



PRINTING-OFFICE, *Quebec*, 1st May, 1781.

BROKE out of His Majesty's Goal in Quebec, on Saturday morning the 18th of February last, A NEGRO MAN SLAVE named JOE, born in Africa, twenty-six years of age, about five feet seven inches high, a little pitted with the small pox, has several scars on his legs, speaks English and French fluently, and is by trade a Press-man; he had on him when he broke out a blue great coat, a red out-sid jacket, and round hat. He was seen some time ago in the parish of l'Ange Gardien below the falls of Montmorency. All persons are hereby forewarned from harbouring or aiding him to escape, as they may depend on being prosecuted to the utmost rigor of the Law; and whoever will give information where he is harboured, so as that he may be had again, shall receive THREE GUINEAS Reward from the Printer of the *Québec GAZETTE*.

Afua Cooper

THE ENSLAVEMENT OF AFRICANS IN CANADA

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Cover image:
“Runaway Joe”
“Broke out of His Majesty’s Gaol in Quebec.” Ad placed by
publisher William Brown in the *Quebec Gazette*, 1 May 1786

THE ENSLAVEMENT OF AFRICANS IN CANADA

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THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

**IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY
IN CANADA SERIES**

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Introduction

“You say that by baptism I shall be like you. I am black and you are white, I must have my skin taken off then in order to be like you.” These were the words of a child whom recorded history tells us was Canada’s first enslaved African. He uttered these words in 1632 to Paul Le Jeune, superior general of the Jesuits at Quebec. The priest was teaching the African child his catechism, and his letters, and informed the boy that Christianity would make them equal. But the young boy was no fool. He was Black and enslaved. Paul Le Jeune was White, free, and belonging to the enslaving class. The story of the boy baptized as Olivier Le Jeune is the starting point of the long and painful narrative of Black people in bondage in Canada.

How did this African child end up in enslavement in Canada? In 1629, during the Anglo-French war, an English invasion fleet, led by David Kirke and his brothers, entered the harbour at Quebec. The invaders overwhelmed the weak defence of the town and took it in the name of the King of England. The Kirkes had with them an enslaved child, of not more than nine years old, thought to be from Madagascar, whom they promptly sold to head clerk of the town Olivier Le Tardif. The Jesuit priest, Paul Le Jeune, in converting the boy to Catholicism, baptized and gave him the name Olivier (Le Tardif’s first name), and Le Jeune (the priest’s last name).

It was Father Le Jeune who recorded in *The Jesuit Relations* his exchange with Olivier, when he told the child that Christian baptism was the great leveller among humanity. And from Olivier, who even as a young child was aware of the prejudice against Black skin colour, and his status as a slave, we get this profound response. I read in his answer to the priest, the boy’s resistance, albeit an intellectual one, to slavery. Olivier lived and worked in Quebec and was probably still enslaved at the time of his death in 1654, far from his homeland.

Olivier Le Jeune was not only Canada’s first enslaved African, but also the first Black child to receive some form of schooling in this country, and the first to mount an early form of resistance to slavery. As the seventeenth century closed and French colonization advanced in the St. Lawrence Valley, the need for labour for colonial development became apparent. Settlers began to petition the authorities to provide that labour, using enslaved Africans. The result was that more and more

Black slaves would be transported to the colony to work in various capacities for diverse Whites who owned them and their labour.

Slavery was the dominant condition for African Canadians for over two centuries from 1629 to 1834. Both the French and British colonial regimes enacted laws and ordinances that legalized slavery and gave enslavers property rights in and over Black bodies. As such, Africans were bought, sold, traded, bequeathed, and disposed of in any way their owners and enslavers wished. Slavery entails the theft of a human being and their labour by another person. A central component of this arrangement is that the stolen person, the slave, becomes the property of the enslaver. As property, the enslaved is objectified and commodified, like a horse, piece of furniture, or livestock.

While it is true that during the period of New France in the St. Lawrence colony, the majority of the enslaved – 60 percent according to one source – were Indigenous people colloquially called *Panis*, enslaved Blacks made up the other 40 percent. Although, in Île Royale and other parts of Acadia during the French period, 95 percent of the enslaved were Africans. In the era of British dispensation, from 1760, the year the French capitulated to the British in the Seven Years' War, to 1834, the year when the abolition of slavery occurred in the British Empire, nearly 100 percent of the enslaved in Canada were Africans. This was because Africans came to be the preferred form of bonded labour in the Atlantic world, in which Canada was fully ensconced. The focus of this essay is therefore on enslaved Africans or Black Canadians.

In his definition of slavery, Orlando Patterson underscores power relations – the enslaved is powerless, and the enslaver is all powerful. Patterson also describes “natal alienation” as a hallmark of slave life. He notes that enslaved people were typically taken far from their homeland or place of birth, and as a result endured loss of kin, language, name, identity, and culture. Thus, becoming strangers in a strange land, and coupled with their status as “living property,” they experienced “social death.” Violence and extreme brutality meted out on the body of the enslaved by the enslaver is also intrinsic to the slave experience. Olivier Le Jeune and the other enslaved Blacks who followed in his footsteps embodied the characteristics of enslavement described above.

Slavery in the New World had several unique characteristics that distinguished it from earlier forms of bondage. Most significantly,

Black people were held as slaves because of their skin colour. This differed from slavery in the Ancient World or Medieval Europe in which any ethnicity or “race” could be and were enslaved. Although some White people were brought over to the Americas to labour on farms and plantations, they were not slaves but indentured labourers who served out a contract. Once these indentured servants were freed from their contracts, they were given land, livestock, and the opportunity to advance in society. Many of them in fact became slaveholders. Indentureship as a form of labour died out by the end of the seventeenth century. By this date, the slavery of Black Africans would become comprehensive and the preferred form of human bondage.

By the time the eighteenth century dawned within the Western world, a robust and encompassing ideology justifying the enslavement of Black people was soundly in place. This was created and sustained by White intellectuals, lawmakers, and slaveholders – oftentimes one and the same. A central argument articulated by the defenders of Black enslavement was that Blacks were naturally inferior, and as such were suited for slavery. Whites were said to be superior and natural leaders, and as such would have domination over Blacks and enslaved Africans. These ideas drew upon the work of such ancient philosophers as Aristotle, and Enlightenment thinkers like Locke. White Christians who enslaved also used the Biblical “curse of Ham” to give weight to their argument that Blacks were destined for slavery. Invoking the story of Noah and his sons in Genesis 9: 22-29, enslavers and their allies claimed that God cursed the descendants of Ham (supposedly the progenitor of Black people) by consigning them to everlasting slavery.

In addition to the racialization of slavery in the New World, slavery was also permanent. It was heritable and generational. The children of slaves would be slaves. Children inherited the status of their mothers through the principle of *Partus sequitur Ventrem*. This principle turned the world upside down for enslaved Africans. In Europe and among Europeans in the New World, children inherited the status of their father. Under New World slavery of Black people, according to the law, children inherited the social condition of their mother. The status and identity of the impregnator was irrelevant. What mattered was that the woman to whom the womb belonged was enslaved. Women bore the added burden of sexual predation from their owners. White men impregnated enslaved women and

oftentimes sold and disposed of the children they sired. The sexual vulnerability of women and the enslavement of their wombs underscored in graphic ways that slavery was also a system of sexual and reproductive bondage. The case of Richard Hopefield Jr., discussed later, underscores the ownership of enslaved women's wombs by their enslavers.

Moreover, New World slavery was sustained by immense brutality, violence, and racial terror. Whites felt that for the system to be maintained and prolonged they had to subject Black people to extreme violence or to fear the possibility of violence in order to make them submit to a system of racial and human degradation. Bodily and psychological violence were features of Atlantic slavery. Africans were subjected to these forms of violence from the moment of their kidnapping and capture, to incarceration in slave "castles" and pens along the coast, to the long confinement in the bottom of slave ships during the Middle Passage, where they were chained and brutalized. Finally, those who made it alive to the other side of the ocean, where they were sold to slave buyers, were subjected to forms of torture such as whipping, lashing, branding, rape, dismemberment, and gelding. The hard and harsh labour that enslaved people had to perform were also forms of violence and torture.

The transatlantic slave trade from Africa to the Americas occurred for four centuries, between 1444 and 1860, and was the longest and greatest forced migration in the history of the world. It revolutionized the Americas in terms of demography, agriculture, economy, taste, politics, culture, trade, and war. Moreover, it transformed the economy, politics, and culture of the Western world. Historians and demographers of the slave trade disagree as to how many captured Africans, victims of the slave trade, landed alive in the Americas. Some scholars offer the figure of 10 million, others 12 million, with even 25 or 50 million given. While it is the magnitude and the horror for Black people of the transatlantic slave trade that must be emphasized and not the "numbers game," in recent times a consensus has been reached by scholars of the slave trade that at least 15 million captive Africans were deported to the Americas. This figure does not include the millions who died in the Middle Passage from the immense brutality meted upon their bodies, nor those who died in the slave pens or castle, or on the long march to the coast from the interior.

European greed fuelled the slave trade. The principal powers in Europe engaged in the slave trade built their wealth, power, and prestige from the labour-intensive plantation economies that produced tropical staples and from the extraction of minerals in colonies located predominantly in the Americas. Captive African labour was the engine that drove these economies. The Atlantic slave system and trade began with the Portuguese in the middle decades of the fifteenth century. They were later joined by Spain. The Dutch eventually supplanted the Portuguese and gained hegemony in the slave trade by the middle of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, the British took the lead, with the French following behind. In the nineteenth century, certainly up to 1850, the Portuguese-Brazilian partners transported hundreds of thousands of captive Africans to the Americas. By this time, the other principal European slave-trading nations had ended the slave trade. At the end of the day, the Portuguese, always a major player, over the course of four centuries, from 1444 to 1850, transported more than five million Africans to New World slavery.

More than half of this heinous commerce took place in the eighteenth century, with the English/British gaining dominance and emerging as the most successful slave trading nation. David Eltis notes that during this century British ships carried 3.4 million captive Africans across the Atlantic. According to Robin Blackburn, “from 1730 to 1780 about 60,000 to 70,000 captives landed alive each year.” In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, the number increased to 80,000 or more. Blackburn notes “the English pre-eminence in eighteenth-century slave trading was based on sea power, financial and maritime resources, colonial development and manufacturing strength.” The labour of Black people as the empire’s slaves made Britain the most powerful and richest realm in modern history. Enslaved Africans provided the labour and skills necessary for the production of plantation staples such as sugar in the tropical colonies, from which Britain gained its wealth and dominance. The eighteenth century British writer Malachy Postlethwayt rightly claimed that “the African slave trade ‘was the great pillar and support’ of the British trade with America” and that the British Empire was “a magnificent superstructure of American commerce and [British] naval power on an African foundation.” He was correct.

Trajectory of Slavery in Canada

Canada was imbricated in the Atlantic slaving system. First, as the French colony of New France, Acadia, and parts of Newfoundland (which the French called *Terreneuve*), and later as a British colony, which came to be called British North America. The slave trade and slavery were the bed-rock of these empires. As Canada was a colony in these imperial worlds, it participated in the economic, commercial, and cultural spheres, including slavery and slaving, that these empires offered.

Parts of Newfoundland were claimed by France, and the enslavement of Africans there was part of the colonial project. With the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, The British claimed suzerainty over the island. French settlers eventually moved from Newfoundland to Cape Breton, then known as Île Royale, bringing their enslaved Africans with them. However, that was not the end of the Black slave presence in Newfoundland. Under British rule, the colony became ensconced in a sub-system of the Triangular Trade, dubbed the West India trade. The latter trade was a commercial nexus that yoked rum, molasses, dried fish, and enslaved African Caribbeans. Newfoundland merchants purchased and brought to the island enslaved West Indians in exchange for tropical products.

The Canadian colonies, in their historical trajectories as part of French and British empires, developed inter-colonial relationships based on migration, war, and trade. These relationships led to the colonies' insertion into a slave-based commercial system with links to sister colonies, such as the thirteen American colonies to the south - particularly New England and New York - and to the Caribbean, Europe, and West Africa. Historians of slavery in New England have recently shown how deeply ensconced the region was with the West India trade. The same was true for the Canadian colonies.

Some observers of the Canadian slavery experience would argue that there 'were not many slaves here' when they compare Canada to the Southern United States, Brazil or the Caribbean. This leads them to invoke the thesis, popularized by Ira Berlin in his book *Many Thousands Gone*, which makes a distinction between slave societies and societies with slaves. From this point of view, the Canadian provinces would fall in the latter category. Yet, the Maritime colonies depended on slavery in the West Indies for its economic health and growth.

There did not need to be sugar plantations installed all over Eastern and Central Canada for these places to be involved in the sugar trade, for example. Slave-grown sugar, and especially molasses, was on the table of every Canadian, whatever their social class. Rum was the drink of choice in most Canadian provinces, especially among middling and poor people. Canadian colonies were involved in Caribbean slavery without most of their denizens ever setting foot in the West Indies or interacting with enslaved people. In this instance, the distinction between societies with slaves, and slave societies is a false one, as the former, especially its economy, benefited a great deal from the latter. Added to this, in all the five older Canadian colonies, and the colony of Newfoundland, there was a long pattern and history of slaveholding.

Another misconception that many people have about Canadian slavery is that because it was not of the plantation variant, as in the Caribbean and the United States South, it was 'mild.' This is because, as I have stated elsewhere, "When most people think of slavery, they see a huge cotton or sugar cane plantation worked by hundreds of slaves, with blood dripping down their backs as they endure constant whipping from the slave drivers." While the main Canadian variant was familial and domestic, most owners having less than five enslaved people, this did not mean that Canadian slaveholders were any less cruel than their American or Caribbean counterparts. Canadian slaveowners could be mean, cruel, and sadistic. Some tempered their ownership of human beings with a modicum of conscience. Robert I.D. Gray, solicitor general of Upper Canada in 1804, made provisions in his will to free his slaves and provide for them. Matthew Elliot, by contrast, tied his slave property to trees and flogged them upon the slightest pretext. Elias Marshall beat his pregnant enslaved woman Elizabeth Watson to the point of death. Then Mrs. Marshall split open Elizabeth's skull with a hot iron. Jude was murdered by her enslaver Samuel Andrews. White people who were not slaveholders, knowing that the racist social order placed Black and enslaved people as social outcasts with very little protection from society, often treated enslaved Blacks in a despicable and dehumanizing manner. This was the case for enslaved teenager Diana Bastian who was raped by George More, a White politician in Cape Breton. While in labour, Bastian pleaded with More for assistance but More ignored her cry. The enslaved girl died alone in childbirth.

The Origins of Enslaved African Canadians

Blacks held in bondage in Canada came from a variety of locales. These included West Africa, Madagascar, the thirteen American colonies, the Republic of the United States, Europe, and the Caribbean. Naturally, enslaved African Canadian children were born within the colonies over the course of several generations. The enslaved imported into Canada came in various and successive waves of migration ushered in by their enslavers and the vagaries of colonial settlement and war. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as French colonists arrived, they brought and purchased enslaved Blacks from Europe, the French West Indies, and the Dutch and English colonies. When the New England planters arrived in the Maritime colonies in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, they took their slave property with them.

We know also that slavery and freedom were intertwined in the Loyalist migration to Canada during and after the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783). At the end of the war, upwards of 3,000 formerly enslaved Blacks who supported the British cause were transported to the Maritimes. These freed Blacks eventually were called Black Loyalists. However, slavery continued to haunt those who were freed, as White Loyalists migrated with at least 2,000 of their enslaved property to the Maritimes. In Upper and Lower Canada, freed Blacks who had rallied under the British standard settled in these provinces, as well as about 700 enslaved Blacks who were forcibly taken by slaveowners to these locales at the close of the war. Research is now coming to light showing that, in addition to the known centres of Loyalist settlement in Lower and Upper Canada, White Loyalists also took enslaved Africans to such remote areas as the Gaspé Peninsula of Quebec.

Slave-Raiding on the Frontier

Enslaved Black people were also obtained from slave raiding and slave trading on the frontier, especially during the American Revolutionary War era. Warring parties on both sides stole enslaved property from their enemy and traded these as items of commerce. Historian Frank Mackey notes how enslaved Blacks were often held “as prisoners seized in raids in the American colonies, as purchases made by fur traders

and other frontiersmen at various western posts, or as goods brought into New York or New England for personal use or as a speculation.” Military personnel and Indigenous groups were also implicated in the stealing and capture of Blacks in the American colonies. The Niagara frontier and other points on the Great Lakes were also sites of slave seizure and re-selling. The theft of enslaved Africans by the British during the war and their subsequent resale in the Canadian colonies was also one of the ways that British North Americans obtained slave property. That was how Sophia Pooley and Joseph Gutches, discussed later, were brought into Canada.

So common was slave raiding on the frontier, and the transport and sale of Blacks into Canada, that Frederick Haldimand, governor of Quebec from 1778 to 1786, ordered an investigation into this phenomenon. Whites and Indigenous groups, military and non-military people, streamed into Quebec with captured Black people, whom they sold or attempted to sell to colonists. Some of the captive Blacks claimed they had been free in the Thirteen Colonies, and were captured and sold as slaves, while numerous White Americans crowded into Montreal and Quebec searching for their allegedly stolen slaves. Thus, the American Revolutionary War furnished opportunities for Black people in the Thirteen Colonies to be captured, taken prisoner, and sold as slaves to Canadian colonists. Under both French and British colonial regimes, colonists of different stripes, positions, and occupations owned enslaved Blacks. These included the following: farmers; governors; legislators; military personnel; members of the clergy such as nuns and priests; merchants and businesspeople; educators; and diplomats; newspaper publishers; artisans; fisherfolk; housewives; widows, and other householders; tavern-keepers; fur traders; and gardeners.

The Image of Blacks in the Minds of Whites

After the Conquest of 1760, Britain as Europe’s predominant slaving power went about consolidating its commitment to slavery in its colony in the St. Lawrence valley. Renamed the colony of Quebec in 1763, General James Murray became its first British governor. He lost no time in showing his support for the enslavement of Black people. In fact, Murray saw them as the slave *par excellence*, needed for the de-

velopment of the colony. Writing to a colleague in New York in 1763, Murray remarked:

I must earnestly entreat your assistance, without servants nothing can be done, had I the inclination to employ soldiers which is not the case, they would disappoint me, and Canadians will work for nobody but themselves. Black slaves are certainly the only people to be depended upon, but it is necessary, I imagine they should be born in one or other of our Northern Colonies, the winters here will not agree with a Native of the torrid zone, pray therefore if possible, procure for me two Stout Young fellows, who have been accustomed to Country Business, and I shall wish to see them happy. I am of opinion there is little felicity without a communication with the Ladys. You may buy for each a clean young wife, who can wash and do the female offices about a farm. I shall begrudge no price, so hope we may, by your goodness, succeed.

In Murray's mind, Blacks were fit only for drudgery. He echoes de Champigny's view that enslaved Blacks were needed for colonial development. And while he seems concerned, like Louis XIV, about the impact of the cold temperature on the Black body, he cast aside that concern because the colony needed labourers. Murray wanted enslaved Blacks as labourers because [White] "Canadians will work for nobody but themselves." However, the request for enslaved Black women seemed to have been an afterthought. In fact, it seems that Murray's main reason for acquiring enslaved women was to make the men comfortable and happy. Women were needed to perform "the female offices about a farm" but they were also to provide domestic bliss for the enslaved males. In acquiring women, Murray was accomplishing three goals: women were to perform productive, reproductive, and sexual labour.

General Murray, an elite official of the Crown, and one of the conquerors of Canada, born and raised in an environment of anti-Blackness and surrounded by ideas about Black inferiority and the place of Black people in the order of things, took his beliefs about Blacks and turned them into action in Britain's most recent northern acquisition. In 1763, when General Murray wrote the above letter, Britain had become the most powerful global empire. This was the century during

which Britannia would rule the waves and become the largest transporter of Black human flesh in the Atlantic world. The labour of Black people – the empire’s slaves – would make Britain the most powerful and richest realm in modern history.

Murray was speaking about bonded people, about whom it was believed slavery was their destiny. Yet George Ramsay, otherwise known as Lord Dalhousie, sixty-three years later was talking about *free* Black people when he wrote to Lord Bathurst, his superior. In a letter to Bathurst about the Black refugees who had recently arrived from the United States to Nova Scotia, Dalhousie expressed the view that Blacks were “natural slaves” even though the refugees had migrated to the province as free people. Dalhousie expressed to Bathurst that the former slaves were indeed “slaves by habit and education, no longer working under the dread of the lash, their idea of freedom is idleness, and they are therefore quite incapable of industry.”

These Black refugees had fought for the British during the War of 1812. After the end of the war, they were transported to Nova Scotia and, facing extreme racial discrimination, with great effort built communities upon “rocks and swamps.” Like Murray, Dalhousie drew on the Aristotelian idea of certain peoples like Blacks being “natural” slaves and thus destined for subjugation. Because he could not stand the idea of Blacks living as free people, Dalhousie created a fiction that they were idle, and that the only way to make them industrious was to reduce them to enslavement where they would have to labour under the threat of the lash. This image of Black people in the mind of Whites as natural slaves, and thus destined for hard labour would hold sway even after the demise of slavery.

The Legal Foundation: New France and Lower and Upper Canada

The enslavement of Blacks in Canada was supported by law – metropolitan legal codes, colonial statutes, and ordinances. A major metropolitan statute was the Code Noir. The French legal code promulgated by the government at Versailles, France was created in 1685 to regulate slavery in the French overseas colonies, especially in the West

Indies. Though the Code was designed specifically for the West Indies, Canada's colonial officials used the Code to give legal foundations to slavery. For the creators of the Code Noir, Blackness was fused with enslavement. This particular legislation was not called the Code *Esclave* (Slave Code), but the Black Code, therefore broadcasting the view that to be Black meant that one was enslaved. The Code, in sixty articles, covered the life of the enslaved from the womb to the tomb in almost all aspects of life, as well as relationships between owner and enslaved, and the free Black and coloured population. The Code also provided for Catholic baptism, and the teaching of the Catholic faith to the enslaved. Further, it legalized proprietary rights of Whites over Blacks. It made enslaved Black people "movable" property, thus objectifying them as commodities. It also negated the legal personhood of the enslaved. In essence, according to the Code, slaves had no human rights. The punishments provided for by the Code Noir were harsh and racist. Enslaved people could be branded (with the fleur-de-lis), dismembered, whipped, and hanged.

Further, the colony itself took the initiative in establishing legal support for slavery. In 1688, Jean Bochart de Champigny, intendant of Canada, wrote to Louis XIV, requesting that enslaved Africans be introduced into the colony. The intendant's plea to the king expresses the concerns of the settlers for a dedicated pool of labour. Additionally, it reflects the prevailing view of Whites, that the Black body was favoured for this labour: "Workers and servants are so rare and extraordinarily expensive...as to ruin all those who attempt to be enterprising. We believe the best means to remedy this is to have Negro slaves here." In his letter, the intendant suggested that enslaved Africans be brought to Canada from the West Indies. The following year, the king gave his consent for the importation of enslaved Africans into Canada. Later in 1709, more legal support was given when the intendant Jacques Raudot issued an ordinance that stated:

We, for the great pleasure of his Majesty, ordain that all Panis and Negroes who have been purchased or who will be purchased at some time, will belong to those who have purchased them as their full property and be known as their slaves; we prohibit the said Panis and Negroes from abandoning their masters and whomsoever from corrupting them, under a penalty of 50 livres fine.

In 1760, when Britain seized Canada from France, the conquerors recognized the legality of slavery and gave the French the right to continue holding slaves. By this time, Britain was the largest slave-trading power in the Atlantic world. The pertinent article of the Treaty of Capitulation read:

Negroes and Panis of both sexes shall remain, in their quality of slaves, in possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the colony or sell them; and they may continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.

Other than recognizing the rights of the defeated Canadians to keep their slaves and do with them what they wished, the clause seemed to assume the slave status of *all* Black people. The writers of the clause did not say “Negro slaves” but simply Negroes. One could therefore argue, as Stephen Dillon does, that by 1760, in the minds of Whites, to be Black in the Americas was to be a slave. Dillon notes, “the market fused chattel and blackness together at the level of discourse, skin, and ontology...”

In 1774, the Quebec Act confirmed the right of colonists to hold African slaves. It “reaffirmed that all his Majesty’s subjects within the province could continue to hold and enjoy their property and possessions.” The right of Canadian colonists to own and commodify the bodies of Black people was underscored by the 1790 British Parliament Act which encouraged immigration to what eventually became British North America. The Act “permitted free importation into North America, the Bahamas, and Bermuda of all Negroes, household furniture, utensils of husbandry, or clothing.” In 1791, the British colony of Quebec was divided into two parts and renamed Lower Canada, with a French-speaking majority, and Upper Canada, which would become a predominantly English-speaking region, settled at its beginning by Loyalists.

In Upper Canada in 1793, statute law was introduced banning the importation of new slaves into the colony. This legislation was inspired by the sale and removal of an enslaved woman named Chloe Cooley by her owner Adam Vrooman of Niagara. Cooley was manhandled, tied up, thrown into a boat, and sold across the river into New York State. We know that Chloe Cooley fought her enslaver and resisted her

removal as best as she could. According to Peter Martin and William Grisley, who witnessed the violent removal of Cooley, she “screamed violently and made resistance,” as she fought her enslaver.

Cooley’s resistance ultimately was the catalyst behind the 1793 statute. The first and new governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, upon hearing of the Cooley outrage, with his legislature passed an act banning the importation of new slaves into the colony. Titled *An Act to Prevent the Further Introduction of Slaves and to Limit the Terms of Contracts for Servitude*, the bill became law on 9 July 1793. However, this law was not designed to bring about emancipation for Upper Canada’s enslaved Africans. While it did ban the introduction of new slaves to the colony, the fact remained that bonded Blacks could still be bought and sold within the province, and even sold outside the jurisdiction. Though the Act did not end slavery, it eventually led to its demise in the province, as slaveholders were legally forbidden from bringing new slaves into the territory. Thus, within Upper Canada itself, not one slave was freed by this Act. And while some legislators did think of abolition, in their minds it was to be gradual. The new legislation also stated that children born to enslaved mothers after 1793 would receive their freedom at the age of twenty-five, and if these children were to have offspring, the latter would be born free. The “free womb” component of the Act underscored the gradualist approach to the end of slavery in Upper Canada.

We do not know what the fate of Chloe Cooley in New York was, but her screams and resistance paved the way for freedom from bondage in the province, as enslaved African Americans, learning that Upper Canada was “free soil,” began to escape from bondage in the American South to Upper Canada. And so began the Underground Railroad.

An Enslaved Woman and the Colonial Court

During the era of French rule in Canada, enslaved people often ran afoul of the law and had to face the magistrates. One such bondsperson was Portuguese-born Marie-Joseph Angélique, who was certainly Canada’s most famous slave. This bondswoman would have disappeared into obscurity had it not been for a spectacular fire that oc-

curred in Montreal in April 1734. Accused of setting this fire, Angeli-que was arrested, thrown in prison, and later brought before the court. During the two-month trial that ensued she was made to feel the full weight of the king's justice.

In December 1733, Angeli-que asked her mistress, Therese de Couagne de Francheville for her freedom. Madame Francheville re-fused. Later, Angeli-que learned that her mistress had sold her to a Quebec merchant. Angry that her mistress sold her, Angeli-que went on a reign of terror in the household. She threatened to burn her mis-tress and "make her pay." In February of the following year, she ran away from Montreal in the company of Claude Thibault, an inden-tured labourer from France who was also in the employ of Madame Francheville, and was Angeli-que's lover. The couple was intent on trav-elling to a port in New England or New York and from there boarding a ship bound for Europe. Angeli-que wanted to return to Portugal and Thibault to France.

However, after two weeks as fugitives, the couple was caught and returned to Montreal. Angeli-que was sent back to her mistress and Thibault lodged in prison. He was released from prison on 8 April 1734. Two days later, Madame Francheville's house caught fire, the flames spreading quickly to neighbouring buildings. After the flames cooled, residents discovered that forty-six buildings in total, including the city's hospital, were destroyed by the blaze, though no one died. On 11 April, Angeli-que was arrested by the authorities, accused of set-ting the fire, and promptly put in prison. She endured a two-month trial at both the lower court in Montreal and the supreme court in Quebec, where she was found guilty and sentenced to die by hanging.

Before the slave woman was executed, she was tortured by a meth-od known as the *brodequins*, a process of breaking her legs with a heavy hammer, to force her to confess to setting the fire and name her accomplices. The courts were convinced that Claude Thibault was a fellow arsonist, but before the flames cooled, Thibault disappeared. He was never seen again and thus never caught. During the torture, Angeli-que confessed to setting the fire. Angeli-que was hanged 21 June 1734 in Montreal, and her body was burnt. Later, the ashes were gath-ered and cast into the four winds.

It is Angeli-que's trial documents, from both the Montreal and Que-bec courts, that provide crucial evidence about her life, especially the

last six months. From these documents the following portrait emerges: Angelique was an ungovernable slave who routinely challenged her mistress' authority. The enslaved woman left the house whenever she pleased, quarrelled with Madame Francheville and, against the wish of the latter, engaged in a love affair with Claude Thibault. Seeking her freedom, Angelique ran away from slavery in February of 1733. Angelique behaved toward her mistress as if they were equal. Though she was of servile status, she had broken the bonds of mental slavery.

It is true that once Angelique discovered Madame Francheville had sold her to a Quebec merchant, she threatened to burn down her mistress' house, and with her in it. She even expressed that sentiment to some of her neighbours. And that is why suspicion was immediately cast upon Angelique as the fire roared and later was put out by the denizens of the town. And though Angelique denied setting fire to Montreal, she confessed under torture to doing so. Whether Angelique set the fire is still a question that haunts historians. I think that the bondswoman did set the fire. Enslaved people throughout the Atlantic world used fire to burn the property of those who owned their bodies. After all, they had no stake in the slave system which brutalized them. Angelique hated her enslavement, resisted it, and took steps to bring about her liberation.

Angelique's punishment reveals the awful brutality inflicted upon her body. Black, female, and slave, she did not stand a chance against the colonial white authority. Her story is a touchstone moment in the history of Black enslavement in Canada, and Black history as a whole. It also stands as an indictment against slavery in Canada.

Slavery and the Law in the Maritime Colonies

Legislation and statutes enacted under both the French and British colonial periods gave legal support to the enslavement of Africans. Where statute law was not introduced, as in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, slaveholders in these places drew on British common law that recognized the rights of colonists and British subjects to hold property.

Apart from Prince Edward Island, the colonial legislatures of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia did not pass laws legalizing slavery. There, slaveholders and other colonists claimed that British colonial laws

legalized slavery in the Maritimes. In fact, a Nova Scotian lawyer, Joseph Aplin (with Loyalist roots from Newport, Rhode Island, the main slave-trading port in the North), in his support of slaveholder James DeLancey who tried to apprehend his runaway slave Jack, wrote a thorough defence of the practice of enslavement of Blacks, and the right of Whites to own them. Aplin invoked both British imperial and colonial laws pertaining to slavery in his *Opinions of Several Gentlemen of the Law, on the Subject of Negro Servitude, in the Province of Nova Scotia*. He noted that under Charles II racialized Black slavery was sanctioned, as that monarch chartered the Royal African Company to pursue the slave trade on the west coast of Africa. Aplin further noted that slavery was legal in the British territories of the Caribbean and the Mainland and thus must also be legal in Nova Scotia, itself a British colony. This treatise published in 1802 was a veritable proslavery British North American document.

When colonists in Nova Scotia and other Maritime provinces sought protection for slavery, they invoked Metropolitan legislation. For them, the British Parliament, in sanctioning slavery in the colonies, gave them the right to own and use Black people as slaves. In a petition with passages absolving them from the sins of slaveholding, and reminiscent of Thomas Jefferson in the first draft of the American Declaration of Independence, where King George the Third was blamed for the escalation of slavery in the Thirteen Colonies, the Nova Scotian slaveholders wrote:

Your petitioners are far from pretending to advocate slavery as a system. With the creation of that system they had nothing to do. The introduction of Negro slaves into His Majestys colonies was a time long before your petitioners were born. It was authorized by the controuling authority of Parliament, in which authority the colonists had not by representation any share. But, when your petitioners came to the age of discretion, they found that His Majesty's colonial Subjects possessed the right of holding a property in Negroes upon the same ground that they possessed the Right of holding any other species of property, and conceived [sic] that right to be as strongly guarded by law as any other of their rights or privileges whatsoever....Negroes, universally thro the colonies, passed like other chattels; sometimes by bills of sale, at other times by *mere tradition*.

These Nova Scotian colonial slaveholders, whether they were born in the colony, of Planter, Loyalist, or Acadian stock, saw the holding of Black people as property in slavery as a *right* possessed by White colonials. Furthermore, as possessions, Blacks (no differentiation was made between enslaved or free) were chattel who could be disposed of as the slaveholders wished. Furthermore, these petitioners were arguing that Nova Scotia, and by extension the other Maritime provinces, ought to be seen by those in power on the same footing as the Caribbean colonies with respect to the enslavement of Blacks.

This petition of the Nova Scotian slaveholders reveals in no uncertain terms the racial domination of Whites over Blacks that the European slave system engendered. In the minds of most Whites, Black people were property who existed for the benefit and elevation of the White community. Slavery as a system of racial bondage flung Black people not only to the bottom of the hierarchical societal structure, but sometimes outside the bounds of humanity. This racial domination, that had its roots in and developed during slavery, would continue through the centuries, well after slavery's demise, and today stands as a veritable legacy of enslavement.

Prince Edward Island (then called St. John's Island) was the only Maritime colony that passed statute law concerning the enslavement of Blacks. In 1781, the Island's legislature passed an act declaring that baptism would not exempt an enslaved African from bondage. It is instructive to note that Prince Edward Island (PEI) had the least number of slaves of the Maritime colonies but was the only one to enact a statute pertaining to the enslavement of Blacks. Historians Harvey Amani Whitfield and Barry Cahill conclude that the reason PEI felt the need to pass statute law was because its politicians hoped the law would encourage West Indian planters and others to move to PEI with their slave property, thus providing vital labour for colonial development. The proslavery act stayed on the Island's books until repealed in 1825.

The West India Trade: Canada's Role in Atlantic Slavery's Economy

The enslavement of Africans was institutionalized within Canada. But how else was Canada connected to Atlantic slavery? A major connection was through the West India trade. As mentioned, this was a branch of Atlantic commerce that involved the exchange of goods and products between the West Indian slave colonies and the northern colonies like New England, the Maritimes, and Newfoundland. Dried fish, salted beef and pork, wheat, corn, and potatoes were sent from the Maritimes and Newfoundland to the Caribbean slave colonies to feed the enslaved population who spent almost all of their waking hours performing dangerous work on sugar plantations. Rum, molasses, sugar, cocoa, coffee, and other tropical products grown by the enslaved were exchanged by Caribbean planters for the northern products. The West India trade cemented Canada's role in Atlantic slavery's economy. Sarah Chute adroitly sums up this connection: "Every spoonful of sugar, drop of molasses, and sip of rum that colonists consumed linked the Maritimes inextricably to West Indian slave labor, just as Maritime-shingled houses sheltered slaveholders and as Atlantic cod fed enslaved people. The ubiquity of the Maritimes' connection to West Indian slavery demonstrates the power of empire and commerce to form bonds between the two regions."

But it was not only goods that were traded up the coast from the Caribbean. Slave captives were also sent to Canada from the Caribbean. The Atlantic coastal commerce in the commodification of Black bodies is again revealed in the activities of Joshua Mauger, a British colonial entrepreneur, shipbuilder, shipowner, politician, and victualer to the British Navy in Eastern Canada, who traded slaves, rum, molasses, fish, lumber, and other goods between Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the British Caribbean, England, and Ireland. The *Halifax Gazette* of 30 May 1752 announced the arrival of a body of enslaved Africans to Halifax brought by Joshua Mauger.

This advertisement reveals the utter chattel status of Blacks in early Canada, and the Atlantic. The practice of slavery in Canada was connected to the wider imperial world of slavery in the Black Atlantic. Put another way, White Canadians were linked to the circuit of Atlantic

Advertisements.

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

Halifax Gazette, 30 May 1752.

commerce premised on the circulation of Black bodies. Nova Scotia, for example, inserted itself into global trade through the West India trade and the exchange of goods between it and the slave colonies. It was through this trade that many leading families made their fortune. This was not lost on T. Watson Smith, a historian of Canadian slavery, who wrote at the close of the nineteenth century:

The fish and lumber sent by these provinces to the West Indies formed an important, if not the larger, part of their export trade – a trade that, directly and indirectly, gave employment to an immense number of industrious men. On the success of this trade Halifax had in a large measure depended for her prosperity, if not for her existence; and the agricultural sections of the lower provinces for their imports and circulating medium.

When the abolition of slavery loomed in the West Indies, Maritime merchants, and businessmen, knowing the importance of the West India trade to the Maritime economy, bemoaned the demise of slavery, remarking that it would bring ruin to the region. One direct way that the trade with the West Indies helped the Maritime colonies was because of the taxes levied on imports from the West Indies. As Shirley Tillotson notes, “West Indies trade helped fill the public treasury.” The editor of the *Acadian Recorder* was one such Maritimer who felt that the emancipation of the slaves was not necessarily a good thing as it would hurt the Maritime economy.

The fish, lumber &c., which we send hither form the bulk of our export trade. For those articles of home production, we receive

in return either bills, specie or West Indies produce, and from this source we have constantly derived nearly all our means of paying for the articles of English and East India manufacture, which are either necessary for our own consumption or conducive to our comfort. It is trade that employs an immense number of industrious men directly and indirectly. On its success has Halifax in great measure depended for her existence, and the agricultural parts of the Province their imports and circulating medium. The revenues arising from this branch of business are also the principal fund out of which we have been enabled to undertake and complete many public works of great usefulness and even of relative grandeur, besides its chief means of supporting the civil list, chargeable on the province. This profitable commerce has hitherto given subsistence to our fishermen. It has supplied the merchant with a mode of employing his capital and skill to advantage, and has diffused through every channel of business a life and vigour which could not have existed without its aid.

The editor sheds light on how slavery yoked the Caribbean, Nova Scotia, England, Africa, and even the East Indies. Caribbean slavery played a role in the import and export world of the colony, and contributed to its agricultural, financial, fishing, economic, government, and commercial sectors. Many workers in the colonies, for example fisherfolk and farmers, depended directly or indirectly on Caribbean slavery and the items that the enslaved produced.

The purpose of West India trade was the provisioning of West Indian slave plantations and importing slave-grown goods to the northern climes. It produced wealth for many Halifax and Maritime merchants and their families. Having excess capital, these merchants invested in ancillary industries that also fed the slave trade and diversified their investments. The West India trade was therefore octopus-like in nature, as Maritime merchants reinvested their capital into such industries as shipping, banking, insurance, warehousing, and even mining.

It is now known that several of the leading British financial institutions such as Barclay's Bank, the Heywood Bank, Barings Bank, and Lloyd's of London were established with capital accumulated out of the slave trade and slavery. Yet how many of us know that the founda-

tion of Canada's banking system had its roots likewise in West Indian slavery? One foundational story of Canada's banking history begins in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The Halifax Banking Company, a private bank, was established in 1825 by West India merchants and prominent entrepreneurs Enos Collins and Samuel Cunard. We know that Cunard, the famed founder of the Cunard Steamship Company, in his capacity as a West India merchant, sailed his own ships "to and from the West Indies bringing in rum, molasses, sugar, and some coffee, and carrying out dry and pickled fish, hoops and staves, mackerel, alewives, codfish, lumber, tea and oil." The Halifax Banking Company eventually became the principal unit following a merger in 1903 with the Canadian Bank of Commerce that later became the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, one of Canada's "big five" banks.

The Bank of Nova Scotia (BNS), now called Scotia Bank, was the first chartered bank in Nova Scotia (the Halifax Banking Company was a private bank) and the most known of the big fives that had its beginnings in West Indian slavery. Founded in February 1832 with Mather Byles Almon at the helm, the BNS was incorporated by seventeen of the leading businessmen of Halifax, some of whom were related to each other. Among the founding members were such important merchants as William Lawson (the bank's first president) who gained capital in the West Indies through shipping and trading, and sugar refining; Charles Roche, a "general importer of British and Foreign Manufactured goods"; and Alexander Murison, a dry goods merchant, and brother-in-law to Samuel Cunard. Research indicates that thirteen of the seventeen founding members gained and accumulated capital through their West India trade activities, which they reinvested in the Bank of Nova Scotia.

Almon was the longest serving president of the Bank (1837-1870), which grew and opened branches in other regions of Canada, and the American Midwest. Closing the circle, in 1889, the BNS opened its first overseas branch in no other place than Kingston, Jamaica. This was to manage the Canadian Maritime trade in fish, rum, and sugar. Noting the link between the BNS and slavery banking, historian Peter Hudson declares that, "the history of banking in the Caribbean ... dwelled in the shadow of the plantation." The opening of the branch in Kingston, Jamaica, was the beginning of the internationalization of the BNS, and would eventually lead the way for Canadian banks

to dominate banking and finance in the Caribbean, Central America, and parts of South America. Today, the BNS is the most important bank in the Anglo Caribbean. From its nondescript beginnings in Halifax, Nova Scotia, it became a global financial powerhouse. Yet, the Bank of Nova Scotia continues to rest in the shadow of West Indian slavery.

Labour and Families of the Enslaved

In the Americas, most slaves worked in tropical or semi-tropical regions and laboured on sugar, cotton, tobacco, rice, or coffee plantations, but enslaved Black people in Canada performed more varied tasks. They worked as agricultural labourers on the farms of their owners. Women especially performed household chores like cooking, cleaning, and washing. They looked after children, emptied chamber pots, and worked in dairies, fisheries, and orchards. Men did the work of chopping down trees, clearing fields, building roads, rowing canoes, packing furs, and looking after farm animals. Enslaved men often had artisanal skills and laboured as coopers, smiths, rope makers, millwrights, carpenters, and masons. Publisher William Brown trained his enslaved man as his assistant. Male slaves also worked in the maritime trades such as caulking, shipbuilding, sail making, rope making, tarring, and sailing. Kenneth Donovan describes the kind of work an enslaved man named Charles did in the household of Pierre Benoist of Louisburg in 1733. Charles looked after animals including cows, goats, and poultry. He worked in two gardens owned by Benoist where he planted, weeded, and harvested vegetables. He also cut firewood and fed the stoves and fireplaces. Urban slaves worked in the households of their owners or pursued a variety of skilled trades.

Newspaper advertisements are one source that alert us to the kind of labour enslaved Africans performed. Colonial businessman and slave trader Joshua Mauger, advertising in the *Halifax Gazette* the sale of enslaved Blacks he trafficked from the Caribbean, noted about one enslaved woman that she was capable of doing “needle-work of all sorts, also washing, ironing, cookery, and every other thing that can be expected from such a slave....” Another slave sale ad similarly reveals the gender-specific work enslaved Black women were doing:

TO BE SOLD

A very stout Negro wench of about 25 years of age. she can wash, iron, cook, and do any kind of house work. for further particulars, apply to Mr. McMurray.

The tone of both sale ads suggests that Black women were a kind of “domestic machine,” capable of doing “any and every kind” of work with their “strong and stout” bodies. This idea and belief in the Black woman as the domestic *par excellence* lived beyond slavery, and indeed was one of its legacies. When the Canadian state opened up immigration to Black women from the Caribbean in mid-twentieth century, it sought their labour as domestic servants, under the “the Domestic Scheme.” Films and popular media generated by Hollywood for decades featured one main role for Black actresses, and that was the role of domestic.

Enslaved people also performed tasks that very few in society wanted to do. We know of at least two Black bondsmen who worked as hangmen, executioners, and torturers, tasks that most men in society did not want to and would not perform. Mathieu Leveillé, an enslaved Martinican, was transported to Canada to perform the role as hangman, and “master of the means of torture.” Leveillé had faced the death penalty in Martinique for running away. However, New France needed a hangman, so he was bought by the government to act in that role. In effect, Leveillé was a slave of the Crown. It was he who executed Marie-Joseph Angélique for allegedly setting fire to Montreal. An enslaved man named François, also a Martinican, was transported to Île Royale to also perform the odious task of executioner.

There were other types of labour that underscored the servile position of enslaved Africans. Women and girls were sexually vulnerable and were often preyed upon by White men, sometimes their owners. The identification of enslaved babies and children as “mulatto” with the “father unknown” throughout the two centuries of slavery in Canada, points to the rape that many enslaved women experienced. In addition to being an institution of labour, slavery was also a sexual system.

Enslaved Canadians throughout New France and British North America sometimes lived by themselves as single persons, isolated from a Black community. They were therefore at the mercy of their

enslaver. Others lived in small groups of slaves, family or otherwise. Sometimes they lived in a small room in their owners' houses, or occupied part of the attic or basement. Alternately the "home" of the enslaved could be "in a shed, a stable, barn, or other out-buildings." Peggy Pompadour lived with her three children, Amy, Milly, and Jupiter, in the house of their enslavers Peter and Elizabeth Russell, members of Toronto's ruling elite. Pompadour, Peggy's husband and the father of her children, was a free man. In that capacity, he worked for the Russells and thus had the opportunity to be with his wife and children. The free and the enslaved belonging to the same family and living under the same roof shows the complexities of slavery in the Canadian context. Dorinda Baker lived with her three children in the household of their owner, the solicitor-general of Upper Canada, Robert I.D. Gray. Some enslaved individuals had no personal space but slept on the floor in the room of their enslaver. Even in sleep they were at the beck and call of their owner.

TO BE SOLD,
A BLACK WOMAN, named
PEGGY, aged about forty years ; and a
Black boy her son, named **JUPITER**, aged
about fifteen years, both of them the property of the
Subscriber.

The Woman is a tolerable Cook and washer woman and perfectly understands making Soap and Candles.

The Boy is tall and strong of his age, and has been employed in Country business, but brought up principally as a House Servant—They are each of them Servants for life. The Price for the Woman is one hundred and fifty Dollars—for the Boy two hundred Dollars, payable in three years with Interest from the day of Sale and to be properly secured by Bond &c.—But one fourth less will be taken in ready Money.

PETER RUSSELL.

York, Feb. 10th 1806.

Upper Canada Gazette, 19 February 1806.

Undoubtedly Black slaves, even if there were only a few of them living together, established relationships, familial or otherwise. In 1785, the flight of five enslaved Africans from owner Caleb Jones in New Brunswick alerts us that they were living together in the same household, and there was even a mother and child among them. That they planned their flight together showed trust built on a close relationship. Romantic relationships were also established. Marie-Joseph Angelique was involved with another enslaved, Jacques Cesar, with whom she had a child. The Mink family, comprised of parents and three children, was owned by Johan Joost Herkimer of Kingston, Upper Canada. Having a family unit provided those within the family certain familial comforts and supports. At the same time, enslaved family members were well aware that they could be sold apart from each other.

Enslaved families were often split up by sale. The death of an enslaved parent or child could also have dire consequences for the future of the slave family. Two examples illustrate this. In July 1748, Jean Pierre Roma, commandant for the King on Ile St. Jean (present-day Prince Edward Island) gifted to his friend Fleury de la Gorgendière, an enslaved five-month-old baby named Marie. She was described as a mulatto. The mother of the child, enslaved of Commandant Roma, had died in childbirth. It seemed that she travelled in Roma's entourage from Ile St. Jean to Quebec. The unfortunate baby was baptized in Quebec and Roma's daughter was named the godmother. The identity of Marie's father is unknown. Given that Marie was mixed race, we are led to ask whether Roma was her father. Was that why he took such an interest in the child upon the death of her mother? We know the nameless mother was enslaved and that she died in childbirth. Her orphaned child was now given away as a gift by the man who owned and possessed her womb – Commandant Roma.

In 1805, in Saint John, New Brunswick, lawyer Samuel Denny Street applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* "to produce the body of Richard Hopefield Jr." Hopefield was a young enslaved African whose mother, variously named Stacey, Patience, or Statia, had arrived in the colony with her Loyalist slave master from New York. While in Saint John, she was sold three times and finally ended up with a slaveholder named Phineas Lovitt. While with Lovitt, Stacey married a free Black man named Richard Hopefield. In late 1784, her owner confined her to a ship with the intention of sending her to the West Indies to be

sold. Stacey was pregnant at the time and so her husband hurried to the governor of the colony, Thomas Carleton, and told him of the situation. Carleton ordered Stacey be removed from the confines of the ship and freed, and to live “quietly and undisturbed and in the enjoyment of liberty.” Eight years later, in 1792, one of Stacey’s former owners, one Dr. Clarke, showed up, seized her, re-enslaved her, and two years later sold her to one Joseph Hewlett.

Meanwhile, the child, Richard Hopefield Jr., with whom Stacey was pregnant at the time of her captivity on the West Indian-bound ship, ended up being owned by a slaveholder named Stair Agnew. It was to Agnew to which the writ of *habeas corpus* was directed. How Agnew came to possess Stacey’s son is not clear, but around 1800 he was indicted before the justice of the peace for “cruel treatment and abuse of two Negro Boys then his Servants.” One of these boys was Richard Hopefield Jr., the son of Stacey and Richard Hopefield Sr. The father of the boy also sued Stairs Agnew for “battery and false imprisonment.” Legal scholar D.G. Bell notes that the “facts of his [Richard Jr.’s] parentage became the subject of several detailed depositions because Street [the lawyer for the Hopefield family] evidently placed weight on the fact that the senior Hopefield had been a free man. The defense countered by attempting to show that Hopefield’s parents had never been formally married, *so that he had taken the status of his mother rather than of his (free) father.*” The court found in favour of Stairs Agnew and the boy was returned to him as his slave. The fact that the court ignored the free status of Richard Sr. in favour of the slave status of Stacey had its support in common law pertaining to slavery that stated that children of slave mothers were slaves because they inherited the status of their mothers. Thus, the practice of *partus sequitur ventrem* was brought into play to support the slaveholder.

Voices of the Enslaved: Flight and Court Challenges

Enslaved people, though not represented in official documents from a first-person perspective, somehow managed to give voice to their experience in bondage. By running away or challenging their owners in court, enslaved Black Canadians declared their resistance to slavery and its degradations, and thus exercised agency.

N. B. The subscribers have also to let, that pleasant House on the hill, (either together or separately) now occupied by Messrs. *Dorion* and *Sarjeant*.

Quebec, 6th March, 1787.

RAN-AWAY from the subscribers, between the

hours of seven and eight o'clock yesterday evening, a NEGRO WENCH named BETT, about eighteen years old, middle stature, speaks the English, French and German languages well; had on when she went away, a blue Kersey Jacket and Pettycoat, a dark cotton Cap with yellow strings, and an Indian Shawl round her neck, was big with child, and within a few days of her time.

Whoever will apprehend said Negress, and secure her return, shall be paid A REWARD of TWENTY DOLLARS, and all reasonable expences.

Any person who may harbour or conceal the said Negress, will be prosecuted to the rigour of the law, by

JOHNSTON & PURSS.

For SALE by AUCTION on the Premises,

Quebec Gazette, 6 March 1787.

Slaveowners wrote about their slaves in wills, for sale notices, and runaway ads. News about the enslaved were recorded by notaries, lawyers, and judges, and as print culture became popular, journalists, historians, politicians, and other intellectuals began writing about Canada's enslaved Black people. Yet, there is very little documentation left behind by Black bondwomen and men, but as the case of Montreal slave Marie-Joseph Angelique shows, we can find the voices of enslaved people if we read the available sources deeply and against the grain. I have argued that the trial transcripts for Angelique's case can be read as a slave narrative. However, these transcripts, though they purport to record Angelique's words, were written by court scribes - White men who had imbibed the racial ideologies of the day concerning the Black body and who had very little sympathy for Black people. Within the Atlantic world, out of the millions of African captives that survived the Middle Passage and slavery, only a few dozen wrote a record of their life.

There were no newspapers during the *ancien regime*, so the flight of enslaved people from bondage was recorded in government documents. In the case of Marie-Joseph Angelique, her first flight from her mistress Therese de Couagne in February 1734 was recorded in the court records four months later when Angelique was charged for burning down Montreal. Later, newspapers carried stories of the enslaved and of slave flight. For example, an advertisement in the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* on 1 Sept. 1772 describes the flight of an enslaved child.

Ran away from her master, John Rock, on Monday the 13th day of August last; a Negroe Girl named Thursday, about four and a half feet high, broad feet, with a lump above her right eye: Had on when she ran away a cloth petticoat, a red Blaize bed gown, and red ribbons above her head. Whoever may harbour said Negroe girl, or encourage her to stay away from her said master, may depend on being prosecuted according as the law shall direct. And whosoever may be so kind to take her up and send her home to her said master, shall be paid all costs and charges, together with two dollars reward for their trouble.

It was Thursday's owner himself, John Rock, who placed the advertisement in the paper. Why did this child run away from slavery? The notice mentions that she had a lump above her right eye. Did Thursday sustain this lump due to physical abuse from Rock himself or from others within his household? How old was Thursday? Perhaps twelve or less? Rock alerts us that she is a child by calling her a "girl" and by telling us that she is "four and a half feet high." Poor Thursday. Her flight seems to have been spontaneous and not premeditated given the all-red outfit in which she fled – attire that made her easy to spot. Yet, her owner hints in the ad that there could be persons who would or could "encourage her to stay away from her said master..." Thus, it seems possible that Thursday, who likely faced abuse within the Rock household, had sympathizers who could or would support her. However, Thursday was eventually recaptured and returned to Rock. The experience of Thursday underscores that Black children were not spared the vulnerability and trauma that enslavement engendered.

From Falmouth, Nova Scotia, on 22 May 1781, the following advertisement was placed in the *Nova Scotia Gazette*: "Run away from Abel Michener, Esq. a Negro man named James, about five feet eight inches in height, and well made, 23 years of age a thin smooth face and lively countenance." The advertisement also highlights what James wore when he took flight, and then ended with the promise of a reward for anyone apprehending James: "whoever will apprehend and secure the said Negro in any of his Majesty's goals so that his master may have him again shall be entitled to five pounds reward." Michener also remarked that if James returned he "shall be forgiven." However, James did not return and in a later publication Michener once again adver-

Twenty Dollars Reward.



RAN Away, on Thursday evening, the 18th inst. a Negro Man Servant, the property of the Subscriber, named BELFAST; but who commonly goes by the name of BILL. ——— At the time of his elopement he was in the service of William Forsyth, Esq; and had meditated an attempt to get on board a ship that night which lay in the harbour, bound to Newfoundland; but was frustrated: It is probable, however, he may still endeavour to escape that way, therefore, the masters of all coasters going along shore, or other vessels bound to sea, are hereby forewarned from carrying him off at their peril, as they will be prosecuted, if discovered, with the utmost rigour of the law.

The above reward will be paid to any person or persons who shall apprehend and secure him, so that I may recover him again.

He is a likely, stout-made fellow, of five feet eight or nine inches high, and about 27 years of age; of a mild good countenance and features, smooth black skin, with very white teeth; is a native of South Carolina, speaks good English, and very softly, and has been in this Province ten years.

When he went off, he wore an old Bath-Coating short coat, of a light colour, wore out at the elbows; brown cloth or duffil trowsers, also much wore at the knees; a round hat, and an old black silk handkerchief about his neck:—But as he had other cloaths secreted in town, he may have changed his whole apparel.

He will no doubt endeavour to pass for a free man, and possibly by some other name.

MICHAEL WALLACE.

Nova Scotia Weekly Chronicle 14 March 1794.

tised for his runaway slave. One does not know what propelled James to take flight. Enslaved people rarely left records of their own lives, their motivations, and their desires, but one thing is clear: they wished to be free, or they wanted to gain concessions from their owner if they could not flee slavery on a permanent basis.

On 14 December 1789, the slaveholder John Saul posted an advertisement in the *Quebec Gazette*, with respect to his enslaved woman Ruth:

RUN AWAY from the subscriber, last spring, a Negro wench named Ruth, it is suspected she is about St. John's. If any person will apprehend the said Negro Wench and deliver her to Mr.

Fitch, at St. John's, Mr. Dillon at Montreal, or the subscriber in Quebec, all reasonable expenses will be paid.

John Saul.

There is very little description of Ruth, other than that she is a "wench," a woman of low status. The image of the woodcut accompanying the ad tells us that Ruth is a slave. It is an image of a Black woman typically used by newspaper publishers to broadcast the sale of an enslaved woman, or her flight. Saul imposed a dragnet around Ruth in the St. Lawrence corridor, by positioning persons, including himself, to catch her if she were found in St. John's (St. Jean), Montreal, or Quebec.

Judging from newspaper ads, the flight of enslaved Black Canadians running away from abusive owners tended to happen individually, as in the cases of James, Thursday, and Ruth. However, there were times when groups of enslaved people planned and executed their flight collaboratively. This happened for owner Caleb Jones of New Brunswick, mentioned earlier, when five of his enslaved property fled bondage, as the following ad in the 24 June 1786 issue of the *Royal Gazette* informs us.

From the subscriber living at Nashwakshis in the county of York, between the 15th and 21st days of this instant July, the following bound Negro slaves, viz. ISAAC about 30 years old, born on Long Island near New York, had on when he went away, a short blue coat, round hat and white trowsers. BEN, about 35 years old, had on a Devonshire kersey jacket lined in Scotch plad, corduroy breeches, and round hat. FLORA, a wench about 27 years old, much pitted with the small-pox, she had on a white cotton jacket and petticoat. Also Nancy about 24 years old, who took with her a Negro child, about four years old called Lidge.

That Blacks continued to flee enslavement into the second decade of the nineteenth century is revealed in the following advertisement, placed by slaveholder R. Leaven in the 6 October 1818 issue of the *Kingston Gazette*:

RAN away from the subscriber, a servant black woman by the name of BET, with a male child, two years old and upwards. Whoever will return the said wench and boy, to the subscriber,

or give information, so that she and he may be brought back, shall receive six pence reward, and no charges paid. All persons are strictly forbid harboring or trusting him on my account under the penalty of the law.

As the above two examples suggest, the bond that joined mother and child was unbroken in flight. Though slavery tried to break the bonds between mother and child through sale and abuse, enslaved mothers did everything within their power to protect their children and keep the family unit together.

While most enslaved people were not literate, a few were. And some who had escaped bondage took it upon themselves to write to their owners, narrating their flight and the reason for it. One example is that of Henry Lewis of Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) who had been owned by colonial politician William Jarvis. In 1794, Lewis fled to Schenectady, New York and subsequently wrote to Jarvis offering to purchase himself.

My desire to support myself as a free man and enjoy all the benefits which may result from my being free in a country where a Blackman is defended by the laws as much as a white man is induce me to make an offer of purchasing myself. I am a Black man and not able to Pay you all the money down which you may ask for me but Upon these conditions I will purchase myself. Ten pounds this year, and every year after sixteen pounds until the whole sum is payed..."

The above examples reveal that enslaved people claimed their humanity by resisting the degradation of enslavement through flight.

Enslaved people in British North America also took their owners to court in their bid for freedom. For example, in 1787 in Kingston, Ontario, an enslaved man Joseph Gutches sued his owner Richard Cartwright, politician and judge, for his freedom. Gutches presented his freedom suit before the Kingston Civil Board. He remarked that Cartwright's ownership of him was illegal, as he was due to be free at the age of twenty-one, in the year 1784, by his previous owner. However, during the American Revolution Gutches was captured by the Mohawks and sold to Cartwright. Gutches lost his case and remained the enslaved property of Cartwright.

A different outcome occurred in the 1798 case of *R. v. Hecht, ex parte Rachel*, in which an enslaved woman was at the centre of a trial. Rachel Bross, of Brinley Town, in the Digby area of Nova Scotia, married a freed Black man named Charles Fair in 1792. They lived together for five years when she was seized by Frederick William Hecht who claimed her as his slave. Hecht had her arrested for “elopement” and confined her to jail in Annapolis Royal. Why it took five years for Hecht to claim Bross is not known given that Hecht himself lived in the same area as his purported slave.

Meanwhile, Bross’ husband alerted the authorities in Halifax of his wife’s capture and mistreatment. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued for the woman to be brought to Halifax where the Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers would rule on the case. In court, Blowers placed the burden of proof of ownership upon Hecht. Because Hecht could not prove that the person from whom he bought Bross in New York had the right to sell her, the Chief Justice ruled that Hecht could not prove his legal ownership of the Black woman. Blowers then ruled in favour of Rachel Bross, who walked out of the court a free woman.

In 1800, Nancy Morton, whom we have met earlier as a runaway with her child Lidge, sued her owner Caleb Jones for wrongful confinement. The case reached the New Brunswick Supreme Court, but the justices were split on their decision. As a result, Morton lost her case and was returned to Jones.

The above few court decisions, whether successful for the enslaved or not, demonstrate that the enslaved were active agents in their quest for emancipation. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, and the beginning of the nineteenth, the number of slave suits in Canada against slaveholders increased and led owners to feel uncertain about their status as enslavers. Legal challenges to slavery eventually assisted in the decline of the institution in the Canadian colonies.

The Case of Sophia Pooley: Slavery and Freedom in Canada

As discussed earlier, the majority of enslaved people left very little written evidence of their lives. While there are narratives of former American slaves who made it to Canada via the Underground Rail-

road, there are few personal accounts of Blacks enslaved in Canada. One exception to this is Sophia Burthen Pooley, who gave a first-hand account of her life in both bondage and freedom in Canada.

In 1855, Boston abolitionist and journalist Benjamin Drew interviewed Sophia Pooley. She was ninety years old and living in the Queen's Bush, a former Black village in what is now Wellington County, Ontario. Speaking of her age, and the almost eight decades she lived in the province, Pooley remarked to Drew that she was the "first colored girl brought into Canada." Pooley then went on to narrate the story of her life in slavery in both the United States and Canada, and then her subsequent freedom.

In about 1765, Pooley was born to enslaved parents Oliver and Dinah Burthen in Fishkill, New York, in what is now Dutchess County. At a young age (Pooley said she was seven), Pooley and her sister Chloe were stolen by Daniel Outwaters and Simon Knox, sons-in-law of her owners. These thieves took the two children to the settlements of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy) in the Mohawk Valley region of New York, and eventually sold young Sophia at the Niagara border to Mohawk leader Joseph Brant, whose name was Thayendanegea. At that time, Brant was living on the American side on the border, where Pooley lived with him and his family. The fate of her sister Chloe is unknown.

Joseph Brant supported the British and served as a war chief during the American Revolutionary War, and was thus considered a Loyalist. The Iroquois Confederacy was split on the question of which side to support during the war. Four tribes - Onondaga, Mohawk, Seneca, and Cayuga - joined the British standard, while two tribes - Oneida and Tuscarora - fought the war on the side of the American colonists. The war ended with an American triumph. The victorious Americans were vengeful and moved against anyone who had supported the British. This led to Brant losing his lands in New York State, and his removal, in 1784, to the Canadian side of the Niagara border.

The signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 effectively divided the Great Lakes Region between the new United States and Canada (British North America). The British military commander and governor of Quebec (which then included present-day Ontario) Frederick Haldimand granted land to Joseph Brant and the Haudenosaunee in the Grand River Valley, as compensation for their land losses in the U.S. Brant established a Six Nations settlement in what came to be known

as Brantford. He built homes in Brantford, Ancaster, and Burlington. In Upper Canada, Brant became an influential and authoritative member of the colonial elite and was the effective leader of the Six Nations.

Because Pooley lived solely among Indigenous people, she noted the absence of White and Black people in her midst. This led her to believe that she was “the first colored brought into Canada.” As a young Black girl stolen from her parents and all that was familiar, Sophia Pooley endured alienation in her new home. Historian Maureen Elgersman notes that “while Pooley may not have been correct about being the first Black girl in Canada, there remains within her narrative an implied experience of physical isolation from other Black women that probably fed her sense of being the “only” and the “first” Black woman [in Canada].”

In the Brant household, far from her parents and any established Black community, young Sophia was assimilated into Mohawk culture. She remarked that she spoke “Indian” better than English and learned how to use a tomahawk in the deer hunting expeditions she went on with the Brant children. While she hinted that Joseph Brant might have been a kind master, she spoke of the cruelty of his then wife: “I had a scar on my head from a wound she gave me with a hatchet; and this long scar over my eye, is where she cut me with a knife. The skin dropped over my eye....”

Pooley lived for about twelve or thirteen years at the various houses owned by Joseph Brant. Then Brant sold her to a white man named Samuel Hatt with whom she lived for seven years. By the time Hatt purchased her, Pooley was about nineteen years old, in the prime of her womanhood. Her story is silent on the issue of sexual predation. We know that under slavery Black woman and girls were constantly raped and subjected to other forms of sexual abuse. As a young girl in the Hatt household, what was the experience of Pooley?

She remarked that after seven years of being with Hatt, some white people told her she was free because slavery was abolished. At the age of about twenty-seven years, Pooley ran away from Hatt. It is unclear about which “freedom” Pooley is speaking. In 1793, the Upper Canadian legislature passed an Act that limited slavery in the province by banning the importation of new slaves. However, it was not an abolition bill, though many people, White and Black, felt that it was. If it was the 1834 Emancipation Act, that would put Pooley’s age close to seventy years. However, she was clear that she ran away from Samuel

Hatt while she was still a young woman. So, it is more than likely she referred to the 1793 Act. We know that Pooley was an adult when John Graves Simcoe arrived in Upper Canada to take up his role as lieutenant-governor in 1792. She noted, "I was a grown woman when the first governor of Canada came from England: that was Gov. Simcoe." I believe that she brought Simcoe into her story because of the ground-breaking legislation he passed, which banned the importation of enslaved people into the province, and which I believe she used to facilitate her escape from Samuel Hatt.

Pooley notes that after her years with Hatt, she met and married a Black man named Robert Pooley. She lived with him in Waterloo. Her husband eventually left her for a White woman. It is possible that, after her marriage ended, she went to live in the Black community of the Queen's Bush.

While the vast majority of enslavers in Canada were White like Samuel Hatt, Pooley's story demonstrates the complexities of slave ownership. Her main enslaver, Joseph Brant, was an Indigenous man. But he was not the only Indigenous enslaver. Sally Ainse, an Oneida fur-trader and diplomat from south-western Ontario also held enslaved Africans. The complexities of Canadian slaveholding is further underscored by the fact that during the era of New France, many Indigenous peoples themselves were enslaved by the French.

Pooley lived an incredible life. Her experience of slavery in Canada reveals the lie that slavery was "mild" or "humane" in this country. Her story provides evidence that Black people, and in her case, children and youth, were taken from their families, sold away, and abused. Pooley did not leave the United States to come to Canada for freedom. Canada for her was a place of enslavement. Her narrative gives us a first-hand perspective of enslavement in Canada from the point of view of an enslaved Black woman. When Benjamin Drew interviewed Pooley in the Queen's Bush, she had lived for almost a century. At the Queen's Bush, she was ensconced in a Black community that took care of her, and gave her the support, love, and a close familial relationship that was denied to her as an enslaved woman.

Through narratives such as Sophia Cooley's, court records like those of Marie-Joseph Angelique, Joseph Gutches, Rachel Bross, and Nancy Morton, and newspaper advertisements, we can paint a more complex portrait of Black enslavement in Canada.

Conclusion: Slavery's Demise, Abolition, and Legacy

As a result of flight, legal challenges, and overall anti-slavery attitudes, slavery began to decline in Canada. In 1793, influenced by the brutal removal from the Niagara Region of slave woman Chloe Cooley to New York State, the legislature of Upper Canada passed an Act banning the importation of new slaves into the colony. No one was freed under the Act, but it did pave the way for the eventual end of slavery within the Canadian provinces. In Lower Canada (Quebec) and the Maritimes, because of growing opposition of the courts of law to slavery, the decline of slavery was assured by 1820. In Lower Canada, slavery's demise was partially brought about through the actions of certain judges who ruled in favour of the enslaved who sued their owners for their freedom. In Montreal, we know about several enslaved Blacks who simply "walked off the job," while others escaped from slavery or won freedom suits.

However, it took the Slavery Abolition Act passed in the British Parliament in 1833 to end slavery formally in Canada. The Act took effect on 1 August 1834 and had its greatest impact on the British slave colonies, primarily the West Indies, where 800,000 enslaved Africans were legally freed as a result. The preamble to the Act states: "After 1st August 1834, all slaves in the British colonies shall be emancipated, and slavery shall be abolished throughout the British possessions abroad." Several dozen enslaved Canadian Blacks gained their freedom because of the Abolition Act. The Slavery Abolition Act ended 206 years of enslavement of African people in Canada.

Canada, first as a colony of France, and then Britain, was tethered to the Atlantic world system that was based on the exploitation of Africans through what Professor Hilary Beckles called the "dominant Atlantic crime," that is, the slave trade, and slavery. All the leading European countries engaged in this crime and acquired vast wealth as a result. Within Canada, the enslavement of Africans was a fact of life for over two centuries. However, this fact is not widely known despite efforts of historians over the past thirty years to make knowledge of slavery part of popular consciousness. In effect, slavery has been whitewashed out of Canadian history. Many still believe that slavery did not exist in Canada.

The 200 years of slavery has left an indelible mark on Black life, consciousness, evolution, and Black futures. Even when slavery legally ended, anti-Black racism remained an organizing principle in Canadian society. Therefore, the end of slavery did not usher in racial and social equality. Because anti-Black racism became embedded in Canadian institutions, Black racial oppression, and white domination persisted in myriad forms. The damaging stereotypes used to justify slavery continued to be articulated and mobilized against Black people during the post-slavery era, supposedly an era of freedom for Black people. Most aspects of Blackness - hair, skin colour, facial features, body types, intelligence - continue to be demeaned and devalued.

Thus, the shadow of slavery continued to loom over Black life in the period of emancipation. Racial segregation was enforced, whether by law or custom, in such areas as education, religion, employment, housing, voting, and even in cemeteries. Black children attended separate schools because Whites did not want their children educated together with Blacks. While some schools, through the efforts of the Black community, became sites of empowering education for Black children, many were substandard because they did not receive the necessary support from the state, even though Blacks paid the school tax. The disadvantage that Black children faced in the education sector impinged directly on their economic future.

Blacks faced chronic unemployment and under-employment and were relegated to race-based employment such as domestic work, and portering. Black Canadians were also forced into spatially segregated villages and settlements and these places often lacked basic amenities. Across Canada, there are Black settlements, or remnants thereof, in which African-descended people were forced to live because of White disdain or coercion. Even when it appears that Blacks themselves wanted to live in segregated communities, this was as a direct result of White hostility to Blacks settling in their midst.

This unequal treatment created a deep chasm between Black and White people, which has manifested in various ways, such as a racial wealth gap, disproportionate suffering “from racial profiling, police arrest, incarceration, poor health outcomes (high rates of cancer, poor mental health, hypertension, and diabetes), and lack of access to education, employment opportunities and safe and adequate housing.

Blacks are also over-represented in child welfare agencies, high school drop-out rates, and are more likely to experience ... environmental racism.”

With respect to immigration and nation-building, state officials viewed Blacks through the lens of slavery. The emergent Canadian state at Confederation in 1867 conceptualized the new nation as a White man’s country, and instituted laws and policies that banned Black immigration for close to one hundred years. Sir John A. Macdonald, in discussing immigration plans for the new polity, boldly stated that he did not desire Black immigrants in Canada. Macdonald drew on the myth of the Black rapist, derived from slavery, to justify his discourse. The Prime Minister made this damaging statement in the immediate post-Underground Railroad era. In its conception of itself as a polity different from the United States, Canada would draw on the Underground Railroad story to narrate itself as a “freedom giving” site, a “haven” and a “refuge” for the oppressed. Yet, the real story was one of unbelongingness and unwantedness. In 1911, under the guise of climatic unsuitability and inassimilability, the federal government (then called the Dominion government) passed an order-in-council prohibiting Blacks from immigrating to the country.

While Black Canadians, from the time of slavery to present, have resisted all manner of degradation, insults, abuse, prejudice, and have built sustaining communities, the damage done to Black people due to slavery and its aftermath must be acknowledged, addressed, and repaired. Slavery was a crime against humanity. Yet whenever Blacks talk about reparations and atonement for this crime by White-dominated governments and institutions, they are often met with such dismissive responses as “get over it,” “slavery happened a long time ago,” or “move on.” But as Sociologist Patrick Wilmot notes, “crimes against humanity are so heinous that they transcend [temporal] boundaries.” Wilmot further states that Britain “recognized the need for reparations when it paid billions in today’s money ... not to the slaves but to British slave masters who ‘lost’ their [enslaved] property to emancipation.”

Compensation must be awarded to Black people in Canada as a way of acknowledging two centuries of the theft of bodies, labour, skills, and talents, and the loss or fragmentation of the culture and heritage of Black ancestors. Such compensation would begin to repair the abuse, brutality, trauma, and the psychic torture the enslaved en-

dured, plus the destruction of their families, the theft of future generations, and the criminal enrichment of Whites at the expense of Blacks themselves. The weight of the past rests heavily on the present. Slavery continues to impact contemporary Black life. Hence, reparations are also for the present.

Educating Canadians about the damage done to Black people during the era of enslavement is part of reparatory justice. Other mandatory measures include financial compensation, community development, and of course an apology from the national government for the iniquity of slavery.

Sources Used and Further Reading

Though the history of the enslavement of Black people in Canada has been marginalized, there are numerous primary and secondary sources available on the topic. The following summary of sources includes those used for this booklet, and also relevant material pertaining to slavery within the larger Atlantic world, and the Transatlantic slavery system.

Texts on the Slave Trade

The literature on the European or Atlantic slave trade is voluminous. An excellent reference is Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997). See also, David Eltis & David Richardson, *Atlas of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1997); Robert Louis Stein, *The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979); See Joseph Inikori, et al., *The Chaining of a Continent: Export Demand for Captives and History of Africa South of the Sahara, 1450-1870* (Kings-ton, JA.: University of the West Indies Press, 1997); Joseph Inikori, ed. *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies* (New York: Africana, 1982); Patricia M. Muhammad, Esq. "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Forgotten Crime Against Humanity as Defined by International Law," *The American International Law Review* 19, no. 4 (2003): 883-947.

Sources on Slave Trade Demography

With respect to the number of enslaved people who survived the journey to the Americas, Philip Curtin, in *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969) offers an estimate of 9,566,100 people who landed alive. Joseph Inikori challenged this number, revising Curtin's figure upward to 15,400,000 enslaved people exported from Africa and approximately 13,392,000 who landed alive in the Americas. See Inikori, "Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade: An Assessment of Curtin and

Anstey,” *Journal of African History* 17 (1976): 197-233; Roger Anstey, “The Volume and Profitability of the British Slave Trade, 1761-1807,” in S.L. Engerman and E.D. Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975). William St Clair, in *The Grand Slave Emporium: Cape Coast Castle and the British Slave Trade* (London, UK: Profile Books, 2006), offers the number of Africans taken across the Middle Passage to be 11 million. James Walvin, in *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (London, UK: HarperCollins, 1992) qualifies this by stating “The 11 million who arrived were the survivors of perhaps more than 24 million people enslaved in Africa” (26-7). David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010) suggest the number of enslaved who landed alive was 12,522,570. Further, Leif Svalesen, in *The Slave Ship Fredensborg* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), notes “It has been calculated that in the period from 1450 to 1870, between 12 and 15 million African slaves were shipped on European and American vessels” (9).

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