he married Sarah, daughter of Henry and Lucy (Scott) Wisdom. They had a large family.

41. Colonel Stephen Bluck, a mulatto, with considerable education, was the leader of the freed negroes in Shelburne County. His company comprising 41 men, 38 women, and 26 children, arrived in Shelburne from New York in 1783. Bluck was then thirty-one years of age. On September 7, 1784, Stephen Bluck was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Black Militia in the District of Shelburne. In 1787 he received a grant of 200 acres of land at Birch Town, on the western side of Port Roseway Harbour, in Division E, at the rear of Captain Joseph Durfee's land. He assumed the position of schoolmaster at Birch Town, and he is said to have entertained Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV, to dinner at his home in Birch Town. Tradition has it that misappropriation of funds entrusted to him for the benefit of the coloured people caused him to leave home and that a fragment of his clothing, picked up later, led to the belief that he had been devoured by a wild animal.

42. Thomas Andrew Lumisden, son of Sir Robert and Isabella (Lumisden) Strange, was born on November 30, 1756. He was educated at Westminster School and at Christ Church, Oxford, graduating B. A. in 1778 and M. A. in 1782. Entering Lincoln's Inn, he was called to the bar in 1785. In 1789 he was appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, and he held that position until 1797. In 1797 he was recorder and president of the court in Madras, India. In 1800 he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Madras. In 1817 he resigned from that position and returned to England. He was knighted in 1798. He died at St. Leonard's, England, on July 16, 1841.

43. Charles Taylor.

44. The ship *Rashleigh* ran from London to Halifax and Philadelphia.

45. Dutch Town received its name from a corruption of Deutsch, for that northern part of early Halifax had been settled by Germans.

46. Captain Henry Rogers of the Royal Artillery.

47. Captain Bull of the *Grantham*.

48. In Cornwall, between Lands End and Lizard Point.

49. A director of the Sierra Leona Company.

50. Henry Hew Dalrymple.

51. The township of Preston, about eight miles from Dartmouth, was granted in 1784 to Theophilus Chamberlain and others, mostly Loyalists and disbanded soldiers.

52. Known to the Micmacs as Logumkeegun or Sogumkeagum, "a canal cut through a sand bank," and to the French as Port Razoir, on account of its shape being like a partly folded straight razor, it was called Port Roseway by the English for a time and it was also given the name New Jerusalem. Port Roseway was settled by Loyalists in 1783, its name was changed to Shelburne in honour of the Earl of Shelburne, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1782-83, and its population rose to about 16,000 within a few years and then many of its inhabitants moved away.

53. The Lieutenant-Governor's announcement included the following words: "Public Notice is hereby given, That those free, Blacks who are desirous to remove from the Province to Sierra Leone, on the Coast of Guinea, ..."

54. Job Bennet Clarke, Justice of the Peace for Hants County.

55. Gregory, son of Rev. Jonathan and Mary (Sugar) Townsend, was born at Needham, Mass., on November 28, 1732. He married Lucretia, daughter of Daniel and Martha (Coit) Hubbard, in Boston, Mass., on August 16, 1764. He was assistant commissary general at New York and president of the board of claims. At the end of the American Revolutionary War he went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he was assistant commissary general in the provision branch. He was a church warden in St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, N. S., and he died at Halifax in October, 1798.

56. Probably the schooner *Dolphin* which was sold by Captain Benajah Collins of Liverpool, Nova Scotia, to Captain Elisha Hopkins of the same place, in 1787. Hughes was her master in 1791.

57. A lighthouse was erected on Sambro Island, to the south-east of Halifax, in 1759.

58. Now Lockeport, Shelburne County.

59. Port Hebert, or Port L'Hebert is in Shelburne County, near the border between Shelburne and Queens Counties.

60. John MacLean received a grant of 100 acres at Port Hebert in 1785.

61. Robert Lavender was a Loyalist who went from Ashley River, South Carolina, with his wife Susannah and a family of five, to Shelburne and then to Liverpool.

62. About three miles to the south-west of Port Hebert.

63. A lighthouse was erected near the south-eastern point of MacNutt Island in Shelburne Harbour in 1787-1788.

64. The son of slaves, who were native Africans, David George was born in Essex County, Virginia, about 1744. At about the age of 19 he ran away from his master. He went to Georgia and to South Carolina. After being converted he began to preach. He also taught himself to read with the aid of a spelling book and the assistance of some white children. He was the first regular pastor of the Silver Bluff church in South Carolina. When Charlestown was evacuated by the British in the autumn of 1782, he went to Halifax, Nova Scotia. In 1783 he went to Shelburne, where he received land and provisions. When he was mustered with Captain John Cuthbert's Company at Birch Town in 1784, he was listed as a farmer forty years of age. His wife Phillis was then 25, and their children, Jesse, David, and Jane were then 10, 7, and 1, respectively. He preached at Shelburne, Birch Town, Ragged Islands, Saint John, and Fredericton. In 1792 he sailed to Sierra Leone, and he introduced the Baptist Church into West Africa.

65. His name appears in an abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the period February 16, 1787 to February 15, 1788 as "Attendant upon the negroes lately gone to Sierra Leone." This report was published in 1788. By 1790 he had returned to England on account of his health.

66. Joseph Irwin. He was a friend of Henry Smeathman, an amateur botanist, who visited Africa and hoped to return to colonize it.

67. Stephen, son of Rev. William Skinner, was born in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, in 1725. He was appointed treasurer of New Jersey and a Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex County, New Jersey, in 1763. He was also appointed to the Council of New Jersey in 1774. He raised a company of Loyalist New Jersey Volunteers in the American Revolution. In 1783 he migrated to Shelburne, Nova Scotia. His wife was Catherine, daughter of Andrew Johnstone. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia for Shelburne County from 1793 to 1799. He became Colonel of the Shelburne Militia. He died in Shelburne on October 27, 1808, in his 73rd year.

68. Probably Stephen Bluck.

69. Perhaps William Morris, Chaplain of the Fourth Regiment.

70. Edward, son of Colonel Francis and Adelph (Malbone) Brinley, of Newport, Rhode Island, was assistant commissary of provisions at Shelburne. On June 17, 1792 he married Jannet (Janet) Parker, formerly of Perth Amboy, New Jersey. He was appointed Collector of Impost and Excise for the District of Shelburne on October 29, 1792. He was commissioned Judge of the Inferior Court of Common

Pleas for the County of Shelburne on October 11, 1799. Later he moved to Perth Amboy, New Jersey and, after the death of his wife in 1804, to Newport, Rhode Island, where he married in 1807 Mary, daughter of Hon. Augustus Johnstone, Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty of Newport. Eventually he returned to Perth Amboy, where he died in 1851 at the age of 95.

71. James, son of James Humphreys, studied medicine at Philadelphia College and became the publisher of the newspaper *Pennsylvania Ledger* in 1775. He was a Loyalist who went to Shelburne, Nova Scotia from New York via England about 1786. He printed *The Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser* in Shelburne. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia for Shelburne County, 1793-1796. In 1797 he returned to Philadelphia, where he opened a printing shop. He died in Philadelphia in February, 1810.

72. Perhaps Nicholas Ogden.

73. James Bruce was Collector of Customs at Shelburne from 1785. He had previously been a member of the Council of West Florida. He died in Shelburne on November 15, 1804. His widow Isabella, daughter of Sir William Sinclair, died at Shelburne on June 22, 1807.

74. Lieutenant Henry Davis and Ensign Thomas Winkley.

75. Perhaps Janet or Jennet Parker.

76. David George.

77. Henry Hew Dalrymple.

78. The schooner *Deborah,* McNutt, master, cleared at Halifax on November 15th for her return to Shelburne.

79. William Winlock, master of H. M. S. *Assurance,* died on Sunday, November 6, 1791. His funeral was held on Wednesday, November 9th at 12 o'clock from the Naval Hospital. On Sunday morning November 13th, H. M. Ship *Assurance,* Captain Shortland, sailed for England with part of the 57th Regiment on board.

80. Captain George Tripp of H. M. Ship *Penelope.*

81. Dr. William Burns. He obtained a grant of 500 acres of land in 1787 on the road leading from Shelburne to Liverpool, and his name appears on the assessment roll of Shelburne in 1787.

82. Michael Wallace was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland in 1747. He migrated to Virginia in 1779 and later moved to Halifax, Nova Scotia. At Halifax on January 4, 1781, he married Mary, daughter of John Kerby. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia for Halifax County from 1785 to 1803 and a member of the Council of Nova Scotia from 1803 to 1831. He was appointed Provincial Treasurer in 1797. He was also administrator of the Government

of the Province for short periods in 1824-25, 1828, and 1829-30. He died at Halifax on October 8, 1831.

83. Having heard that the agents of the Sierra Leone Company had taken umbrage at his remarks, Philanthropos expressed his views in *The Weekly Chronicle* of November 12, 1791. He made it plain that he did not cast any reflection upon their conduct in carrying into effect any instructions that they might have received. At the same time he repeated his opinion that the proposals of the Sierra Leone Company were too vague and indefinite for the basis of a colonial establishment. He stressed that blacks and whites should be treated in the same manner. He hoped that the development of Nova Scotia would be encouraged and that interested views would not result in measures injurious to the prosperity of the province.

84. Rev. Robert Stanser (1760-1828). He came from England to Nova Scotia as rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, in 1791. In 1806 he became Bishop of Nova Scotia.

85. John Butler Dight, a Halifax merchant, was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia for Cumberland County from 1785 to 1793. He was a son of Colonel Dight of Windsor, N. S., and he served as a soldier at Fort Cumberland. He was also a captain, in the Halifax militia. He was commissioned Justice of the Peace for Halifax County in 1792. He was appointed deputy commissary general in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, St. John's Island, and Cape Breton in 1799. In 1804 he was appointed to the Council of Nova Scotia. He served in the commissariat's department in Wellington's army during the Peninsular campaign. He changed his name to John Butler Butler on inheriting the estate of his uncle, Hon. John Butler. He married Ameliora Burgess, daughter of James Morden in Halifax on June 21, 1787, and he died at Martock, Windsor, N. S., on July 2, 1854.

86. His Majesty's Ship *Argo,* Captain Tatham, sailed from Halifax for England on Sunday, November 13th, with officers and men of the 57th Regiment on board.

87. An advertisement dated November 9, 1791 for upwards of one thousand tons of shipping appeared in *The Royal Gazette* of November 15, 1791.

88. "Notwithstanding all that has been said by *Philanthropos* and others to deter them," the editor of *The Weekly Chronicle* declared on November 19, 1791, "a very considerable proportion of the sooty Brotherhood seem determined to emigrate to the new-settled Colony at *Sierra Leona.*" He believed that such an emigration must result in a rise in the price of labour and he regarded it on the whole a very unpleasant circumstance that only the valuable part of them would be selected for Sierra Leone, leaving "the maimed, the halt, the blind and the *lazy* (no inconsiderable number)" as a burden on the community.

"For G-d's sake, Gentlemen of the Company," he concluded "take them *indiscriminately.*"

89. The tenders varied but little, viz., from ten pounds currency to ten pounds sterling each for grown persons and seven pounds to seven pounds ten shillings for children indiscriminately, under sixteen years of age, the ships to find fuel, water, and water casks only, for the voyage. Michael Wallace explained that his efforts to get lower terms had been in great measure ineffectual owing to the lateness of the season before the nuumber of blacks and the consequent quantity of tonnage could be ascertained, the fewness of vessels fit for the purpose, the alleged unhealthiness of the voyage, the injury to single bottomed ships from the worm on the coast of Africa, the lack of return cargoes, and the time involved. He suggested that the terms be changed from so much per person to so much per ton.

90. Lieutenant Wickham of the Navy. He was the master of the *Felicity.*

91. Jonathan Tremaine was a partner in business of Lawrence Hartshorne. Born in Portsea, Hampshire, England, on April 24, 1742, he attended school in Maidstone, Kent, England, and went to New York City in 1764 with his brothers. There they became merchants. In 1783 he joined the Loyalists and moved to Halifax, N. S. He married (1) Abigail Stout in 1770 and (2) Mary Lee, daughter of William Lee, of Agawam, Massachusetts, on October 17, 1793. He died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on May 6, 1823.

92. Pompey Rutledge, of Captain Francis Jones's Company, was mustered at Birch Town in 1784. He was then listed as a labourer aged 46 years.

93. Simon Proof, a labourer, 45 years of age, was mustered in Colonel Stephen Bluck's Company at Birch Town in 1784.

94. Solomon Lawson, a labourer, 30 years of age, was mustered in Captain George Wise's Company as having drawn provisions at Port Mouton in 1784.

95. Ezekiel Campbell was mustered in Captain Robert Nicholson's Company at Birch Town in 1783-84.

96. London Bloy, a labourer, 26 years of age, was mustered in Captain Levin Johnson's Company in Birch Town in 1784.

97. John Thomas, a mason, 26 years of age, was mustered in Captain John Hamilton's Company at Birch Town in 1784. That Company arrived from London on August 15, 1784.

98. John Waring, 50 years of age, who had lived in the family of Mr. Read, watchmaker, and who had belonged to Minshull's Company, was mustered in Captain Thomas Francis's Company at Birch Town in 1784.

99. Peter Weeks, a carpenter, 46 years of age, was mustered in Captain Robert Nicholson's Company at Birch Town in 1784.

100. Henry Cook, a caulker, 27 years of age, was mustered in Captain Nathaniel Snowball's Company at Birch Town in 1784.

101. Job Allen, a labourer, 31 years of age, was mustered in Captain Adam Dixon's Company at Birch Town in 1784.

102. Lewis Pendavis, a labourer, 53 years of age, was mustered in Captain George Fraction's Company at Birch Town in 1784. He had drawn provisions with Colonel Mollison at Port Mouton previous to May 1, 1784.

103. Richard Hughes.

104. Dr. William Burns.

105. Probably Greggs Farish. He was born in Whitehaven, Cumberland County, England in 1748. He went to America in 1775 and settled in Brooklyn, New York, where he was commissary general. He married an American girl. At the close of the American Revolutionary War, he went to Shelburne, Nova Scotia. Later he moved to Norfolk, Virginia. His son Henry G. Farish eventually practised medicine in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, where he established himself in 1803.

106. Thomas Sheppard or Shepherd was a member of Colonel Stephen Bluck's Company, which drew provisions at Birch Town from September 3, 1783 to July 24, 1784. He was a sawyer, then 56 years of age, with his wife Lucy, aged 46, and a daughter Nancy, aged 12.

107. Ebenezer Parker. He had been appointed Sheriff of Shelburne County in 1789 in succession to James Clarke.

108. John Martin was a member of Colonel Bluck's Company which received provisions at Birch Town from September 3, 1783 to July 24, 1784. He was listed as a sawyer, thirty years of age.

109. Joseph Scott had been Quartermaster in Shirley's Regiment before crossing the Atlantic in the ship *London* in 1749 to become one of the founders of Halifax, Nova Scotia, in that year. He was appointed Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas in 1752 and Surveyor of Lumber in 1754. He represented Kings County in the second General Assembly of Nova Scotia for 1759-1760. He was paymaster of the garrison for 1761 to 1763. Having obtained land at Bedford, Nova Scotia in 1759, he also engaged in lumbering. In later years he acquired additional land in what became known as the Sackville Estate, and the Mansion House, still standing, is on land which he obtained in 1767. In 1770 he was given permission to use and occupy Fort Sackville in consideration of damages done to his mills by the troops at various times. At

Halifax, Nova Scotia, on January 4, 1763 he married Margaret Ramsey Cottnam. On January 22, 1784 he was commissioned Keeper of the Rolls. He died at his residence at Sackville, near Halifax, Nova Scotia, on September 29, 1800.

110. Probably Wenman's Farm. See "The Nova-Scotia Calender, or an Almanack, for the year of the Christian Aera, 1794," by Metonicus.

111. Probably Eglinton Farm.

112. The River St. Croix. George Deschamps is said to have started the industry. In 1795 he went to Philadelphia in order to promote the trade in gypsum.

113. Kings College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, was founded in 1789.

114. Joseph Gray (1729-1803), son of Joseph and Rebecca (West) Gray, was born in Boston, Massachusetts. He moved to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he was a merchant. There he married Mary, daughter of Hon. Joseph and Mary (Brenton) Gerrish in 1759. He was commissioned 1st lieutenant in the Halifax Militia in 1770 and Justice of the Peace in 1777. Subsequently he moved to Windsor, Nova Scotia. In the assessment roll of 1781, he was listed as a farmer in Windsor having more than 6 neat cattle and horses. He was also a nurseryman. In 1792 he was the senior Justice of the Peace in Hants County. He died in Windsor, Nova Scotia.

115. Cape d'Or lies to the eastward of Isle Haute and it is on the northwest side of Minas Channel. It is in Cumberland County about three miles south of Advocate Harbour. Copper was discovered there and it was supposed that gold would be found there, hence its name.

116. Perhaps Edward Barker of Falmouth, Nova Scotia.

117. Perhaps John Starr or "Sto."

118. O'Brien's was a house of entertainment about half way between Halifax and Windsor. It was about two miles towards Halifax from Pentz's farm.

119. Friar Lawrence's Cell, Wentworth's county seat, was afterwards leased to Prince Edward, the father of Queen Victoria, who became commander of the forces in Nova Scotia in 1794. Prince Edward rebuilt the house which came to be known as Prince's Lodge. The Lodge fell into ruins early in the nineteenth century, but the Rotunda or Music Room still stands at Prince's Lodge near Bedford Basin.

120. The brigantine *Ark,* Captain Waltham, in which Clarkson crossed the Atlantic to Halifax, sailed for London on December 3rd.

121. Richard, son of Sir Lawrence and Elizabeth (Freke) Bulkeley, was born in Dublin, Ireland, on December 26, 1717. After having had a private tutor for five years, he studied at Trinity College, Dublin, for

three years. He entered the Dragoon Guards in 1737, and he received his commission as Captain in 1741. From 1742 to 1747 he held the post of King's messenger at Whitehall. In 1749 he was with Governor Edward Cornwallis at the founding of Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was secretary of the Province for thirty-five years, a member of the Council of Nova Scotia for forty-five years, and a judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for twenty-five years. For a time he was the editor of *The Royal Gazette,* and he was Brigadier-General of the Militia. He was the administrator of the Government of Nova Scotia in 1791-1792. He married (1) Amy, daughter of Captain John Rous, R. N., in 1757 and (2) Mary, daughter of Captain Mostyn, R. N. He died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on December 7, 1800.

122. The *Lucretia,* whose master was Jonathan Coffin, was one of the ships hired to convey the blacks to Sierra Leone. She was owned by Daniel Starbuck, a former Nantucketer, who was a Dartmouth whaler.

123. Perhaps William Lee, foreman of carpenters in the Dockyard.

124. William Forsyth (c. 1755-1814), a wealthy and prominent Halifax merchant, is said to have been born in Edinburgh, Scotland, and to have gone to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1783. He owned a fleet of sailing vessels and he had business connections in Scotland. He was appointed a Member of the Council of Nova Scotia in 1801. He died on October 14, 1814, while on a visit to Tealing, near Dundee, Scotland.

125. Thomas H., son of Rev. Henry and Mary (Rutgers) Barclay, was born in New York City, on October 12, 1753. He entered King's College, New York, in 1768, graduating from it in 1772. He then studied law, evidently in the office of John Jay, and was admitted to the bar. On October 2, 1775, he married Susan, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth (Colden) DeLancey, and they took up their abode at the Wallkill, near Coldenham in Ulster County, New York. He joined the Loyal American Regiment, serving as a vounteer in 1776 and being promoted to Major in 1777. He was on active service from 1776 to 1781. Accompanied by his wife and four children, he went to Nova Scotia as a Loyalist in 1783. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia from 1785 to 1793 for Annapolis County and from 1793 to 1799 for Annapolis Township. He was also Speaker of the House of Assembly from 1793 to 1799. He was a boundary commissioner under Jay's Treaty from 1796 to 1798, and he was British Consul General at New York from 1799 to his death. He also served as boundary commissioner under the Treaty of Ghent. He died on April 21, 1830 in New York.

126. Probably Samuel Whitbread, (1758-1815), who was elected M. P. for Bedford in 1790. He introduced a poor law in 1807, and he took

much interest in rebuilding and reorganizing Drury Lane Theatre in London in 1809.

127. William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, second Earl Fitzwilliam (1748-1833), nephew and heir of Charles Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he became president of the council in 1794, lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1795, Lord lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1798, and president of the council under Lord Grenville in 1806-07.

128. Alexander Brymer, a successful and influential Halifax merchant, was born in Dundee, Scotland, in 1729. After engaging in business in Glasgow, he crossed the Atlantic to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1759, with £4,000 sterling. There he became a leading merchant and amassed considerable wealth. He was president of the North British Society of Halifax from 1778-1780. He was appointed to the Council of Nova Scotia on May 23, 1782. He had a fine residence on the site of the Jerusalem Warehouse. He was Deputy Paymaster General of the Forces. He served as churchwarden of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, from 1793 to 1797 and as a member of the vestry in 1798 and 1799. In 1793 he built at his own expense a vestry for the parish. He was commissioned as colonel of the militia of Hants County on June 13, 1792. In January 1796, in London, England, he married Catherine, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor John Parr and widow of Captain Dobson of the 22nd Regiment. In 1801 he left Halifax to reside in London, England, and he died at Ramsgate in 1822.

129. Major Charles Boyd of the Twentieth Regiment.

130. Thomas, son of Joseph Cochran, was born in Northern Ireland in 1733. He accompanied his father to Nova Scotia in 1761 and he became a merchant in Halifax. From 1775 to 1785 he represented Liverpool Township in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, and from 1785 to his death in 1801 he was a member of the Council of Nova Scotia.

131. Hon. Henry Duncan, Commissioner of the Dockyard at Halifax, Nova Scotia, was born in Dundee, Scotland, in 1751. He was appointed a member of the Council of Nova Scotia on January 3, 1788. In 1796 he was president of the North British Society of Halifax.

132. Major James Rollinson of the Twentieth Regiment.

133. Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes.

134. Brigadier-General James Ogilvie was Commander in Chief at Halifax from 1789 to 1794. He was an honorary member of the North British Society of Halifax and it is said that he invested £20,000 sterling in the business of Wm. Forsyth & Co. for the purpose of advancing the interest of his only son James. He died at Carnonsie,

Banffshire, in 1816, at the age of 78. A fort near Point Pleasant, Halifax, is named after him.

135. Charles, son of Charles and Mary (Read) Morris, was born, probably in Boston, Massachusetts, about 1732. Before moving to Halifax, Nova Scotia about 1761, he lived in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, and married Eilzabeth Bond (Band or Post). On March 29, 1774 he was sworn into office as a member of the Council of Nova Scotia. On November 3, 1781 he was appointed Chief Land Surveyor, in succession to his father, who had just died. He had also been Registrar of the Court of Vice-Admiralty from 1771, and he was appointed Registrar of Wills and Probate in 1792. He died on January 26, 1802.

136. Henry, son of Hibbert and Hannah (Adams) Newton, of Boston, Massachusetts, and Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, was born in 1731. He was a member of the first Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia in 1758, being elected from the Province at large, and he was re-elected for Halifax County in 1759. From October 24, 1761 to his death, he was a member of the Council of Nova Scotia. He was appointed Collector of Customs at Halifax on March 20, 1772. He married (1) Charlotte, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Green and (2) Anne, daughter of Gilbert Stuart and sister of Gilbert Stuart, the painter. He died at Halifax, Nova Scotia on January 29, 1802.

137. James, son of Jahleel and Frances (Cranston) Brenton, was born in Newport, Rhode Island, on November 21, 1736. He went to Halifax and on December 9, 1760 was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. He was appointed Solicitor General on October 31, 1778 and Attorney General on October 12, 1779. He represented Onslow Township from 1765 to 1770 and Halifax County from 1776 to 1785 in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia. He was elevated to Justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia on December 8, 1781. In 1800 he was appointed Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court. On June 16, 1801 he was appointed Member of the Council of Nova Scotia. He married (1) Rebecca, daughter of George Scott, of Newport, Rhode Island, on May 30, 1762 and (2) Elizabeth Russell, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on April 28, 1766. He died at Halifax on December 3, 1806.

138. Foster, son of Thomas and Sarah (Foster) Hutchinson, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on September 7, 1724. He graduated from Harvard College in 1743. He was eventually Judge of Probate, Judge of the Superior Court, and Member of the Council of Massachusetts. He was proscribed and banished and his estate was confiscated. He went to Halifax, Nova Scotia in 1776. On April 12, 1750, he married Margaret, daughter of Colonel Paul Mascarene. He died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on April 8, 1799.

139. Benjamin, son of Hon. Benjamin and Margaret (Pierce) Green, was

born about 1740. He was commissioned Justice of the Peace for Halifax County on August 7, 1762, Deputy Treasurer on September 16, 1761, and Provincial Treasurer on February 19, 1768. He was member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, as the representative of Halifax Township, from 1782 to 1785. He died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on December 2, 1793, at the age of 53.

140. Richard John Uniacke. Son of Norman Fitzgerald and Alicia (Purdon) Uniacke, he was born in Castletown Roche Cork, Ireland, on November 22, 1753. He studied law in Dublin, sailed to the West Indies, and proceeded from St. Kitts via Philadelphia to Nova Scotia. There on May 3, 1775, he married Martha Maria, daughter of Moses Delesdernier. He returned to the Old Country to complete his legal training, and upon coming again to Halifax, Nova Scotia, he was admitted to the bar in 1781. In the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, he represented Sackville Township from 1783 to 1785, Halifax County from 1785 to 1793, and Queens County from 1798 to 1805. He was Speaker of the House of Assembly from 1789 to 1793 and from 1799 to 1805. He was appointed Advocate General in the Vice-Admiralty Court in May 1784. He served as Solicitor General from 1781 to 1797 and as Attorney General from 1797 to his death. He was appointed to the Council of Nova Scotia on April 18, 1808. He married secondly, Eliza, daughter of Captain Philip Newton of the 45th Regiment, on January 14, 1808. His death occurred at Mount Uniacke, Nova Scotia, on October 11, 1830.

141. Thomas Wood was the Clerk of the Peace of the County. He was also the Custos Rotulorum or keeper of the record rolls or chief of the justices of the peace.

142. According to *The Royal Gazette* of November 29, 1791, it was Justice Binney. Jonathan, son of Thomas and Margaret (Miller) Binney, was born in Hull, Massachusetts, on January 7, 1725. He was a merchant and shipowner. He was also a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia from 1758 to 1764 and a member of the Council of Nova Scotia from 1764 to his death. He was collector of duties at Canso and collector of duties for the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island). On May 17, 1768 he was appointed 2nd Justice of the County Court of the Island of St. John and on January 4, 1772 he was appointed one of the Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County of Halifax. He married (1) Martha, daughter of Captain Stephen Hall on January 8, 1746, and (2) Hannah, daughter of Hon. Hibbert Newton on July 26, 1759. He died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on October 8, 1807.

143. This should be Major. It was probably John Hodgson, Major of Brigade. Halifax did not have a Mayor until after it was incorporated in 1841.

144. Either Henry, son of Joseph and Ruth (Godfrey) Headley or Hadley,

who was born in Nova Scotia about 1761, settled in Manchester, Nova Scotia, married Mary, daughter of Matthew Harris, and died on November 17, 1817, or Henry Headley, who was born in Rhode Island about 1724, went to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, in the 1760's and later to Manchester, Nova Scotia, and who married (1) Ruth Godfrey and (2) Esther Tuttle (widow of William Atwater, Sr., of Connecticut.)

145. Dr. John Daniel Bolman was born in Magdeburg, Germany in 1751. He served as a surgeon in a Hessian Regiment during the American Revolutionary War. Later he settled in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, where on February 14, 1782 he married Jane Brimner widow of Philip Knaut. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, in which he represented Lunenburg Township from 1793 to 1809. He died in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, on September 17, 1833.

146. Voster Lombard was a Lunenburg attorney. He was made notary public on November 13, 1787, and his name appears in the assessment roll of 1792.

147. Thomas A. L. Strange.

148. Perhaps Greggs Farish.

149. The North British Society of Halifax celebrated the occasion at the Golden Ball.

150. Probably Evan Nepean, (1751-1822), who was at this time Under-Secretary of State in the Home (and Colonial Department.) He is regarded as having been an able and conscientious official. In 1794 he was appointed Under-Secretary for War and in 1795 he was appointed Secretary of the Admiralty. He received a baronetcy in 1802, was Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1804, and was Governor of Bombay from 1812 to 1819.

151. The *Ark,* Captain Waltham, sailed for London on December 3rd.

152. John Parr.

153. Richard Bulkeley.

154. H. H. Dalrymple, Superintendent of the Sierra Leone Company.

155. The *Rashleigh,* Captain Wyatt, sailed for London on December 3rd.

156. The *Portland* packet, Captain Rogers, from Falmouth, arrived at Halifax on Friday, December 2nd, according to *The Royal Gazette.*

157. John Grant was a general merchant. He was also agent to the contractor for victualling H. M.'s ships and careening yard at Halifax.

158. Captain George Murray. George, son of Gideon Murray of Chichester, England, was born in 1759. In 1770 he was entered on the books of the *Niger,* but his actual service probably began in 1772

when he joined the *Panther* on the Newfoundland station. He was promoted to Lieutenant in 1778. He was wrecked on the coast of Brittany; he served in the East Indies, took part in the battle off Cape St. Vincent; distinguished himself at Copenhagen in 1801; and was one of Nelson's Captains, 1803-05. In 1807 he was Commander-in-Chief of naval operations against Buenos Aires. He was promoted to Vice-Admiral in 1809, and he was nominated K. C. B. in 1815. He served in a number of ships, including the *Triton,* frigate. He died in Chichester, England, on February 28, 1819.

159. Hector Peters, a labourer, 20 years of age, was mustered at Birch Town in Captain Perth's Company in 1784.

160. Philip Van Cortlandt, son of Stephen and Mary (Ricketts) Van Cortlandt, of Cortlandt, Westchester, New York, was born in 1739. Adhering to the Crown at the time of the American Revolution, he became a Major in the Third Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers and sharing the fate of other Loyalists his estates were confiscated. At the close of the war he went to Nova Scotia. In 1790 he received a grant of land in the township of Aylesford, Nova Scotia. His wife was Catherine, a daughter of Jacob Ogden, and they had a large family. Eventually he went to England where he died on May 1, 1814. He is listed as a half pay officer on the assessment roll of Halifax, Nova Scotia for 1793.

161. Rear-Admiral Richard Hughes.

162. Sampson Salter Blowers.

163. James Morden, Ordnance Storekeeper, Paymaster, and Barrack Master, was a native of England. In 1783 he received a grant of land in the township of Aylesford where he had his summer residence. His daughter Meliora Burgess married John Butler Dight in 1778. He died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on October 29, 1792, at the age of 54.

164. H. M. *Sphynx,* Richard Hughes, Captain.

165. Dr. Aicken.

166. Apparently Mr. Philpot.

167. Richard Bulkeley.

168. The brig, *Lucretia* was owned by Daniel Starbuck of Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.

169. The ship *Parr* was owned by Thomas, James and William Cochran of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

170. The ship *Venus* was owned by Thomas, James and William Cochran of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

171. Perhaps Rev. Jonathan Odell, a Loyalist, who was born in Newark,

New Jersey, on September 25, 1737. He was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1766, and he was in charge of the church at Burlington, New Jersey, when the American Revolution began. He was chaplain of the Pennsylvania Loyalists and of the King's American Dragoons. At the close of the war he went to Nova Scotia and after that Province was divided in 1784 he became Provincial Secretary for New Brunswick. He died in 1818.

172. The brig *Mary* was owned by Jonathan Tremain of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

173. The schooner *Felicity* was owned by Jonathan Tremain of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

174. The brig *Morning Star* was owned by George Smith of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

175. James Fullerton.

176. Samuel Wright, 30 years of age, sailed from New York for Saint John in the *Bridgewater* in 1783.

177. Thomas Brown, 40 years of age, sailed from New York for Port Roseway in the frigate *London* in 1783.

178. Bob Stafford, 20 years of age, sailed from New York for Saint John in the ship *Spring* in 1783.

179. David Edmunds, having a family of four persons, including himself, was one of the refugee negroes who were settled at Digby, when they were mustered between May 28 and June 30, 1784.

180. Henry Floyd, 28 years of age, was in the list of the *Clinton* of July 31, 1783, bound from New York to Annapolis and Saint John.

181. James Banks was on the victualling list in Captain Thomas Francis's Company at Shelburne in 1784. He had belonged to Captain Martin's Company and he had arrived in Shelburne on May 5, 1783. He is shown on the victualling list of January 8, 1784 as being 23 years of age. He had lived in John Martin's family.

182. Pompey Campbell, 50 years of age, sailed from New York for Annapolis Royal in the ship *Friendship* in 1783.

183. Henry Warren, 26 years of age, was in the list of the *Clinton* of July 31, 1783, bound from New York to Annapolis and Saint John.

184. Jacob Lynch, 42 years of age, was in the ship *Spring* bound from New York to Saint John in 1783.

185. Hannah Kirby, 25 years of age, was on the list of the *Clinton* of July 31, 1783, bound from New York to Annapolis and Saint John.

186. The brig *Somerset* was owned by Timothy Folger of Dartmouth,

Nova Scotia. Folger, a former Nantuckater, was one of the Dartmouth whalers.

187. Now Fredericton.

188. Robert Killo was the Keeper of the Poor House.

189. Richard Bulkeley.

190. Probably William Hughes (1745-1813), who went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, from Deptford, England, in 1775. By 1794 he was Foreman of Shipwrights in the Naval Yard at Halifax, and later he was Master Shipwright and Master Builder. In England he married Ann Richards, and they had 10 children, one of whom William James Hughes, became a Captain in the Royal Navy.

191. Probably Captain Henry Rogers of the Royal Artillery.

192. Perhaps Thomas Richardson.

193. Daniel Moore, a labourer, 26 years of age, was mustered in Captain Jones's Company at Birch Town in 1784.

194. Nat Turner, 30 years of age, sailed from New York to Port Roseway in the *Abundance* in 1783.

195. Absalom Dickson, aged 31, sailed from New York to Port Roseway in the brig *Kingston* in 1783.

196. Nero Montagu, a labourer, 35 years of age, was mustered in Captain Adam Dixon's Company at Birch Town in 1784.

197. Cudjo, 40 years of age, sailed from New York to Port Roseway in the ship *Esther* in 1783.

198. William Ash, a mason, 39 years of age, was mustered in Captain Perth's Company at Birch Town in 1784. He had arrived there in the ship *Mary* in 1783. He was a preacher of the Huntingdonian congregation at Birch Town, Nova Scotia.

199. The brig *Prince William Henry* was owned by Jacob Tuttle and James Moody of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

200. Moses Wilkinson, a blind man, 32 years of age, was mustered in Captain Jones's Company at Birch Town, Nova Scotia, in 1784. He was a Methodist. His age was shown as 36 when he sailed from New York to Port Roseway, Nova Scotia in *L'Abondance* in 1783.

201. John Parr.

202. John Halliburton, the son of a Presbyterian minister in Haddington, Scotland, was born in 1739. After becoming a surgeon in the Navy, he settled at Newport, Rhode Island, where he married Susanna, daughter of Hon. Jahleel Brenton, on January 4, 1767. He took the Loyalist side at the time of the outbreak of the American Revolution,

and he was banished from Rhode Island in July 1776. After staying in Hopkinton until September of that year, he received leave to return to Newport where his services as a physician were needed. Eventually it became expedient for him to leave Newport and, being offered charge of the Naval Medical Department in Halifax, Nova Scotia, he went to that place in 1782. While Prince Edward, afterwards the Duke of Kent, was Commander of the Forces in Nova Scotia, Dr. Halliburton accepted a commission in the Prince's Regiment, the 7th Royal Fusiliers. Dr. Halliburton was appointed to the Council of Nova Scotia in 1787 and he continued as a member of that body until 1808 when he resigned from it on account of poor health. He died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on July 11, 1808. His eldest son Brenton (Sir Brenton Halliburton) was Chief Justice of Nova Scotia from 1833 to 1860.

203. James Gautier, who was clerk of the Council of Nova Scotia for a number of years, was of French ancestry. He was a notary public at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1784, churchwarden in 1787 and vestryman from 1788 to 1791 of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, and justice of the peace from 1788 to 1802. He was commissioned Justice of the Peace on April 13, 1786, Collector of duties on houses licenced to retail spirituous liquors within the district of Halifax on February 23, 1788, Deputy Clerk of the Council on November 14, 1796, Registrar of Deeds on January 12, 1799, and Registrar and Clerk of the Court of Escheats on March 12, 1800. He died on March 21, 1811.

204. William James Almon, son of James and Ruth (Hollywood) Almon, was born in Newport, Rhode Island, probably in 1754. In 1771 he was apprenticed to Dr. Anderson, a physician and surgeon in New York. He went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, with Lord Howe's forces in 1776 and in the same year he accompanied the troops to New York. In 1778 he was commissioned surgeon's mate in the 4th Battalion of Royal Artillery. Before the end of the American Revolutionary War he returned to Halifax, where he was surgeon to the Ordnance and Artillery. At Halifax, on August 3, 1785, he married Rebecca (Walter) Byles. In the same year he was appointed surgeon to the Halifax Alms House. He became one of leading physicians of Halifax. He had six children, including Hon. William Bruce Almon, M. D. and Hon. Mather Byles Almon. He died at Bath, England, on February 5, 1807, at the age of 62.

205. John Butler Dight was the agent for the owner of the ship *Eleanor*.

206. Marchinton's Meeting House was on Argyle Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia, at or near the corner of Marchinton's Lane (afterwards Bell Street). It was built by Philip Marchinton, a Loyalist from Pennsylvania, who established himself as a merchant in Halifax, for the use of the Methodists. After quarrelling with other members of this church, Marchinton locked them out of it and conducted services

there himself. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia for Cumberland County from 1786 to 1793, and he died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on December 2, 1808, at the age of 72.

207. John Clarkson.

208. This person was perhaps Mrs. Henry Newton.

209. Thomas Cochran.

210. The brig *Betsey* was owned by Thomas, James, and William Cochran of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

211. David Edmonds, then 10 years of age, sailed from New York in the *Sibyl* in 1783.

212. The brig *Beaver* was owned by George Abel and James Abel of London, England.

213. James Ogilvie.

214. Perhaps D. M^{c}Intire, surgeon to the garrison.

215. Bishop Charles Inglis.

216. Rev. Robert Stanser.

217. Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes.

218. John Butler Dight of Halifax, Nova Scotia, was the agent for the owners of the ship *Eleanor*.

219. The schooner *Brothers* was owned by George Smith of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

220. Captain Nathaniel Snowball, a ship carpenter, then 39 years of age, with a family including Violet, presumably his wife, 35 years of age, Nathaniel, 13, China, 12, Jane, 7, and Mary, 2, was mustered at Birch Town, Nova Scotia, in 1784. He was the head of one of the companies which were mustered at that time. Evidently Nathaniel Snowball sailed from New York to Shelburne in *L'Abondance* in 1783 when he was reported to be 39 years of age, and the younger Nathaniel was then 12, and Mary was said to be three months old and to have been born within the British lines. Violet, who was the mother of Mary, was listed as being 34 years old in 1783. She and Nathaniel, Jr., were said to have been the property of Richard Murray of Princess Ann County, Virginia, and to have left him seven years earlier.

221. Andrew Moore, 23 years of age, sailed from New York to Nova Scotia in 1783 in the ship *Mary*.

222. When the negroes at Birch Town in Shelburne County were mustered in 1784, Samuel Williams was 40 years of age. He had lived

in Captain Ackland's family and he had belonged to Moffatt's Company.

223. Andrew Belcher, (1763-1841), was the son of Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher, who was also Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, and his wife Abigail Allen. He was a Halifax merchant with shipping interests. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia for the Township of Halifax for the years 1800-1801. He was a member of the Council of Nova Scotia from 1801 to 1813. At Boston, Massachusetts, on September 7, 1792, he married Mary Ann, daughter of Frederick William and Susanna (Ingraham) vonGeyer. He eventually moved to England and on November 17, 1841 he died in Boulogne, France.

224. James Spry Heaton was Clerk of the Cheque on the staff of the Army at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

225. Jonathan, son of David and Ruth (Hubbard) Sterns was born on April 19, 1751 in Massachusetts. He attended Harvard College and he became a lawyer. He was a Loyalist and he went to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Upon attacking the judges for misconduct his name was struck off the roll of attorneys; after apologizing he was reinstated. He represented Halifax County in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia from 1793 to his death and he was Solicitor General of Nova Scotia from 1797 to his death. He married (1) Mehitabel, daughter of Thomas Robie in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on August 10, 1785 and (2) Elizabeth Taylor. He died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on May 23, 1798.

226. Probably James, son of Anthony Stewart, a Loyalist, who was born in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1765. He was educated in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and in Edinburgh, and he practised law in Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia for Halifax County for 1798-1799. He was appointed Solicitor General of Nova Scotia on May 25, 1798. Commissioned as a member of the Council of Nova Scotia on September 2, 1810, he took his seat in that body on May 9, 1811. He was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court on December 7, 1815. On June 24, 1790, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. John Halliburton. He died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on February 5, 1830.

227. At this time Dr. James Boggs was Assistant Surgeon to the Garrison at Halifax, Nova Scotia. James, son of Ezekiel and Elizabeth (Baird) Boggs, was born in Newcastle, Newcastle County, Delaware, on January 22, 1740. After being educated, probably in the private academy of Dr. Francis Alison, in New London, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and in the office of a physician, he practised medicine in the Township of Shrewsbury in the County of Monmouth, New Jersey. After the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, he went to Sandy Hook, where he was taken aboard the *Swan,* a sloop

of war, and he acted as Surgeon's Mate in the general hospital in New York from 1777 to 1783, when he was appointed Assistant Surgeon. During the war, his wife and family lived at Shrewsbury and at Black Point, New Jersey. At the close of the war, Dr. Boggs, as a Loyalist, went to Nova Scotia, being posted at first to Port Mouton and then to Halifax, where he was Assistant Surgeon and later Surgeon to the Garrison. He was awarded £630 sterling for his losses in New Jersey. On November 24, 1765, Dr. Boggs was married by Rev. Mr. Ogilvie, of New York, to Mary, daughter of Robert Hunter Morris, Chief Justice of New Jersey. Dr. Boggs died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on July 8, 1830.

228. Perhaps Lot Slade, a sawyer, who was in Birch Town in 1784 and who was then 50 years old, with a wife and a son. Lotchie Slaide sailed from New York to Port Roseway, Nova Scotia, in the *Apollo* in 1783. He was then 46 years old.

229. James Clarke had been commissioned Sheriff of Halifax County for 1790. He was also a Church Warden of St. Paul's Church.

230. S. S. Blowers.

231. Henry Newton.

232. Having been appointed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as missionary to Digby, Rev. Roger Viets went to that place in 1786. The son of John and Lois (Phelps) Viets, he had been born in Simsbury, Connecticut, on March 9, 1737/38. After graduating from Yale College, he went to England, received holy orders, and became the missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to his native town in 1762. The Wardens of Trinity Parish, Digby, Nova Scotia, having immediately after its formation applied for a missionary, Rev. Roger Viets was selected for this assignment, becoming the first Rector of Digby. On November 19, 1772, he married Hester, daughter of Captain Nathan and Sarah Botsford of New Milford, Connecticut, by whom he had eight children. After her death on April 25, 1800, he married secondly, at Kingston, New Brunswick, Mary, widow of Benjamin Isaacs and daughter of David Pickett of Norwalk, Connecticut. He died August 15, 1811.

233. James Michael Freke Bulkeley was the son of Richard and Amy (Rous) Bulkeley. He was born in 1761. He was Colonel of the 2nd Regiment. In the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia he represented Sydney County from 1786 to 1793 and Halifax County from 1793 to his death. On December 28, 1792 he succeeded his father as Provincial Secretary, and on November 12, 1796 he died in office.

234. Thomas Smith was mustered in Captain William O'Neil's Company in Birch Town, Nova Scotia, in 1784. He was then 40 years of age. He had previously belonged to Hartley's Company and had lived with Captain Hartley to October 1783.

235. Joseph Blair, a labourer, was mustered at Birch Town, Nova Scotia, in Captain Nicholson's Company in 1784. He was then 51.

236. It may be of interest to note that "Chressy Wait" sailed from New York to Nova Scotia in the *Clinton* in 1783. He was then 16 years of age.

237. John Primus sailed from New York to the Saint John River in 1783, when he was 22 years of age. However, he was mustered at Birch Town, Nova Scotia, a year later in Captain Cuthbert's Company. He had belonged to Pashley's Company, and he had lived in Dr. Kendrick's family.

238. Charles Wilkinson, a farmer, was mustered at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in Captain Robert Nicholson's Company in 1784. He was then 30 years of age.

239. William Elliott, who had belonged to Captain Pell's Company, was mustered at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in 1784. He was then 36 years of age, and he had lived in Mr. Davenport's family.

240. James Robinson, who had been in the Legion and who had lived in Lieutenant Largin's family, was mustered at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in 1784.

241. Henry Warren sailed in the *Clinton* from New York to Nova Scotia in 1783. He was then 26 years old.

242. Probably Bishop Thomas Wilson, (1663-1755). He was Bishop of Sodor and Man, and he published a number of religious tracts as well as sermons.

243. Captain William Hope of the *Adamant*.

244. Richard Bulkeley.

245. He was a former Army officer who had served on the West Coast of Africa and who wished to return there to establish a colony.

246. Alexander Smith.

247. Jonathan Barnard.

248. Timothy Folger was a former influential Nantucket merchant who became one of the Dartmouth whalers in Nova Scotia.

249. The brig *Catherine* was owned by John Mullowny and John Stealing of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

250. Robert Mattocks was the master of this brig *Mary,* which was owned by Jonathan Tremain of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

251. Jonathan Barnard was the master of this brig *Mary,* which was owned by Timothy Folger and Jacob Tuttle of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

252. The ship *Sierra Leone* was owned by Charles Dicks of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and John Mason Tufton was her master.

253. Probably George Deblois, a Halifax merchant. He was a member of the Grand Jury of Halifax County in 1792.

254. Daniel Ray.

255. Richard Redman.

256. Captain Jonathan Coffin of the brig *Lucretia.*

257. A lighthouse was first established on Sambro Island, at the southern side of the entrance of Halifax Harbour, in 1759.

258. John Evans.

259. Daniel Ray.

260. Hierro or Ferro Island—one of the Canary Islands.

261. Jonathan Coffin.

262. On the west coast of Africa.

263. Annamaboe or Anamabs on the Gold Coast.

264. Henry Hew Dalrymple.

265. Alexander Falconbridge. He had been a surgeon in slave ships, and he accepted a commission from St. George's Bay Company to establish a settlement for the colonists sent by the government to the River Sierra Leone. He founded Granville Town. Later he was superseded on the council and in 1792 he was dismissed. He died in 1792. His wife, Anna Maria, wrote *Narrative of Two Voyages,* defending the slave trade and ridiculing her dead husband.

266. The cutter owned by the St. George's Bay Company.

267. James Fullerton was the master of the brig *Morning Star,* which was owned by George Smith of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

268. It may be of interest to note that Jacob Somerset, 21 years of age, sailed from New York to Port Roseway, Nova Scotia in the schooner *Nancy* in 1783, and that Charles Somerset, a labourer, 27 years of age, was mustered at Birch Town, Nova Scotia, in Captain Hamilton's Company, in 1784.

269. Henry Beverout, the Captain of a Company, was a Methodist preacher who had been born on St. Croix Island. He was appointed Church Clerk by John Clarkson.

270. The Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert, an Anglican clergyman, had been sent out as chaplain by the Sierra Leone Company.

271. Abram Elliott Griffith was sometimes surnamed Elliot. He had been one of the headmen in London, a valet by trade, the cost of

whose schooling had been paid for by Granville Sharp. King Naimbana invited him to Robana, made him his secretary, and gave him his daughter Clara to marry. Eventually, Elliot Griffith was arrested for debt to the Sierra Leone Company, and he died in the gaol at Fort Thornton in 1802.

272. Naimbana, styled King, was a regent who had ruled the Koya Temne since 1775 and who lived up the Sierra Leone River at Robana and Robage. He may also have been overlord of the Bulom Shore. He ceded Tambia Island to the French in 1785. He died in February 1793.

273. Richard Pepys, surveyor, was a member of the original council of Sierra Leone. He laid out lands for the Nova Scotians in Sierra Leone, enraged them by suspending work on the allotments in order to build a fort, and provoked alarm by telling those persons who alleged that they had been told they might stay on their temporary sites that Clarkson's promises were often thoughtless and irresponsible. When the French attacked the place in 1794, Pepys fled into the bush with his family and he died of fright and exposure.

274. Bance, Bence, or Bunce Island.

275. Dr. John Bell, the surgeon, was a member of the Council.

276. James Watt, a member of the original Council, had been a planter in Dominica. He established a plantation on the Bulom Shore, and he engaged in exploration. He died in 1795.

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