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THE AFRICAN IN CANADA.

THE MAROONS OF JAMAICA AND
NOVA SCOTIA.

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THE AFRICAN IN CANADA. By JAMES CLELAND HAMILTON, LL.B., Toronto, Ont., Can.

[ABSTRACT.]

THE introduction referred to the various races found in Canada, but of all these, whether native or immigrant, it was claimed that when the history of the last fifty years is written, none will be found more interesting, as a class and as parcel of the state, than the colored population.

Under this head were included all having African blood, pure or mixed, in their veins.

In Canada the black refugee was surrounded by an active white population, had seldom any capital but his strong right arm, and had to lay his plans so as to rival the white man and "take his bread out of the stump." It was shown that no such contest had, in any other place before American Emancipation, been undertaken by the African race.

The speaker stated as his object, to present such an account of the course of this people as from observation and documents, but especially from personal enquiry, he had been able to gather during a residence of some thirty years in Toronto.

At the beginning of this period, in 1860, there were about 40,000 colored people in Upper Canada, few being found in the other provinces.

Reference was then made to proceedings at conventions of people of color, in the United States, so far back as 1831, in which the prospects of the west coast of Africa and the West Indies as places for their immigration were discussed, but these were overruled in favor of Canada West. At this time several thousands of fugitives from slavery had settled in our province. The Rev. Isaac J. Rice from Ohio and Rev. Hiram Wilson came to work among them and were aided by Quakers and other philanthropic Americans. After them the Rev. William King followed bringing from Louisiana his slaves, fifteen in number, whom he freed and settled in the township of Raleigh on Lake Erie near the town of Chatham. An Association styled in honor of the then governor of Canada, the "Elgin settlement" was formed August 10, 1850. A tract of land containing nine thousand acres of good soil was procured. The place was called Buxton, in honor of Sir T. F. Buxton, and here began the work of colonizing and making homes for the fugitives on an extensive scale. The land was leased and finally sold only to colored people and on such easy terms of payment

as made it practicable for them to purchase. Mr. King himself lived for twenty-five years in the settlement as agent of the Association, missionary and teacher, and has had the satisfaction of seeing the land all sold, cleared and occupied by his people. He has, in late years, lived in Chatham, but seems satisfied with the success of his self-denying efforts and in a communication to the essayist stated "the Elgin settlement has accomplished what we intended, which was to show by a practical demonstration that the colored man when placed in favorable circumstances was able and willing to support himself, and although the soil and climate were not the same as those which they left, yet these people have done as well as any white settlement in the province under the like circumstances." Some of the young men educated at Buxton have been elected to civic offices in the United States. One was James Rapler, a member of Congress from Montgomery, Alabama, during General Grant's administration. "Others are," says Mr. King, "teachers, preachers, doctors and lawyers." "Most of the educated colored people," he also states, "left Canada during the war and very few are coming to it now." The writer then gave instances of *Slaves* and *Slave Law* in Canada and an account of Solicitor General Gray and the Baker family as follows:—

"The propriety of importing African slaves as an economic measure was considered in the Council of Quebec as early as 1688 when the Attorney General visited Paris and urged upon the King the expediency of importing negroes as a remedy for the scarcity and dearness of labor. The King consented but advised caution owing to the severity of the climate. A few slaves were brought in but the system never flourished." (Parkman's *Old Regime in Canada*, p. 388.)

Slaves were made also of Pawnee Indian captives, but their dislike of steady employment and propensity to escape to the woods impaired their value, says the same authority.

Court records show traces of both negro and Pawnee slavery in the Lower province till February 18, 1800, when the court of King's Bench at Montreal discharged the negro *Robin* from custody, and this decision being acquiesced in, practically ended the system there. This and the accident of climate saved Quebec from future servile trouble. The province now called Ontario was but sparsely inhabited. Slavery did exist to a limited extent in Upper Canada, till 1793, when an act was passed by the infant parliament of that Province, at the town of Newark, now Niagara, prohibiting the importing of slaves, and declaring that no negro or other person brought into Upper Canada should be thenceforth subject to the condition of a slave.

It will be noticed that in this our Province had the honor to precede the mother country, which passed the act emancipating slaves in all her colonies in 1833. It is but fair to note that Pennsylvania and Rhode Island

In 1863, Messrs. R. D. Owen, James McKay and S. G. Howe, members of the "American Freedmen's Commission," visited Buxton, made careful inquiry and reported as to the condition of the colored people there. Their report helped to add the 14th amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

had shown us an example, emancipation having been decreed in those states in 1780. Ours was a rare little Parliament that so honored itself, sitting sometimes in its chamber at Navy Hall and then as the day grew sultry, adjourning to the shade of a spreading tree, as Dr. Scadding describes the scene. There were but a baker's dozen of them in all, seven crown appointed councilors and five commoners. Mr. McDonell of Glengary was the speaker.

The act then passed also made provision for the gradual emancipation of the three or four hundred slaves then in the Province. Down to the year 1833, when the imperial act referred to took effect, some of these old slaves were still to be seen in Canada, even as such were to be found within very recent years round the old homesteads of New Jersey.

Dr. Scadding has collected in "Toronto of Old" several references to slavery in this province as practised early in this century; among those offering to deal in the human article being the governor, Peter Russell, who in 1806 advertised for sale a black woman Peggy, and her son Jupiter.

Slave advertisements were then common in the Quebec Gazette. In the western part of this province the great Indian Chief Brant, or Thyendenga, had African slaves, it is said, but I have been unable to verify this historically. He was a contemporary of Governor Russell. Our Indians were too nomadic to make African slavery profitable with them. It was, in fact, of most rare occurrence in the northern tribes, while in the south blacks tilled the soil of Cherokee and Choctaw farmers.

The amiable characteristics, forming the pleasant part of the history of slavery on this continent, were so exhibited, in the life of the late Solicitor General of Upper Canada, Mr. Robert Isaac Dey Gray, that I am tempted to give some details of his career not generally known.

He was son of Colonel James Gray, who was a Highland Scotchman of good family. Mr. Gray lived on the north side of Wellington Street in Toronto, then Little York. As part of his family he had a colored slave woman Dorin, or Dorinda, Baker and her children, among them her sons John and Simon. A sad fate awaited him and Simon his gay young body servant. A court was ordered for trial of an Indian murderer, at Presque Isle in county of Northumberland, then Newcastle district. This being before the use of steam, Judge Cochrane, the Solicitor General and his servant, with the sheriff, embarked on the government schooner 'Speedy,' Captain Paxton, for the place of venue. A gale came on, all went down and were lost on the night of 7th October, 1804. By his will, made August 27, 1803, Mr. Gray "manumits and discharges from the state of slavery in which she is now his faithful black woman servant Dorinda" and gives her and all her children their freedom. To John and Simon he also left two hundred acres of land, and directed that twelve hundred pounds should be set apart and the interest applied to the maintenance of the family.

I am indebted to Judge Pringle of Cornwall, Ont., a relative of the Gray family, for the extract of a letter written by Mr. Gray to his cousin Catherine Valentine at Klugston, Feb. 16, 1804. After giving an account of his

endeavors to recover property abandoned by his father, who had been a major in the first Battalion, King's Royal regiment of New York, he states "I saw some of our old friends while in the States; none was I more happy to meet than Lavine, Dorin's mother. She was living in a tavern with a woman by the name of Bromley. I immediately employed a friend to negotiate for the purchase of her. He did so stating that I wished to buy her freedom, in consequence of which the man readily complied with my wish and, although he declared she was worth to him £100, he gave her to me for \$50. When I saw her, she was overjoyed and appeared as happy as any person could be, at the idea of seeing her child Dorin, and her children once more, with whom if Dorin wishes she will willingly spend the remainder of her days. I could not avoid doing this act. The opportunity had been thrown in my way by Providence and I could not resist it. I saw old Cato, Lavine's father, at Newark, while I was at Colonel Ogden's. He is living with Mrs. Gouverneur, is well taken care of and, blind, poor old fellow, came to *feel* me for he could not see me. He asked affectionately after the family."

John Baker survived the others of his mother's family and died in Cornwall, 1871, at a patriarchal age. For the last nine years of his life he had a pension from the English government for services in the war of 1812. On August 11, 1868, I met John Baker and got the story of his life, which is redolent of old times and customs and is that of one of the last Canadians born in bond service. I give it as he told it. First let me picture him as a very dark mulatto of amiable disposition and countenance, hobbling from rheumatism and laying down his wood-saw as I asked him to sit down on a box in a grocery, and handed him a plug of his favorite weed. "I was born at Quebec, brought up at Gray's Creek. My mother Dorinda, was from Guinea, my father was a Dutchman, probably a Hessian soldier. Old Colonel Gray, father of 'Solisary Gray,' was colonel of a Scotch regiment and wore kilts and married in the United States. I came to Gray's Creek near Cornwall, when a boy, and Gray's son was then also a lad. I lived here with Mr. Farand who used to go on horseback and had his trunk strapped on my back. He rode like a Tartar, and the trunk used to knock on my back. Young Gray was the only child of the Colonel and went to Parliament thirteen years running. The Colonel was strict and sharp and put deerskin shirts and jackets on me, and gave me a good many whippings. Simon was older than me, and was 'Solisary' Gray's body servant. I lived two years in Toronto, or Little York, in a large white house, north of the boat landing. The people was proud and grand them days. Simon was dressed finer than his master with a beaver hat and gold watch. Governor Hunter ordered the party to go to the trial in the 'Speedy.' He was a severe old man and wore leather breeches. In one pocket he carried tobacco, in the other snuff and when giving his orders he would take a handful of snuff, and it would fall over his fine ruffled shirt,—fine, I tell you, no mistake, and silver buckles to his shoes. Never saw him with a boot on. Solisary Gray when he went off last, told me to look after the place and he would be back in a day or two. They started between four and five in the evening

and we heard of the loss next morning from the brig 'Toronto.' There were in York about twenty houses then.

"After that I went to Judge Powell's. A recruiting agent came along, and I listed. Judge Powell paid the smart for me seven times. I said, 'thank you, sir,' and I listed again. I served three years in New Brunswick. Col. Drummond was then colonel and Col. Moody was lieutenant colonel. Moodie who was shot on Yonge street and Drummond scaling ladders at Fort Erie. I was at Waterloo in the 104th Regiment under Col. Halkett. We chased Napoleon, who rode hard and jumped the ditches. We marched over our shoes in blood. I saw Wellington, General Brock and many other great men in my time. We came back to Canada and got our discharge. I was a wild, foolish boy. The Lord will be with us all by and by, I hope. Good-bye."

Mr. Hamilton next discussed the cause célèbre of John Anderson the fugitive slave, arrested in Toronto under the Ashburton Treaty in April, 1860, for killing one Diggs in Missouri, when escaping. He was released by the court of common pleas on a technicality, after much legal argument and public discussion and excitement.

Professor Aytoun's story of Haman S. Walker, as related in "Blackwood," thirty years ago, and again in the novel "Norman Sinclair," was referred to. Walker is represented as a villain who, pretending to be a suffering abolitionist, came to Toronto, ingratiated himself with the colored people, married the daughter of a well-known livery-stable keeper, took her south, secured a bill of sale of her father, from his former master, sold his wife, and when the father came to Charleston to redeem his daughter, he found himself the chattel of his worthy son-in-law, and had, as is represented, to redeem both. This witty tale the essayist declared he had found to be entirely untrue. The professor was the victim of a cruel hoax. The young woman referred to married a colored man and removed to Milwaukee.

A résumé of two interesting discussions in the Canadian parliament, having reference to imposing a capitation tax on colored immigrants, was then given. Mr. Larwell was mover in the lower house, and Col. Prince in the other. Both motions were negatived. During one of these an amusing incident occurred. The gas went out. A member rose and solemnly said, "Mr. Speaker, I move that light be given on this dark subject." An account was given of instances of loyalty of this race to their adopted land, and of their refusal to accept inducements to go to Hayti, Trinidad and elsewhere. Some personal references were then made to the colored people in Toronto, Hamilton and elsewhere in the province. The Nestor of Toronto is John Tinsley who came from Richmond, Va., and claims to have completed his one hundred and sixth year on last fourth of July. He is a quadroon; his father Captain Samuel Tinsley served in the Revolutionary and Georgia Indian wars. He is an interesting old man, and has a store of knowledge of Old Virginia days.

The history of Josiah Henson, commonly known as the original "Uncle Tom," was given. He was a man of much natural ability, gathered his people around him at Dresden, Ont., went to England and New England,

and lectured to great audiences who, as did Lord Shaftsbury, Earl Russell, Archbishop Tait and others, aided him in his enterprise. The Queen asked him, "Have you any family?" "I have ten children, forty-four grandchildren and nine great grandchildren, your majesty," I answered. "Why," she exclaimed, "you are a patriarch." The archbishop asked him, "At what university, sir, did you graduate?" "I graduated, your grace, at the university of adversity." "The university of adversity," said he, looking up in astonishment, "where is that?" I saw his surprise and explained my meaning.

The English papers made him famous as "Uncle Tom." Interesting reminiscences of the life and labors of this remarkable man were then given. He was born a slave in Charles county, Virginia, June 15, 1789, and died in Dresden, Ontario, on May 5, 1883. As a result of his labors mainly, the Wilberforce Institute for the education of colored youth was founded at Chatham, where it is still doing good work. The writer closed as follows:—It has been variously estimated that of our colored citizens those of pure blood were between one-fourth and one-third of the whole number, the others being mulattoes or of the other mixed classes. About half of the adults were fugitives from the south, and these were esteemed by Mr. King as the best class, as they possessed that activity and manliness by which they secured freedom. Besides a difference in the shades of color we should also remember that the negroes found in Canada are descendants of various African tribes, some of which were intelligent, vigorous, and full of martial spirit, while others were of a lower calibre, some even signifying with a few almost inarticulate expressions, in their native wilds, all the desires which their rude life called for, or gave rise to. Some of those originating from the former African stock are esteemed equal in natural intelligence to whites of like station and opportunities, while the latter could not be raised by any educational process to the same level.

From this diversity of origin probably arise, to a great extent, contradictory opinions regarding the capacities of the race. Some who draw their conclusions from their experience among the inferior, judge that all the tribes, and their American descendants, are equally degraded while others are as much led astray in an opposite direction, by regarding only the superior classes.

The part of Ontario occupied by these people is rich in soil and has a climate similar to that of Michigan, yet the general opinion I found current, both among themselves and others conversant with the subject, is that it is not the country best adapted to their natural requirements. They are specially liable to phthisical diseases. I should remark, however, that doctors disagree on this point, and I speak with diffidence but think the weight of authority will be found as just expressed. There are many persons of advanced age among them. Many of the colored men, who were found in our gaols, were not of the class of fugitive emigrants proper, but of the criminal ranks, who evaded the penalty of crimes committed in the states by escaping across the border. The statistics from penitentiaries

and prisons, especially during the period before emancipation, must be regarded with proper allowance for these circumstances. A friend, who has been for many years a county crown attorney, and has had much experience of this people, condensed his views thus:—"There was a reaction after the enforced labor of slavery. The black folks regarded with suspicion any effort to guide them politically or morally. They were not thrifty and did not lay up much for the future, as a rule; but improved in this, as they learned necessity from experience. They were easily led astray by designing men, among whom were many cunning half-white fellows. The offences with which they were charged were generally the result of weakness, rather than vicious disposition, 'minor crimes, seldom felonies.'"

The wonderful changes in the political and social aspect of the land, whence they fled, again pointed these people to that as the land of promise for them and their children. As a summary of their views before these changes, and irrespective of them, allow me in conclusion to read a short extract from a resolution passed at a colored convention held in Toronto in September, 1851.

"We feel grateful as a people to her Britannic Majesty's just and powerful government for the protection afforded us, and we are fully persuaded, from the known fertility of the soil and salubrity of climate of the milder regions of Canada West that this is by far the most desirable place of resort for the colored population to be found on the American continent."

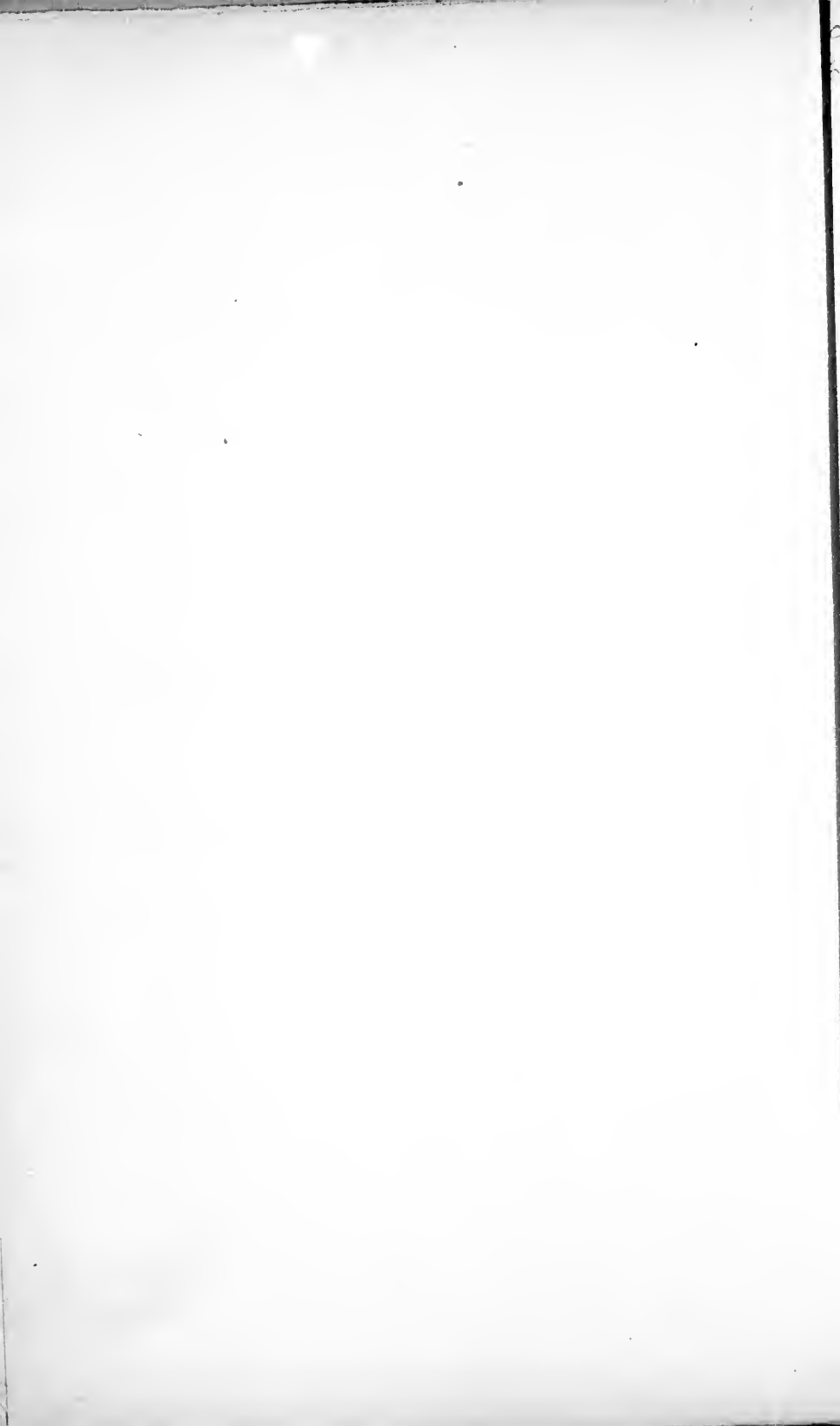
I have now given an imperfect, but I trust, an accurate view of the career of this race in Canada. I claim for our Dominion, but especially for this Ontario province, that she has in her schools and colleges, in her legislatures and in her courts, in heart and in hand, been the good Samaritan to the sons of Ham in their days of trouble. But it is not in any spirit of boasting, however moderate or patriotic, that I would close this account of our colored fellow citizens and their career in Canada.

This race must have a great future on this continent, though it is expected that as Africa is opened up, many will return to the land of their forefathers. The Indians become Metes, but the black man becomes blacker, more distinct and more African. He daily grows in numbers, in knowledge and in power. The Canadian problem has worked out happily. We have had no Pharaoh to distress our land of Goshen nor have plagues disturbed us. The former involuntary exodus to the north has been succeeded by a voluntary interchange of people and products over the bridge of peace and freedom which unites our countries.

The greater problem looms before you. We do not fear the result, if knowledge and science do their part.

Whatever be our political future, we of the north must share, and bear, with you of the south, one grave united interest, in the working out of this great racial problem in the social destiny of the continent. We say in the words of the pious Æneas:—

"Una salus ambobus erit."



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THE MAROONS OF JAMAICA AND NOVA SCOTIA.

BY J. C. HAMILTON, LL.B.

Negro slavery disappeared from the Province of Nova Scotia during the latter part of last century, without legislative enactment, by what Judge Haliburton, in his history of Nova Scotia, calls "latent abandonment beneficial to the country." There remained a number of emancipated provincial slaves and still more Africans who escaped to Nova Scotia from the United States. These latter people were called "Loyal Negroes." In 1821 a party of nearly one hundred of them emigrated to Trinidad. But before this, on the founding of Sierra Leone on the west coast of Africa, about twelve hundred went there, arriving in 1792. Four years after this, three ships entered the harbour of Halifax, laden with the most extraordinary cargoes that ever entered that port. Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, then in command at Halifax, boarded the *Dover*, was met by Colonel W. D. Quarrell, Commissary-General of Jamaica, with whom Mr. Alexander Ouchterlony was associated, and a detachment of the 96th Regiment drawn up on board to receive him. Black men of good proportions with many women and children, all in neat uniform attire, were mustered in lines. Other transports, the *Mary* and *Anne*, were, his Highness was informed, about to follow, and the main cargo was six hundred Maroons exiled from Jamaica with soldiers to guard them and meet any attacks from French vessels on the voyage.

The Prince was struck with the fine appearance of the black men, but the citizens had heard of how Jamaica had been harried by its black banditti, and were unwilling at first to have them added to their population. When the Spaniards first settled in the Antilles in 1509, it is estimated by Las Casas, Robertson, and other historians that the Indian inhabitants amounted to ten million souls, but by the

exercise of the utmost atrocities, these were melted away until none remained to work as slaves in the mines or in the fields.

"Here," says Las Casas, "the Spaniards exercised their accustomed cruelties, killing, burning, and roasting men, and throwing them to the dogs, as also by oppressing them with sundry and various torments in the gold mines, as if they had come to rid the earth of these innocent and harmless creatures. So lavish were the Spanish swords of the blood of these poor souls, scarce 200 remaining, the rest perished without the least knowledge of God."

When conquering Cuba, Hatuey, a cacique, was captured and fastened to the stake by these emissaries of a Christian King. A Franciscan friar laboured to convert him and promised him immediate admittance into heaven if he would embrace the Christian faith. "Are there any Spaniards" said he, "in that heaven which you describe?" "Yes," replied the monk, "but only such as are worthy and good." "The best of them," returned the indignant cacique, "have neither worth nor goodness. I will not go to a place where I may meet one of that accursed race."

As a military measure this cruel murder was successful. All Cuba submitted awed by the example made of poor Hatuey. When Hispaniola was discovered, the number of its inhabitants was computed, says Robertson on the authority of Herrera, to be at least a million, certainly a large and probably excessive estimate. They were reduced to sixty thousand in fifteen years. Jamaica was not so populous, but not a single descendant of the original inhabitants existed on that island, says Dallas, author of the "History of the Maroons," in 1655, when Venables and Penn, under commission from Oliver Cromwell, landed there. Caves were found where human bones, evidently belonging to the oppressed and harried natives, covered the ground. Famine and cruelty desolated these lovely islands. Then the Spaniards decoyed natives of the Lucayo islands to Hispaniola (now Hayti) to the number of forty thousand, and these shared the fate of the former inhabitants.

The scheme for importing Africans to take the place of the natives, was then pushed on under the guise at first of mistaken philanthropy,

but supported by the high prices paid for the victims stolen from Africa.

Genoese merchants were the first who began a regular commerce in slaves between Africa and America, receiving a patent for this purpose from Charles V., of Spain, in 1518. The traffic had begun however in 1501, and King Ferdinand had publicly sanctioned it in 1511. Captain, afterwards Sir John Hawkins, led the English in the slave trade in 1562. In 1567 he had for partner in such enterprize Sir Francis Drake and secured a cargo of slaves off the Guineæ coast. Many charters, incorporating adventurers, with monopoly of the importation of slaves from Africa, were granted by James I., Charles I., Charles II., and their successors down to George III. In the single year 1792, twenty Acts of the Imperial Parliament could be enumerated whereby the trade was sanctioned and encouraged.

The number of Africans so introduced into Jamaica was soon in excess of the white population, and thus continues to the present day. Bryan Edwards in his "History of Jamaica," summing up the assets of this island, put down 250,000 negroes at £50 stg. each, making £12,500,000 in 1791. Let us remark the extraordinary ethnic revolution that has taken place in the Antilles since European interference therein began. As examples, take the two islands Hispaniola and Jamaica. At the time of Columbus, Hispaniola, according to Robertson, had one million souls. Before the year 1500, the aborigines had been swept away, and black and white races were taking their places. Now the population of the two States into which this island is divided, namely, Hayti and the Dominican Republic, jointly amounts to about 900,000 souls.

The Indian race, to the number of half a million, as stated by old historians, likewise disappeared from Jamaica. In 1881, its population numbered about 581,000 of whom those of pure white blood seem to have been less than 20,000, the remainder being Africans or of mixed African and European Stocks. Thus it has taken nearly four centuries, with the aid of forced African migration, to fill the places of the aboriginal people.

But to revert to the time when Spanish rule was brought to an end

in Jamaica, masters and slaves were uneducated, slothful and poor. The exports consisted only of some cocoa, hogs, lard and hides.

When the officers of the great Protector conquered the island, in May 1655, most of the old white settlers fled, or voluntarily removed to other Spanish possessions. In many cases slaves were left on the abandoned plantations. They still sympathized with their old masters and communicated with them. They took to the woods and defiles called "cockpits," with which parts of the island abound. They harassed the English, decoyed away their slaves, destroyed outlying plantations, and murdered those who ventured abroad without escort. This mass of savages increased in numbers, both by natural causes, and by the addition of run-away slaves, and were known as Maroons. They lived on the game, fruits, and edible roots with which the country abounded, and on the flesh of the wild hog which roamed in the forest and fed on the mast of trees and roots. No country could probably be found more fitted to foster the wild and lawless life which this race passed for nearly two hundred years in Jamaica, with its varied natural resources.

The name Maroon is generally derived from the word meaning "hog hunters," but some take it from the Spanish "Simaron," meaning ape. Either derivation is significant of this people and their habits. In the year 1730, trouble with the Maroons culminated in a revolt, led by Cudjoe, a bold Coromantee negro. His brothers Accompong and Johnny were subordinate leaders, Cuffee and Quaco were his captains. Insurgent slaves, and other ill-disposed negroes joined them. The island was harassed for many months by the bold and skilful attacks of these daring men. It was impossible to take them, as they hid in the glens and "cockpits" enclosed by rocks and mountains. Loyal "Blackshot" negroes and Mosquito Indians from the American coast were hired to aid the soldiery and militia. Peace was at last secured by Colonel Guthrie and Captain Sadlier in March, 1738. It was arranged that Cudjoe and his people should settle in the parish called Trelawney, which is in the north-west part of Jamaica, the place where the Maroons lived mainly for the next forty years.

They still retained much of their African savagery, were illiterate, and no attempt was made to Christianize them. Their language was a conglomerate of African dialects and Spanish, with a sprinkling of English and French. They had fetish and obeah rites and ceremonies. Polygamy obtained, the husbands living in turn two days with each wife. As to the poor wives, the labour imposed on them and the miseries of their situation left them little leisure to quarrel with each other. A white superintendent lived in each of the Maroon towns as a magistrate and the means of communication with the whites and the Government, and he with the chief men had judicial power in ordinary cases. Cases of felony were reserved for the regular magistrates and courts with white judges.

By 1795 the Trelawney Maroons numbered about 1,400; then the second war began, Lord Balcarres being Governor. Montague was the leading Maroon chief; the English Colonels Sandford and Gallimore and many men were slain. Blackshot Indians were hired again to aid the redcoats, of whom there were more than 1,000, and the militia. Still the war lasted with much loss and expense to the island.

Col. Quarrell had heard of the Chasseurs and their famous dogs used in Cuba to track and secure marauders and runaways both white and black. After much discussion the colonel was dispatched in a vessel to Cuba, and secured 40 Chasseurs and 100 dogs, with which he returned. The effect their arrival had on the Maroons was wonderful. The dogs were not even let loose, but were paraded with the soldiers. The terror they excited, added to weariness of the struggle, led the insurgents to gradually come in and submit. All who had not surrendered by a certain day, six hundred in number were, as they came in, sent off to Montego Bay and Spanish Town under guard. The war had cost the island \$1,000,000. The Legislature voted \$100,000 more, and ordered the 600 to be banished from Jamaica. Colonel Quarrell and Mr. Ouchterlony were put in command of the three ships which carried them and their guard of redcoats, and so they came to Halifax. Colonel Quarrell had recently travelled in Upper Canada, in which Governor Simcoe was then extending a system of self-government. The Colonel praised the Governor's administration, and told the Jamaica people of the large cultivated

districts and beautiful towns then rising in the forests north of Lake Ontario. He desired to settle the Maroons in Upper Canada, as he also thought the climate suitable to them. The Assembly, however, with the approval of the Home Government, decided on Halifax. It seems strange that the Home Government had not learned from the experience of the "Loyal negroes" to avoid the choice of a place with climate so unsuited to the race. The vessels arrived and were inspected as stated. The Maroon men were asked what they would do, and expressed willingness to work for "Massa King" and "Massa King's son." The General and Admiral and Governor, Sir John Wentworth, arranged terms with the people. The Maroons were landed from the vessels—the *Dover*, *Mary*, and *Ann*—on which they had come. Admiral Richery, with a threatening French squadron, was off the coast, and it was desirable to get the fortifications completed. The Maroons worked on them. They laboured mainly on earthworks since obliterated by more extensive and permanent improvements to the great citadel and harbour made when the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister. Maroon hill near Halifax still retains their name. Their chief men were Colonels Montague and Johnston, Major Jarratt, and Captains Smith, Charles Shaw, David Shaw, Dunbar, and Harding.

For two years these people lived in Nova Scotia, but made little progress in civilization or religion. Most of them were settled on lands at Preston; some families were removed to Boydville. A schoolmaster was appointed and the religious training was entrusted to an orthodox gentleman, the Rev. B. G. Gray, and a curate with glebe house and salary supplied. Sir John Wentworth asked for a grant of £240 per annum, to be applied in religious instruction and education. He hoped this course would "reclaim them to the Church of England, and disseminate Christian piety, morality, and loyalty, among them." He also sent an order to England for many things required by them, among which were "40 gross coat and 60 gross white vest metal buttons, strong; Device an Alligator holding wheat ears and an olive branch. Inscription: Jamaica to the Maroons, 1796" He described the people as "healthy, peaceful, orderly, inoffensive, and highly delighted with the country."

The Commissioners, Messrs. Quarrell and Ouchterlony, with not less

than three chief men of the Maroons, held court for the trial of smaller offences, a custom introduced from Jamaica. In time both the Commissioners resigned through disagreement with the Governor and were succeeded by Captain Howe, and he by Mr. Theophilus Chamberlain. The two winters which ensued were unusually severe, and the Maroons, unaccustomed to such weather, suffered and became discouraged. They became generally dissatisfied, refused to work regularly, and were addicted to cockfighting, card playing, and the like amusements.

The zeal of the worthy Governor who was a very sanguine philanthropist, had been well intended, but "little effect was produced from weekly sermons on doctrines of faith, delivered to old and young promiscuously in a language not understood," says Edwards. "Some smoked their pipes, and some slept during the services." The old chief Montague, whom all the Maroons honored, was asked if he had understood the sermon, and wishing not to appear ignorant, replied: "Massa parson say, no mus tief, no mus meddle with somebody wife, no mus quarrel, mus set down softly."

The Governor assembled the men and urged them to adopt Christian marriage customs, but after much discussion they would say: "Dat white people fashion, dat no do for we poor Maroon." They referred Sir John and his good friends to their wives. "If you please, you may make the women take swear, we men can't do so," meaning the marriage vow, to hold to one wife. The women were called in but none would resign her right to her husband, or to such divided interest as she held in him. They all objected to "take swear," and went off, says Dallas, in an uproar clamouring at the men for making such a proposal. Some of these colored ladies even broke out in "insolent observations on the latitude in which some of the greatest characters known to them had indulged."

On 21st April, 1797, Sir John Wentworth, in a letter to the Duke of Clarence, said of the Maroons: "From my observation of them, neither Jamaica or any other island would be long at peace, nor secure from insurrection, were these people among them." . . . I am convinced they will be a useful and faithful corps to oppose an invading enemy. "They do not wish to live by industry, but prefer war

and hunting." It had proved impossible to change the "leopard's spots." Two years under the regime of the amiable Governor with the most approved appliances and surroundings of civilization had not worked the expected miracle. The Halifax experiment had failed. It appeared too that the Maroons were divided into three tribes jealous of each other. One captain complained that he had not a well furnished house and cellar to exercise hospitality. Another longed for the yams, bananas, and cocoa of Jamaica. A third wanted hogs to hunt. The weekly sermons were unattended. Parents did not object to bring their children to be baptized, but as to marriage adhered to their old free customs with polygamy, and funerals were conducted with inherited Coromantee ceremonies. The Government still treated them with kindness, but found watchfulness necessary.

In April, 1799, two officers and fifty militia men were for a time posted near the Preston settlement to guard against threatened disorder. Before this when Halifax was threatened by the French, who had attacked Newfoundland, the Maroon men had been formed into companies, and their chiefs had received military commissions which flattered their vanity.

But they were not self-supporting and the cautious Haligonians fought shy of all responsibility for their maintenance. Jamaica had to foot their bills, adding to the original appropriation of \$100,000, further sums of \$40,000 and \$24,000, but now the Government of that island intimated that it would no longer consider the Maroons as their wards. The mother country did not forsake them, but took their views on the situation, if so we may refer to the very limited knowledge of these people. They had heard of Sierra Leone and asked to be allowed to follow the twelve hundred "Loyal Negroes," who had gone there seven years previously.

It is not probable that the Maroons knew then that these, their predecessors, to that sultry and unhealthy peninsula on the West Coast of Africa had not shown signs of improvement in civilization or appreciation of the choice, now clearly mistaken, of this site as a partly missionary, partly commercial establishment.

They probably had but limited knowledge of the tornadoes that

prevail in some seasons, and of the fog and rain that wrap that land in frequent gloom.

Some of these facts were no doubt known to the Duke of Portland, the Crown Minister, whose wisdom had directed them, against Colonel Quarrell's advice, to Halifax with its winter snow and fog. His Grace decided to remove them to equatorial heat and fog, and hoped that their military spirit and training in Nova Scotia would be instrumental in keeping the surrounding savages in order, and useful even as an example to the "Loyal Negroes," so called, who lacked discipline and character. Governor Wentworth, now that his missionary zeal had cooled, and Admiral Richery with the French fleet was no longer off the coast, seemed to be possessed of but one desire; to see them depart from Nova Scotia without exception. On the sixth day of August, 1800, Sir John Wentworth informed the Duke that five hundred and fifty-one Maroons had embarked on the *Asia* and set sail from Halifax. Four had deserted to avoid going. Many, Sir John stated, regretted to leave, and all expressed gratitude to Nova Scotia. They arrived in Sierra Leone, in October, 1800. As caged animals let loose, seek again their native wilds, so did these brave people return to the land of their ancestors, holding fast to their old inbred customs and superstitions.

The spirit of Saxon civilization passed lightly over them, but did not penetrate their breasts. But a kindly feeling prevailed, and the Maroon has not since raised his hand against the white man. The children and grand children of the Maroons of Trelawney, may now be found on the West Coast of Africa.

They are reported to have aided the Government in repressing revolts of savage tribes, and in opening to the advance of freedom and civilization the Dark Continent, from which their ancestors were torn by the cruel Saxon. Doubtless the brave deeds of their forefathers, who defied the redcoats and held their own so long in the defiles and cockpits of Jamaica, and the terrors of ice cold Nova Scotia are still the theme of song and story in the cottages of Freetown by the Sierra Leone rivers and Isles de Loss. Doubtless there tired mothers still crying babes to rest with tales inherited from their parents of the terrible Chasseurs and their savage dogs of war.

NOTE.—Since the above abstract was put in print I have received an interesting communication from Hon. E. J. Barclay, Secretary of State of Liberia. He gives gratifying information as to the progress made and position taken by some of these people on the West Coast, stating: "The only family that I have known to come direct from the Dominion was Henry Rankin and wife, who came from a place called Muskoka. They arrived in 1873 or '4. Mr. Rankin has since died." . . . As regards the "Loyal Negroes," yclept Nova Scotians, on the coast, who were sent to Sierra Leone, and the Maroons who followed, I have, through the kindness of Mr. Boyle, Liberian Consul at Sierra Leone, been furnished with a list of the most prominent of these persons in the British West African colonies:—

Nova Scotians.—John B. Elliott, J.P., J. W. Elliott, and John Priddy, of Sierra Leone; Rev. S. Trotter Williams and Mr. Porter, government contractor, of Waterloo; J. F. Eastman, M.D., Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Gold Coast Colony.

Maroons.—Dr. T. Spilbury, Colonial Surgeon, Gambia; J. Gabbidon, Commissariat clerk; and Hon. Francis Smith, Assistant Judge, Gold Coast Colony; Nash H. Williams, B.L., of Freetown; and Mr. Samuels, Trelawney Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

There is a Maroon church at Freetown called St. John's, of which the Rev. J. A. Cole—an able native African—is the pastor. It will be noticed that the old home in Jamaica is remembered in the name of a Freetown street.
