Labour, Enslavement, and Indigenous Space: Liverpool, Nova Scotia in the Atlantic World, 1759-1812

by

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For Jacob, whose life was more than a few diary entries.

✧

And to everyone who helped along the way.

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Abstract

This thesis reconceptualizes the Planter and Loyalist periods around Liverpool, Nova Scotia, from 1759 to 1812. Rather than privileging the American Revolutionary War, it emphasises Indigenous space and Black people to study this shared place. Drawing on the diaries of Simeon Perkins and Mi'kmaw concepts, *Msit No'kmaq* and *Siawa'sik,* it explores how the space was re-formed with the arrival of the Planters. It also examines the development of enslavement and abolition in Liverpool through biographies to show how power imbalances informed lived experiences. This thesis argues that by de-emphasising the American Revolutionary War and loyalism narratives in the Northeast, it reveals the region was marked by power imbalances and labour relations continually being formed and re-formed. It suggests that the American Revolutionary War was not the defining moment of slaveholding in Nova Scotia, but part of a multi-phased process that grew incrementally and was sustained by settlers throughout this period.

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Chapter One: Introduction

On a pleasant April morning in 1812, Liverpool merchant Simeon Perkins, wrote his last diary entry about life in Nova Scotia.[1] Over a span of forty-six years, Perkins documented the world around him as he experienced it. Within his entries about the weather and comings and goings of vessels in Liverpool Harbour, he wrote about the interconnectedness of a pre-abolition Atlantic world. Through Perkins' diaries stories emerge about Indigenous-settler relations, the co-existence of free and enslaved people of African descent, and the place that connects them.

This thesis reconceptualizes the Planter and Loyalist period around Liverpool, Nova Scotia, from 1759 to 1812, and places emphasis on Indigenous space and Black people to bring to the surface experiences in this shared geographic place rather than privileging loyalism and the American Revolutionary War in the narratives of the Northeast. Primarily using the diaries of Liverpool merchant, Simeon Perkins, this thesis asks how was the shared geographic space re-formed with the arrival of the Planters? Since this thesis emphasises free and unfree labour, it also asks how did enslavement and abolition evolve in Liverpool from 1759 to 1812? While previous historiographies have focused on the legal and political contexts of enslavement, this thesis examines the everyday social context through biographies to show how power imbalances informed lived experiences within a common geography. Recouping narratives of the people and events mentioned in Perkins' diaries provides a useful framework for drawing out their lived experiences. Through these biographies details emerge of an Atlantic world in transition. In doing so, it recognizes the human aspect of enslavement. It also places Liverpool at the centre,

[1] Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins: 1804-1812,* ed. Charles Bruce Fergusson (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1978). Please see entry for April 7th, 1812.

rather than a periphery, of a pre-abolition Atlantic world so that it can be examined on its own terms.

In spatial terms, this thesis defines shared geographic space as roughly the region of Queens County, Nova Scotia, which includes Liverpool, its neighbouring communities, and its rural and marine peripheries. "Shared" refers to the overlapping and intersecting common geography and does not necessarily imply consent. Enslaved Black people living in Liverpool among settlers is one example of a shared geographic space without consent. In defining shared geographic spaces, it is important to acknowledge that borders were not the same cross-culturally. As historian Roger Lewis suggests, the eight Mi'kmaw geopolitical districts follow major river systems. They are further subdivided by secondary streams and rivers.[2] Although this thesis is primarily based on Perkins' diaries, it is important to keep in mind that the geographic references mentioned in his entries are colonial constructs.

1.1: Methodology and Literature Review

This thesis offers an alternate lens to a well-known source and adds fresh perspectives on identity formation, unbalanced power relations, and colonialism in the early modern period. It examines how power imbalances in a shared geographic space are formed and re-formed, while focusing on enslavement in Liverpool, Nova Scotia. Although some scholars may consider a place-based approach a regional study, this methodology shows the importance of using documentary evidence, like Perkins' diaries, to transcend local boundaries. In doing so, it

[2] For more information, please see, Trudy Sable and Bernie Francis, *The Language of this Land, Mi'kma'ki* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2012), 19-21. See also, Elizabeth Mancke, "Spaces of Power in the Early Modern Northeast," in *New England and the Maritime Provinces*, ed. Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2005), 39.

provides an opportunity to understand how the community related to the world through actions and events that were defined by its people and common geography.

Even though the diaries provide insight into a transitional pre-abolition world, it is only through a settler-enslaver lens that Perkins experienced it. By considering additional primary sources, Mi'kmaw single-word concepts of Msit No'kmaq and Siawa'sik, micro-biographies, and a painting, the aim is to introduce a more inclusive perspective to assist in balancing the inherent bias within the diaries. In this way, the methodological approach is different than most studies that focus on similar themes. Research methods that assisted in recouping the narratives for the micro-biographies included archival visits and online genealogical searches to examine wills, vital records, and correspondence related to the people mentioned in Perkins' diaries.[3]

This thesis differs from other sources about Perkins because a long study of the diaries was conducted across the forty-six years of entries. Key word searches and coding were used in the period from 1802 to 1812.[4] Most authors primarily choose to study Perkins for a short period or focus on specific entries. Though this is particularly helpful for understanding certain events more intimately, such as the American Revolutionary War, privateering, and Planter loyalism, a study of the diaries covering a longer period of time allows for recognizing change over time, understanding the ebb and flow of daily life, and analysing how people were shaped by their environment. While Perkins' diaries are not new to Atlantic Canadian historians, much work can still be done with them. Taking well-known sources and applying an alternate lens allows readers to glimpse the lives of people where little documentary evidence remains. Although this thesis

[3] The COVID-19 pandemic affected access to archives and museums during the initial stages of this research. It is possible more documentary evidence exists for some of the people highlighted in this thesis, especially at international repositories. However, Ancestry and Roots Web proved useful genealogical websites for locating digitized sources that were not accessible during that time.

[4] Perkins' diaries in their entirety have at least 31 entries referring to Indigenous people and 271 referring to Black people. These numbers are approximate as some references may have been missed. Ultimately, these numbers led to an evidence-based thesis that is reflected in the balance for each cultural group.

uses Perkins' diaries as the base documentary source, it is not primarily about him. Rather, it is about what he documented: the people and events that were shaped by their environment in Liverpool. Understanding the context in which he wrote entries alongside vague references to people of African descent, assisted in recouping narratives for them that would have otherwise remained obscure.

An aspect of writing about enslavement in which little documentary evidence exists for many Black people is the use of ethical conclusions. Many people who appear in Perkins' diaries disappear after they leave his household and are not usually mentioned again. Efforts to trace them through genealogical searches often returned inconclusive results. Words such as "likely" and "possibly" are used to denote that some aspect of the subject in question remains uncertain. This ensures that the human aspect of enslavement and lived experiences is not lost. As more institutions digitize documentary evidence involving underrepresented people, unknown sources may come to the forefront and add to the narratives in this thesis.

With the key question and methodological approach in mind, this thesis fills a lacuna in literature, particularly for Perkins' connection to slaveholding and studying enslavement along Nova Scotia's southwestern coastline. This thesis engages with a number of fields including Planter studies, Atlantic world, Indigenous, and African Nova Scotian histories. Since Perkins' diaries are relatively well-known among Atlantic Canadian historians and have been used frequently, the literature review will be divided into three parts to provide an overview of different themes. The first section will examine Perkins' connection to slaveholding while also highlighting literature from Planter studies conferences. The second section examines studies that informed the place-based approach. And finally, the last section will highlight scholarly work that has influenced the methodology of this thesis.

Historians, such as Harvey Amani Whitfield and Elizabeth Mancke have already made the connection between Perkins and his slaveholding past. In "Slavery in English Nova Scotia, 1750-1810," Whitfield provides a broad overview of Loyalist slaveholders, the people they enslaved, and the types of labour and conditions that those in servitude endured.[5] In reviewing enslavement in English Nova Scotia, Whitfield highlights Perkins and Jacob, the boy he enslaved, as one of his examples. This thesis builds on Jacob's narrative as patterns regarding enslavement emerge from within a long study of the diaries. Whitfield's article also provides useful observations about the connection between geographic places and types of labour needed to satisfy slaveholders.[6] This thesis considers this thoroughly in chapters two and three and builds on Whitfield's observation but in the context of Liverpool. Aside from his article, Whitfield has published numerous sources on enslavement in Nova Scotia.[7] *Biographical Dictionary of Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* is Whitfield's most recent book on the subject. In his introduction, Whitfield encourages historians to build on the narratives of the Black people he highlights.[8] This thesis builds on some of the biographies included in Whitfield's book and adds to the list of potentially enslaved Black people in Nova Scotia.

In addition to numerous works by Whitfield, Elizabeth Mancke also discusses Perkins' connection to slaveholding. Most pertinent to this thesis is Mancke's co-authored article, "From

[5] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia, 1750-1810," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 13 (2010), 23-40.
[6] Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia, 1750-1812," 32. See also, Ruma Chopra, "Maroons and Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia," *Acadiensis* 46, no. 1 (2017), 8.
[7] For example, please see: Harvey Amani Whitfield, "White Archives, Black Fragments: Problems and Possibilities in Telling the Lives of Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes," *The Canadian Historical Review* 101 (2020), 323-345. See also, Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Black Slavery in the Maritimes: A History in Documents* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2018).
[8] Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Biographical Dictionary of Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), xxii.

Communal to Independent Manhood in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, ca. 1760-1820."[9] Mancke, along with Colin Grittner, argue that there are two extremes that define independent manhood in the eighteenth-century. Using well-known Liverpool merchants, Benajah Collins and Simeon Perkins as comparisons, they explore both men's economic exchanges and personal relationships to understand techniques they use to self-identify. In their efforts to understand "normative models of masculinity," Mancke and Grittner argue that Perkins represented an extreme form of communal manhood because his identity was inseparable from his duties to his community.[10] In their analysis of Perkins, Mancke and Grittner highlight Jacob, but they did not go into enslaved narratives in great detail. Although their insight is valuable for recouping Jacob's narrative, there is still an opportunity to disentangle his experience. The contextual information about Benajah Collins is also helpful since he is examined in a case study of a court trial in Chapter Four.

Mancke also uses Liverpool as a case study in *Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, 1760-1830*.[11] She argues that state formation in Nova Scotia and Massachusetts diverged long before the American Revolution which is made clear by analysing localized levels of state power. Her inclusion of Liverpool is useful for understanding its political environment of which Perkins was deeply involved.

Since 1987, a succession of conferences dedicated to Planter studies were born out of a desire to understand the Planters' roles in shaping Maritime Canada.[12] Peer-reviewed scholarly

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[9] Elizabeth Mancke and Colin Grittner, "From Communal to Independent Manhood in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, ca. 1760-1820," *Histoire sociale/Social history* 52, no. 106 (November 2019): 258, doi:10.1353/his.2019.0029.
[10] Elizabeth Mancke and Colin Grittner, "From Communal to Independent Manhood in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, ca. 1760-1820," 260-261.
[11] Elizabeth Mancke, *The Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, ca. 1760-1830*. (New York: Routledge, 2005).
[12] Margaret Conrad, "Introduction," in *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1988), 11. For the most recent conference proceedings, see also: T. Stephen Henderson and Wendy G. Robicheau, ed., *The Nova Scotia Planters in the Atlantic World, 1759-1830* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 2012).

literature presented at the conferences by Elizabeth Mancke, Jerry Bannister, and other historians, provide insight in Planter history while also offering suggestions for addressing gaps in the field.[13] As Jerry Bannister suggests, Planters arrived at a crucial time when Nova Scotia was transforming into the recognizable place it is today.[14] The creation of the Peace and Friendship Treaties, the slow process of British dominance, the expulsion of the Acadians, the arrival of Loyalists, and evolving legal and political relationships shaped the region into a place that is recognizable to Nova Scotians presently. This thesis shows, Planters, such as Perkins, altered this shared geographic space through colonialism and the enslavement of Black people that came in an incremental way. Understanding this more intimately addresses gaps noted by Planter scholars, such as the need for more community studies and examining enslavers thoroughly.[15]

In using a place-based approach, this thesis builds on work by Jeffers Lennox, James W. St. G. Walker, and Harvey Amani Whitfield. In *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763*, Jeffers Lennox argues that "mapping, surveys, and geographic tracts" are crucial for understanding cross-cultural negotiations, territories, and the process of conquest within northeastern North America.[16] Although Lennox largely focuses on cartography as a means to

[13] Elizabeth Mancke summarizes scholarly work and suggestions from the Planter studies conferences in her article: Elizabeth Mancke, "Idiosyncratic Localism, Provincial Moderation, and Imperial Loyalty: Planter Studies and the History of 18th-Century Nova Scotia," *Acadiensis* 42, no. 1 (2013): 169–181.
[14] Jerry Bannister, "Planter Studies & Atlantic Scholarship: The New History of 18th Century Nova Scotia," in *The Nova Scotia Planters in the Atlantic World, 1759-1830*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 2012), 35. See also, John G. Reid and Thomas Peace, "Colonies of Settlement and Settler Colonialism in Northeastern North America, 1450-1850," in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism,* ed. Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 89.
[15] Elizabeth Mancke, "Idiosyncratic Localism, Provincial Moderation, and Imperial Loyalty: Planter Studies and the History of 18th-Century Nova Scotia," 180-181.
[16] Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 254.

analyse cross-cultural interactions between 1690-1763, he provides useful insight for analysing shared geographic spaces. Lennox suggests that examining a place on its own terms, rather than comparing it to another, often leads to a clearer understanding of the immediate concerns of those who live there.[17] Using this perspective on a smaller geographic scale, and in combination with a long study of the Perkins diaries, provides an opportunity to analyse continuity and change over time, while drawing out the experiences of those who lived in Liverpool. Lennox also combines a place-based approach with chronology to show that "conquest" was not an event, but a process.[18] This framework is particularly useful for analyzing the gradual adoption and erosion of enslavement in Liverpool well before legislation abolished it.

In *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870,* James W. St. Walker, documents the narrative of the Black Loyalists quite closely from their arrival in Nova Scotia through the migration to Sierra Leone in an effort to understand their community, what they experienced, and how their identity evolved.[19] Most relevant to this thesis, Walker cites Perkins in connection to Black seafarers and tradesmen that were employed by him in the 1780s.[20] Building on Walker's comparison, this thesis considers the transition many Black men experienced from land-based jobs to seafaring ones and their range of pay. It also provides a more in-depth examination of age-related occupations and separates the construction of vessels into its own case-study through the narrative of Charles Bailey. In addition to Walker's focus on the Black Loyalists, this thesis considers age, gender,

[17] Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763,* 12.
[18] Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763,* 253.
[19] James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), xiii.
[20] James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870.* For example, please see page 47.

and labour for Black people who were enslaved by Planters. In this way, it is an extension to Walker's analysis and provides more insight into Planter slaveholding.

Harvey Amani Whitfield's article, "The Development of Black Refugee Identity in Nova Scotia, 1813-1850," also uses a place-based approach to understand the formation of an African British North American identity.[21] In analysing the development of a Black Refugee identity in Nova Scotia, Whitfield briefly highlights Black people's experiences prior to the American Revolutionary War and indicates that the enslaved population was low during the Planter period.[22] He suggests that work experiences, closeness to water, gender, and geographic location influenced a sense of Black Refugee identity in Nova Scotia.[23] Within the context of Liverpool, this thesis considers the contributions by enslaved, indentured, and free Black people to the local economy during the Planter and Loyalist period. In building on Whitfield's work, the shared environment, work experiences, and legal relationships also led to identity and community formation. This is examined more fully in Chapter Three.

This thesis particularly draws on the interdisciplinary approach that Catherine Cottreau-Robins uses in her PhD dissertation "A Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia, 1784-1800." Cottreau-Robins combines archaeological evidence, documentary sources, and an Atlantic world approach to highlight the narratives of enslaved people on a Loyalist plantation and analyses a slaveholder's ideology. Including archaeological evidence and objects is crucial for attempting to balance inherent biases in slaveholder sources. This thesis considers archaeological evidence from building structures on Perkins' property. Another key aspect that Cottreau-Robins examines is the social hierarchies and ideologies that slaveholders adhered to during the time in which they

[21] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The Development of Black Refugee Identity in Nova Scotia, 1813-1850," *Left History* 10, no. 2 (2005): 9.
[22] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The Development of Black Refugee Identity in Nova Scotia, 1813-1850," 10.
[23] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The Development of Black Refugee Identity in Nova Scotia, 1813-1850," 12-13.

enslaved people.[24] The final section in Chapter Four considers Perkins' ideologies in regards to his position on slaveholding based on religious texts that informed some of his thoughts, debates, and actions later in his life.

This thesis is also informed by micro-histories. In taking this approach, it draws on studies by historians Afua Cooper and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich. In *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal*, Cooper draws attention to Canadian slavery through the narrative of Marie-Joseph Angélique. In doing so, Cooper argues that Angélique's narrative is one of the earliest known enslaved female stories in Canada.[25] Moving forward from Cooper's argument that slavery existed in Canada, this thesis considers narratives of enslaved and indentured Black women and adds to the growing literature of female experiences. *A Midwife's Tale*: *The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*, is a micro-biography from the perspective of eighteenth-century settler diarist, Martha Ballard. Ulrich's highly detailed book about Ballard shows the value in examining minute details to make connections to broader themes. Ulrich's book also shows the value of using a micro-biography as a means to understand daily life and draw out minute details while using a personal account to understand a place over time. Like Cooper, Ulrich also uses a main protagonist to understand female experiences during the eighteenth-century, which helps balance male-focused narratives that dominate existing literature.

1.2: Chapter Review

Each chapter of this thesis considers the shared geographic space in which multiple cultures lived and worked in Liverpool, Nova Scotia from 1759-1812. Every chapter analyzes

[24] Catherine Cottreau-Robins, "A Loyalist Plantation in Nova Scotia, 1784-1800," 104-106.
[25] Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal* (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Limited, 2006), 306.

two decades chronologically except for Chapter Two, which pauses to consider contextual issues. Chapter Two examines the different facets and factors that shaped the regions development in order to contextualize how Liverpool became increasingly involved in the transatlantic trade and ultimately enslavement. It argues that Liverpool was and remains an Indigenous space, and that the Planters brought institutionalized slavery incrementally from 1759 to 1773. In doing so, they gradually re-formed this shared geographic space through power imbalances and the multi-phased establishment of enslavement. The chapter begins by examining the geography of Liverpool and its cultural landscape to provide context for the multicultural shared space. It presents an overview of Mi'kmaq, French, Acadian, and British settlement in the region before discussing why Planters from New England settled the area. Then a case study of the Cuffy family and the prosecution of an unnamed Black sailor is examined to highlight Black experiences during Liverpool's first decade as a settlement. The chapter concludes with an examination of Liverpool's connection to the transatlantic trade in order to show how the Planter community was linked to enslavement before many enslaved people arrived. This chapter is hybrid in nature as nearly half of it is devoted to Liverpool's geography and development in order to contextualize the place-based approach of this thesis.

Chapter Three examines the environment in which enslaved, indentured, and free Black people lived, worked, and socialized with one another. Enslavement, which expanded in English Nova Scotia in the 1770s, quickly increased when the Loyalists fleeing from the American Revolutionary War brought enslaved and indentured Black people with them. Within this mixed environment of bondage and freedom, Chapter Three argues that the intersectionality of race, age, gender, and labour informed enslavement and indentured service of Black people in Liverpool from 1773 to 1791. In doing so, the chapter focuses on the narratives of Jacob,

Anthony Loyal, Hagar Loyal, Mary Fowler, Charles Bailey, David, and William who were enslaved, indentured, and sometimes free to highlight identity and community formation in Liverpool. Within these biographies, themes and events such as enslaved children, land-based vs seafaring occupations, Planter slaveholding, the Black Loyalist experience, shipbuilding, the Shelburne Race Riots, transitions to paid labour, legal relationships between people, and re-enslavement emerge in detail. In addition to Chapter Three's main argument, the biographies show that Black people increasingly had agency throughout the 1780s and 1790s at a time when the legality of slavery was not clearly defined.

Chapter Four takes a place-based approach to examine the environment in which the legality of enslavement was not clearly defined nor always enforced and explores how it impacted Black people in Liverpool in 1792-1812. It argues that the period leading up to abolition of the slave trade was uncertain and confusing. It suggests that as ideologies about enslavement collided during this contested period, there was a middle ground between being abolitionist and pro-slavery as indicated through conflicting debates, decisions, and actions by settler individuals and politicians. The chapter begins by examining Liverpool's connection to the Sierra Leone migration in 1791-1792. It interweaves evidence from Perkins' diaries, John Clarkson's *Mission to America, 1791-1792*, and the Sierra Leone painting to add to the narrative. After examining the Sierra Leone event, the chapter proceeds with discussing the trial of Rose (Pol) Welch to highlight her experience with a pre-abolition court. An analysis of events and actions involving pressed Black seafarers and interim crews is also analyzed to demonstrate conflicting actions and ideologies more broadly in the Atlantic world. Using Perkins as an example as someone who was between abolitionist and pro-slavery, the chapter concludes with

an analysis of what the world was like when conflicting ideologies centred around enslavement collided.

Based on the analysis of these chapters, this thesis argues that a reconceptualization of the Planter and Loyalist period is necessary because Perkins' diaries show that in de-emphasising the American Revolutionary War and loyalism narratives in the Northeast, the region was marked by power imbalances and labour relations continually being formed and re-formed. In reconceptualizing this period to include diverse narratives, it places lived experiences at the forefront of this shared geographic space. In doing so, it also argues that the American Revolutionary War was not the defining moment of slaveholding in Nova Scotia as enslavement grew incrementally and was sustained by settlers during this period. At the time Liverpool was first settled, it was and remains an Indigenous space because the land was not ceded and the Mi'kmaw people continually sprout from the land.[26] When British settlers arrived from distant shores, they brought with them institutionalized slavery. Enslavement came in an incremental way and was established in multiple phases. As the region became more populated it became less free for people of African descent. The intersectionality of race, age, and gender informed labour tasks for enslaved and indentured Black people through the 1780s. In the examination of this intersectionality, enslaved children and men transitioned to different types of labour. In most cases, men transitioned from primarily land-based jobs to seafaring ones while women remained largely in the domestic service. By 1792, the legality of slavery was being questioned by individuals but still not clearly defined by Nova Scotian courts. Large-scale abolition movements and smaller acts of emancipation began taking hold across the Atlantic world while pro-slavery

[26] Often ignored in Indigenous histories is the focus on continuation. Key Mi'kmaw concepts that root Indigenous presence in the past and present are Weji-sqalia'tiek and Siawa'sik. Please see: "*Ta'n me'j Tel-keknuo'ltiek: How Unique We Still Are,"* Maritime Museum of the Atlantic exhibition (Halifax, 2021 to 2023). See also, Trudy Sable and Bernie Francis, *The Language of this Land, Mi'kma'ki* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2012), 17.

ideologies still existed. This uncertain and confusing atmosphere created conflicting debates, decisions, and actions which impacted Black people's experiences in Liverpool. In this way, power and labour were constantly being formed and reformed in this geographic space.

In asking questions about enslavement, this thesis roots the broader concepts of forced labour and abolition in their local context. In "Atlantic Canada in an Atlantic World? Northeastern North America in the Long 18th Century," Jerry Bannister indicates that historians and archaeologists have overturned the myth that enslavement was absent in this region.[27] Moving forward from this acknowledgement leaves room for studies such as this thesis to fill gaps within the regional context and in doing so, adds to the mainstream narrative. In this way, the value of this thesis is three-fold. First, it shows the importance of using micro-biographies to highlight the human aspect in studying enslavement in a pre-abolition Atlantic world. Evidence about enslavement comprised of personal narratives highlights lived experiences. Secondly, the analysis of Perkins' diaries adds to existing literature on Planter enslavement which compliments scholarship focusing on Loyalist slaveholding. Unlike the conventional perspective in Planter and Loyalist scholarship, this thesis does not view the American Revolutionary War as the defining moment of slaveholding in Nova Scotia. Although slaveholding did increase after the war, it did not start then and was not originally defined by it. And finally, using a place-based approach shows the value of examining a community in-depth in order to understand the experiences of those who lived there and how they were shaped by their environment.

1.3: The Diaries of Simeon Perkins

[27] Jerry Bannister, "Atlantic Canada in an Atlantic World? Northeastern North America in the Long 18th Century," *Acadiensis* (Fredericton) 43, no. 2 (2014): 10-11.

Simeon Perkins was born in Norwich, Connecticut in 1735.[28] Perkins was a transatlantic trader, businessman, politician, father, militia officer, and diarist. He was also a slaveholder, purchasing at least one boy Jacob, and enslaving and indenturing numerous other Black people.[29] As one of the original proprietors of Liverpool, Perkins moved to Nova Scotia in 1762, and worked in the transatlantic trade. Over the years, he became increasingly involved in his new community. He became a judge and a justice of the peace in 1764 and as the American Revolutionary War loomed, he became a lieutenant-colonel for the Queens County militia. He was promoted to colonel commandant in 1793, a position he held until 1807. As a representative in the House of Assembly for Liverpool, Perkins often made trips to Halifax. These trips, though political in nature, afforded him the opportunity to make friends and acquaintances with influential men in Nova Scotia. Some of these people include, but are not limited to, Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth, Malachy Salter, Richard John Uniacke, James Brenton, Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres, Sampson Salter Blowers, and William, Thomas, and James Cochran. Well-connected in Liverpool, Halifax, and abroad, Perkins adds useful insight into daily life and the interconnectedness of the Atlantic world.

Perkins arrived in Liverpool in May of 1762.[30] It is unknown if he kept a personal diary for his first four years, but it is highly likely that he had a daybook. As a merchant engaged in the business of fishing and lumbering, he kept track of his exchanges to remind himself who he owed and if anyone was indebted to him. He referenced daybooks in later entries where he

[28] C. Bruce Fergusson, "Perkins, Simeon," *In Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed November 10, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/perkins_simeon_5E.html.
[29] The exact number of enslaved people within the Perkins household and on his other properties may never be fully known. This is because some of his diary entries lack detail about names, beginning and end dates, and enslaved, indentured, or free status.
[30] Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins: 1766-1780,* ed. Harold A. Innis (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1948), xi.

indicated that he recorded accounts and wages.[31] In general, most of Perkins' entries contain information related to the weather and vessels coming and going from Liverpool Harbour. The weather was extremely important for him to note as it affected both food production and indicated fair sailing weather for his cargo-laden vessels.[32]

Aside from the weather, he also wrote about the comings and goings in Liverpool, religious tension, tasks given to his employees and the enslaved, and people within his social circle. Less common on a daily basis, Perkins also documented crime, orders he gave to the militia, privateering attacks, and information about strangers. The original diaries, located at the Queens County Museum, also have notations in the margins although they did not start until approximately midway through his documentation. This indicates the diaries were kept as a source of reflective documentation for personal, community-based, and work-related reasons. In other words, the diaries were meant as record-keeping whereas the daybooks were presumably for numerical data. Marginal notes, which are not in the edited volumes, appear to indicate a subject of the day like a death, a particular place, or vessel arrivals. However, they did not offer additional information not already discussed in the entry itself. They were likely used as guides so that specific entries could be located quickly by Perkins if he needed to refer to a particular event or person. Unfortunately, some of his diaries are missing in their entirety, including the year 1807, which would have been insightful as the Slave Trade Act came into effect. This thesis acknowledges the gaps in the diaries when they occur in their respective chapters.

[31] Based on general observations of all five volumes of the diaries of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1812. For a specific example, please see: Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins: 1780-1789*, ed. D.C. Harvey (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1958), entry for November 7th, 1788.

[32] This thesis has excluded parts of entries that do not relate to the subject being discussed. Some of Perkins' entries are quite long and discuss multiple subjects per day. This is not intended to be exclusionary but was used to save space. For more information about particular entries and their context, please follow diary citations.

Chapter Two: From Where the River Flows: Cross-Cultural Relationships and Place to 1773

To understand the intricacies of enslavement at a particular time and place, it is important to draw on the context in which it occurred. This context shapes how the people in this place related to and interacted with one another. Prior to the establishment of Liverpool by settlers from New England in 1759, the area was already deeply rooted in multiple cultures. Beginning with the Mi'kmaq, who were and continue to be a presence, to the Acadians who were forcibly deported from the land, and to the French and British who battled for territory. Liverpool and Nova Scotia more broadly, was a multicultural shared space both in peacetime and during conflict.

This chapter offers a hybrid discussion of the different facets and factors that shaped the region's development. It begins by examining the geography of Liverpool and the cultural landscape to provide contexts for this shared space. It draws on Mi'kmaw concepts, Msit No'kmaq and Siawa'sik, to explain the Mi'kmaw relationship with the land and people. The Mi'kmaw language provides a way of understanding and analysing how Mi'kmaw people give meaning to the world and the relationships formed within it.[33] Although references to Indigenous peoples are relatively few in Perkins' diaries, thirty compared to the hundreds of entries involving people of African descent, their presence continually occurred over the course of the diaries. Acadian and French occupation in the area will also be briefly discussed. Although references to them in the Perkins diaries occur rarely, they shaped Liverpool's landscape culturally and physically before the arrival of the Planters. British occupation and control will also be discussed. Emphasis is placed on their part in the Peace and Friendship treaties to provide

[33] Trudy Sable and Bernie Francis, *The Language of this Land, Mi'kma'ki* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2012), 26-28.

context for Liverpool's Indigenous-settler relationships. Case studies of the Cuffys, a free Black family, and the prosecution of an unnamed sailor of African descent are analyzed to provide insight into Liverpool's Black community leading up to 1773. In examining the region's development, this chapter suggests that Liverpool was and remains an Indigenous space, but increasingly became tied to enslavement with the arrival of settlers via the transatlantic trade. It argues that Planters adopted enslavement incrementally through 1773 and in doing so, gradually reformed this geographic space as this region became less free for people of African descent over time. Perkins' diaries, which form the basis of primary evidence throughout this thesis is used but will figure more prominently in later chapters.

This chapter contributes to the well-established scholarship on eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. There are recent studies that examine Liverpool closely although they do not focus on the same questions this thesis considers.[34] The most relevant work which informs the argument in this chapter is Margaret Conrad's recent survey, *At the Ocean's Edge: A History of Nova Scotia to Confederation*.[35] In Conrad's broad overview of the history of Nova Scotia, she recognizes the importance of New England Planters settling in the region. She indicates that what attracted them to settle in Nova Scotia was Governor Lawrence's promise that each head of household would receive 100 acres of land and an additional 50 acres to every person regardless of gender or race.[36] Conrad implies that this promise indicates slaveholders would receive additional land if they brought enslaved people with them. This does not appear to be the case in Liverpool due to

[34] For examples, please see: Robyn Brown, "Contingent and Continuum: Simeon Perkins and "Loyalist" Nova Scotia, 1773-1785*,"* (MA diss., Dalhousie University, 2019) and Elizabeth Mancke, *The Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, ca. 1760-1830*. (New York: Routledge, 2005).
[35] Margaret Conrad, *At the Ocean's Edge: A History of Nova Scotia to Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020).
[36] Margaret Conrad, *At the Ocean's Edge: A History of Nova Scotia to Confederation,* 141.

the low numbers of Black people that lived in the community from its first settlement through the early 1770s. However, it explains why the Cuffys settled in Liverpool.

2.1: Oqomkikiaq and its Cultural Landscape – To 1759

The Mi'kmaw have called the land now known as Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, parts of Quebec, New Brunswick, Maine, and Newfoundland, home for over 13,000 years.[37] It is in this place that they are deeply rooted – shaped culturally by the lands, waters, and with their interconnectedness to all things. Before settlers from New England established Liverpool in 1759, the area was known as Oqomkikiaq.[38] Oqomkikiaq, which means dry and sandy place, also refers to the Mersey River which flows from the North Atlantic Ocean in the east and spreads through an extensive and important river system to the north-west. It is at the point where the river meets the harbour, that Liverpool was established. Following the river north-west for about five kilometers, the river narrows. Known as Kepe'k in Mi'kmaw and translated to at the narrows; it is now called Milton.[39] It is at the spot where the rapids begin that features prominently in the Perkins' diaries. It is both a site of contact between the Mi'kmaw people and a mill where Perkins used enslaved labour. Just upriver from there is a waterfall before it eventually leads to Lake Rossignol. Continuing along the waterway, the river flows into Kejimkujik Lake, before going through Annapolis County where the Bay of Fundy is easily accessible.

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[37] Tim Bernard, Sharon L. Farrell, and Leah Morine Rosenmeier, eds., *Mi'kmawe'l Tan Teli-kina'muemk: Teaching about the Mi'kmaq*, (Truro: Eastern Woodland Print Communications, 2015), 15. https://www.mikmaweydebert.ca/home/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Mikmawel_Tan_Telikinamuemk_Final_Online.pdf.

[38] "Oqomkikiaq," Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek: Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas, accessed November 16, 2021, http://www.mapdev.ca/placenames/.

[39] "Kepe'k," Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek: Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas, accessed November 16, 2021, http://www.mapdev.ca/placenames/.

Oqomkikiaq has always been important for the Mi'kmaq. They used the land as a gathering place for over a millennium.[40] Intertidal, riverine, and coastal areas were enticing areas for habitation.[41] Stone fishing weirs were placed along the river providing subsistence.[42] A skilled seafaring people, the Mi'kmaq migrated to well-known sites where food was obtained through various methods. The river allowed easy access to the coast, including marine food sources, and provided a direct route into the interior for riverine fishing and hunting. Culturally, the river is also important as major petroglyph sites can be found in Kejimkujik.[43]

By the end of the sixteenth century, French and British officials in Europe were beginning to see the importance of the successful fishing ventures in what is now North America, and the positive effects it had within their home economies.[44] Fishing expeditions were becoming quite successful but were seasonal in nature. As a means to preserve the fish during the long fishing season away from home, fishermen dried them on flakes and lightly salted them. The process of drying the fish took days, which meant temporary settlements were required on land. As a result, contact and trading with the Mi'kmaw people began and was increasingly sustained.[45]

In France during the later years of the sixteenth century, King Henri IV commissioned an expedition to the lands then known as La Cadie. Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Mons, a nobleman trusted by the king, was granted the commission. Familiar with his previous experience in La Cadie, de Mons succeeded in raising the required funds and searching for willing migrants. In

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[40] Archaeologists Explore Mi'kmaq Heritage At Mersey River," Government of Nova Scotia, accessed November 11th, 2020, http://novascotia.ca/news/release/?id=20050202003.
[41] Roger Lewis, "Pre-contact fish weirs: a case study from Southwestern Nova Scotia*,"* (MA diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2006), 10, https://research.library.mun.ca/10881/.
[42] Roger Lewis, "Pre-contact fish weirs: a case study from Southwestern Nova Scotia*,"* 43-60.
[43] Roger Lewis, "Pre-contact fish weirs: a case study from Southwestern Nova Scotia*,"* 26.
[44] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 3.
[45] [45] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755,* 29.

1604, he set sail with an additional vessel with the intent of establishing a permanent settlement for the King.[46] Two months later, de Mons reached land near Cape Sable. While waiting for the other ship to arrive, they cruised along the southwestern coastline looking for a place to establish a temporary settlement and get their bearings. It was in one of these bays that de Mons seized a ship captained by Jean Rossignol, who was illegally trading furs.[47] This bay became known as Port Rossignol and a century-and-a-half later, Liverpool.[48]

During the following few months, de Mons stayed at his temporary settlement at Port Mouton, not far from Port Rossignol. He enlisted the help of the friendly Mi'kmaq in searching for the second ship. After a few delays, it arrived and together they sailed on and eventually established Port Royal. The friendliness of the Mi'kmaq, specifically in the Port Mouton/Liverpool area, continued through Perkins' time.[49] It is unclear if any Acadians remained in Port Rossignol permanently until a few decades later. As Naomi Griffiths suggests, only a handful of French people stayed year-round. However, by 1632, de Razilly, another French official directed to establish more permanent settlements, arrived in the LaHave area and was met by French people who lived there.[50] These year-round people, mostly French but included other nationalities, became known as Acadians.[51] Removed geographically from their roots in France, they developed their own culture and became more diverse linguistically. Over the next century, the Mi'kmaw people and Acadians continued to call Port Rossignol home even as the political climate began to change dramatically.

[46] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755, 3-7.*
[47] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755,* 9.
[48] Margaret Conrad, *At the Ocean's Edge: A History of Nova Scotia to Confederation*, 53.
[49] Based on general observations of all five volumes of the diaries of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1812.
[50] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755, 12.*
[51] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755, xvi.*

Multiple external factors influenced the eventual establishment of Liverpool by New England Planters. First, English colonies in New England began to rapidly expand.[52] Proportionately, settlers of British origin far outnumbered French ones, and England's political interest in its colonies carried much more weight economically. At the same time, merchants from English colonies were quickly becoming influential in politics both in North America and in London.[53] Secondly, imperial wars plagued Europe. Most notably, the War of the Spanish Succession, fought mostly between England, France, and Spain, ricocheted into the North American theatre. This became known in Acadia as Queen Anne's War.[54] At the conclusion of hostilities in 1713, France ceded Acadia to England, leaving the Acadians and their Indigenous allies under British rule.

Over the next few decades, the British continued to assert their authority in Nova Scotia. The Mi'kmaq and their Indigenous allies soon realized that the British were quickly expanding into their territories.[55] Until the 1760s, settler expansion was fairly contained to coastal communities, but the interior largely remained an Indigenous space.[56] Generally friendly with the French for over one hundred years and increasingly tied to Catholicism, the Mi'kmaq had less in common with the British than they did with the Acadians. This led to hostilities between the British and the Mi'kmaq and a succession of Peace and Friendship Treaties were born out of the

[52] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755, 197.*
[53] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755, 198.*
[54] Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 44.
[55] Jeffers Lennox, "A Time and a Place: The Geography of British, French, and Aboriginal Interactions in Early Nova Scotia, 1726-44," *William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (July 2015): 430, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/stable/10.5309/willmaryquar.72.3.0423#metadata_info_tab_contents.
[56] Daniel N. Paul, *We Were Not the Savages: A Micmac Perspective on the Collision of European and Aboriginal Civilization* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1993), 166-167. See also: John Reid, Pax Britannica or Pax Indigena? Planter Nova Scotia (1760-1782) and Competing Strategies of Pacification," *The Canadian Historical Review* 85, no. 4 (December 2004): 672.

desire for peace.[57] These treaties, which shaped relationships between nations, inform how people live together in Mi'kma'ki/Acadie/Nova Scotia both in the past, present, and future.[58] They also affirmed inherent Indigenous rights to the land and waters of Mi'kma'ki without ceding the land.

The decade leading up to the establishment of Liverpool was crucial for cross-cultural relationships. In 1749, Halifax was established, firmly planting British presence in the region. Upset with the increasing expansion of the British without consultation as acknowledged in the 1725-26 treaties, the Mi'kmaq largely refused to sign a ratification in 1749.[59] Three years later, in 1752, Sipkne'katik Chief, Jean-Baptiste Cope, and Peregrine Hopson, the Governor of Nova Scotia, affirmed the 1726 treaty again and established commercial relations.[60] It also affirmed the rights of the Mi'kmaw people to hunt and fish where they choose without being interfered with by the British. Furthermore, according to the surviving proclamation, clause number two stipulated that all past offences were forgiven, and that the Mi'kmaq would be shown friendship and protection.[61] Colonial administrators had changed their strategy as the truth is that Governor

[57] Jeffers Lennox, "A Time and a Place: The Geography of British, French, and Aboriginal Interactions in Early Nova Scotia, 1726-44," 430.
[58] The Peace and Friendship Treaties were not always regarded as sacred pacts by the British Crown or the Canadian Government. However, the Supreme Court of Canada affirmed inherent Indigenous rights in Section 35 (1), of the *Constitution Act*, in 1982. As treaty people, it is everyone's responsibility to ensure that the principles set in the Peace and Friendship treaties inform living together in this place and are reflected in daily realities. For further context, please see: Daniel N. Paul, "Racism and Treaty Denied," in *Living Treaties: Narrating Mi'kmaw Treaty Relations*, ed. Marie Battiste (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2016), 178-195. See also, Pamela Palmater, "My Tribe, My Heirs and Their Heirs Forever: Living Mi'kmaw Treaties," in *Living Treaties: Narrating Mi'kmaw Treaty Relations*, ed. Marie Battiste (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2016), 32-36.
[59] There was one Mi'kmaw signatory in the 1749 ratification. Please see the Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1725 and subsequent ratifications. "Peace and Friendship Treaties," Nova Scotia Archives, accessed November 19, 2021, https://archives.novascotia.ca/mikmaq/results/?Search=AR5&SearchList1=all&TABLE2=on.
[60] "Treaty of 1752 signed at Halifax between Jean Baptiste Cope, chief, and Thomas Hopson, representing the Government of Nova Scotia," Mi'kmaq and Province of Nova Scotia, 1752, (entered into force 22 November 1752), https://archives.novascotia.ca/mikmaq/archives/?ID=623.
[61] "Treaty of 1752 signed at Halifax between Jean Baptiste Cope, chief, and Thomas Hopson, representing the Government of Nova Scotia," Mi'kmaq and Province of Nova Scotia, 1752.

Edward Cornwallis had placed a bounty on Mi'kmaw scalps in 1749.[62] The Mi'kmaq questioned the lack of communication over the establishment of Halifax as promised in earlier treaties and Cornwallis responded with outright hostility that was perpetuated by settlers.

By 1754, hostilities between the French and English began to take hold in North America once again. Increasing uneasiness about the neutral French-speaking Acadians eventually led to their forced removal from their homelands.[63] The expulsion of the Acadians that began in 1755, was ordered by Governor Charles Lawrence and backed by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts.[64] Over the following eight years, in the region of 11,000 Acadians were deported.[65] Although the Acadian population was not as dense in Liverpool as it was in other parts of Nova Scotia, it is known that some had remained in the LaHave to Cape Sable region since de Razilly saw them in 1632.[66]

The years 1758 and 1759 permanently shaped the relations between nations in Nova Scotia. The Seven Years War, which had been raging between Britain and France in Europe, found its way to North America. Ultimately, the English succeeded in capturing Louisbourg for a final time and then made their way to Quebec. After the fall of French held Louisbourg in 1758, and mounting pressure both in Halifax and abroad, Governor Charles Lawrence issued a proclamation inviting New England colonists to make proposals to come to Nova Scotia and settle.[67] Familiar with the shoreline from trading with the Acadians and the promise of new land

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[62] Joe B. Marshall and Jaime Battiste, "Treaty Advocacy and Treaty Imperative through Mi'kmaw Leadership: Remembering with Joe B. Marshall," in *Living Treaties: Narrating Mi'kmaw Treaty Relations*, ed. Marie Battiste (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2016), 146-147. See also, Daniel N. Paul, *We Were Not the Savages: A Micmac Perspective on the Collision of European and Aboriginal Civilization* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1993), 109.
[63] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755, 401.*
[64] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755, 440-441.*
[65]Margaret Conrad, *At the Ocean's Edge: A History of Nova Scotia to Confederation*, 136.
[66] Naomi Griffiths, *From Migrants to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755, 12.*
[67] Elizabeth Mancke, *The Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, ca. 1760-1830,* (New York: Rutledge, 2005), 11.

and supplies, settlers from New England answered Lawrence's call. In 1759, a township along Nova Scotia's southwestern coastline was granted to over 160 proprietors.[68] It became known as Liverpool. Thomas Jefferys's, *A new map of Nova Scotia, and Cape Britain, with the adjacent parts of New England and Canada,* depicts Port Rossignol a few years before it was renamed Liverpool.

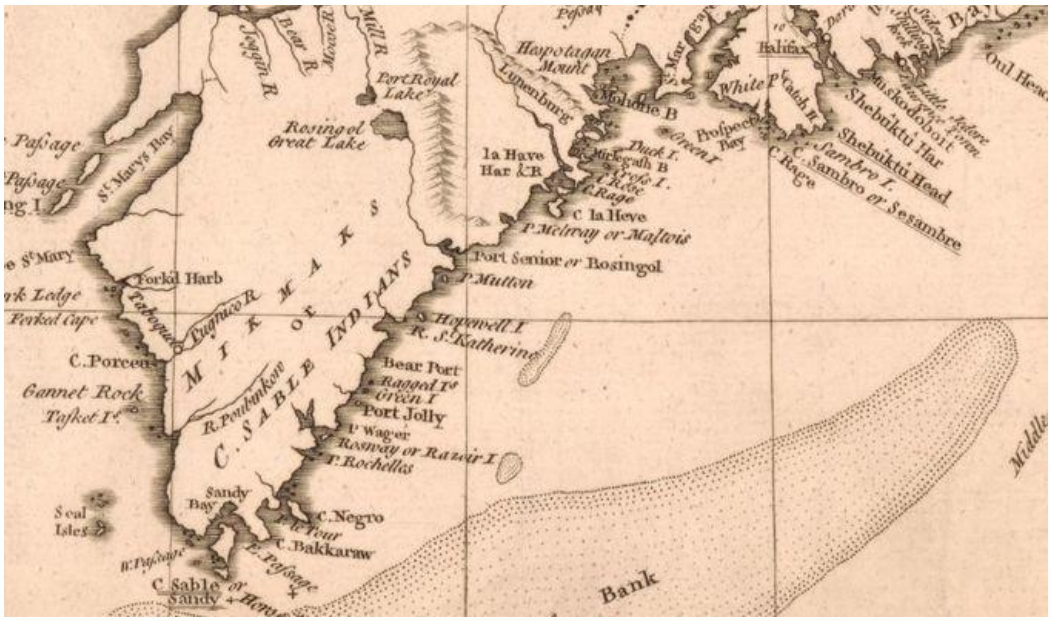

Figure 2.1: Excerpt view of southwestern Nova Scotia, including Port Rossignol, 1755.[69] This map shows Jefferys's attention to some interior waterways and cultural affiliations connected to geographic areas.

Geographically, Liverpool's position along Nova Scotia's southwestern coastline is key to understanding how people were shaped by the place in which they lived. Factors such as how far it was from the political and military stronghold at Halifax, the natural resources that dominated the landscape, and the distance to other ports, all contributed to the successes and sometimes

[68] Commissioner of Crown Lands, "A List of Proprietors of the Township of Liverpool With their Number in Family Respectively," (Nova Scotia Archives, RG 20, Series C, Volume 43, Number 1), https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/archives/?ID=6.
[69] Thomas Jefferys, "A new map of Nova Scotia, and Cape Britain, with the adjacent parts of New England and Canada, Composed from a great number of actual Surveys; and other materials regulated by new astronomical observations of the longitude as well as the latitude; with an Explanation," London: Thomas Jefferys, 1755, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3420.ct008119/?r=0.437,0.524,0.366,0.15,0.

failures of individuals to thrive. Vulnerability was particularly a factor for the Planters, the settlers who came from New England after the expulsion of the Acadians. Distant from their place of birth and under a new political system, they took a risk in choosing to relocate. Based on general observations in Perkins' diaries, it took an average of two days for sailing vessels to reach Halifax. This meant that military or judicial assistance in times of great need was often out of immediate reach. Furthermore, the Planters quickly realized that the land around Liverpool was not suitable for large-scale farming.[70] This meant that they had to rely on alternative sources of income such as lumber, fishing, skilled trades work, and manual labour, while hoping their gardens produced enough to sustain them throughout the harsh winters. Without the ability of large-scale farming, settlers increasingly turned to trading to make ends meet. Naturally well-positioned to trade both via land and sea, it ensured the success of the economy. For the Planters, trading within their immediate area was key to sustainability since they were geographically distant from larger urban centres. It was also in their best interest to maintain good relations between nations immediately upon arrival.

2.2: Msit No'kmaq – All My Relations

In 1760, when the proprietors and their families arrived at Liverpool, they were immediately greeted by the Mi'kmaq. The Mi'kmaw concept, Msit No'kmaq, was at the forefront of some of the first interactions with the New England settlers. Msit No'kmaq, which means all my relations, is the knowledge and belief that all things and beings are interconnected.[71] The very first documented Proprietors Record speaks to this relationship:

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[70] Elizabeth Mancke, *The Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, ca. 1760-1830,* 38.

[71] Tim Bernard, Sharon L. Farrell, and Leah Morine Rosenmeier, eds., *Mi'kmawe'l Tan Teli-kina'muemk: Teaching about the Mi'kmaq* (Truro: Eastern Woodland Print Communications, 2015), 155. See also, Rosalie Marie Francis, "The Mi'kmaq nation and the embodiment of political ideologies: Ni'kmaq, protocol and treaty negotiation of the eighteenth century" (MA Thesis., Saint Mary's University, 2003), 17-22 and 85-86.

> 12th July, David Davis brot. [brought] in three Indians of the Mickmack Tribe, Which he took of [sic] from the Eastern Side of the harbour. They Said they Lived at Port Metway, and said we were All brothers & desired to Live in Friendship. The next Day they Came in four canoes, with their Families, consisting of 17 Persons, & Went up the River. Said they Intended for the head of the Cape.[72]

This document refers to the Mi'kmaw concept Msit No'kmaq, the Peace and Friendship Treaties created and ratified during the eighteenth-century, and the importance of the local landscape to the Mi'kmaw canoeists. Msit No'kmaq can be drawn from the phrase "All brothers." In this example, the belief that all people are related to one another shows that the Mi'kmaq desired to live peacefully with the newcomers. The inclusion of "Live in Friendship," speaks to Mi'kmaw ways of knowing and the desire to live in peace as agreed upon in the Treaties. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, conflict and wariness dominated shared spaces in much of eighteenth-century Mi'kma'ki.

The Peace and Friendship Treaties were well-known by both the Mi'kmaw and settlers through oral histories, written proclamations, and word-of-mouth. It certainly must have been on the minds of at least the Mi'kmaw people in 1760, as a new treaty was signed by Chief Paul Laurent at Halifax in March of that year.[73] "Live in Friendship," spoken by the canoeists is likely a direct reference to that treaty and the ones that came before it.[74] Furthermore, Chief Paul Laurent, according to the 1760 authenticated copy of the treaty, was representing the Mi'kmaw people in the LaHave area. LaHave is not far from Liverpool with Port Medway in the middle. In all likelihood, the three canoeists knew about the treaties and were adhering to the terms set in them. As John Reid argues in, "Imperial-Aboriginal Friendship in Eighteenth-century

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[72] *Proprietors' Records of Liverpool, Nova Scotia, 1760-1843* (Liverpool: Thomas Raddall Research Centre), 2.
[73] "Treaty of Peace and Friendship Concluded by the Governor and Commander in Chief of Nova Scotia with Paul Laurent Chief of the La Heve tribe of Indians," Mi'kmaq and Province of Nova Scotia, 1760, (entered into force March 1760), https://archives.novascotia.ca/mikmaq/archives/?ID=626.
[74] Marie Battiste, "Narrating Mi'kmaw Treaties: Linking the Past to the Future," in *Living Treaties: Narrating Mi'kmaw Treaty Relations*, ed. Marie Battiste (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2016), 1.

Mi'kma'ki/Wulstukwik," friendship was frequently used by imperial authorities during the early to mid-eighteenth century.[75] Furthermore, friendship was usually used as an expression of good relations between nations locally. Its interpretation amongst people of various nations in Nova Scotia could mean anything from courteous economic activity to the absence of violence. The fact the term was said suggests that there was an understanding between the Mi'kmaq and Liverpool settlers that friendship denotes the absence of violence and that a reasonable effort would remain to be peaceful with one another. Even as understandings of the word could vary culturally, Perkins' diaries show that peaceful relations remained quite strong throughout the forty-six years of entries. This is not to suggest that colonialism or racism was not a factor in Liverpool -- it certainly was – but it just means he did not document physical attacks between settlers and the Mi'kmaq over the course of the diaries.[76] Maintaining good relations between nations was at the forefront of the first interactions in Liverpool and may have remained that way.

Perkins, who was one of the original proprietors of Liverpool, arrived at the settlement in May of 1762.[77] Upon his arrival, he joined a multi-cultural region that relied on peaceful trade between nations. At the same time, even though there was no conquest, and no land was ceded, the formation of Liverpool came on the backdrop of wars, deportation, and imperial expansion. Settler colonialism was redefining the shared geographic space through settlement.[78] It is in this uncertain Atlantic world that trading became even more vital to sustain rising settler populations.

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[75] John Reid, "Imperial-Aboriginal Friendship in Eighteenth-century Mi'kma'ki/Wulstukwik," in *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era,* ed. Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 78.
[76] Perkins did not document settler-Indigenous attacks in Liverpool over the course of his diaries. Additional primary sources should also be consulted to verify this. However, it currently lies outside of the scope of this thesis.
[77] Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins: 1766-1780,* ed. Harold A. Innis (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1948), xi.
[78] John G. Reid and Thomas Peace, "Colonies of Settlement and Settler Colonialism in Northeastern North America, 1450-1850), *80*.

2.3: Indigenous-Settler Relationships, 1766-1773

The first decade of Planter Liverpool was formative in both Indigenous-settler relationships, Perkins' career, and the survival of the settlement. On May 29th, 1766, the first known diary entry by Perkins was written. Nine days later, references to Indigenous people began. As discussed previously, trading was not new to the region as it was already well-established prior to and after the arrival of settlers. The quick occurrence of Indigenous-settler trade in Perkins' diaries speaks to this long-established relationship. Perkins wrote, "[1766] Saturday, June 7th, - Liverpool Packet sails at evening. Henry Stewart is master. Plaiceway goes to trade with the Indians. The vessel is 22 tons, and built for this trade."[79] Typical of Perkins' entries, he documented the captain of the voyage, in this case, Henry Stewart. Plaiceway, likely one of the owners of the vessel, is a known surname of a family in the Liverpool area. He might have been referring to Robert Plaiceway who was a merchant in Liverpool and is referenced in later entries, particularly for Indigenous-settler trading. Like many of Perkins' entries, not enough information has been provided to determine specifics.

A common characteristic of Perkins' entries related to ocean-going trade is the name of the vessel and its tonnage. His comment that the vessel was built for "this trade" indicates that Indigenous-settler trading was perceived as valuable and occurred often enough to dedicate vessels to it.[80] Even though the entry lacks details about where the vessel is intending to trade, its tonnage provides a clue. Twenty-two tons is a relatively small vessel compared to larger fishing schooners or naval ships. This ship would have been built shallow enough for in-shore areas. It is also likely that the owners or the captain knew where key trading areas might be, so using the appropriate tonnage would increase the chance of a successful voyage. Smaller vessels like this

[79] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, June 7th, 1767.
[80] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, June 7th, 1767.

one also have immediate economic benefits for the owners, which is especially important when the settlement is new and vulnerable. The smaller the vessel, the fewer crew members the owners had to pay. As a result, profits would be higher for them. Two months later, *Liverpool Packet* returned home. Loaded with salmon and dogfish, it was a successful voyage.[81] Other than keeping track of vessels generally, Perkins documented these voyages so he could determine where to send his own vessels to make the most profits.

During 1767, references to Indigenous-settlers trades in Perkins' diaries continue to focus on trading outside of Liverpool itself. Vessels frequented the Bay of Chaleur area specifically for this purpose. Still part of Mi'kma'ki but connected to a vast interior network of Indigenous trade, the ships returned with beaver pelts, fish, and feathers.[82] Of the six references to Indigenous trading in 1767, four of them mention voyages to the Bay of Chaleur. A popular spot for trading since Jacques Cartier, it appears to have remained that way during the mid-eighteenth century.[83]

By September 1767, Perkins encountered trading difficulties within his own settler community. Increasingly worried about his prosperity in Liverpool, Perkins noted: "Our people pay strangers much better than they do their own traders, and as there must be a deficiency, it falls on me who supported them in the winter, which discourages me of trading in this place."[84] This entry speaks to Perkins' identity and the vulnerability of Liverpool's settlers in the first decade. Although the context for this entry characteristically lacks some details, Perkins suggests that people in Liverpool are paying non-residents more for their trade goods than they do their neighbours. In turn, the seasonality of food production left everyone vulnerable in the winter. If

[81] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, August 8th, 1766.
[82] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, July 2nd, 1767.
[83] Marcel Trudel, "CARTIER, JACQUES," *In Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed August 5th, 2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cartier_jacques_1491_1557_1E.html. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, July 2nd, 1767.
[84] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, September 14th, 1767.

they did not have enough food to last them until March or April when the fisheries resumed, they had to turn to help wherever they could receive it. Already well-respected in the community, townspeople turned to Perkins. He may have even offered to help without being asked. Known to assist townspeople with his own personal funds, he generally tried to make the community successful, or at least self-sustaining.[85] It could be argued that he assisted people with the expectation that he would eventually receive something in return. Certainly, this was a factor in largely credit economies like Liverpool was at the time. However, his genuine concern for people seems to indicate that the truth probably lies somewhere in between expecting something in return and just doing what was morally right. The exception to his propensity occurred nearly a decade later when he became a slaveholder.

The remainder of September through November 1767 proved difficult for Perkins financially. Considering relocating back to Norwich, Connecticut, he finally embarked on November 21st. Citing the deteriorating economic situation in Liverpool, not enough fish, less than one month's provisions, and mounting debt, he left with an uncertain future. Like other Planters with similar financial means during this decade, some had the option to return to New England. During his time in Liverpool from 1762-1767, he maintained business and family connections to New England, which made the transition easier.[86]

According to a note in the edited volumes of the diaries which are based on typescript copies and the originals, Harold A. Innis states that Perkins regularly kept a diary in Norwich, but because "there was nothing of it relating to Liverpool, of any importance," they were not

[85] Based on general observations of all five volumes. For specific examples, please see: Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, June 8th, 1780, or Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, November 16, 1781.
[86] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, August 9th, 1766. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, January 5th, 1767.

transcribed.[87] This is a rather unfortunate assumption since the diary has been lost. Perkins' life at Norwich would have provided insight to his social relations in Connecticut, his business ventures, and if there were enslaved people at his family's property. After a few years at home, Perkins returned to Liverpool and arrived on June 16th, 1769. Once again, he had maintained his business relationships from afar. Upon arrival, he noted that townspeople were busy improving the place. Presumably he had paid some of his debts over the course of nearly two years as he immediately discussed employing people who were in his debt.[88]

Notably absent from 1769 to 1772 is any mention of Indigenous-settler trading and people of African descent. The reasons for this range from simple to quite complex. First, Perkins irregularly kept his diaries, often missing months at a time including the year 1771 in its entirety. Sickness and another long stay in Norwich are some of the additional reasons for long absences. On average, about four to six months are missing from each year. During this time, Perkins was busily engaged in the transatlantic trade, fishing, running his mill, and overseeing employees. Yet, the absence of Indigenous-settler trading or people of African descent does not mean they are not occurring. The following entries provides some useful clues into this as well as his relationship with the Mi'kmaw people:

> [1772] Tuesday April 7th, - Capt. Freeman and Capt. Cobb sail for Halifax. Capt. John Godfrey goes to enter the brig Olive. I get down a raft of about 10,000 boards, and 10,000 shingles for the brig's cargo. I have 120 geese sent me by the Indians.[89]
>
> [1772] Wednesday, April 8th, -- Today, the Indians came with a "dead corpse", that was shot near their camp in the head, by accident, as the boy was shooting at geese. It is Andrew Martin's daughter, 15 years of age. They are going to Port Mutton to bury the body.[90]

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[87] Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins: 1766-1780,* ed. Harold A. Innis (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1948), ix.
[88] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, June 18th, 1769.
[89] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, April 7th, 1772.
[90] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, April 8th, 1772.

The entry on April 7th begins like they normally do. He discussed a vessel sailing, a passenger's intention, and his production of boards and shingles for the transatlantic trade. Curiously, it ends with quite a significant gift of geese by the Mi'kmaw people. The following day, the reason why he was sent them is partially answered. The geese were likely given as an apology or statement of peace for the accidental shooting of a settler girl. Why they were sent to Perkins rather than the victim's father or another leading figure in Liverpool may speak to his prominence in the town. By 1772, Perkins was already a Member of House of Assembly for Queens County, a judge, and was licensed to trade with Indigenous people.[91] The gift to Perkins suggests he was recognized as being in an authority position and may have even helped protect them against reprisals. No further mention of the event or any retaliations is recorded in the diaries. Whether Perkins gave the geese to the victim's father, dispersed them throughout the town, or kept them is unclear. Either way, the gift to him suggests that he was perceived to be trustworthy enough to know how to handle the unfortunate situation and act as a mediator. Perkins mediates again later in life when he tried to assist a pressed Black man, Anthony, in 1805.

Perkins continued to engage with Indigenous people throughout his lifetime although it was intermittent. Yet, the absence of entries relating to Indigenous people does not mean they were not occurring.[92] The Mi'kmaw concept, Siawa'sik, which means continuation, speaks to their enduring presence. The Mi'kmaq sprout from and are nourished by the lands and waters of Mi'kma'ki.[93] They continually adapt to new technologies and ways of doing and are ever

[91] Charles Bruce Fergusson, "PERKINS, SIMEON," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1983, accessed June 21st, 2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/parr_john_4E.html.
[92] John G. Reid, *Essays on Northeastern North America, 17th & 18th Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 188. See also, Perkins' Diary, Vol. 1, May 12th, 1778. For a later entry, please see: Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins: 1797-1803*, ed. Charles Bruce Fergusson (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1967), November 30th, 1803.
[93] Traditions and cultural expressions are inherent in the Mi'kmaw language. For an in-depth examination of this, please see: Trudy Sable and Bernard Francis, *The Language of this Land, Mi'kma'ki* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2012).

present. The living treaties of the eighteenth-century shaped relations between nations and kept the land unceded. In this way, Nova Scotia is a portion of Mi'kma'ki and still is an Indigenous space. As colonialism intensified with the arrival of the Planters starting in 1759, the region became more diverse as free and enslaved Black people arrived with them.

2.4: Black People in Liverpool, 1759-1773

For well over two-hundred years, Canada and Nova Scotia engaged in institutionalized slavery.[94] When New England Planters arrived in Nova Scotia after answering Governor Lawrence's call to settle, they joined or brought with them free, indentured, and enslaved Black people. Liverpool's proximity to the sea, the settlers' reliance on the transatlantic trade, and their connection to the West Indies and New England, made it a slaveholding place. Yet, unlike other Planter settlements, Liverpool did not experience an increase in enslaved people until the 1770s, which is curious since Governor Lawrence's proclamation enticed Planters to bring enslaved people with them and even granted additional land to families that did.[95]

On January 1st, 1767, a general census return indicates there were four Black people living in Liverpool of 634 inhabitants.[96] By combining references in Perkins' diaries, the List of Proprietors, and genealogical notes at the Nova Scotia Archives, determining the identities of three of the four people is possible. On the List of Proprietors for 1764, a person by the name of Barbary Cuffy appears.[97] Very few women made it on the Proprietors List under their own

[94] Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal*, (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2006), 68. See also, Kenneth Donovan, "Slaves and Their Owners in Ile Royale, 1713-1760," *Acadiensis* 25, no. 1 (1995): 4.
[95] Margaret Conrad, *At the Ocean's Edge: A History of Nova Scotia to Confederation*, 141. See also, Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia, 1750-1810," 29.
[96] Commissioner of Public Records, "A General Return of the Several Townships in the Province of Nova Scotia the first day of January 1767," (Nova Scotia Archives, RG 1, Volume 443, Number 1), https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/archives/?ID=7.
[97] Barbara Cuffy appears to have inconsistent spellings of her name amongst a variety of sources. The most common ones are Barbary Cuffee, Cuffe, and Cuffy.

names rather than that of their husbands. When they did, their marital status as "widow" was noted.[98] The only exception was a woman named Barbara who lists three people, including herself, in her household. Like all of the proprietors, Barbara had a large share in the land and built a house on it.

The first reference to a Black townsperson in Perkins' diaries is on May 4th, 1772. Perkins, along with other magistrates, were called by Reverend Cheever, a Methodist minister, to decide about the appropriateness of an interracial marriage. Deborah Cuffe, a free Black woman, and John Carroll, an Irish settler, wished to be married and live together.[99] Upon deliberation, the magistrates agreed to allow the marriage. At a time when the enslaved, indentured, and free lived, worked, and shared the same dwellings with one another, this example provides insight into pre-abolition Liverpool and Planter mentality before a large influx of enslaved people arrived during the 1770s-1780s. Marriages between enslaved people in New England were permitted by many slaveholders throughout the eighteenth-century, though there are gaps in documentation.[100] In turn, this custom was brought to Liverpool. Deborah was a free Black person, and the fact that the magistrates deliberated and approved the marriage shows there was some level of acceptance of both her status and interracial marriage during the early 1770s.

Returning to Deborah's mother, Barbara, aside from occasional references to her property in Perkins's diaries, a few other sources have helped determine more of her life but also leave unanswered questions. Genealogical cards at the Nova Scotia Archives suggest that Barbara may have been enslaved by Samuel Bartlett in Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1734.[101] In the

[98] Commissioner of Crown Lands, "A List of Proprietors of the Township of Liverpool With their Number in Family Respectively."
[99] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, May 4th, 1772.
[100] For example, please see: *Massachusetts Vital Records: Plymouth 1663-1890* (Oxford: Holbrook Research Institute, 1984), 302.
[101] Thomas Brenton Smith fonds, "Cuffy, Barbara," (Nova Scotia Archives, MG 1, Volume 827, microfilm reel).

Massachusetts Vital Records: Plymouth 1663-1890, an entry was located that confirms on June 5, 1734, an enslaved man called Cuffe, and an enslaved woman called Nanne, were married.[102] It also notes that Cuffe was enslaved by Isaac Lathrop junior and Nanne was enslaved by Samuel Bartlett junior.[103] Although the first name does not match Barbara's, it is possible there might be a relationship to her. Vital records from 1730-1760 were also examined for Isaac and Deborah but did not yield any results at this time.

Barbara sold some of her land in Liverpool twice during the 1760s. This included one parcel to Thomas Gordon and the other to Robert Stevenson.[104] On the deed to Stevenson in 1769, she is listed as a midwife. Genealogical cards at the Nova Scotia Archives suggest that Barbara returned to Plymouth, Massachusetts by 1778. As a free Black woman, it is possible that Barbara chose to return to family as the American Revolutionary War occurred. Massachusetts was also increasingly moving towards abolition. For much of the eighteenth-century, enslaved people in Massachusetts had been suing their slaveholders for assaults and failures to manumit after promises to do so had been made. During the 1760s, an increase in enslaved people winning in court was occurring.[105] Further ahead in recognizing Black rights than Nova Scotia, it is possible this influenced Barbara's return.

Regardless of Barbara's reasons for returning southward, one thing is for certain, her time as a midwife in Liverpool would have been vital. As an outport community, doctors typically only stayed a few years, if there were any at all. It is likely that she helped birth some of the first

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[102] *Massachusetts Vital Records: Plymouth 1663-1890,* 302.
[103] There was a Joseph Bartlett on the 1764 List of Proprietor's for Liverpool. As for Lathrop, it was used as a first name for another settler from Massachusetts, Lathrop Freeman. This is likely not a coincidence as kinship ties linked Plymouth and Liverpool families.
[104] Commissioner of Crown Lands (Nova Scotia Archives, RG 20, Series C, Volume 43, Number 1). See also, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/archives/?ID=6.
[105] Chernoh M. Sesay, "The Revolutionary Black Roots of Slavery's Abolition in Massachusetts," *The New England Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (March 2014): 102.

settlers in Liverpool if white parents permitted it. As for Isaac, Perkins purchased property from him before 1781, which was likely part of Barbara's original land.[106] It is unclear if Isaac remained in Liverpool or relocated elsewhere. Deborah and her husband, John Carroll, are also never mentioned again. There was a John Caroll, note the slight spelling variation, who died in September 1779. He was destitute, alone, and cared for by the Overseers of the Poor, so Perkins was responsible for determining what happened to his belongings.[107] Either way, it is highly likely that Isaac or Deborah stayed in Nova Scotia and went on to have children. According to the genealogical cards, a descendant of Barbara's, Mabel E. Smith, from Yarmouth, visited Liverpool in 1909 to research the Cuffy family's land entitlement. Although conclusive evidence linking Mabel to Barbara is not confirmed, census records show that there were two Mabel E. Smith's living in Nova Scotia in 1909. One was from Yarmouth and the other from the neighbouring, but largely Black community of Weymouth Falls. Given that Liverpool settlers were closely connected to the area via the transatlantic trade, it is highly probable that there is a connection between one of them. Unfortunately, the identity of the fourth Black person on the 1767 general return remains unknown at this time.

The 1767 census indicates that there were only four Black people who lived in Liverpool by that year. This suggests that Planters had not begun slaveholding to a large degree in the community yet. The unidentified person on the census may be the exception. Whether this has anything to do with a lack of infrastructure and the uncertainty of the settlement's future, is unknown, though it is probably indicative of the vulnerability of prospective slaveholders during this time. Liverpool's lack of arable farmland may be part of the answer as well as the humble means of its early Planter inhabitants. As Liverpool's townspeople became more financially

[106] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, June 13th, 1780.
[107] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, October 1, 1779.

stable in the 1770s and 1780s, this may indicate why there was an increase in slaveholding in addition to those that came as a result of the American Revolutionary War.

Black seafarers periodically appeared in Liverpool during its first decade as a settlement. Entries in Perkins' diaries provide a glimpse into the lives of Black sailors and how harsh the criminal justice system was for them.

> [1767] Thursday, Aug. 27th – Some fish are found on my wharf, under a hogshead, and some on board a brig. They are supposed to be stolen by a negro man on board. I give a warrant, and he is taken into custody.[108]

> [1767] Friday, Aug, 28th, - The negro sailor was brought before Elisha Freeman, Esq. and me. He was found guilty of taking fish out of Snow's yard, valued at one shilling (petite larceny). He was ordered to be stripped, whipped 20 stripes, set in stocks one hour, pay treble damage, and costs of prosecution. He was whipped at the new whipping post, and stocks. He was the first to suffer such punishment.[109]

Unfortunately, these entries are missing prior context. The identity of the Black man sentenced for stealing fish is unknown as well as the name of the brig. Perkins irregularly kept a diary during this week, so the previous four days are missing where the brig's arrival and name would presumably have been included. There was a brig *Jason*, in port from Maryland, that traded with the locals between July and September.[110] It is possible the sailor may have been from this vessel though it is equally likely he could be from another. The fact he remained unnamed in the diary may speak to the prevailing attitudes that Black people were seen as inferior, and that equality was not always taken seriously.[111] Regardless of where he came from, analysing both the stolen item and the punishment

[108] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, August 27th, 1767. Note: The term "negro" is no longer in use as it is a derogatory term associated with enslavement. The terms Perkins used in his diary have been maintained in this thesis to keep the original diary entries as accurate as possible.
[109] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, August 28th, 1767
[110] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, July 22nd, 1766. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, September 14th, 1766.
[111] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The Development of Black Refugee Identity in Nova Scotia, 1813-1850," 10.

leads to some observations about Black seafarers and the vulnerable positions they were in prior to abolition.

Although eighteenth-century monetary values are hard to convert to today's equivalents, one shilling is a relatively small amount. Since the stolen fish were deemed to be worth only a shilling by the magistrates, this suggests that it was not a large quantity. A hogshead is a large cask capable of holding liquids. Assuming the language is correct in the diary, the fact that they were found under the cask indicates the fish were processed. Risking persecution for stealing food items shows a level of desperation. Whether the intention was for consumption, to sell later, or storing food in preparation for deserting the ship, the reasons point to an inadequacy somewhere in the Black sailor's life.

The punishment itself is also noteworthy and provides clues into his skills and status. A comparable crime committed in 1784 by a white man for an unknown item, had a similar sentence. [112] In the 1784 case, Thomas Boucher, was sentenced to thirty whips, the cost of prosecution, or three months in jail if he could not pay. The Black man in 1767 was not handed a jail sentence, partially because a suitable jail had not yet been built.[113] The lack of a jail sentence, even if a temporary structure was available, suggests that the Black sailor may have been highly skilled in a marine trade, or at least an essential part of the ship's crew. The quick prosecution and punishment ensured he could return to the vessel relatively quickly without compromising the ship's time in port. The method of punishment and cost of damages is the noticeable difference between the cases. Putting the Black man in the stocks after enduring corporal punishment, the first person to have been given this sentence, sends a clear signal to townspeople and sailors alike that petty crime

[112] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 25th, 1784.
[113] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, March 22nd, 1774.

would not be tolerated. Humiliation combined with physical punishment was a method of control used by the Nova Scotian colonial government to exert authority.[114] It is hard to dismiss that the first punishment of this nature in Liverpool was given to a Black man. Coincidence it may be, but also paying triple the cost of the damage was highly unusual for thefts in Liverpool.[115] The fact there is no indication he could not pay it, which would be the case if he was enslaved or indentured, may suggest that he was making a wage aboard the ship. The percentage of free Black men choosing seafaring careers was increasing during this time and it is quite possible he was one of them. Whatever his situation was, Perkins does not mention him again and he disappears back into the transient world of the transatlantic trade.

2.5: Liverpool's Transatlantic Trade to 1773

Understanding how different groups define and use their surroundings reveals how Liverpool becomes so ingrained in enslavement well before influxes of enslaved people arrived in the later 1770s through 1780s. As this chapter has already examined, amicable Indigenous-settler relations was important for creating and maintaining trade between cultures locally and in broader Mi'kma'ki. However, Liverpool's lack of arable farmland ensured that settlers had to find additional means to support their growing population. The fastest way for merchants to do this is to engage in the wider transatlantic trade. These trade routes, which connected coastal communities with the Atlantic world and beyond, were crucial to Liverpool's survival.

In *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America*, Stephen Hornsby suggests that between 1760 and the early 1770s, Nova Scotia became

[114] Philip Girard, Jim Phillips, and R. Blake Brown, *A History of Law in Canada, Vol. 1* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 276-277.
[115] Based on general observations of all five volumes of the diaries of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1812. Usually, the monetary charges were the cost of prosecution plus damages.

the meeting place of both the New England banks fishery and the migratory one from the British Isles.[116] Hornsby argues that New England merchants became increasingly concerned with establishing permanent ties to the area. Perkins, whose main export is fish and lumber during this time, is an example of a New Englander who took the opportunity to relocate. Hornsby's diagram, which generalizes the main import and export items in the Atlantic world, is a good basis for establishing trading patterns during the mid-eighteenth century.

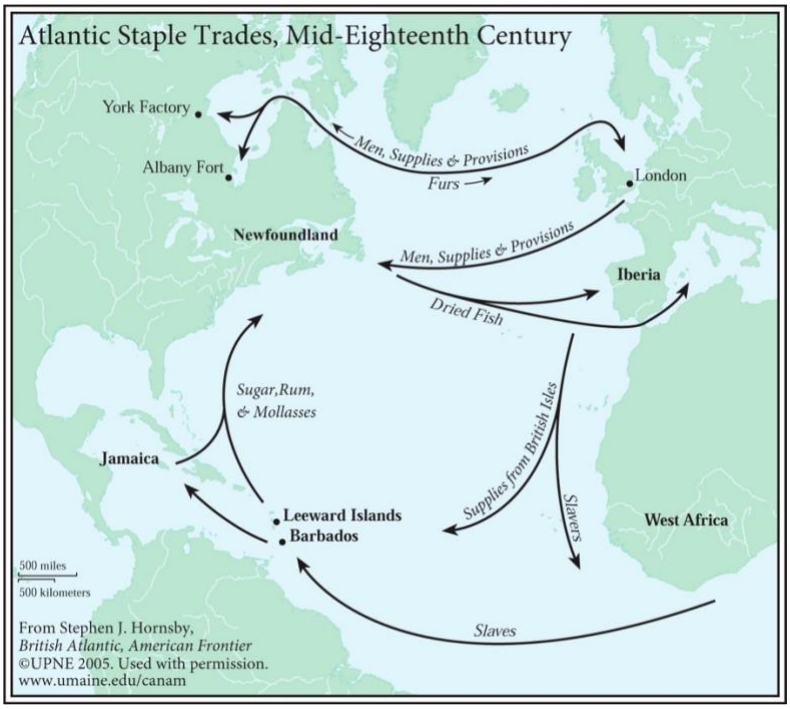

Figure 2.2: Stephen Hornsby's detailed map of generalized import and exports of the transatlantic trade before the American Revolutionary War.[117]

However, the vulnerability, kinship ties, and lack of infrastructure in Liverpool from 1766 to 1773, creates an interesting case study for establishing smaller place-based trading patterns. Applying a local lens looking outwards, Liverpool's imports and exports are slightly different

[116] Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in the Early Modern British Empire* (Hanover: University of New England Press, 2005), 80-81.
[117] Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in the Early Modern British Empire*, 69.

than Hornsby's representation because of its strong kinship and geographic connections to New England as well as its distance from Halifax.

From 1766 to 1773, Perkins largest export commodities are fish and wood. As a merchant, vessel owner, and a relatively vulnerable settler, he relied on the success of the banks fishery and mercantile trading in order to exchange for items he could not produce locally. Perkins specifically engaged in selling wet, dry (salted), and green fish.[118] Green fish, which were lower quality because of the heavy salt used to preserve them, were mainly sold to markets with large labour forces to feed.[119] For Perkins, a majority of his green fish went to feed enslaved plantation workers in the West Indies as he often referred to them as "Jamaica" fish.[120] In this way, Perkins, Liverpool, and Nova Scotia, more broadly, were tied to enslavement well before enslaved people arrived in larger numbers. In return for green fish, Perkins and other merchants trading in the West Indies, exchanged them for mostly sugar, molasses, and rum. These types of commodities, which were processed using enslaved labour, also tied Nova Scotia to enslavement in a similar way. Returning from the West Indies, Perkins' vessels could call on ports along the present-day American seaboard or wait until the British port of Halifax to sell his cargoes, where it was most profitable. It is inarguable that by doing this, he profited off enslaved labour prior to becoming a slaveholder. In doing so, he assisted in gradually re-forming the shared geographic space by both his links to enslavement and merchant power.

In addition to sending cargoes to the West Indies, Perkins sold or exchanged a lot of his fish directly to ports in New England rather than fish-hungry markets in Europe. In return for wood and fish, New England merchants supplied Liverpool with provisions, thereby

[118] Perkins Diary, Vol.1, August 3rd, 1767.
[119] Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in the Early Modern British Empire*, 81-82.
[120] Perkins Diary, Vol.1, August 3rd, 1767.

strengthening the community and the New England banks fishery. By selling his cargoes, he was supporting the New England banks fishery while simultaneously working within the British one. Perkins, whose business partner, Ebenezer Backus, was located in Connecticut, created a micro-triangular trade that was part of the larger transatlantic one.[121] From Liverpool to the West Indies, to New England, and back again, these smaller triangular trade routes connected merchant families. In addition to Backus, Perkins also had a second partnership with his brother, Jabez, which dissolved in 1768.[122] Kinship ties, like the ones in Perkins' situation, were important for the New England banks fishery, as having someone closer to the source was both economically efficient and a method of dispersing risk. New England merchants then sold the imported fish, along with their own catches, to Europe. As the American Revolutionary War loomed, it is not hard to see how the New England fishery amassed enough wealth and power to seriously contend with Britain.

Another important factor for Liverpool's particular exports relates to how vulnerable the community was. Hornsby is correct in suggesting that supplies and provisions are sent to Nova Scotia from Great Britain, but in the local context, there appears to be similar quantities imported from New England.[123] The distance between Halifax and Liverpool played a crucial role in this. Since New England vessels frequented and even sometimes had shared owners with Liverpool merchants, it was extremely common for them to be in port. Access to provisions from these vessels partially compensated for the lack of infrastructure in Liverpool that was a characteristic

[121] Ebenezer Backus, Perkins' father-in-law, died in Norwich from tuberculosis, in November 1768. For more information, please see: Richard B. Marrin, *Abstracts from the New London Gazette Covering Southeastern Connecticut, 1763-1769* (Westminster, Heritage Books Inc., 2007), 177.
[122] Richard B. Marrin, *Abstracts from the New London Gazette Covering Southeastern Connecticut, 1763-1769*, 153.
[123] Based on general observations of all five volumes of the diaries of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1812. A coded search was conducted from 1766 to 1772 and results indicate that fish and lumber exports went to New England and then onward to the West Indies. Imported provisions came from New England and Halifax equally. However, diary entries were intermittent during this time and may not represent true quantities.

of larger cities like Halifax. In turn, processed or finished goods not available in the community came from both directions. The inward focus to New England dominated by kinship and business ties, ultimately extended to the forced movement of enslaved people.

Conclusion

By 1773, Liverpool had survived over a decade as a settlement. Key to its success, was the web of multi-cultural relationships that shaped both local, regional, and international trade. Beginning with the cultural landscape, the Mi'kmaw people called Oqomkikiaq home for over 13,000 years. It is in this place that they are deeply rooted, both culturally and physically, and to their interconnectedness to all things. This did not change with the arrival of the French and subsequent Acadian settlements throughout the seventeenth century. Cross-cultural relationships grew through trade and expanded as settlers arrived from other shores.

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth-century, British dominance grew within Acadia and created conflict. Born out of a desire for peace, the Peace and Friendship treaties of the eighteenth-century, shaped relations between nations and informed how people lived with one another in a shared geographic space. When the Planters arrived and settled in Liverpool, they were immediately greeted by some Mi'kmaw people who expressed their desire to live in peace as brothers. The Mi'kmaw concept, Msit No'kmaq, which means "all my relations," not only affirmed peace, but also set the path for cordial trading relationships with the newcomers. From 1759 through 1773, Indigenous trade continued both locally and further away.

The Planters quickly realized that the lack of airable farmland in Liverpool meant that they had to look elsewhere for provisions to sustain themselves and the community. In addition to Indigenous trade, settlers in Liverpool became heavily involved in the fisheries and the transatlantic trade to make ends meet. As part of this global network of trading, contact with the

West Indies was sustained linking both Liverpool and Nova Scotia to enslavement. At the same time, Black people lived and worked locally in Liverpool. The absence of larger numbers of enslaved and indentured Black people in the 1760s, suggests that Planter slaveholding did not increase until the community was more established in the 1770s. Therefore, Planter slaveholding was slower to take hold but was established in a gradual way. As the American Revolutionary War loomed and townspeople began to establish permanent roots, Liverpool would quickly transition to a larger slaveholding place. In this way, Liverpool became less free for people of African descent as the shared geographic space was re-formed once again.

Chapter Three: Transitions: Enslaved, Indentured, and Free Black People in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, 1773-1791

In late 1773 through 1775, settler discontent was creating tension between Britain and its southern North American colonies. Ultimately this led to the American Revolutionary War where people loyal to the King began making their way northward to British Nova Scotia. With this influx of Loyalists, enslaved and indentured Black people were brought with them. Largely an effect of the American Revolutionary War, but also sustained by Nova Scotian settlers, Liverpool quickly transitioned from a relatively minor slaveholding place to one that was less free.

By the mid-1770s, Perkins was establishing permanent roots in Nova Scotia. As a merchant involved in the transatlantic trade, he owned a sawmill at "the Falls," now Milton, where he processed lumber to sell to foreign markets. Through the early 1770s, he was operating the mill through local waged labour and occasionally worked in the woods himself.[124] Perkins built a house near his mill and either stayed in it and/or provided accommodations to his employees. It was here that Perkins instructed his employees to mill timber into boards, staves, and process ship's masts.[125] Perkins also engaged in building vessels, though this business appears to be more of a success in the 1780s and 1790s. For Perkins, the lumber mill at the Falls was crucial to his success as a transatlantic merchant. Paired with green fish for the West Indies, Perkins' had multiple interests and cargo types to oversee. This ultimately led to engaging enslaved, indentured, and waged labour to meet his export demands.

This chapter focuses on the narratives of Black people who were enslaved, indentured, and sometimes free, in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, from 1773 to 1791. Emphasis is placed on their

[124] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, December 25th, 1773. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, December 3rd, 1774.
[125] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, June 14th, 1777.

biographies to draw out their lived experiences to understand the daily realities where enslaved, indentured, and free people lived, worked, and socialized with one another. It highlights identity and community formation through a shared coastal environment. In doing so, this chapter examines the intersectionality of race, age, gender, and labour and how it informed enslavement and indentured service of Black people in Liverpool. It should be noted that Perkins' diaries are the main documentary source of these narratives. Although his documentation of their daily lives is critical to understanding enslavement in Liverpool, it is inherently biased. As a slaveholder, his words alone do not represent their experiences and lives holistically. However, by piecing together entries spanning twenty years it is possible to become closer to understanding the character of enslavement and those that experienced it in this particular place.

3.1: Terminologies

In this chapter, terms such as "enslaved," "indentured," "free," and "servant" are used to describe the people under consideration. Intricately linked to consent, they are useful terms to help analyze obligations, limitations, and movement. However, the definitions of each of them are fluid and changed over time. Eighteenth-century definitions of "servant" and "slave" in Nova Scotia were used interchangeably by slaveholders, especially as enslavement grew less socially acceptable.[126] Therefore, it is not correct to assume that eighteenth-century sources were using the terms the same way as in the present. Paying attention to contractual obligations and language used in Perkins' diaries, makes it possible to determine many of the ways in which he defined and used each group.

[126] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia, 1750-1810," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 13 (2010), 23-26.

For the purposes of this thesis, an enslaved person will be defined as someone who is the property of another person and has limited or no personal rights.[127] They were either purchased, born into, or captured by someone who felt they had complete power and authority over another person. In the Atlantic world, an enslaved person usually had to endure at least one forced ocean-going migration, unless they were born into enslavement within the Americas. In Perkins' diaries, all the enslaved that are mentioned are people of African descent. There is no indication that Perkins enslaved Indigenous people. It is crucial to note that enslaved people had lives before they became enslaved. Therefore, their status does not define who they are as people. They came from families, retained their cultures, and their resiliency remains in their descendants today.

Indentured service is a contract between two or more individuals that binds a person to the service of another.[128] These contracts, which are mutual agreements but informed by power imbalances, indicate the length of time a person is bound, the payment type, and obligations. For example, the Black Loyalist narrative of Anthony and Hagar Loyal, who will be discussed later in this chapter, indicate their indenture agreement was for a period of two years in exchange for £10 per year plus victuals. Accommodations and apprenticeships were often included in these agreements, though in the Loyal's case, this is unclear. Tasks assigned to indentured and enslaved people were often the same. However, indentured people typically had more rights, and it was more balanced racially than enslavement.[129] In other words, destitute people, no matter their racial or cultural background, entered indentured service. In Nova Scotia, indentured

[127] "Slave," Oxford English Dictionary, last modified December 2020, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/view/Entry/181477.
[128] "Indenture," Oxford English Dictionary, last modified March 2022, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/view/Entry/94314?rskey=gn3vTp&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid.
[129] Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, "Introduction," in *Master, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955*, ed. Douglas Hay and Paul Craven (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 23.

service was also a form of social welfare used to bind destitute children to households who could feed and clothe them in exchange for completing household tasks and apprenticeships.[130]

"Free" people, for the purposes of this thesis, can be defined as those who have more freedom to choose. In other words, they have the ability to give or withhold consent, and they are not bound to another person. Varying degrees of freedom are as applicable to the eighteenth-century as they are today. The freedom to choose where one goes, who one loves, and the ability to act on one's own choices can vary based on political, social, economic, religious, and geographic boundaries.

"Servants" are people who work for a household in exchange for wages. Sometimes they lived within the household but could also live outside of it. What differentiates them from indentures is that they can leave, usually with short notice to their employer. They may have some contractual obligations as part of their employment, but they have more freedom than indentures.[131] However, "servants" in eighteenth-century documentation were sometimes actually enslaved.[132] Understanding the context in which the person engages with the household and paying attention to possessive language within documentation provides clues to the actual status of the people in question.

3.2: The Legality of Slavery in Nova Scotia

The abolition of slavery in Nova Scotia was a slow judicial process that started in the later eighteenth-century. The legal entitlement to owning enslaved people was never clearly defined even though slavery had existed in the region for over one hundred years. This slowly worked into the favour of leading political figures such as Attorney-General Sampson Salter

[130] Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, January 16th, 1797.
[131] "Servants," Oxford English Dictionary, last modified June 2022, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/view/Entry/176648?rskey=FngNm7&result=1#eid.
[132] Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, "Introduction," 15.

Blowers and Richard John Uniacke, who sought to undermine the practice of slavery without declaring it illegal.[133] In the 1780s, Loyalists who brought enslaved people with them, repeatedly challenged Nova Scotia's Supreme Court to have slavery recognized so that they could perpetuate their practice of it.[134] These bills were repeatedly deferred by men such as Uniacke and Blowers. As D.G. Bell, Barry Cahill, and Harvey Amani Whitfield argue in their chapter "Slavery and Slave Law in the Maritimes," people like Blowers had to proceed with caution so that they did not have to decide what the law regarding slavery should be for fear of it being overruled by the legislature who had many slaveholders amongst them.[135] At the same time, Black people were beginning to be heard in the lower courts across Nova Scotia and winning their freedom on the grounds of habeas corpus.[136] They challenged the definition of personal property which was not being purposefully clarified within the higher courts by those who were against slavery.[137] Over time, slaveholders had to prove they owned the people they enslaved by presenting documents like Bills of Sale, which could be difficult to locate.

The gradual erosion of slavery left those that were experiencing enslavement in precarious situations. The lack of clarity by the courts meant that slaveholders could assert the legality of slavery since it had never been declared illegal. Although there were cases of enslaved people successfully winning their manumissions, there were also those who lost court trials and were re-enslaved.[138] Whether they eventually gained their freedom or did not, it was not until

[133] D.G. Bell, J. Barry Cahill, and Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery and Slave Law in the Maritimes," in *The African Canadian Legal Odyssey: Historical Essays*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 381-391.
[134] D.G. Bell, J. Barry Cahill, and Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery and Slave Law in the Maritimes," 382-383.
[135] D.G. Bell, J. Barry Cahill, and Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery and Slave Law in the Maritimes," 381-384.
[136] D.G. Bell, J. Barry Cahill, and Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery and Slave Law in the Maritimes," 385-387.
[137] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The Struggle over Slavery in the Maritime Colonies," *Acadiensis* XLI, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 31.
[138] Barry Cahill, "Slavery and the Judges of Loyalist Nova Scotia," *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, 43 (1994), 80-81.

1807 that the Slave Trade Act officially prohibited the selling of enslaved people within the British Empire. However, it did not emancipate those who were already enslaved, which took another twenty-seven years until the Slavery Abolition Act came into effect in 1834. The experiences of people highlighted in this chapter will show what enslavement was like outside of the courts from 1777 to 1793.

3.3: Jacob

Jacob's Nova Scotian story began in March 1777. Perkins noted, "Capt. Dean secures me by Bill sale of a negro boy, and cattle, and some notes of hand."[139] Ephraim Dean, a sea captain living in Liverpool, frequently sailed Perkins' vessels to the West Indies and was responsible for initiating transactions, and trading or selling cargoes. A Bill of Sale, a documentary note transferring ownership of goods, was secured by Dean. Acting as a promissory note or receipt, Bills of Sale were used as a medium of exchange for goods. In this case, it was for both human and commodity cargoes, which were lumped together for the mutual benefits of the merchants involved. It is unclear if Jacob arrived in March when the bill was secured or on July 12th, 1777.[140] Perkins wrote:

> [July 12th, 1777] - Rains a little. Mr. Tinkham's schooner, Capt. Cuhoon, arrives from Halifax. I agree to charter 1-8th of her for Bermuda. Mr. Tinkham, Mr. Collins, and Mr. William Mercer, of Bermuda, load the other parts. I settle with Capt. John Williams of Bermuda. He falls in debt £33.8.5 for which I take his Bill upon Mssrs. Musson, Trot, and Co. merchants in said place. I settled with Mr. Mercer, and him for a negro boy, and sundry other goods to amount of £51.8.5 pounds. The boys name is Jacob, which I have altered to Frank. He is about 10 or 11 years old. Price £35 pounds.[141]

[139] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, March 7th, 1777.
[140] There is no reference to Jacob in Perkins' diary between March 7th and July 11th, 1777, even though the diaries were kept regularly during this time. Furthermore, there are no references to other enslaved children at Perkins' household at this time, so it is highly likely both references are referring to Jacob.
[141] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, July 12th, 1777.

From this entry it is possible to identify a few things about Jacob, like his name, possible country of origin or former place of bondage, and his experience prior to his enslavement by Perkins. Perkins noted that when the boy arrived, his name was Jacob, but that he changed it to Frank.[142] It is possible that the boy's birthname was Jacob, but it could have also been another English name given to him when he became enslaved prior to being sold in Nova Scotia. Both Captain John Williams and William Mercer were, according to Perkins, from Bermuda.[143] Given that Perkins settled with both of them for Jacob, it is possible that the boy was from Bermuda or had at least stopped there as part of the wider transatlantic or intercolonial slave trade. This suggests that Jacob was taken from his parents, trafficked between colonies, and had to endure at least one, and maybe more, forced ocean-going voyages. For a young boy merely ten or eleven years old, this would have been an uncomfortable and scary migration. Regardless of what ports Jacob passed through, his story did not begin with Mercer, Williams, or Perkins, but somewhere else within his own family. As for Mercer and Williams, Perkins continued to trade with them for a few years. The last diary entry for Mercer suggests that his ship sank at sea or was purposely sunk by six Black people aboard. He was presumed to be murdered for the large sum of money the ship was carrying though this information was given to Perkins second-hand. A possible act of enslaved revolt at sea or piracy, Mercer disappeared from Perkins' diaries suggesting there may be some truth to this account.[144]

When Jacob arrived at Perkins' household in 1777, he was the first enslaved child used by the family and one of many that were eventually forcibly relocated to Liverpool. Perkins does

[142] Perkins, whose father's name was Jacob, did not want to associate a Black person with his own family. By removing his name, he asserted his power and authority as a slaveholder over Jacob. I have chosen to remain calling him Jacob because it may be his birth name and acknowledges his time before he was enslaved by Perkins.
[143] Efforts to trace both Captain John Williams and William Mercer in Bermuda have yielded some results on genealogical websites, but no scholarly sources have been identified. Formal searches for them through reputable Bermudian sources currently lie outside the scope of this thesis.
[144] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, March 23rd, 1781.

not mention Jacob again for over four years when in the fall of 1781, he writes, "I send Frank, my Negro Boy, to cook at ye Falls this day."[145] Over a month later, he noted, "My boy Frank comes home from the falls and Thomas West's Son Paul goes there on tryal for one week."[146] Based on these two entries and understanding the changes in Perkins household during this four year period, it is possible to determine some of Jacob's activities. When Jacob arrived in Liverpool, he was ten or eleven years old, not yet physically capable of doing the manual labour necessary to operate a lumber mill. Like other enslaved children elsewhere, Jacob probably assisted with menial household tasks. Examples include, looking after the livestock, cooking for the family, and other domestic duties. However, the local industries of fishing and lumbering, especially Perkins' involvement in them, means that Jacob probably helped process fish or supported adults by managing domestic duties they would have otherwise had to do. Cooking food for the waged labourers at the Falls is an example of this. Furthermore, in September 1775, Perkins married Elizabeth Headley, a widow with a daughter.[147] Over the next six years, Perkins and his wife added three more children to the two they had from their previous marriages. In addition to local industry support, Jacob was likely busily engaged in assisting with tasks necessary for taking care of the children. This may have been why Perkins chose to enslave a boy rather than an adult. Potentially seen as a long-term investment, Jacob helped with the quickly expanding household and could grow into labour intensive jobs at the mill. Furthermore, by enslaving a young boy, Perkins could shape Jacob's behaviour. If he was older, then Perkins risked enslaving someone who had authority issues.[148]

[145] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, October 2nd, 1781.
[146] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, November 6th, 1781.
[147] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, September 10th, 1775.
[148] Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 22.

In the spring of 1782, Jacob would have been about fifteen or sixteen years old when Perkins first reported sending him to do manual labour at the Falls. Although entries are few for the next year and half, presumably Jacob continued to do manual labour such as hauling logs and cutting hay.[149] Sometimes he stayed at the mill for days at a time, likely sharing the same accommodations as other mill workers. Whenever he was away from the main household in Liverpool, Jacob is always documented as working alongside Perkins' waged labourers. Though this is a form of control by Perkins to prevent escape, Jacob gained the trust of his slaveholder over time and was eventually sent for overnight voyages to other places.

In September 1783, Perkins sent Jacob with two others on a voyage to Port Joli to get wood and lumber. Returning over a week later, Jacob arrived badly hurt. Perkins wrote, "The shallop Spring Bird returned Yesterday with only about 5 cords wood and some lumber, John Heater being sick and my boy Frank lame."[150] A later entry in December clarifies what happened to Jacob and provides some insight into the enslaved-slaveholder relationship within Nova Scotia. Perkins noted,

> [December 22nd, 1782] My man Frank is very ill with his lame knee, was in such pain last night that he kept groaning and hallooing for several hours. Doc. Jones and Doc Thomas came to see him and ordered him a draught, a liniment to enbrorate [embrocate] his knee and a pultice [poultice] of bread and milk, which eased the pain. He is very ill and his knee much swelled.[151]

This entry indicates that Jacob had hurt his knee in Port Joli, presumably sourcing or manually processing wood, and had not yet recovered. In December, he was in agonizing pain likely due to a growing infection. The fact two doctors were called first appears very curious for a slaveholder to pay for such level of care. Editor's notes suggest that Doctor Stephen Thomas arrived in

[149] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, August 25th, 1783.
[150] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, September 12th, 1783.
[151] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, December 22nd, 1783.

October as part of the King's Orange Rangers detachment.[152] This dual-doctor routine appears in other cases of medical treatments in the community during 1783-1784. So, it might not have been Perkins who sought the additional doctor but rather Stephen assisting Jones with local cases. Unfortunately, this expense was not noted in the diary, so it cannot be confirmed if Perkins paid extra which would suggest he cared for Jacob above the typical responses seen by slaveholders elsewhere.[153] For Perkins, it was in his best interests to ensure that Jacob recovered, so that he could utilize the free labour. There is no previous mention of seeking doctors before December, so Jacob likely remained injured for over three months before professional care was sought for him. A glaring example of how enslaved people were perceived as inferior, and not worth the expense of a doctor unless absolutely necessary, Perkins probably relied on household members to care for Jacob.

Another statement in the December entry that provides insight into the Nova Scotian enslaved-slaveholder relationship is the proximity in which the two interacted on a daily basis. Hearing Jacob calling out in pain during the night suggests that he slept close to Perkins. Unlike enslaved people in places like the West Indies or plantations in the United States, Jacob lived amongst the family and probably slept in the attic. Recent archaeological work at the Perkins House property indicates there are no exterior outbuildings located immediately nearby suggesting he lived and worked under the same roof that his slaveholder did.[154] The proximity between the enslaved and their slaveholders resembles more of a New England style slaveholding relationship. Liverpool's relatively young age as a settlement suggests that a lot of

[152] Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins: 1780-1789,* ed. D.C. Harvey (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1958). See editor's note for October 27th, 1782.
[153] For example, please see: Glenda Sullivan, "Plantation Medicine and Health Care in the Old South," *Legacy* 10, no. 1 (2010), 23-25.
[154] Laura de Boer, Travis Crowell, and Vanessa McKillop, *Perkins House Restoration: Archaeological Impact Assessment* (Halifax: Davis MacIntyre Associates Limited, 2021), xiv.

infrastructure, such as larger households with exterior designated sleeping areas for the enslaved, would not have been as common as it was in New England. It also indicates that there was a difference in enslaved sleeping quarters based on the financial status of the slaveholder. Perkins had enough money to pay for waged labour, purchase enslaved people, and still afford comfort items. However, he occasionally faced financial hardships, suggesting that he was vulnerable. In twenty-first century terms, he was somewhere in the middle class. Given the sleeping arrangements and close proximity in their daily lives, the enslaved-slaveholder relationship would have been more personal in Nova Scotia than in other places.

Jacob did not get better throughout the winter and spring of 1784. Still in pain, Perkins sought two more avenues of help. He consulted another doctor named Smith, who opened Jacob's knee and claimed he could not cure him.[155] In addition to formal medical help, Perkins sent Jacob to live with Mrs. Mack, a local who told Perkins she could cure him.[156] In June, Perkins sent Mrs. Mack money, presumably to pay for Jacob's care. Still in pain and unable to speak, Jacob succumbed to his injuries on June 22nd, 1784.[157] He was only seventeen or eighteen years old when his life was cut short due to an injury sustained while he was enslaved. There is no further mention of Jacob, and his burial location remains unknown.

3.4: Anthony and Hagar Loyal

In December 1783, while Jacob is living in Perkins' household, a Black couple, Anthony and Hagar Loyal, arrived from Shelburne.[158] The couple were Black Loyalists from the American Revolutionary War, who were now living in Birchtown, a free Black community near Shelburne. According to the *Book of Negroes,* Anthony said he was born free in Monmouth

[155] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 14th, 1784.
[156] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 14th, 1784.
[157] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, June 22nd, 1784.
[158] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, December 20th, 1783.

County, New Jersey, and was thirty-six years old.[159] For a while he "served" with William Wyk in Monmouth County. Hagar, Anthony's wife, was thirty-five years old and was formerly enslaved by D. Farmer of Monmouth County.[160] She indicated that she left her slaveholder five years earlier.[161] At the time they enter Perkins' diaries, they were both indentured for two years to Daniel Grandine of Shelburne.[162] Grandine agreed to pay them £10 per year plus victuals and an illegible consideration, possibly board. Perkins wrote in December, "Mr. Grandine's Negro Man Anthony and Negro woman Hagar arrive with Prince Snow at evening from Shelburne to live with me, per agreement for 50 dollars from the first of December to the first of May, for which I agreed to allow him 50 dollars. I have a letter from Mr. Grandine."[163] This is an intriguing agreement for the price in which both Grandine and Perkins negotiate for labour. Although calculating the difference between dollars to pounds is difficult to ascertain for the eighteenth century, Grandine is surely making a profit by hiring out his indentures to Perkins. At the same time, because Anthony and Hagar are indentured, Perkins is not paying them for their labour but rather to Grandine. It can be argued that even though Anthony and Hagar are free in the sense that they are not enslaved, they are still being taken advantage of by people who are profiting from their labour. This agreement alone highlights the reality Black people experienced in an Atlantic world in which the enslaved and indentured were perceived more like commodities and sources of income for the benefit of others. Furthermore, since they were indentured by

[159] Book of Negroes," Nova Scotia Archives, accessed March 3rd, 2022, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/book-of-negroes/page/?ID=28&Name=Anthony%20Loyal.
[160] Book of Negroes," Nova Scotia Archives, accessed March 3rd, 2022, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/book-of-negroes/page/?ID=28&Name=Anthony%20Loyal.
[161] Hagar's slaveholder's last name is difficult to decipher. Variations of the surname was searched but no definitive conclusions could be made at this time.
[162] "Muster Book of Free Black, Settlement of Birchtown," Library and Archives Canada, last modified October 16, 2015, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/loyalists/loyalist-port-roseway/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=1053&.
[163] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, December 20th, 1783.

December 1783, within months of their arrival in Nova Scotia, it shows they faced racism over land grants at Birchtown and were desperate enough to enter indentured service for their meals.

Anthony and Hagar return to Shelburne in May 1784, leaving Perkins "destitute" of workers.[164] According to the Birchtown Muster Book, Grandine once again contracted out Anthony and Hagar for six months. They served a McLeod, who was a carpenter.[165] At the end of their contract to McLeod and their indenture to Grandine, they returned to Perkins in May 1785 looking for work.[166] Now free from their indenture, Perkins hired both Anthony and Hagar and appears to pay them. This curious transition from enslaving Jacob in 1784 to paying them in 1785 marks a turn in Perkins' slaveholding as he begins to hire Black people. The riots that take place in Shelburne throughout the summer may have influenced this change in addition to Perkins' birth state, Connecticut, enacting the Gradual Abolition Act earlier that year.[167] Perkins frequently received communication from his friends and family in Connecticut, so it is reasonable to assume he read or heard about the law.

3.5: Jo

In July 1784, the Shelburne Race Riots occur. Largely a Loyalist community settled in 1783, Shelburne's racism against Black people erupted into violent clashes first initiated by disgruntled white settlers. This event, combined with the atmosphere of enslaved and indentured Black people living amongst free people of African descent, set in motion Nova Scotia's path towards abolition. At the same time, the Shelburne Race Riots caused fear for the people that

[164] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 18th, 1784.
[165] Muster Book of Free Black, Settlement of Birchtown," Library and Archives Canada, last modified October 16, 2015, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/loyalists/loyalist-port-roseway/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=1053&.
[166] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 27th, 1785.
[167] David Menschel, "Abolition without Deliverance: The Law of Connecticut Slavery 1784-1848." *The Yale Law Journal* 111, no. 1 (2001): 186.

lived there. Black people were physically attacked by angry white settlers. On the other hand, white settlers were growing uneasy about the perceived threat of the large Black population. Perhaps, the Shelburne Race Riots gave slaveholders in Nova Scotia a pause for thought about how they treated the enslaved, indentured, and free Black people around them. As previously mentioned, many slaveholders shared the same rooves with the Black people they tried to control. As for Perkins, he learned about the Shelburne Race Riots directly through his trading partners from that community.[168]

In the fall of 1784, Jo, a Black boy indentured by Thomas Ludlow of Shelburne, arrived in Liverpool.[169] Perkins wrote, "I take Mr. Ludlow's boy Jo to live with me. He was left with Mr. Watson at Shelburne and he being gone to Halifax, Jo did not like to Stay there."[170] Thomas Ludlow, a merchant from New York who traded with Perkins regularly, left to go back to the United States earlier that year.[171] Likely due to the violence encountered from the Shelburne Race Riots and the ongoing racism, Jo did not feel comfortable staying in the community without Ludlow or Watson. This suggests three very important things. First, Jo's preferences are being heard by Watson and efforts were made to support his decision. Secondly, Perkins agreed to take the boy for an undetermined amount of time. Though this case could just be an opportunity to exploit free labour while doing a favour for his friends, Perkins accepted him and appears to treat him well. The third aspect confirms that even though the Shelburne Race Riots occurred earlier in the summer, there was very real fears of ongoing violence for the Black people who lived there. Although it is never stated what tasks Jo did for Ludlow or Perkins, he preferred that over

[168] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, July 29th, 1784. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, August 2nd, 1784.
[169] Ludlow did not take Jo with him to the United States which suggests that he was likely indentured, rather than enslaved. Taking Jo out of Nova Scotia likely would have made the indenture agreement void. However, an indenture agreement has not been located or confirmed at the time this thesis was written.
[170] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, September 17th, 1784.
[171] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, April 2nd, 1784.

staying alone in the community. It is probable that since Jo was likely an indenture, rather than an enslaved person, his opinions and concerns carried more weight than someone who was less free. As a result, the white settlers who felt they could control people, also made this distinction between indentures and the enslaved in the ways in which they treated them. There are always exceptions, as the difference between indentured service and enslavement could be quite ambiguous. However, in this case, Jo had more of a choice in how he lived while Watson and Ludlow were away. Jo returned to Shelburne to join Watson at the end of October. A week later, Perkins received a letter from Watson thanking him for "taking care" of the boy and sending him back.[172] There is no further mention of Jo, although Perkins traded with Ludlow into the 1800s.[173]

3.6: Anthony and Hagar Loyal Return – 1785-1792

In May 1785, Anthony and Hagar Loyal return to Liverpool.[174] Over the next six years, the couple are employed by Perkins fairly consistently though their tasks vary based on gender and the labour requirements of Perkins various businesses. Continuing to examine and analyse their narrative provides insight into a crucial time in which they transitioned from indentured to paid labour. Though this was not uncommon, it is important to note that Hagar experienced both forced and free labour within a relatively short period.[175] Representative of a time in which the enslaved, indentured, and free labourers worked and lived with one another, it also highlights the transitionary period that eventually leads to abolition of the slave trade.

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[172] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, November 5th, 1784.
[173] Efforts to trace Jo with a link to either Watson or Ludlow remain inconclusive. There are a number of Joes, Johns, and Josephs in *The Book of Negroes*. However, lack of details in Perkins' diaries make it hard to determine if Jo was one of them or if he was born in Nova Scotia.
[174] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 27th, 1785.
[175] Book of Negroes," Nova Scotia Archives, accessed March 3rd, 2022, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/book-of-negroes/page/?ID=28&Name=Anthony%20Loyal.

Although the diary lacks confirmation that Anthony and Hagar return to Perkins' house in May, Anthony is employed by Perkins two months later.[176] Throughout 1785 and into 1786, Anthony engaged in working at the mill and cutting hay. On one of these occasions Perkins sent Anthony and other mill workers upriver from the Falls to cut wood. Over the following five days, the small lumbering party managed to cut over 200 logs and process them.[177] Notably absent from the entries is Hagar. She is not mentioned until 1788, when she showed Perkins how to make white leather by laying hide on common soap.[178] These two examples show the differences between gendered labour and domestic versus external work spheres. In the case of Anthony, he mainly worked outside the household doing manual labour just as he did when he was indentured. It was also the same type of tasks that Jacob did for Perkins while he was enslaved in the early 1780s. As for Hagar, the lack of entries for her suggest she was most likely engaged within the household doing domestic tasks; something Perkins probably let his wife Elizabeth oversee. The fact that Perkins mentioned Hagar in relation to processing and dyeing the leather indicates she caught his attention with her unique skillset. Perkins briefly owned a leather mill which he built in 1773, so the process of dyeing the hide would have been of interest to him.[179] Although Hagar did a lot of household tasks, it does not mean she was necessarily tied to it outside of her employment contract. Barbara Cuffy certainly had worked outside of her home as a midwife. This indicates that free Black women in Liverpool could secure employment wherever their skillsets were needed if racial barriers did not exclude them.

In 1786, noticeable increases in Black labourers, preachers, and sailors began to appear in Liverpool and have a sustained presence throughout the rest of the diaries. Anthony is briefly

[176] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, July 18th, 1785.
[177] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, July 23rd, 1785.
[178] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, February 13th, 1788.
[179] Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, January 1st, 1773. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 1, September 23rd, 1773.

joined by another Black man, Moses Mount, at the Falls though it is unclear how long he stays in Perkins' employ.[180] One of the reasons that many employees appear in the diaries but are rarely mentioned is because Perkins hires overseers for his mills and contracts captains for his vessels. Like supervisors today, they managed operations and sometimes did the hiring. However, the mill workers, including the overseers in particular, are always closely monitored by Perkins who frequently visited the Falls and occasionally did manual labour alongside them. In this way, both the overseers and Perkins controlled the people they employed. The lack of financial accounts presumably noted in missing daybooks and inconsistent interactions with some employees may explain why there are some long absences.

Shortly after the Black Loyalists arrived in Shelburne in 1783, Black preachers began to appear in Liverpool.[181] The deeply religious, but largely Methodist or New Light townspeople, were used to having transient preachers in the community. Although there were some periods of stability most preachers only stayed a relatively short time. In addition to the transient nature of the town's religious ministers, Henry Alline, the controversial roving New Light preacher, first visited the community in December 1781.[182] Alline's charismatic preaching quickly led to religious division within the community. Over time, both the Methodist and New Light factions became more stable though the town still had issues permanently retaining preachers. It is plausible that the lack of consistent preachers led to increased religious toleration as devout townspeople sometimes attended services that were not of their chosen religion. As a result, when Black preachers began arriving, townspeople, including Perkins, attended their services.[183] For a community still involved in slaveholding, in which slaveholders attended meetings held by

[180] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, March 1st, 1786
[181] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 23rd, 1784.
[182] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, December 5th, 1781.
[183] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, June 18th, 1786. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, April 3rd, 1787.

Black preachers, this is a curious aspect. The fact that Black men did the preaching and were occasionally held in esteem, suggests that specific professions were held in higher regard. Black preachers were also free, which influenced toleration to a certain degree. The religious shift experienced in the community during the 1780s led to a cultural shift in which there was more racial toleration for free Black people as they filled positions required for a busy coastal community reliant on shipping.

In addition to working at the Falls, Anthony began going to sea in September of 1786. On his first voyage, he was accompanied by Peter West, another mill worker who also captained the vessel.[184] Moving between operating a lumber mill and seafaring shows that both Anthony and Peter West worked wherever they were most needed. Unlike careers today, jobs changed frequently and did not always require long-term commitments. However, the skills needed to work at the lumber mill and to sail a vessel were quite unique. For instance, taking care not to get hurt by the saw, learning to be a deckhand and accept authority, or understanding mathematical and astronomical concepts to navigate a vessel, all required precision and a willingness to learn a new trade. At the time Anthony first went to sea, he joined a growing community of Black sailors, both locally and abroad, who opted or were forced to be seafarers.[185]

3.7: Black Seafarers in Liverpool

Life at sea was perilous to anyone who spent time working on the ocean, especially during the age of sail. Shipwrecks, disease, privateering attacks, wars, and wooden-hulled vessels prone to rot were just some of the dangers that afflicted seafarers. Free Black sailors also had to contend with the possibility of being sold into slavery if their vessel was seized or

[184] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, September 10th, 1786.
[185] Ray Costello, *Black Salt: Seafarers of African Descent on British Ships* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), 32.

attacked.[186] Yet, life at sea afforded many Black seafarers opportunities that they did not have on land.[187] One of these opportunities was the ability to earn equal pay alongside white crew members. Perkins' diaries indicate that he paid Black crew members slightly less, equal to, and sometimes more than white seafarers. The differentiation or range in pay appears to be experience-based as well as being secured through mutual agreements. On December 4th, 1787, Perkins paid all of his deckhands 40/ per month on a trading voyage to Baltimore, with the exception of a Black boy named Bobb, whom he paid 30/.[188] Bobb likely received less pay because he was younger and did not have as much experience as other crew members. Although race could have been a factor in this particular case, typically seafaring boys of all races made less than their more experienced senior crew members.

By 1791, Anthony received 35/ for working on a vessel destined for Margarets Bay.[189] Although his seafaring experience was intermittent, this was around the average of other crew members. A few weeks later, Perkins paid another Black man, Philip, /40. In Philip's case, he was an experienced seafarer and negotiated for his higher wage. Perkins writes: "I agree with George Blowers to stay with me one month, @25/, to go to Halifax in the Ship if I need him, and agree with Black Philip for one month, at 40/. He is also to go in the ship to Halifax, if I want him to begin tomorrow."[190] This entry not only indicates that experienced Black seafarers could negotiate their wages, but that seafaring sometimes paid more than other types of labour. George Blowers, originally from Halifax, was a servant boy who came to live with Perkins earlier that

[186] Ray Costello, *Black Salt: Seafarers of African Decent on British Ships*, 19.
[187] Kevin Dawson, "Enslaved Ship Pilots in the Age of Revolutions: Challenging Notions of Race and Slavery between the Boundaries of Land and Sea," *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 71.
[188] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, December 4th, 1787.
[189] Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins: 1790*-1796, ed. Charles Bruce Fergusson (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1961), July 13th, 1791.
[190] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, September 16th, 1791.

year.[191] Interestingly, both Anthony and George lived and worked at Perkins' house as servants and transitioned to seafarers. This not only reflects Perkins' business needs, but also that it was common to take sea-based or land-based job opportunities as they arose. This combination of experiences shows that sailors did a range of jobs prior to and after the time they spent at sea.[192]

Anthony continued to work for Perkins, doing various jobs including stints at sea through the 1780s-1790s. The relationship between Anthony and Perkins must have been a complex one, because in February 1788, Anthony stole rum from Perkins' store. Upon being caught, Anthony confessed to stealing the rum, claiming he was unwell and that it would not happen again.[193] Perkins considered Anthony's confession and noted that he would get back to him with a decision. The incident is not mentioned again and leaves more questions than answers. As a judge, Perkins certainly was familiar with and had experience in charging townspeople with theft. Why he does not appear to do this for Anthony is intriguing. Not only does Perkins not appear to charge Anthony, but he continues to employ him. Even when Anthony leaves Perkins' employ later that year to build his own house, he returns again in 1789, and is accepted by the family.[194] Hagar is also mentioned as being in the household, though it is unclear if she left the previous year along with her husband.

3.8: Charles Bailey

In coastal communities, life on shore and afloat was characterized by fluid labour systems. Supporting the transatlantic mercantile system were marine-trade labourers: carpenters, coopers, sailmakers, caulkers, riggers, and stevedores, to name a few. Charles Bailey, a Black

[191] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, January 13th, 1791.
[192] For an in-depth analysis of the fluidity of seafaring, please see: Daniel Vickers, "An Honest Tar: Ashley Bowen of Marblehead," *The New England Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (December 1996): 531-553. See also, Daniel Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
[193] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, February 28th, 1788.
[194] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, January 26th, 1789.

man employed by Perkins, is a good example of the fluid labour system but his narrative also represents the dangers of working in these trades.

Charles Bailey arrived in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in 1783. According to the *Book of Negroes*, Bailey was formerly enslaved in Southampton, Virginia, by Barney Bailey.[195] Like many of the Black Loyalists, he ran away from his slaveholder and was promised freedom by the British. Charles Bailey first appeared in Perkins' diary in May 1788.[196] He was hired as a carpenter for 40/ per month, though like many of Perkins land-based employees, he agreed to be paid one dollar in cash and the rest in goods. Although the goods are not identified, they were likely either food or commodities which he could either use himself or sell where they would be most profitable.

Shortly after Bailey began to work on Perkins' brig as a "part carpenter", he injured his ankle badly. Perkins wrote: "Charles Bayley, a Blackman, one of our Workmen on the Brig, cut his ancle very badly. We bound it up in the Spirits of Turpentine, which stopped the blood."[197] Using sharp carpentry tools was particularly dangerous in the eighteenth-century especially when medicinal practices were rudimentary. Spirits of Turpentine, a distilled resin, was used to stop blood flow from the wound. It was a common product used amongst seafarers though toxic when swallowed. In July, another ship carpenter, Thomas Hunt, arrived from Shelburne to join Bailey. Interestingly, this may indicate why Bailey said he was a "part carpenter." In other words, certain tasks were shared to complete a job that one person normally could do on their own. Whether this was an apprentice-like situation or Bailey and Hunt could work faster by doing parts they were more familiar with or capable of, speaks to the transient but fluid nature of these jobs. Hunt

[195] Book of Negroes," Nova Scotia Archives, accessed April 1st, 2022, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/book-of-negroes/page/?ID=53&Name=Charles%20Bailey.
[196] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 29th, 1788.
[197] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, June 6th, 1788.

was paid 7/ per day, suggesting he was only likely needed for a relatively short time.[198] Perkins stated that Bailey "tends him," indicating it is Bailey that had either a contractual obligation to Hunt or needed him to complete certain parts of the task. It is also possible that Bailey is indentured to Hunt, though sources indicating this have not been located at this time. The value of splitting tasks and getting them done faster may have also had monetary implications. The more experience one got, the more they could negotiate for higher wages.

Whatever Bailey's reasons for splitting the job with Hunt were, he does gain more experience throughout the summer as indicated by Perkins rehiring him. Perkins' new agreement stipulated that Bailey would receive 45/ per month, 2 dollars in cash and the remainder in fish and other goods.[199] Unfortunately for Bailey, this agreement did not last long. Approximately ten days later Perkins discharged Bailey due to his hurt ankle.[200] An unfortunate repercussion of getting hurt without social welfare options, Bailey disappeared from Perkins' diaries and another ship carpenter replaced him. Bailey's narrative highlights that splitting work, regardless of the reasons for it, was relatively common in cash/credit economies and available to Black workers. Bailey was not the only Black man that split tasks in this way. A white caulker from Shelburne was hired with the condition that Perkins found him someone to do the reaming.[201] A Black man, Willis, joined the shipbuilding crew alongside Morris in the winter of 1792 specifically for that task.

3.9: Mary Fowler

Domestic female labourers are mentioned occasionally throughout the course of Perkins' diaries. Like Hagar, details about them are rarely discussed except when they enter the household

[198] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, July 25th, 1788.
[199] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, July 26th, 1788.
[200] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, August 7th, 1788.
[201] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, June 22nd, 1793.

for the first time or new employment contracts begin or end. Perkins had a tendency to write when a person first enters his household, but rarely when they leave. Fortunately, Mary Fowler, a Black woman, who was indentured to Benjamin Arnold is an example where Perkins noted when she began and when she left. Like Hagar and Anthony Loyal, Perkins purchased Mary's time from her original indenturer. Two short entries speak to Mary's time at Perkins household but also highlights her experience. Perkins wrote:

> [May 4th, 1789] Mr. Benjamin Arnold arrives with his wife, and has brought a Negro Girl by the name of Mary, which is indented to him for nine years from May 9th, 1785. I have purchased the Girls time from Mr. Arnold, for £10, - 5 years and 5 days. He says she is about 15 years old.[202]
>
> [May 5th, 1790] I send my Black Girl, Mary Fowler, back to Benj. Arnold from whom I had her by Assignment of an Indenture the 4th of May 1789. She does not Suite in our Family, being Saucy, & used to bad Language and going out at Nights.[203]

Mary Fowler arrived in Nova Scotia when she was nine years old as part of the Black Loyalist migration to the Shelburne area in 1783.[204] It appears that Mary arrived with her father, Joseph, who were both previously enslaved by a Mr. Fowler in Savannah, Georgia. There was also a boy named Dublin Fowler who arrived on the same ship but was formerly enslaved by a Mr. Brisbane in Georgia. It is possible the three are related though there is little evidence linking them other than the last name they may have been forcibly given from their former slaveholder. In the case of Dublin, it is also possible he was previously enslaved by Mr. Fowler, though this has not been confirmed at this time. According to the *Book of Negroes*, all three "worked for" or were indentured to Richard Wheaton upon their arrival.[205]

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[202] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 4th, 1789.
[203] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, May 5th, 1790.
[204] Book of Negroes," Nova Scotia Archives, accessed April 3rd, 2022, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/book-of-negroes/page/?ID=23&Name=Mary%20Fowler.
[205] Efforts to trace Richard Wheaton have been inconclusive. Wheaton is spelled differently amongst a variety of sources. Whitten, Wetton, and Wheaton are the most common. There was a Richard Wheaton in Shelburne who arrived as mariner and then later became a barber.

Mary Fowler's lengthy indenture suggests she may have entered the agreement as a destitute child. According to Perkins, orphaned or poor children were commonly indented to a household until they reached the age of twenty-one.[206] When she came to Liverpool, Perkins purchased the remainder of her time from Arnold at which point her indenture would end when she became of age. Census records suggest that Benjamin Arnold was a farmer who lived on Ragged Islands, near Shelburne.[207] Mary, Dublin, and Joseph Fowler are not listed as part of the household. However, there is no column for servants, indentures, or the enslaved, so it is possible the census did not account for them, or they were living elsewhere. Either way, Mary likely worked as a domestic servant for Arnold as she appears to continue that when she arrived at Perkins' house. The lack of entries for her suggest she likely worked within the house as Perkins would have mentioned her more if she worked at the mill or assisted with vessel construction. Furthermore, there is a noticeable pattern of Perkins hiring Black women specifically to work in his house.[208] The reasons why he did this is never discussed in the diaries though he also had white domestic servants in his employ as well.

A year after Mary Fowler arrived at Perkins' house, he sent her back to Benjamin Arnold claiming she did not suit the household. What is revealing about this entry is that Mary had connections outside of the house itself since she frequently went out at night. Although there is no indication who she met, Perkins noted in 1787 that there were 48 Black people living within Liverpool, and 50 more living in the county.[209] This translates to approximately 4% of the entire population of Liverpool as being Black whereas it was just under 3% rurally. Though this

[206] Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, January 16th, 1797.
[207] Commissioner of Public Records, "Name of Heads of Familys whether men or women" (Nova Scotia Archives, RG 1, Volume 443, Number 45, page 10), https://archives.novascotia.ca/census/RG1v443/returns/?ID=2664.
[208] For example, see Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, August 11th, 1790.
[209] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 7th, 1787.

indicates the Black population was relatively small in Liverpool, it had expanded since the census taken during Barbara Cuffy's time. As a few of the narratives in this chapter have shown, the arrival of the Black Loyalists in Shelburne influenced the population in Liverpool. Reasons for this range from their close geographic proximity, trading connections, and friend or kinship ties. As the Black population increased in the region, it led to community formation and the emergence of a Black identity based on shared experiences in this coastal place.

Returning to Mary's narrative, the use of "saucy language," a form of resistance commonly seen in cases of enslavement, suggests that she was acting out against her indenture. Like Hagar, Mary transitioned from an enslaved child to a free Black person, and then was indentured all within a 5-year period. Unfortunately, the lack of entries for her does not shed light on her daily situation other than she was sleeping and sharing the same roof as Perkins. However, acting out suggests that she was unhappy with her situation, likely because she was separated from her family and others that she knew. This form of resistance gave her some control in a bleak situation. A year later, she supposedly returned to Benjamin Arnold, adding another forced move within a single decade. Efforts to find Mary, Joseph and Dublin Fowler after she left Perkins' household have remained inconclusive.

3.10: David and William

The final personal narratives discussed in this chapter are about David and William, two Black men that appear in Liverpool in June 1791. Their story represents the many people of African descent still enslaved during the 1790s, even as slaveholding was becoming less common in Nova Scotia. On June 24th, 1791, David and William arrived in Liverpool and requested a passage to Margarets Bay.[210] They claimed they had been cast away at Frenchman's

[210] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, June 24th, 1791.

Bay and had an uncle in Margarets Bay. Perkins agreed to let them go on one of his vessels if they worked to load his schooner. They did as they were asked and were waiting for the vessel's departure. The following day, Richard Garret arrived from Annapolis Royal looking for the two Black men. According to Garret, David was enslaved by Major Thomas Henry Barclay of Annapolis and William was enslaved by Mr. Simmons of Granville. Perkins wrote: "Mr. Garret was in want of some provisions. I supplied him with some bread, pork, and rum, to the amount of 7/10 ½. Sent a bill, and desired Major Barclay to pay it to Mr. Richard Kidston, in Halifax. Mr. Garret set off directly with the Black men."[211] After sorting out who would pay for the provisions, the two men were sent back to enslavement.

David was enslaved to Major Thomas Henry Barclay, a prominent Loyalist, member of the House of Assembly for Annapolis Royal, and lawyer. Barclay was married to Susan DeLancey, sister to James DeLancey, the infamous political figure who fought to have slavery legalized in Nova Scotia.[212] After fleeing their home during the American Revolutionary War, the Barclays came to Nova Scotia and brought seven "servants" along with them.[213] It is possible, though not confirmed, that David was one of these people. Susan Barclay, nee DeLancey, was known to be a particularly violent slaveholder and was responsible for the death of one of the people she enslaved.[214] The violence within the household undoubtedly led to David fleeing to seek freedom. As for William, no definitive information has been located about him or his slaveholder, Mr. Simmons.

[211] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, June 25th, 1791.
[212] Barrington Walker, *The African Canadian Legal Odyssey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 416.
[213] "Muster Roll of Disbanded Officers and Soldiers Settling in the County of Annapolis who Received Provisions previous to the Muster, by Order of Major General Campbell," 1784, MG 23 D1, Series 1, 1203, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
[214] T. Watson Smith, *The Slave in Canada* (Nova Scotia Historical Society, Halifax, 1899), 77.

Although the identities of David and William lack details, it is possible to determine some of their experiences. First, the Barclays and Mr. Simmons lived in or near to Annapolis Royal. This means that David and William escaped and travelled to Liverpool via ship or on foot through the woods. The fact that both agreed to work for their passage to Margarets Bay suggests they had familiarity or experience with seafaring tasks. They also sought Perkins out in order to ask for passage which indicates they arrived in Liverpool and were looking for someone trustworthy to carry them. It appears Perkins believed their story about being shipwrecked until it was proven false the following day. This one example shows the daily reality of the enslaved, indentured, and free and how they interacted with one another. Enslavement was common and it does not appear that labour status was necessarily questioned unless there was a reason to. In the case of David and William, they were very close to obtaining freedom. It is almost certain that the Barclays, who were fairly wealthy and powerful politically, were the driving force behind sending the slavecatcher. Perkins and Barclay were both members of the House of Assembly and were known to one another. The legality of slaveholding was not clearly defined in 1791, so sending David and William back to their respective slaveholders is representative of how lives were impacted because of it. Even though Perkins stopped slaveholding by this time, he knew Barclay and may have viewed this as an opportunity to help his colleague. At the same time, if he did not send the enslaved men back, he could have risked political or legal action if Barclay could prove he "owned" David through a Bill of Sale. Unfortunately, no further information has been located for David or William after they left Liverpool in 1791. What their narrative represents, is that even though enslavement was becoming increasingly less common, and many Black people were transitioning to indentured service or paid labour, there are always cases where this was not happening. It also suggests that the Annapolis Royal area may have had

larger factions of wealthy slaveholders who were upholding their practice of slavery and strongly enforcing it through the 1790s.

3.11: Age, Gender, and Labour

The narratives in this chapter have highlighted the experiences of the enslaved, indentured, and free Black people in Liverpool chronologically from 1777 to 1792. In telling their narratives, it is possible to come closer to understanding how labour changed over time and whether certain tasks were gender and age specific. Jacob's narrative shows male children primarily did domestic tasks. Not yet physically capable of doing the manual labour required in the heavily wooded environment of Liverpool, he assisted with household tasks, such as cooking. It is highly probable that Jacob would have also engaged in some form of fish processing because his slaveholder was a transatlantic merchant involved in the local industries. This could have taken the form of laying fish out to dry or salting them. If he did not do these tasks when he was younger, then he certainly would have shared or alleviated tasks for the adults who did do them. As Jacob grew older, he assumed the responsibilities of hauling logs, milling, cutting hay, and going on overnight voyages to neighbouring communities. This gradual transition of labour tasks is also intricately linked to trust. As Jacob grew older, Perkins assessed whether Jacob was trustworthy enough to do manual labour away from the household. Although he was always accompanied by waged labourers, he increasingly spent time away from the household and learned new skills in the milling industry. In doing so, he transitioned from primarily domestic tasks to external ones influenced by the geographic landscape of the coastal community in which he lived.

The transition of Jacob's labour tasks over time highlights the non-static nature of enslaved children's childhoods in Nova Scotia. Although there are noticeable differences

between enslavement in Nova Scotia and southern plantations, such as sugarcane fieldwork, living arrangements, and proximity to slaveholders, there are similarities in the stages of childhood. In *Slavery, Childhood, and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788-1838,* Collen Vasconcellos suggests that children entered plantation labour around the age of five where they did menial tasks for four or five years.[215] Around the age of ten, a select few entered the domestic service. For the majority who stayed in the fields, they worked for another five years gradually learning plantation tasks before being introduced to the full workload of adults.[216] Jacob's transition followed a similar pattern. When Perkins first enslaved Jacob, he was ten or eleven years old. He began by doing household tasks and transitioned to cooking for mill employees at the Falls. It would have been there that he watched the mill workers and observed the tasks he would grow into, just like adolescents were doing on plantations within the same age range. Around the age of fifteen or sixteen, Jacob once again transitioned to the full load of manual labour work like those of similar ages on plantations. It is highly likely had Jacob survived into adulthood, that he too would have transitioned to seafaring as he already had begun going on overnight ocean voyages.

Although Perkins did not appear to enslave a female child Mary Fowler and Hagar Loyal, both indentured servants, represent the female aspect of these various labour types. When Mary was in her teenage years, she did domestic tasks just like Hagar who was nearly twenty years her senior. Presumably they helped care for Perkins' children, mended clothes, cooked, washed clothing, and did other domestic duties. Both were formerly enslaved in regions that had larger agricultural industries and plantation environments, so their previous experiences may have

[215] Colleen Vasconcellos, *Slavery, Childhood, and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788*-1838 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 30.
[216] Colleen Vasconcellos, *Slavery, Childhood, and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788*-1838, 31.

included tasks outside of domestic service. Hagar's knowledge of dyeing hide to create white leather could have been one example or indicates she had experience in making clothing like other domestic staff. She may have even been selling the white gloves she made, indicating that she likely had an additional source of income or was doing so on behalf of the Perkins' household who profited from it.[217] This example suggests that female Black indentures, and presumably enslaved women in Nova Scotia, were very much engaged within the household but sometimes had opportunities outside of it. Since Perkins is a male diarist, and his business interests lie outside of the household, it is highly likely he would have mentioned Mary and Hagar if they did tasks external to the house that were not perceived as domestic.

The fact that both Mary and Hagar mostly remained within the household doing domestic tasks, does not mean they were not doing physical labour. As Catherine Adams and Elizabeth Pleck indicate in their book, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England*, the physical labour required to manage and sustain early settler households should not be taken lightly in comparison to female plantation labour.[218] Scrubbing floors, carrying washbasins, doing the laundry, and lugging water required lifting heavy loads frequently. Combined with sleeping in the attic where there was limited air circulation and a lack of insulation, the daily lives of the live-in indentured servants in Perkins household was not an experience devoid of discomfort and physical pain. Domestic duties of this nature would extend to any settler of low economic means. However, the representation of Black female domestic servants/indentures in Perkins household over time indicates that the overall percentage of Black

[217] Jared Ross Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White* Worlds: *A History of Slavery in New England*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2019), 78

[218] Catherine Adams and Elizabeth Pleck, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 41-42. See also: Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal,* 158-159.

female domestic workers in other households could be quite high. Completing daily domestic labour tasks, especially the ones involving greater physical exertion, also freed the time for other people within the household to do tasks associated with economic profits, such as making goods for sale.[219]

As with Jacob, Anthony Loyal's appearances in the diaries spanned over several years. When he first came to Perkins' household as an indentured servant, he was engaged in manual labour. As the seasons changed, he hauled wood, milled boards, and cut hay. Eventually he went to sea, often accompanied by the same people he worked with at the mill. This transition from manual labour to seafaring appears to be common for men regardless of enslaved, indentured, or free status. Interestingly, indentures, free labourers, and Perkins himself all shared the same manual labour tasks. As Harvey Amani Whitfield suggests in his article "The Struggle over Slavery in the Maritimes," unlike plantation environments elsewhere, divisions in labour between Loyalist slaveholders and the people they enslaved did not always have distinctive boundaries in Nova Scotia.[220] Perkins' diaries indicate that the shared proximity, socialization, living quarters, and labour tasks applied not only to Loyalist slaveholders, but to the Planters as well.

Free people of African descent, mostly males, experienced a fluid labour system. As they moved from job to job, they gained skills enabling them to negotiate for higher wages. Black preachers and the prevalence of African seafarers showed white settlers that men of any race were capable of doing their professions well. Eventually this led to some toleration that transcended racial barriers and opened opportunities for those who could seize it.

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[219] Jared Ross Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White* Worlds*: A History of Slavery in New England*, 89.
[220] Harvey Amani Whitfield, "The Struggle over Slavery in the Maritime Colonies", *Acadiensis* XLI, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 20.

Conclusion

From 1773 to 1792, Liverpool, Nova Scotia was a highly transitional environment, especially for the people of African descent who lived there. Liverpool was a relatively small slaveholding place until the Loyalists fleeing from the American Revolutionary War brought enslaved Black people with them. At the same time, Black Loyalists also arrived and were given suboptimal land. Unable to grow food to sustain themselves, many of them quickly resorted to indentured service to survive. It is in this mixed environment that the intersectionality of race, age, gender, and labour informed enslavement and indentured service of Black people.

As the narrative of Jacob has shown, enslaved boys predominantly did domestic work but transitioned into manual labour tasks specific to Liverpool's natural environment as they grew older. The intersectionality of race, age, and gender defined Jacob's tasks which was as much about increasing physical strength as it was the transition from childhood. Black females, such as Hagar Loyal and Mary Fowler, mainly did domestic work regardless of age. Mostly confined to domestic work because of their race and gender, they alleviated some of the physical tasks for the more privileged members of the Perkins household. The narrative of Anthony Loyal shows that Black indentured men did a range of labour tasks dictated by both their race, gender, physical strength, and the nature of living in a coastal community with a lack of infrastructure. Over time, many Black men transitioned from land-based jobs to seafaring ones. The skills they learned along the way not only made them more employable, but also enabled them to negotiate higher wages.

As Nova Scotia inched towards abolition of the slave trade, the narratives of Jacob, Anthony, Hagar, Jo, Mary, Charles, David, and William have shown that people of African descent also increasingly had agency throughout the 1780s and early 1790s. Still facing racism

and inadequate living conditions, some Black people sought freedom elsewhere while others remained in bondage waiting for a freer future. Regardless of individual residents' level of freedom, events in Liverpool during December 1791 would place the community at the forefront of abolition in the wider Atlantic world.

Chapter Four: Abolition in an Atlantic World, 1792-1812

Throughout the 1780s, the number of Black people in Liverpool had been steadily increasing. The combination of enslaved, indentured, and free Black people living, working, and socializing with one another created an environment where solidarity for better living conditions and a freer future grew. However, by the end of 1791, the legality of slavery was still not clearly defined in Nova Scotia, and many slaveholders were grasping to maintain the ideology of slavery in a transatlantic world. At the same time, various movements were underway to recognize not only the plight of Black people's experiences in Nova Scotia, but also the abolition of the slave trade within the British Empire.

This chapter takes a place-based approach to examine an environment in which the legality of enslavement was neither clearly defined nor always enforced and explores how it impacted Black people in Liverpool in 1792-1812. It argues that the period leading up to abolition was uncertain, complicated, and confusing: during this contested period, there was a middle ground between being abolitionist and pro-slavery that became evident through conflicting decisions, debates, and actions. Even as Liverpool, and Nova Scotia more broadly, was inching towards abolition, imbalanced power continually re-formed the shared geographic space both on land and at sea. The methodology of this chapter continues to draw on Perkins' diaries as the primary evidence to contextualize the place-based approach for Liverpool. It also introduces an object and additional contemporary primary sources to help alleviate some of the inherent bias in his diaries. It interweaves narratives to highlight the lived experiences of those who had to navigate the conflicts and mainstream ideologies of a pre-abolition Atlantic world. In examining Liverpool's connection to the Sierra Leone migration and other events, this chapter places it on equal footing alongside other well-known communities. In doing so, it demonstrates

the importance of using documentary sources, such as Perkins' diaries, and a place-based approach to transcend local boundaries.

In using a place-based approach, this chapter builds on work by James W. St. G. Walker and Simon Schama. In *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870,* James Walker, follows the narrative of the Black Loyalists quite closely from their arrival in Nova Scotia through the migration to Sierra Leone. Although Walker references Perkins, the primary focus is on the broader Black Loyalist experience.[221] Likewise, Schama's *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution*, examines key figures related to the abolition movement in England and builds on the Black Loyalist experience in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone. Although this chapter uses the Sierra Leone migration as a case-study, its primary purpose is to provide historical insight into the event as it related to Liverpool. It also includes lesser-known case studies of enslaved and indentured Black people that stayed in Nova Scotia after the Sierra Leone migration.

4.1: The Sierra Leone Nova Scotians and John Clarkson

In the fall of 1791, just after David and William returned to their slaveholders in Annapolis Royal and Anthony continued working at sea, Black Loyalist Thomas Peters had recently petitioned the British Crown in London to investigate the unequal treatment and unkept promises of land grants for Black Loyalists. Having connected with leading British abolitionist, Granville Sharp, while he was in Britain in 1790, Thomas Peters returned to Nova Scotia promoting a migration to Sierra Leone.[222] Backed by the Sierra Leone Company, of which some members were from the *Society for the Effecting of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, Britain's

[221] James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). For example, please see page 47.
[222] Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2008), 219-220.

main abolition committee, Peters was joined by John Clarkson in 1791. Clarkson was a Royal Navy officer, the brother of abolitionist Thomas Clarkson, and an agent of the Sierra Leone Company.

With the promise of some form of self-government and land grants, Peters and Clarkson separately roamed Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, looking for willing migrants to establish the colony. John Clarkson wrote extensively of his experiences in Nova Scotia, collected personal accounts of many Black people he met, and commented on the political environment of the province from an outsider's perspective. Upon arrival, Clarkson met with hesitation about his plan almost immediately from Lieutenant Governor John Parr, who thought it likely that no Black Loyalists would go with him because they were already treated fairly in addition to rumours of settler murders in Sierra Leone.[223] Clarkson, who personally vowed to promote the Sierra Leone Company's objectives without forcing anyone to join the migration, was not deterred by the ignorance of some of Nova Scotia's leading political figures.[224] Even though Parr did very little to help the plight of the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia, he agreed to assist Clarkson by permitting the coordination of their departure in Halifax.[225]

Clarkson's immediate objective was to visit Black communities to enlist willing settlers. After stopping at Preston and finding destitute inhabitants, he set off towards Birchtown where many Black Loyalists still lived.[226] Ironically, he engaged a small schooner for his journey named *Dolphin*, built by Liverpool slaveholder Benajah Collins.[227] Due to bad weather,

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[223] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, ed. Charles Bruce Fergusson (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1971), 39.
[224] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 38 and 42.
[225] For more information on John Parr's career and character, please see: Peter Burroughs, "PARR, JOHN," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed June 17th, 2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/parr_john_4E.html.
[226] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 48.
[227] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, August 10th, 1785.

Clarkson, the crew, and his accompanying surgeon, Charles Taylor, were forced to put in at Port L'Hebert. Once there, Clarkson and Taylor stayed at the hut of Jenny Lavender, whose parents were away gathering potatoes for several days.[228] As bad weather continued to prevent the vessel from leaving, Clarkson and Taylor took the opportunity to visit local Black families. Most of them were destitute, having sold their clothes and beds in order to pay their white landlords.[229] A few of them were also sick and in need of medical attention. Clarkson and Taylor told them about their plans for Sierra Leone and promised to send proper medicine once they arrived in Shelburne.[230] This chance encounter would prove important for Liverpool's connection to the Sierra Leone migration as Clarkson became invested in ensuring these families had the opportunity to join the transport. The following day, Clarkson and Taylor proceeded to Shelburne. Robert Sayer and John Bennett's map *The United States of America with the British possessions of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland divided with the French, also the Spanish territories of Louisiana and Florida, according to the preliminary articles of peace signed at Versailles the 20th of Jany. 1783,* illustrates the close proximity of southwestern Nova Scotian communities visited by Clarkson and Taylor.

[228] Clarkson was quite taken by the politeness and deportment of Jenny Lavender. Her parents' hut was humble, and she offered the Royal Navy officers what little food she had. Clarkson regretted leaving her believing she deserved better opportunities in England. Jenny eventually married the son of Enoch Godfrey, of Liverpool. See Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, November 12th, 1793.
[229] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 50.
[230] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 49.

Figure 4.1: Excerpt view of southwestern Nova Scotia showing Liverpool's proximity to Shelburne, 1783. Gambier Harbour is present-day Port Mouton. Port L'Hebert is southwest of Port Mouton.[231]

Clarkson and Taylor's encounters in Shelburne highlight some of the realities that Black people faced in their daily lives. Although this thesis considers Liverpool as the primary case study, the same concerns would have been shared by Black people in both communities. Geographically, Shelburne and Liverpool were the largest ports near each other, which facilitated close trade connections and movement between the communities. Doctors, preachers, and townspeople alike moved between the communities frequently. In Birchtown, Clarkson found that although Black people were not given their promised land grants, or at least suitable land for agriculture, the primary reason many of them opted to go to Sierra Leone was because they feared being re-enslaved if Shelburne opened as a free port to the United States.[232] Since the legality of enslavement was hazy, lack of protection by people in positions of power meant this was a reality that happened frequently. This combined with the lack of resources and provisions

[231] Robert Sayer and John Bennett, "The United States of America with the British possessions of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland divided with the French, also the Spanish territories of Louisiana and Florida, according to the preliminary articles of peace signed at Versailles the 20th of Jany. 1783," London: Robert Sayer, 1783, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3700.ar075202/?r=0.551,0.194,0.198,0.088,0.
[232] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 57.

in order to survive and sustain themselves in Nova Scotia made Sierra Leone an enticing prospect for many Black settlers.

The remainder of Clarkson's stay in Shelburne was occupied with speaking publicly about the Sierra Leone Company's promises and advertising the migration. Interestingly, Clarkson also negotiated with slaveholders to manumit they people they enslaved, an act he extended to Black people in other communities. Even though the Sierra Leone migration was intended for free Black Loyalists, the plight of the enslaved and destitute people he encountered drove him to personally settle debts so that they could join the migration. In one case, an unnamed indentured boy was hiding in the woods because his indenturer was relocating to the United States that very day. According to the boy's family, the indenturer was then going to sell him, suggesting he was being treated as an enslaved person even though he was not. Clarkson stepped in and publicly defended the boy to the local Justices of the Peace.[233] He secured the boy's release and added him and his family to the list of migrants to Sierra Leone. This case has striking similarities to one that occurred within Perkins own family in Liverpool in 1793, which will be discussed later in the chapter. Clarkson noted that young indentured servants were frequently enslaved after their indentures were done.[234] With no enforcement preventing slaveholders from doing this, indentured children continued serving within the same household even if they came from free Black families. After successfully enlisting hundreds of Black people in the Shelburne area to go to Sierra Leone, Clarkson returned to Halifax and coordinated their migration while also waiting for Peters and his contingent. In early December 1791, several vessels embarked from Shelburne to rendezvous in Halifax. That same evening, a brig slipped into Liverpool, connecting the community to the migration.

[233] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 59.
[234] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 103.

In early December 1791, the weather was turning seasonally cold with bouts of rain and snow when Perkins received news that Governor Parr had died.[235] Amidst the political uncertainty of the governor's death that week Perkins wrote, "A Brig comes into the river in the evening bound from Shelburne to Halifax, with 160 Black people on board who are bound to the River Sire Loan [Sierra Leone], on the coast of Africa to settle there."[236] Until December 9th, the vessel, and likely one other from Shelburne, remained in Liverpool. The reasons for this are unclear in Perkins' diaries. Weather does not appear to be the sole factor as other vessels were able to arrive and depart during the same four-day period. With provisions for a two-day voyage and not enough clothing to combat the winter weather, at least 160 Black people remained in Liverpool for an additional four days without adequate supplies. One plausible reason why the vessels waited in Liverpool was because of Thomas Shepherd and John Martin, whose families Clarkson was personally interested in.[237] Clarkson's second-in-command, Lieutenant Wickham, oversaw coordinating the departure in Shelburne as well as ensuring that the Port L'Hebert families had the opportunity to join the transport. Due to some confusion, Martin, who was from Birchtown, missed the transport at Shelburne so he tried to make it to Liverpool. This suggests the vessel/s may have been purposefully in Liverpool since Martin knew to join them there. It is also highly plausible that they were waiting for additional migrants to join them from the surrounding area. As for Shepherd and Martin, they did not make the rendezvous in time. Back in Halifax, Clarkson arranged to send money to them to procure transport to Halifax or "relieve" them if they stayed in the province.[238] Unfortunately, it has not been determined at this time if Martin or Shephard migrated to Sierra Leone. They are not mentioned in the edited copy of

[235] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, December 2nd, 1791.
[236] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, December 5th, 1791.
[237] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 104-106.
[238] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 106.

Clarkson's Mission to America again. However, there appears to be two people by the name of John Martin in Perkins' dairies, although a connection between them and Clarkson is not clear.

4.2: Liverpool, Sierra Leone, and a Mill at the Falls

On January 15th, 1792, nearly 1200 Sierra Leone Nova Scotians embarked on their voyage to Africa in fifteen ships. For almost two months, they would combat stormy weather, disease and death. Clarkson himself nearly succumbed to fever and was almost buried at sea.[239] Fortunately, most of the Black Loyalists, the crew, and Clarkson survived the difficult crossing and on March 8th, the final vessel, *Morning Star*, arrived in Sierra Leone completing the migration.[240] Although the Black Loyalists faced a difficult beginning establishing the colony, they would persevere and many of their descendants, called the "Nova Scotians" remain in the region today.[241]

[239] Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution*, 315.
[240] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 170.
[241] James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, 137.

Figure 4.2: "View of the Colony of Sierra Leone previous to the Transports being discharged March 16th, 1792," Watercolour on paper, ca. 1824.[242]

Painted by landscape artist George James Rowe, from sketches made by John Beckett, this painting is the only one known to exist that shows the establishment of Freetown and the nation of Sierra Leone. It depicts a scene from the largest abolition movement of its time and Nova Scotia's connection to it. More importantly, the painting represents the experiences of nearly 1200 Black people, who chose to relocate because of racism they faced in Nova Scotia. A documentary source in many ways, it speaks to the lived experience of those who chose to relocate as well as those who stayed behind. Not everyone who wanted to go to Sierra Leone was able to since wariness, uncertainty, imbalanced power relations, and contractual obligations prevented some Black people from leaving Nova Scotia. Although Sierra Leone was in many

[242] George James Rowe, *View of the Colony of Sierra Leone previous to the Transports being discharged March 16th, 1792*. Watercolour on paper. Halifax: Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, M2008.38.1.

ways a step forward towards abolition, it would be over forty years until the *Slavery Abolition Act* began to take effect enabling more choice in movement for those who were in bondage.

The fifteen ships depicted in this painting that carried the Sierra Leone Nova Scotians are *Venus, Lucretia, Morning Star, Beaver, Sierra Leone, Mary, Betsey, Eleanor, Felicity, Brothers, Catherine, Somerset, Prince William Henry, Parr, and Prince Fleury*. Almost all of the vessels were Nova Scotian and many of them had Haligonian owners. Notably, *Betsey, Venus, Parr,* and possibly *Lucretia*, were owned by Haligonian merchants Thomas, William and James Cochran. A powerful merchant family with representation in the House of Assembly, they were both supporters and friends to Perkins and Clarkson.

The relationship between Perkins and the Cochrans ran deep. Closely connected through the transatlantic trade, Perkins often traded with the Cochrans, sourced supplies through them, and constructed their vessels. Thomas Cochran represented Liverpool in the House of Assembly starting in 1775 and served during the same time that Perkins was the representative for Queens County.[243] More than business associates, Perkins was friends with the Cochrans and often stayed with them in Halifax when he went there to attend the House of Assembly.[244] Likewise, William Cochran also befriended John Clarkson and supported the migration by supplying the Sierra Leone Company with multiple vessels. He also served on the embarkation committee designated to assist with the departure and secured clothing allowances for the migrants.[245]

The interconnectedness of the transatlantic trading network meant that the degrees of separation from the migration was not wide. On May 21st, 1792, Perkins noted that a vessel came into the harbour. He wrote:

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[243] Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The Cochran-Inglis Family of Halifax* (Halifax: C.H. Ruggles and Co., 1899), 7.
[244] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, June 16th, 1786.
[245] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 111.

> A Brig comes in Sight, which was first taken to be the Minerva, but proves to be Capt. James Fullerton, from Sirrelone. He was one of the fleet that carried the Blacks there. He Says the Country is very fine, & the Blacks very well Suited. The Ship Venus, which I built for Messrs Cochrans, proves a Good Vessel, & the best Sailor in the fleet.[246]

Captain James Fullerton, an experienced sea captain, frequently sailed Perkins vessels. He moved to Liverpool the previous year and he was one of fifteen sea captains chartered to sail to Sierra Leone. Interestingly, Fullerton was the captain with whom Anthony Loyal is first recorded to have sailed with. Clarkson had carefully ensured that the Sierra Leone Nova Scotians were treated appropriately on their voyage by meeting with every captain to discuss the importance of their good behaviour towards the migrants.[247] This may indicate that some measure was taken by Clarkson to find suitable captains for the voyage, rather than sourcing anyone he could find. Fullerton was the captain of *Morning Star*, which was designated by Clarkson as the vessel for pregnant mothers. After being discharged in Sierra Leone, Fullerton stopped for salt before heading for Liverpool and reporting to Perkins what he had experienced.

Equally insightful about Perkins' entry is the reference to the vessel that he built for the Cochrans. *Venus* was built by carpenters Perkins employed in 1791. Launched on August 16th, 1791, under the name *Liverpool*, the Cochrans paid Perkins £1300 for its construction.[248] In addition to *Venus*, Perkins also built *Betsey*, another vessel part of the fleet, which he also sold to the Cochrans in 1787.[249] Crews on both vessels included African Nova Scotian sailors prior to the Sierra Leone migration confirming that Black seafarers were common in Nova Scotia by the 1790s. Perkins heavily engaged in vessel construction in the mid 1780s and early 1790s. It is

[246] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, May 21st, 1792.
[247] John Clarkson, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, 114.
[248] Charles Armour, "Venus Ship," index card, Maritime Museum of the Atlantic. Accessed May, 2022. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, August 16th, 1791.
[249] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, October 14th, 1784. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, April 7th, 1787.

likely that the timber milled into boards at the Falls was completed by Black mill workers for these vessels. A direct connection to the Sierra Leone migration in more ways than one, it speaks to an environment in which Black people were very much part of skilled trades necessary for a shipbuilding economy.

The painting, the Sierra Leone Nova Scotians, John Clarkson, the people who worked at Perkins' mill, and those who constructed the vessels, tie Liverpool to a truly international abolitionist event. Although scholars have often argued that Liverpool was an isolated port town, the connection to Sierra Leone and the nature of transatlantic trading suggests this was not always the case.[250] Places like Shelburne, Birchtown, and Halifax have been key to understanding the Black Loyalist narrative and the Sierra Leone Nova Scotians. However, Liverpool's connection to this event and others examined later in the chapter, places this port town equally amongst other well-known communities. Although some scholars may consider a place-based approach a regional study, this methodology shows the importance of using documentary evidence, like Perkins' diaries, to transcend local boundaries. It provides an opportunity to understand how the community relates to the world through the interactions and experiences of those who live there. The connection to Sierra Leone places Liverpool on the global stage and adds insight into the lived experience of those who endured a world of uncertainty and imbalanced power relations.

Even though the establishment of Freetown and the colony of Sierra Leone was eventually successful, and large-scale abolition movements were underway in the British Empire, Black people who remained in Nova Scotia still faced an uncertain future. As

[250] For Liverpool's economic isolation, please see: Julian Gwyn, *Excessive Expectations: Maritime Commerce and the Economic Development of Nova Scotia, 1740*-1870 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 62.

shipbuilding and seafaring careers increased for Black men, many women still found themselves working as domestic servants. At a time when the legality of slaveholding was still hazy, Black women often found themselves in vulnerable situations where their slaveholders or employers could take advantage of them.

4.3: The Trial of Rose Welch

In April 1793, Perkins was attending the House of Assembly in Halifax when he received a letter from the magistrates in Liverpool concerning the discovery of the body of a baby.[251] Later entries revealed that a Black female named Rose (Pol) Welch, a "servant" or enslaved person of Benajah Collins, illegally gave birth to a baby alone in her "masters" chamber.[252] According to Rose, who was also referred to as Pol, the baby was stillborn, so she disposed of the body into the sea. Although the contents of the letter are not originally disclosed, Perkins consulted Attorney General Sampson Salter Blowers on the matter. Blowers told Perkins that he would discuss the issue with the Governor and the Chief Justice. At the time, the Chief Justice was Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange.[253] Like Blowers, he was against slavery, though he too sought to undermine it by never declaring it illegal.[254] As Bell, Whitfield, and Cahill suggest in "Slavery and Slave Law in the Maritimes," Strange and Blowers rationalized the gradual subversion of enslavement on the premise that slavery was seen to be legal. As a result, judges had to be careful, so they did not find themselves in a position to determine the

[251] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, April 17th, 1793.
[252] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, May 13th, 1793.
[253] Perkins refers to a "Chief Justice" but does not provide a name. At the time, the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia was Thomas Strange. However, Perkins refers to the Chief Justice in later entries as James Brenton. It is possible he is referring to Brenton as the senior Justice at the trial in Liverpool, which was appointed for the Court of Oyer and Terminer.
[254] R. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997), 105.

law rather than deciding what it was, and then getting overruled.[255] It is interesting, though possibly just a coincidence, that the leading political figures concerned with emancipation became aware of Welch's case because of Perkins.

Once Perkins returned to Liverpool, he interviewed Rose Welch, who was being held at the county jail. Entries that week provide insight into Welch's situation and the actions taken by Perkins.

> [May 13th, 1793] - Mr. John Thomas and myself went to the Jail, and discoursed with the Black Girl confined there on suspicion of murdering her infant child. She said she was desirous to confess the whole truth. She was ordered into Mr. Cole's apartments, and there examined by Mr. Justice Thomas, when she confessed that she as the mother of the child found - that she delivered alone, in her chamber, about sunset, and that the same night she laid the child in the tide's way; that she did not do anything to kill it, nor did she ever perceive any life in it; that she had the child near a fortnight before she was taken up; that when she was examined before, she was afraid, and ashamed to own it, but now she was neither afraid, nor ashamed to own the truth. Mr. Barry sailed for Halifax. I write by him to Mr. Blowers, on the subject of Black Rose.[256]

> [May 17th, 1793] - Capt. Porter brings me a letter from Mr. Blowers, wherein he says he thinks the Black Girl must be tried, and that he doubts whether any one will come from Halifax for that purpose, for which I am very sorry, as I do not think we are compitent [competent] to compose a proper court.[257]

These entries, and the ones that follow later in July, provide clarity about Welch's experience. She was the "servant" or enslaved person of Benajah Collins, one of the wealthiest people in Liverpool and a representative of the House of Assembly for Queens County. The fact that Perkins did not know if Welch was enslaved or a paid servant highlights the hazy environment in which enslaved, indentured, and free Black people lived. Like David and William's narrative mentioned in the previous chapter, the status of an enslaved person was not always questioned

[255] D.G. Bell, J. Barry Cahill, and Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery and Slave Law in the Maritimes," in *The African Canadian Legal Odyssey: Historical Essays*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 381-382.
[256] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, May 13th, 1793.
[257] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, May 17th, 1793.

by contemporaries unless circumstances arose that necessitated it. As James Walker suggests in his book, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870,* white settlers did not assume a Black person was always enslaved because the Black Loyalist influx from the American Revolutionary War brought large numbers of free people of African descent into Nova Scotia.[258] Taking this a step further, it is arguable that this started happening earlier in Liverpool because of people like the Cuffy family who were already free and engaging in occupations that were not tied to the often hidden environment of one household. In Welch's case, it does not seem to have mattered significantly to Perkins if she was enslaved because it was not a court case focused on manumission. What mattered more was if Liverpool could "compose a proper court." Whether he was referring to the ability to carry out a trial for murder without a senior judge or a fair trial for a Black woman is unclear. It is likely he means both as there had been a murder trial previously in Liverpool, though Blowers attended as the senior judge.[259] Perhaps Perkins felt that a senior judge from Halifax, someone removed from daily life in Liverpool and knowledgeable about law, might be able to stand up to wealthy and emotionally driven townspeople who were against Welch.

The troubling circumstances surrounding the birth created a legal complexity in the trial. It is unclear if Welch was "ashamed" of having the child out of wedlock or because she did not reveal the truth when she was initially questioned. Regardless, it speaks to her experience and highlights her vulnerable position within the legal trial ahead. Since Welch is referred to repeatedly as a "girl," she was likely not an older adult woman. Giving birth alone must have been traumatic, compounded by the fact the baby was stillborn. It is also very peculiar that she

[258] James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, 41.
[259] Perkins Diary, Vol. 2, May 17th, 1786.

gave birth by herself as it would have been uncommon for the time and was considered a social event.[260] According to statute law in England and Nova Scotia, it was illegal for a woman to have a baby alone. If the baby died, and an unmarried mother concealed the birth, she could be tried for murder unless a single witness could attest that the baby was stillborn.[261] If the mother could not prove it, she could be convicted of murder in which the penalty was death. Although the reasons why Welch gave birth alone is not divulged, it speaks to her experience and may indicate there was sexual violence in the household. Since the father of the baby is never named during the murder trial, it is quite possible that he was being purposefully shielded. Later entries even suggest that Welch gave birth in Benajah Collins' bedroom further implicating him or someone else in the house may have been responsible. Whatever the truth was, Welch found herself in a vulnerable situation with white townspeople questioning her experience and placing the blame on her as an unwed mother. The following entries highlight the seriousness of the trial that took place in July 1793:

> [July 9th, 1793] - The Court of Oyer and Terminer, and General Jail Delivery, Opens at 10 O'Clock. James Brenton, Esq., Chief Justice. Simeon Perkins and William Johnstone, Esq., Associates. The Grand Jury Find the Bill of Indictment for Murder of a Bastard Child, against Rose, a Black Girl, otherwise called Pol. Welch, Servant or Slave to Benajah Collins, Esq....[262]
>
> [July 10th, 1793] - The Court of Oyer and Terminer,& c. opened at 10 O'Clock, A.M., the Prisoner set to the Bar, the Jury Impannelled. 1. Alexander Godfrey, foreman; 2. William Murray, 3. Thomas Murray, 4. William Ford, 5. Mindert Vanhorn, 6. Michael Hulet, 7. John Heater, 8. Jesse Phillips, 9. William Mather, 10. William Burk. The Judge gave them their charge, after going thro with Reading the Indictment and examining the evidences. There did not appear to be any evidence to the murder, so the whole business seemed to ly on the Law, which makes it criminal for a woman to be delivered of a Bastard Child alone, when she might have help, which she had confessed she was the mother of the child found, and that she was alone in her Master's

[260] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, based on her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 12.
[261] Allyson N. May, and Jim Phillips, "Homicide in Nova Scotia, 1749-1815," *The Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 4, (2001), 628.
[262] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, July 9th, 1793.

> Chamber about Sunset, and that she did not call any help, nor was any person privy to it that she knew of, but says she did not do anything to hurt the child, nor did she perceive any signs of life in the child, that she conveyed it to the water in the evening, and laid it in the tides way. The Jury soon returned with a verdict not guilty. The people in general are not much pleased with the proceedings of the court, particularly that some evidences were omitted, and not examined in court, which were before the Grand Jury, and some that were examined were not questioned so critically as expected…[263]

On July 8th, James Brenton, a judge from Halifax, was sent to oversee the trial.[264] A Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was an assize court designated for felonies that occurred outside of Halifax.[265] In other words, it was a form of the Supreme Court meant for rural communities; county Courts were not supposed to handle criminal cases where the penalty was death and the cost of the court exceeded twenty shillings.[266] In Welch's case, it was within the law to send a judge from Halifax since she gave birth to a child alone and her penalty could have been death.

According to the findings of the court, there was no proof that the baby died from unnatural causes. This suggests that Welch did not have to prove the baby was stillborn, rather the court had to prove that it was born alive. Luckily for Welch, the jury found her not guilty. Whatever happened between Brenton, Perkins, and William Johnstone behind closed doors is probably lost to history. However, Philip Girard, Jim Phillips, and R. Blake Brown suggest in *A History of Law in Canada, Vol.* 1, that in eighteenth century trials, judges had a huge influence on juries and how they received evidence.[267] This indicates that as the senior judge, Brenton, and possibly Perkins and Johnstone, could have deflected evidence to assist Welch. Brenton, who had recently returned as a judge after being impeached, previously bailed a Black man named

[263] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, July 10th, 1793.
[264] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, July 8th, 1793.
[265] Sandra Oxner, "The Evolution of the Lower Court of Nova Scotia," *Dalhousie Law Journal* 8, no. 3, (1984), 65.
[266] Sandra Oxner, "The Evolution of the Lower Court of Nova Scotia," 61.
[267] Philip Girard, Jim Phillips, and R. Blake Brown, *A History of Law in Canada, Vol. 1: Beginnings to* 1866 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 294

William Small.[268] Small had confronted angry white settlers who tried to storm into his house to attack other Black men hiding there. A fatal blow was dealt by Small to one of the attackers, and he was subsequently arrested. As Jim Phillips indicates in his article, "The Impeachment of the Judges of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, 1787-1793: Colonial Judges, Loyalist Lawyers, and the Colonial Assembly," Brenton bailed William Small because he acted in self-defence against racist settlers.[269] This is significant for two reasons. First, it shows the subtle subversion of enslavement by judges who were sympathetic to abolition. Small was guilty of murder, but it was self-defence born out of an attack by racist white settlers. And secondly, if Brenton assisted Small in such a serious crime, then it is reasonable to conclude the same was done for Welch for a crime that was difficult to prove. Interestingly it was Brenton's handling of William Small's bail that garnered the attention of Loyalist lawyers, like Thomas Henry Barclay, that led to his impeachment.[270]

Oddly absent from the entries regarding Welch is Benajah Collins. Whether he had anything to do with Welch is unknown, but the event took place at his house and in his chamber, implicating him and his family in some part of this. Perhaps he was being protected by the judges somehow, though both Perkins and Collins voted for Brenton's impeachment previously, so this is unlikely.[271] Even though this case leaves more questions than answers about Collins' involvement, it is significant for multiple reasons. First, according to the law, Welch could have been punished for giving birth alone. However, enough jury members believed her account. For

[268] Jim Phillips, "The Impeachment of the Judges of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, 1787-1793: Colonial Judges, Loyalist Lawyers, and the Colonial Assembly," *Dalhousie Law Journal* 34, no. 2, (2011), 310-312.
[269] Jim Phillips, "The Impeachment of the Judges of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, 1787-1793: Colonial Judges, Loyalist Lawyers, and the Colonial Assembly," *Dalhousie Law Journal* 34, no. 2, (2011), 312.
[270] Jim Phillips, "The Impeachment of the Judges of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, 1787-1793: Colonial Judges, Loyalist Lawyers, and the Colonial Assembly," *Dalhousie Law Journal* 34, no. 2, (2011), 309.
[271] Jim Phillips, "The Impeachment of the Judges of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, 1787-1793: Colonial Judges, Loyalist Lawyers, and the Colonial Assembly," *Dalhousie Law Journal* 34, no. 2, (2011), 293.

a single Black woman with limited personal rights, this was the best outcome. It suggests that there was some level of racial toleration by 1793 in Liverpool or at least a very persuasive Brenton. Secondly, Brenton's participation indicates that there were Haligonian politicians concerned with Welch's case and that the racialized element of it was not lost on them. Thirdly, since Rose was found not guilty, it shows that Black people were beginning to win cases not solely based on manumissions in Nova Scotia. And finally, transcending the racial aspect, Welch winning this case was a step forward in female legal rights. It would be another twenty years until the English Infanticide Act was repealed in 1813 and replaced with alternate legislation.[272] After the trial, Welch is never mentioned in connection with the case again in Perkins' diaries. Efforts to trace her with the name Rose, Polly, Pol, and Margaret with phonetic variations of Welch in *The Book of Negroes,* vital records, and the will of Benajah Collins have remained inconclusive at this time. However, there was a Black woman named Pol who died of tuberculosis on August 14th, 1802, mentioned in Perkins' diaries, though he does not provide any further information about her identity.[273]

4.4: A Diverse and Uncertain Atlantic World, 1794-1812

By 1794, Black Loyalists who arrived as a result of the American Revolutionary War had been in Nova Scotia for over a decade. Many were beginning to establish permanent roots in the province, acquiring land, starting families, maintaining households, and forming a sense of community. As the previous chapter examined, seafaring was a common occupation for men and increasingly so in the 1790s. Finding work in seafaring occupations was not only common but paid equal to or more than other opportunities on land. Over time, Black seafarers learned various marine skills that made them highly desirable for merchant vessels. At the same time,

[272] Allyson N. May, and Jim Phillips, "Homicide in Nova Scotia, 1749-1815," 629.
[273] Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, August 14th, 1802.

international conflict still influenced experiences and impacted engagements at sea. This combination of a diverse yet uncertain Atlantic world in which some countries were adopting abolition before others, created a unique marine environment where enslavement-centred ideologies collided.

The French Revolution started to impact people in Liverpool in the 1790s, as privateering once again affected transatlantic shipping. Voyages to the West Indies became increasingly risky in 1793, as French ships cruised the area, sailed northwards along the Atlantic seaboard, and into Nova Scotian communities.[274] In response to French privateering, townspeople, including Perkins, decided to engage in it themselves. Fitting out vessels and finding the crews became one of Perkins' interests.[275] One impact of Atlantic privateering was the amount of exchange involving seafarers of African descent. When a vessel was seized as a privateer prize, crews were often dispersed to lessen the chance of a mutiny while the vessel sailed for home. This means that privateers often fell short of crew members to return to their home ports. According to Perkins' diaries, it was quite common for interim crews to have some African sailors because of the nature of transatlantic trading to the West Indies.[276] Using enslaved sailors was a way to get crew members quickly. Sickness, disease, and death also contributed to crews falling short; these could be replenished by getting available Black seafarers from the West Indies. Furthermore, if Nova Scotian seafarers were captured and then released from foreign privateers, they would make their way back to Liverpool. This suggests that through the 1790s, Black seafarers became tied to their communities and less transient than they were previously in Nova Scotia.

[274] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, April 27th, 1793. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, August 17th and 20th, 1793
[275] Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, June 29th, 1798. See also, Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, June 8th, 1800.
[276] Perkins Diary, Vol. 3, June 29th, 1794.

Another effect of the French Revolution was France's temporary abolishment of slavery from February 1794 until 1802.[277] An insightful entry by Perkins indicates that French vessels freed Black seafarers who were enslaved, indentured, or perceived to be in bondage. In one case in 1797, a boy from Liverpool was taken aboard a French privateer in order to make him a "freeman."[278] This suggests that abolition movements and large-scale migrations were not the only ways in which the world was moving towards abolishing slavery. Physical emancipation acts, like the ones French vessels were committing at sea, were impacting Black seafarers and challenging the mainstream ideology that slavery is acceptable.

In addition to privateering, naval presses were quite common in coastal communities such as Liverpool, because they had large numbers of townspeople with seafaring experience. As Keith Mercer indicates in his PhD dissertation, residents in Liverpool were subjected to and were fearful of naval presses from the American Revolutionary War onwards.[279] By 1805, Napoleon Bonaparte continued to wage campaigns against British naval forces extending into the West Indies. To combat the heightened aggression from France, the 1800s continued to see impressment in Liverpool.[280] These presses were quite aggressive as townspeople were forcibly taken from their homes during the night. At the centre of a particular press in 1805, were Black seafarers. Three Black men were so fearful of being pressed by an armed vessel in the harbour, that they came to hide in Perkins' house.[281] As the colonel commandant of the militia and a respected politician, the three men hiding in Perkins' house knew that he would protect them, which he did. A few days later, one of the Black men, Anthony Smith, was pressed during the

[277] William Stuart Cormack, *Patriots, Royalists, and Terrorists in the West Indies: The French Revolution in Martinique and Guadeloupe, 1789-1802* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 5.
[278] Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, March 25th, 1797.
[279] Keith Mercer, "North Atlantic Press Gangs: Impressment and Naval-Civilian Relations in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, 1749-1815." (PhD diss., Dalhousie University, 2008), 70-72.
[280] Perkins Diary, Vol. 5, July 3rd, 1805.
[281] Perkins Diary, Vol. 5, June 29th, 1805.

night. Perkins intervened and wrote a letter to Mr. Orkney, the commander of the King's armed vessel, and visited him to get the man released.[282] Although Orkney promised Perkins that he would release Anthony Smith, he did not by the time they sailed for Halifax.[283]

The acts of pressing people specifically highlights the vulnerability of Black people in coastal communities during this time. Although impressments transcended racial boundaries, in that almost anyone with seafaring or skilled trade experience could be pressed, the fact that Black people were being specifically sought in the 1805 press suggests there were racial motivations. Using Perkins as an example, his role as a colonel commandant and politician gave him authority to apply to pressing officers to release townspeople. Although in this instance it did not work, it did during other times throughout the diaries. Since applications to have pressed people released appears to be common, naval officers sought particularly vulnerable people in the hopes that they would have a higher chance of keeping them. It is also strongly suspected and requires further research outside of the scope of this thesis that Black people tended to live in more isolated and peripheral places. The lack of protection from townspeople due to this peripheral isolation may indicate that there were higher numbers of pressed Black people. It is likely that racism and lack of connections to leading men in communities created vulnerability for other Black people throughout Nova Scotia. In turn, this disadvantage not only affected the pressed person, but extended to their families that had to contend with the loss of someone who was contributing financially to the household on a regular basis.

During the decade that the French were emancipating Black seafarers from British vessels, the legality of slavery in Nova Scotia was still not clearly defined. This hazy environment resulted in some ship's captains treating Black seafarers or indentured servants like

[282] Perkins Diary, Vol. 5, July 3rd, 1805.
[283] Perkins Diary, Vol. 5, July 5th, 1805.

they were enslaved and selling them in the West Indies. Zebulon Perkins, a nephew who lived with Perkins' since he was sixteen years old, appears to have sold an indentured boy from Shelburne to a shopkeeper in the West Indies. Fortunately, local magistrates intervened in Shelburne and petitioned for Zebulon Perkins to return him.[284] However, the document indicates that their concern was more that it set a precedent for Black parents to no longer indenture their children if there was fear that they would be relocated outside of Nova Scotia. This specific example shows the complicated nature of decisions affecting abolition. On one side, petitioning to get the boy returned showed that selling indentured Black people was not legal and the seller would be held accountable. On the other hand, the ulterior motives of the magistrates in Shelburne were actually based on upholding the indenturing of Black people. They were grasping to maintain a coercive control that was grounded in racism.

4.5: Simeon Perkins' Pre-Abolition Atlantic World

Perkins left a valuable record of a contested period in which the path towards abolition was not always linear. The Atlantic world was a confusing place for navigating the legalities of enslavement. Within Perkins' entries about the comings and goings of vessels in Liverpool Harbour, he left a testament to a world in transition. In these entries, he documented actions, decisions, and some of his own thoughts on this uncertain pre-abolition environment. Using Perkins as an example of someone who was somewhere between being abolitionist and pro-slavery, one can come closer to understanding what the world was like when ideologies centred around enslavement collided.

Over the course of his time in Liverpool, Perkins had witnessed the death of Jacob whom he had enslaved, the arrival of the Black Loyalists, the re-enslavement of David and William, the

[284] "Case of a Black boy being carried off to the West Indies," Nova Scotia Archives, accessed June 3rd, 2022, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/archives/?ID=52.

departure of the Sierra Leone Nova Scotians, and the trial of Rose Welch. It is not until the last two decades of his life that he occasionally wrote entries involving Black people that included some of his thoughts. Typically, he wrote about factual events without a lot of reflection unless he discussed religion, his family, where he should direct his merchant vessels, and observations on some of his birthdays.

In 1797, Benjamin Field, a Black man who previously worked for Perkins, called on him to discuss Perkins' spiritual welfare. Perkins acknowledged that Field was devoutly religious and agreed to discuss matters with him. He wrote: "Tho he is Black, I would not despise him. His conversation may be Blessed to my Advantage, as well as if his Skin was white, if the Fault is not in me."[285] Although the context and religious concerns are not discussed in the entry, there is some insight into Perkins' racial attitudes at the time. The fact that Perkins indicated whether someone was Black in any of his entries suggests he was deeply concerned with race, and it was important enough to him to distinguish it in his writing. Perkins indicated that Field was deeply concerned about him and that he had good intentions. However, his reflection on Field's skin colour and the use of the word "despise" suggests that had the conversation been outside of religion, he considered Field to be inferior. Although this is typical of many slaveholders, it is odd timing considering the fact he just finished reading William Law's, *A Serious Call to a Holy Life*, the previous week.[286] The highly popular book still in print today, speaks to moral debates in the eighteenth-century, including the slave trade.[287] Law's book suggests that a person should devote their whole occupation to the service of God. If an enslaved person is hindered serving God fully because they are literally doing the work of another person, then the slaveholder must

[285] Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, February 24th, 1797.
[286] Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, February 18th, 1797.
[287] William Law and John Wesley, *A Serious Call to a Holy Life* (London: G. Paramore, 1794).

make it so the person can serve more fully.[288] Furthermore, Law indicated that if a person is enslaving another, then it creates an unequal balance to serve God, which is unjust.[289] Surely, Law's words must have had an effect on Perkins who was a deeply religious man. Perhaps, it influenced some of his later actions like advocating for Anthony Smith during his impressment.

In 1798, Perkins read another book concerned with the salvation of all people.[290] Joseph Huntington's, *Calvinism improved; or, The Gospel illustrated as a system of real grace, issuing in the Salvation of All Men*, considered that everyone, regardless of race, is united in Christ's salvation.[291] According to Perkins, Huntington appears to have departed slightly from other Calvinist teachings in that he included all humans in salvation rather than a pre-destined few. Since Perkins was now in his sixty-third and sixty-fourth year when he read these books, he was nearing what he thought was the end of his life, though he would live almost fourteen more years. What is interesting about these two books, is that both have underlying themes of equality across racial divides. It is likely Perkins reflected on his earlier days as a slaveholder and what that meant for his own salvation as he was nearing the end of his life. Becoming consciously aware began to take hold in American Methodist teachings in the 1780s.[292] Wesleyan Methodists, which Perkins adhered to in the 1790s, believed that enslavement was evil.[293] Like William Law, they were concerned that enslaved people were prevented from reaching their full

[288] William Law and John Wesley, *A Serious Call to a Holy Life,* 57-58.
[289] William Law and John Wesley, *A Serious Call to a Holy Life,* 58.
[290] Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, August 9th, 1798.
[291] Joseph Huntington, *Calvinism improved; or, The Gospel illustrated as a system of real grace, issuing in the Salvation of All Men* (New London: Samuel Green, 1796), 48 and 52.
[292] Donald G. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality*, 1780-1845 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 3. Please note terminologies in this source are outdated and do not reflect language used today. It was chosen for its thoroughness in discussing Methodist ideologies in the United States during Perkins' time.
[293] Donald G. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality*, 1780-1845, 5. See also, Allen B. Robertson, "Methodism Among Nova Scotia's Yankee Planters," in *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1998), 186-187.

potential as devout servants of God if they were restricted by their slaveholders. Yet, Methodist preachers in the United States still enslaved people.[294] This conflict in religious ideologies continued into the 1800s and although Perkins stopped slaveholding by this point, this division is apparent in some of his future thoughts and actions.

Through the first five years of the nineteenth-century, Perkins was busily engaged in various business pursuits and continued to hire Black employees.[295] As the British Empire was coming closer to abolition, the Atlantic world was still an uncertain and confusing place. The slave trade continued, even as abolitionist ideologies increased and books on equality were read by literate settlers. In August 1805, Perkins received a letter from Captain Freeman indicating that he had 30 Black people aboard the vessel *Duke,* and nearly £3,000. As soon as he could "dispose" of the human cargo, he would make his way home to Liverpool. Perkins expressed his thoughts on the matter, "Capt. Freeman has Appointed Hallet Collins Esq. Capt. Parker & myself Agents which is unexpected to me as he did not mention any Such thing to me before he Sailed. As the Cruize is likely to turn out it will not be a very Lucrative Business but in these hard times I am Glad to undertake any Lawfull Business to Support my Family & pay my Debts."[296] According to Perkins, he was unaware that Freeman would be engaging in the slave trade, but because it was still legal and he was having financial difficulty, he was supportive of the venture. This suggests that even though Perkins employed Black people and advocated for them on multiple occasions locally, he was willing to take part in the slave trade because it was legal and profitable.

[294] Donald G. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality*, 1780-1845, 23.
[295] For example, see Perkins Diary, Vol. 4, May 31st, 1803.
[296] Perkins Diary, Vol. 5, August 9th, 1805.

In 1807, the Slave Trade Act came into effect and officially prohibited the selling of enslaved people with the British Empire. Unfortunately, from March 5th, 1806, to December 1st, 1809, Perkins' diaries have been lost. They surely would have been insightful into his thoughts on the transatlantic slave trade, whether he was still engaged in any of it personally, and how Liverpool townspeople reacted. For those still enslaved, it would be another twenty-seven years until the Slavery Abolition Act came into effect, officially emancipating them. In the last few years of his life, Perkins still maintained his diaries and documented the lives around him. Disease and conflict were still part of seafaring life, so vessels trading in the West Indies continued to return with interim crews of Black sailors.[297] Nearing the end of his life, Perkins continued to consider salvation and what that meant. In March 1811, Richard Wilson, a Black man that lived in Indian Harbour, died. Perkins noted, "Wm. [William Oneil] Says he Died Very happy, thus we See that God is no respecter of persons, a poor, illiterate Blackman that Fears God and Works Righteousness is Not Neglected of God but has peace in his Death."[298] Strikingly similar in religious ideology to the books he read over a decade earlier, Perkins agreed with Law and Huntington that Black people would find peace in salvation regardless of their economic status. Yet, the thought is unfinished. What about equality in life on earth?

Four months before Perkins' last entry, he wrote a letter to his long-time friends, the Cochrans, "on a subject."[299] Perkins had just finished reading Thomas Clarkson's, *The History of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trave, Vol. 1*. He returned the book to a German acquaintance, Mr. Mahley, and requested that he deliver the letter to the Cochrans with his own hands. In February, Perkins obtained confirmation that the letter was delivered but he never appears to

[297] Perkins Diary, Vol. 5, September 3rd, 1811.
[298] Perkins Diary, Vol. 5, March 4th, 1811.
[299] Perkins Diary, Vol. 5, January 29th, 1812.

have received a response.[300] What transpired outside of the diaries is likely lost to history, leaving Perkins' opinions on enslavement unanswered.

Conclusion

From 1792-1812, Liverpool and the Atlantic world, more broadly, was an uncertain, confusing and conflicting place leading up to the abolition of the slave trade. Taking a place-based approach, this chapter has demonstrated that abolitionist and pro-slavery ideologies co-existed creating a confusing environment for which Black people and townspeople alike had to navigate. As ideologies about enslavement collided during this contested period, there was a middle ground between being abolitionist and pro-slavery as indicated through conflicting decisions, debates, and actions by individuals and politicians.

Large-scale abolition movements, such as the Sierra Leone migration, occurred at the same time Black people were in bondage or being re-enslaved in Nova Scotia. Black seafarers and shipbuilders grew increasingly common in Liverpool by the 1790s, yet at the same time Black women remained primarily domestic servants which put them in vulnerable situations. The trial of Rose Welch indicates that Nova Scotia's leading political figures were concerned with race yet did not define the legality of slavery further adding confusion while subverting it. Enslaved seafarers from the West Indies were interim crew members for vessels returning to their home ports at the same time revolutionary French ships were capturing British vessels and freeing people of African descent aboard them. Local politicians protected Black people during impressments, yet still engaged in the broader transatlantic slave trade. It was a confusing world, and for those privileged enough to make decisions, they often sat somewhere between abolitionist and pro-slavery, using situations to their advantage. In the end, Perkins documented

[300] Perkins Diary, Vol. 5, February 18th, 1812.

a pre-abolition world. Though his opinions on enslavement remain unanswered at this time, he left a valuable testament to the lived experiences of those who had to navigate a world in transition.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

By reconceptualizing the Planter and Loyalist periods within Liverpool from 1759 to 1812, this thesis emphasizes imbalanced power and labour, rather than privileging American Revolutionary War and loyalism narratives in the Northeast. It asks how was the shared geographic space re-formed with the arrival of the Planters? In emphasising free and unfree labour, it also explores the development of enslavement and abolition in Liverpool. By taking a chronological place-based approach and using micro-biographies, this thesis argues that in de-emphasising American Revolutionary War and loyalism narratives, it indicates the region was marked by power imbalances and labour relations continually being formed and re-formed. The American Revolutionary War was not the defining moment of slaveholding in Nova Scotia, but rather part of a multi-phased process that grew incrementally and was sustained by settlers through this period.

At the time Liverpool was first settled, it was and remains Indigenous space. The Peace and Friendship Treaties of the eighteenth-century shaped relations between nations and informed how people live together in Mi'kma'ki/Acadie/Nova Scotia. They also affirmed inherent Indigenous rights to the land and waters of Mi'kma'ki without ceding the land. In this way, Nova Scotia, which is a portion of Mi'kma'ki, remains Indigenous space even though colonial attempts at erasure intensified. The Mi'kmaw concept, Siawa'sik, speaks to this enduring presence, ability to adapt, and the continuation of living in this place.

British settlers brought institutionalized slavery, but it came in an incremental way and was established in multiple phases as power imbalances re-formed the landscape. Evidence shows that the community became less free over time for people of African descent. From its earliest days as a settlement, Liverpool was engaged in trade, both locally and abroad. As the

population increased, merchants who engaged in the transatlantic trade tied themselves and their community to enslavement.

As enslaved and indentured Black people arrived through the 1780s, Liverpool quickly transitioned to a larger slaveholding place but remained an Indigenous space. As the shared geographic space was re-formed to include this influx, the experiences of Jacob, Anthony, Hagar, Jo, Mary, Charles, David, and William showed, the intersectionality of race, age, and gender, informed labour tasks and relations which was constantly being formed and re-formed throughout this period. Jacob's narrative showed that enslaved boys predominantly transitioned from domestic to manual labour tasks specific to Liverpool's natural environment. The intersectionality of race, age, and gender defined his tasks and as he transitioned from childhood to adulthood, he became physically capable of doing manual labour, such as hauling wood and working at the mill alongside other adults. Jacob also began going to sea to neighbouring communities and this would have likely continued had he not succumbed to injuries sustained while he was enslaved. His experience in particular highlights the human aspect of Planter enslavement in Nova Scotia. He was a boy when he was taken from his parents, endured at least one forced ocean-going migration, and lived and worked alongside his slaveholder. Although there is much work to still be done on Planter slaveholding, Jacob's experience highlights the importance of that work. Although he did not work on a plantation in Nova Scotia, his ultimate fate was similar to the experiences of those in the West Indies.

The narratives of Hagar Loyal and Mary Fowler, demonstrated the gendered aspect of indentured service. Both of them mainly did domestic work regardless of their age differences. Mostly confined to domestic work because of their race and gender, they alleviated most of the physical tasks for privileged members of Perkins' household. Fowler's narrative in particular

showed that Black women increasingly had agency through the 1780s at a time when the legality of enslavement was beginning to be questioned in Nova Scotian courts.

The narrative of Anthony Loyal showed that Black indentured men did a range of labour tasks according to the intersectionality of race, gender, physical strength, and the nature of living in a coastal community. Over time, many Black men transitioned from land-based jobs to seafaring ones. The skills they learned along the way not only made them more employable, but also enabled them to negotiate higher wages. In turn, this informed their experiences. In comparison with Jacob's experience, enslavement and indentured service were very similar, yet indentured men like Anthony were eventually able to negotiate higher wages equal to white settlers.

From 1792 to 1812, Liverpool and the Atlantic world was an uncertain, confusing, and conflicting place leading up to abolition. In de-emphasising American Revolutionary War narratives, and focusing on underrepresented themes, it shows that this space was characterized by the co-existence of pro-slavery and abolitionist ideologies. This uncertainty and lack of legal protection from Nova Scotian courts resulted in a non-linear transition to abolition. As ideologies collided during this contested period, there was a middle ground between being pro-slavery and abolitionist as indicated through conflicting decisions, debates, and actions by individuals. Thomas Peters and John Clarkson led the migration to Sierra Leone at the same time David and William were being re-enslaved in Nova Scotia and Rose (Pol) Welch was navigating the white court system. Black seafarers grew increasingly common in Liverpool during the 1790s, yet sailors of African descent were still being pressed, while others were enslaved as interim crews. Revolutionary French vessels liberated Black sailors at sea, but France too would eventually revert to enslavement. In Liverpool, this contested and conflicting pattern also presented itself in

individuals. Perkins had transitioned from a vulnerable Planter to a slaveholder, and then to an indenturer, yet his actions show that he too bounced between what was morally right and what was not. In his later years, he justified human cargoes as business opportunities while also considering the salvation of Black people. For over forty-six years, Perkins documented a pre-abolition world. Though his opinions on enslavement in his last days remain unanswered at this time, he left a valuable testament to those who had to navigate a world in transition. His diaries serve as a reminder of imbalanced power relations and how vague enslavement could be during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

This thesis has demonstrated the importance of using a place-based approach and micro-biographies to understand enslavement during a specific time and location. Historiography on enslavement in Nova Scotia has a long way to go to address gaps in the field. First and foremost, the biographies of enslaved and indentured Black people need to be included in further research. It is through their lived experiences that historians can come closer to understanding enslavement while maintaining the human aspect of it. In this way, the field can move forward from acknowledging enslavement to placing it within mainstream historical narratives in a way that is meaningful and sensitive to those who experienced it. It is inarguable that statistics regarding enslaved people in Nova Scotia help understand the enormity of institutionalized slavery, but it is the biographies that are truly valuable because they place a person at the forefront.

Secondly, building on the place-based approach for one community also allows for comparisons between different geographic locations. An enslaved person's daily life in the coastal community of Liverpool would likely be quite different than those in land-locked places, farms, or in metropolitan areas. Comparative studies within Nova Scotia would also help understand continuity and change over time while making links to broader processes throughout

the Atlantic world. This would give a clearer understanding of the similarities and differences in each place so that when combined it can add to the much larger narrative of enslavement in the Atlantic world and not get buried in it.

Thirdly, the narratives of Jacob, Jo, Anthony Loyal, Hagar Loyal, Mary Fowler, Charles Bailey, Rose (Pol) Welch, Anthony Smith, and others require further research. In most cases, efforts to locate them after they disappeared from Perkins' diaries remained inconclusive. It is possible that some may have succumbed to a smallpox epidemic that plagued the community around 1800-1802. Online genealogical searches that spanned the globe remained inconclusive, but also point to the discriminatory collecting practices of the past. However, as more repositories digitize their collections, it is possible new sources will recoup their narratives.

And finally, oral histories, non-documentary sources, and languages concepts should be explored more fully to add insight into the experiences of Indigenous people during this time. Too often in telling Indigenous histories, the idea of continuation is ignored, and hard historical truths are not acknowledged. By incorporating non-documentary sources that were used by Indigenous nations, including objects, it will more accurately reflect their perceptions of what happened during this time and place. In this way, we can move forward with meaningful reconciliation in this place.

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