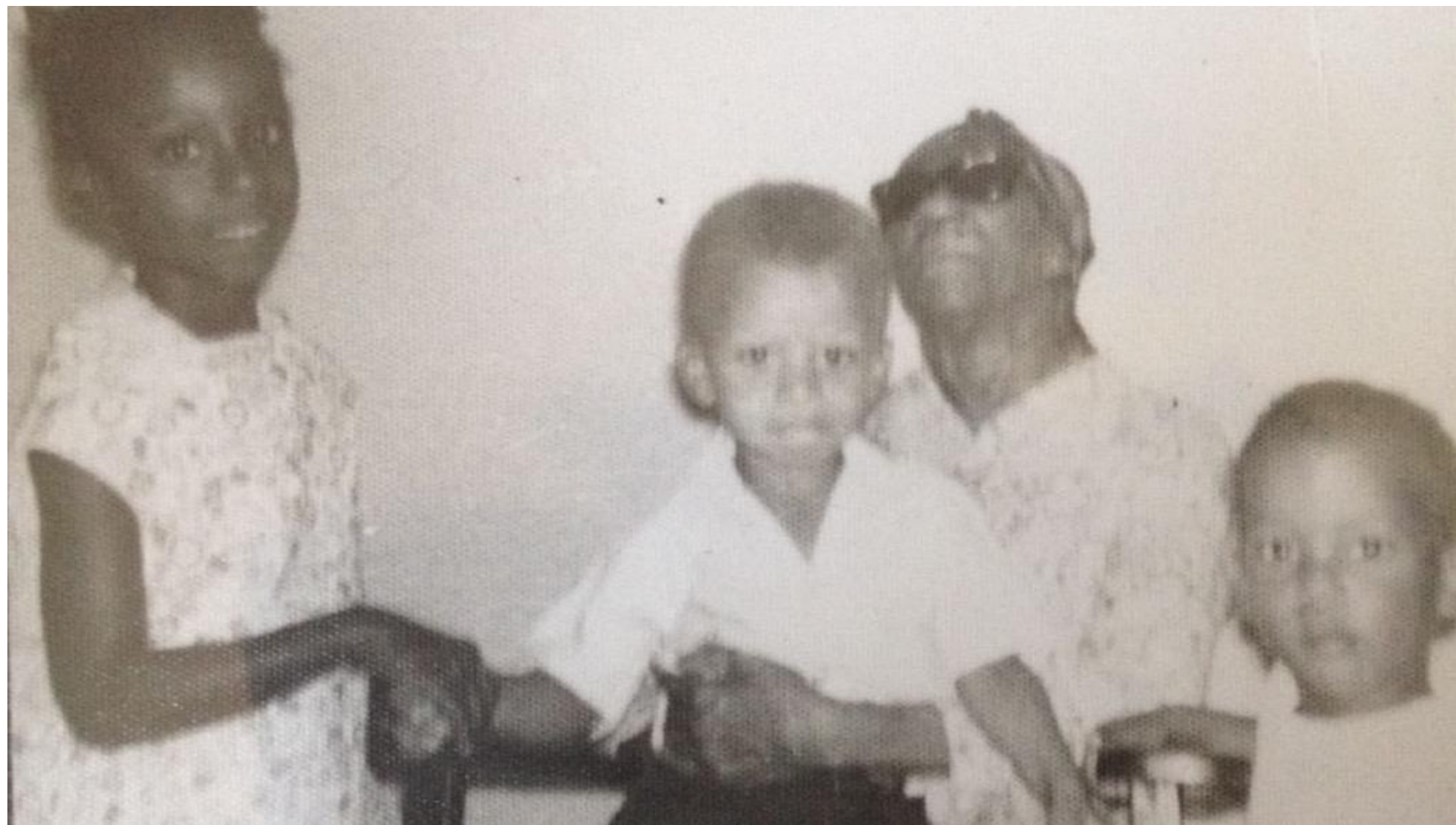


Report of the Findings of the Scholarly Panel to Examine Lord Dalhousie's History on Slavery and Race

DECEMBER 10, 2018





Panelists

Dr. Afua Cooper, Chair (History/SOSA, Dalhousie)

Prof. Françoise Baylis (Philosophy/Medicine, Dalhousie)

Prof. Camille Cameron (Dean, Law, Dalhousie)

Mr. Ainsley Francis (Student rep. and Researcher, Law, Dalhousie)

Dr. Paul Lovejoy (Canada Research Chair in the African Diaspora History, Harriet Tubman Institute, York University.)

Mr. David States (Independent Historian, former Parks Canada Historian, Halifax)

Dr. Shirley Tillotson (Professor Emerita, History, Dalhousie)

Dr. Harvey Amani Whitfield (History, University of Vermont).

Ms. Norma Williams (Executive Director of Diversity and Inclusiveness, President's Office, Dalhousie)

With contributions from **Dr. Isaac Saney** (Dalhousie), and **Dr. Karly Kehoe** (Saint Mary's University)

Researchers:

Lead: **Ms. Jalana Lewis, J.D. Dalhousie; Ms. Kylie Peacock, M.A. Dalhousie; Mr. Wade Pfaff, M.A. student, SOSA, Dalhousie.**

Mandate

The panel was tasked by President Florizone and Chair of Senate, Dr. Kevin Hewitt to:

“

[G]ather the historical facts on Lord Dalhousie’s statements and actions with regards to slavery and race, interpret those facts in their historical and modern contexts, and recommend actions that Dalhousie [University] could take to respond to this legacy, in order to build a stronger, more inclusive university that fully reflects our history, our values and our aspirations.

”



Background

Incidents related to anti-Blackness on campus, such as anti-Black graffiti and the removal of the Pan African flag, and concerns about pedagogical and other issues relating to Black faculty, staff, and students.

US institutions of similar genealogy on the East Coast were grappling with issues of race on campus highlighting the need for us to examine our own history.

A Dalhousie Black Faculty and Staff Caucus contingent met with Dr. Florizone to discuss these issues. The meeting with the DBFSC, among others, did inform the pursuit of an examination of Dalhousie University's history in the context of our need to understand better the history of our institution vis-à-vis race and slavery. We wanted to look back in order to move forward.



Background, continued

- Diversity and Inclusiveness are values we aspire to at Dalhousie.
- Lord Dalhousie envisioned a college with access for all – a radical view for its time.
- Despite progressive views on higher education, his documented views on race are of concern.
- Commemoration of Dalhousie University's 200th anniversary. What did it mean to celebrate 200 years of existence in the context of racism, anti-Blackness, and knowledge about the founder's views and actions toward people of African descent?



Context of the Examination

- Recent race-based events at Dalhousie, such as anti-Black and anti-Muslim graffiti.
- Events within Canada itself and on Canadian university campuses, namely student protests as articulated through #Blacklivesmatter agitation.
- Students' protests, on some American university campuses, with regards to issues of race and racism; for example, at the University of Missouri, and Yale and Princeton universities.



Universities Studying Slavery Consortium

Dalhousie University joined the Universities Studying Slavery (USS) group. This consortium is open:

“to any school contemplating or already investigating its own history as it relates to slavery or racism.”

The USS now has a membership of 45 universities and colleges. Dalhousie is the first Canadian institution to join this group.



The Five Main Entanglements Discerned by the Panel

1. Lord Dalhousie's participation in the British invasion of the slave colony of Martinique, in 1794-95, during the French Revolutionary Wars.
2. Lord Dalhousie's relationship with the Black Refugees of the War of 1812.
3. The West Indies Trade: Tethering the university to the enslavement of captive Africans.
4. Slave Emancipation Compensation Award.
5. Support for the Confederacy and, thus, for the continued enslavement of African Americans.



1. Lord Dalhousie in the Caribbean: Slavery and Race

In 1794, as the French Revolutionary wars convulsed the Caribbean and Europe, the French Republican government abolished slavery in most of its Caribbean colonies. Britain attacked San Domingue (now, Haiti), Guadeloupe, and Martinique with the intention of seizing the islands from France and re-instituting slavery.

In Martinique, Lord Dalhousie was an officer in the occupying forces. Troops under his command enforced slavery.

A similar situation developed in Guadeloupe. But in San Domingue, the British were unsuccessful as the Haitian Revolution was underway and the Haitian revolutionaries, who were former enslaved Africans, defeated the British.



Conclusions to be Drawn

In beating back the tide of emancipation in Martinique, Lord Dalhousie revealed his pro-slavery position.

Lord Dalhousie would have been influenced by ideas that were circulating throughout the Atlantic world about Black inferiority; he would also have been familiar with the practice of the enslavement of Black people within Scotland, itself, and the attendant stereotypes that were associated with the Black body of the enslaved.





*By the Honorable Sir ALEXANDER COCHRANE, K. B.
Vice Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of
His Majesty's Ships and Vessels, upon the North American
Station, &c. &c. &c.*

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it has been represented to me, that many Persons now resident in the UNITED STATES, have expressed a desire to withdraw therefrom, with a view of entering into His Majesty's Service, or of being received as Free Settlers into some of His Majesty's Colonies.

This is therefore to Give Notice,

That all those who may be disposed to emigrate from the UNITED STATES will, with their Families, be received on board of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War, or at the Military Posts that may be established, upon or near the Coast of the UNITED STATES, when they will have their choice of either entering into His Majesty's Sea or Land Forces, or of being sent as FREE Settlers to the British Possessions in North America or the West Indies, where they will meet with all due encouragement.

*GIVEN under my Hand at Bermuda, this 2nd
day of April, 1814.*

ALEXANDER COCHRANE.

By Command of the Vice Admiral,

WILLIAM BALHETCHET.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

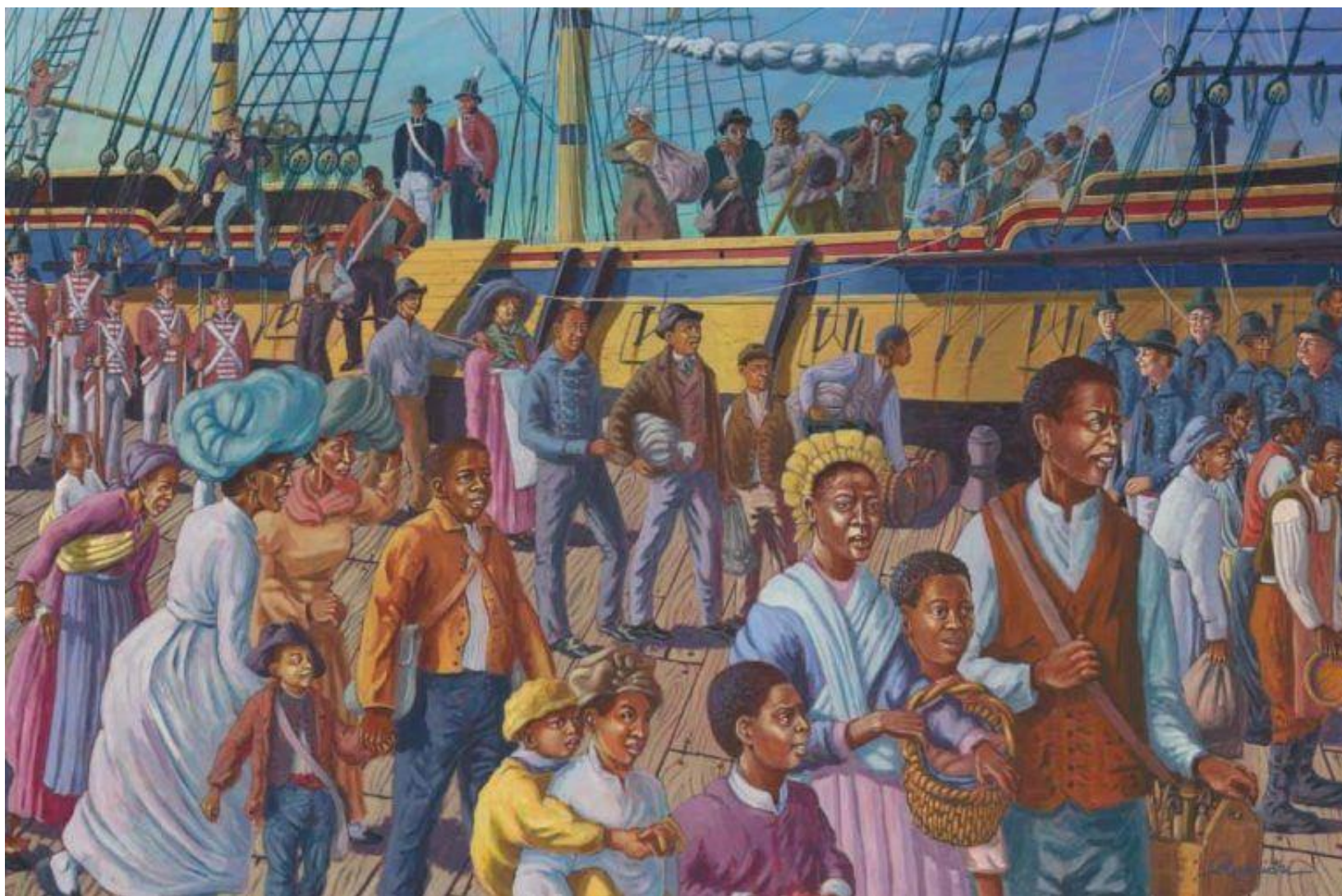


Image courtesy of the artist Richard Rudnicki and the Army Museum, Halifax Citadel

2. Lord Dalhousie's relationship with the Black Refugees of the War of 1812

On December 29, 1816, Lord Dalhousie, the newly minted lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, wrote to his superior in London, Lord Bathurst, and spoke of the Black Refugees thusly:

“Slaves by habit & education, no longer working under the dread of the lash, their idea of freedom is idleness, and they are therefore quite incapable of industry.” (Letter to Bathurst, dated 29 Dec. 1816)



Slaves by Habit and Education

This was the statement that inspired our inquiry into Dalhousie's relationship to race and slavery. It was crucial to our understanding of Lord Dalhousie's relationship with the Black Refugees of the War of 1812.



What the Black Refugees had hoped for

Most of the Black Refugees who arrived in Nova Scotia after the War of 1812 had hoped to become land-owning farmers, according to the Crown's promise to them in a proclamation of 1814. Instead, their unequal assistance, compared to that accorded to White settlers, posed barriers to their successful settlement.

Lord Dalhousie did nothing to correct this situation even after discovering that 100,000 acres of land that had been granted to White settlers remained undeveloped as these settlers had failed to follow through on their obligations (P.B. Waite, "The Lives of Dalhousie University.")



Unequal Treatment of the Black Refugees compared to White Settlers

- The Black Refugees did not receive the same assistance White settlers did in terms of land, rations and wages
- They were socially marginalized on small lots of poor land situated outside of Halifax or close to White farms
- This forced them to seek low-wage employment to subsidize their subsistence farming
- They were sometimes cheated out of the portions of the low wages they had rightfully earned
- This meant that they contributed to the success of the merchants and White farmers they worked for
- Lord Dalhousie was in a position to correct this situation, but instead, he prolonged it



Response of Lord Dalhousie to the Settlement of the Black Refugees

- He never thought of the Black Refugees as settlers or potential settlers, but always as ‘Refugees,’ or temporary residents who would at some point depart Nova Scotia.
- He therefore did not provide the necessary support for their settlement. He issued inferior rations and later reduced their rations.
- The small plots of land (8 to 10 acres) issued to the Black Refugees were not sufficient to help them become independent farmers. Instead, this “pushed them into a mix of subsistence farming and wage labour” (for White individuals and businesses).
- Thus, Black persons were to be used as a reserve labour force.



Passing Judgement Soon After His Arrival

Lord Dalhousie arrived in Halifax on October 24, 1816. Three months later, he wrote the following to Lord Bathurst:

“Permit me to state plainly to your Lordship that little hope can be entertained of settling these people so as to provide for their families and wants—they must be supported for many years.”

(Letter from Lord Dalhousie to Bathurst, dated 29 Dec. 1816)



The Social Exclusion of the Black Refugees

The Nova Scotia legislature and the general population did not want the Black Refugees in the colony, despite their loyalty to the Crown and the Crown's promises to them subsequent to the War of 1812:

“The Legislature & the Inhabitants of this Province generally consider them a Class of Subjects that never will do well as Settlers & therefore will not give them any Countenance or Assistance” (Letter from Lord Dalhousie to Bathurst, dated 29 Dec. 1816)



Lord Dalhousie's desire to rid the colony of the Black Refugees

Lord Dalhousie made several references to removing the Black Refugees from Nova Scotia and sending them to the slave colony of Trinidad, to their former slave masters in America, or to Sierra Leone:

“Were it possible to procure for them a pardon from the Government of the United States, it would be most desirable to restore them to their Masters in America or send them to the Settlement of Sierra Leone...” (Letter from Lord Dalhousie to Bathurst, dated 29 Dec. 1816)



Lord Dalhousie's desire to rid the colony of the Black Refugees, continued

Lord Dalhousie on his assistance to White settlers:

"... there are several descriptions of People require the aid of Government to settle, otherwise they will proceed to the United States in search of bread" (Letter to Bathurst 2 Jan. 1817).

Lord Dalhousie on his assistance to Black Refugees:

"I cannot give hopes that are not to be realized & I therefore consider it an imperious duty to state, that subsistence cannot be afforded to these helpless people until another & large Crop enables them to feed their numerous families —without it they must perish" (Letter to Bathurst 14 Aug. 1817)

Castine Fund

When Dalhousie College was founded, it received its original endowment from the Castine Fund.

The Castine Fund consisted of trade taxes charged on imports entering Castine, Maine during the British occupation there. Of those taxes, 30% came from slave-made goods imported from the West Indies.

As lieutenant governor and Britain's representative to Nova Scotia, Lord Dalhousie played a central role in deciding how the fund would be allocated.



Lord Dalhousie has discretion to use the Castine Fund

Lord Bathurst urged that Earl Dalhousie spend the Castine fund on settlers, giving Dalhousie the option to provide adequately for the needs of the Black Refugees. (Bathurst to Dalhousie, 12 March 1817). Dalhousie wrote back stating:

“I would ... entreat your Lordship would not require me to appropriate the Sum of Castine duties ... to this purpose, it would go little way & would soon be lost.” (Letter from Dalhousie to Bathurst, 16 May 1817).

Shortly after, he followed up:

“I have personally visited the several settlements, and ... have the pleasure in reporting ...an opinion much more favourable than I before entertained ... every man had one or more Acres cleared and ready for seed and working with an industry that astonished me ...” (Letter of 14 Aug. 1817).

3. The West Indies Trade: Connecting Halifax to Caribbean Slavery

The West Indies trade was an import-export endeavour in which the merchants of the colony traded salt cod, herring, mackerel, grains and other provisions, timber, lumber and other products that were essential to the survival of the West Indies slavery infrastructure.

These goods were exchanged for rum, sugar, molasses, coffee, cocoa and other tropical goods, produced by the labour of enslaved Africans in slave colonies in the Caribbean.

Nova Scotia was integrated into the global economy through the West Indies carrying trade. From 1777 to 1840, this was Nova Scotia's most important trade relationship.

It is also instructive to note, that under the French Regime, Île Royale (Cape Breton) was integrated into the world economy and the Atlantic commerce in African bodies through the West Indies trade.

West Indies Trade, continued

Halifax was the principal Nova Scotian port that was involved in this branch of commerce, but other important ports participated, including Lunenburg, Pictou, Liverpool, Yarmouth, Shelburne, and even smaller ports such as Port Greville/Parrsboro.

The province's economic life was therefore tied to the very heart of the British Atlantic slave economy—the West Indies slavery system.

Therefore, this trade was part and parcel of the British (European) Triangular trade system which was underpinned by the commerce in kidnapped African bodies and the labour wrung from these bodies to produce colonial and imperial wealth.



West Indies Trade, continued

Sometimes Nova Scotian merchants brought back enslaved Caribbean persons to the Maritimes for sale within the colony or other points in British North America.

Sometimes Caribbean slave captives were transported to Nova Scotia as part of the West Indies trade.

The activities of Joshua Mauger, ship-owner and builder, politician, businessman, and West Indies merchant, illustrate, this fact.



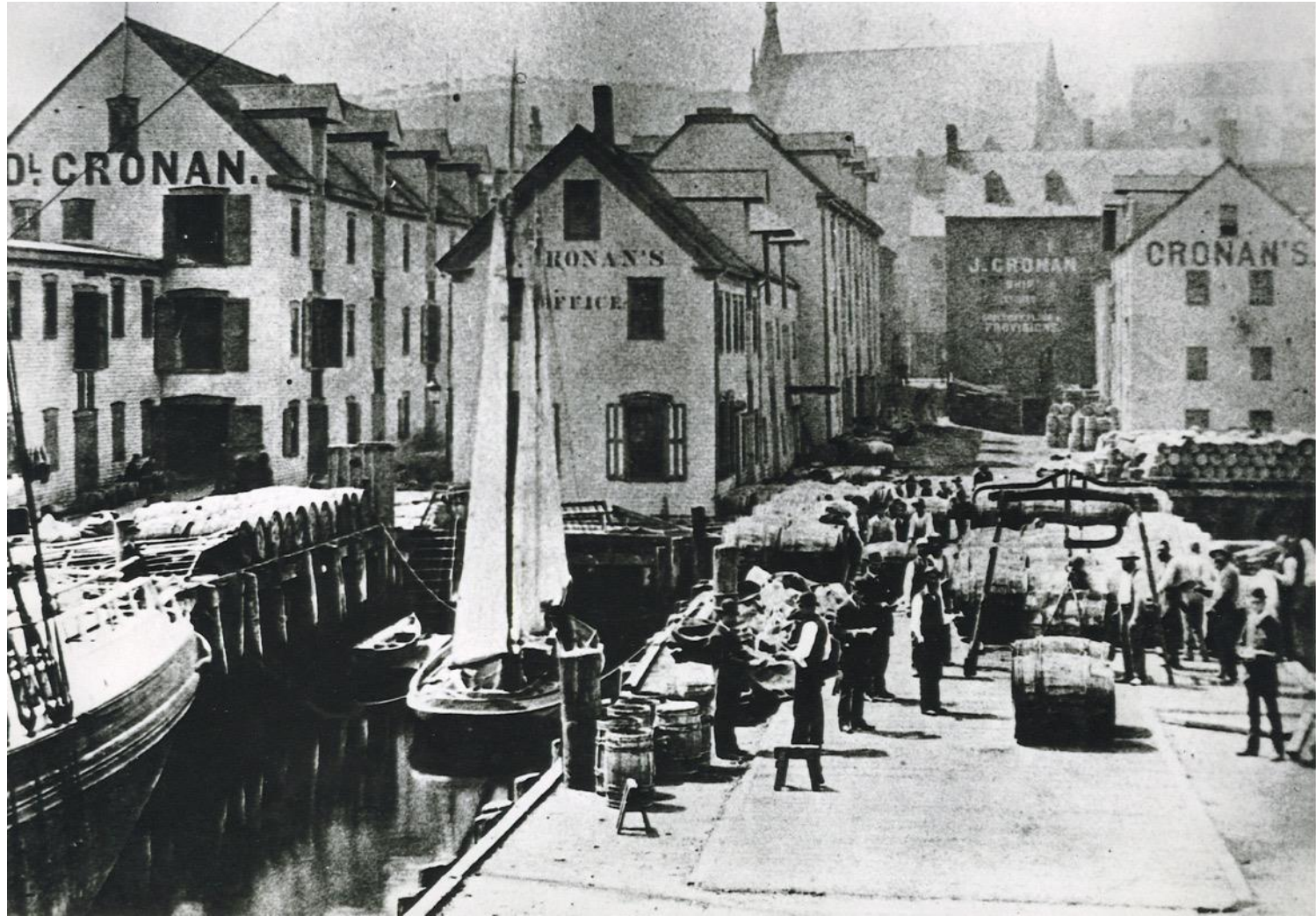


Image courtesy of the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic

Advertisement for the Sale of Slaves in Halifax Harbour, *Halifax Gazette*, 30 May 1752

Advertisements.

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

Sugar and Slavery

Until the late 1830s, the British West Indies slave colonies supplied Nova Scotia with 90% of its imported sugar. This was also true for rum and molasses. Colonial merchants then re-exported some of these products to other “British North American colonies, as well as to the U.S.”

It is important to note that, with the abolition of British West Indies slavery in 1838, Nova Scotian merchants began importing the bulk of their sugar products and rum from the French and Spanish slave colonies and Brazil. (Gwyn 2013)



Merchants

Halifax merchants involved in the West Indies trade earned large incomes and grew wealthy. Some of these include Samuel Cunard, William Roche, Joseph Salter, James and Michael Tobin, Mather Byles Almon, and Enos Collins.

At his death, in 1871, Collins was reputed to be the richest man in British North America, with a net worth of \$6,000,000.



Slavery, Shipping, and Provincial Development

“By 1810, almost 29% of all vessels paying toll in support of the Halifax lighthouse were inbound from the West Indies.” As one commentator notes: The West Indies trade was important for Nova Scotia’s development as “duties imposed on West Indies imports initially rested much [up to 25%] of the provincial revenue.” (Julian Gwyn 2013).



Paying for Dalhousie University: Public Revenue and the Castine Fund

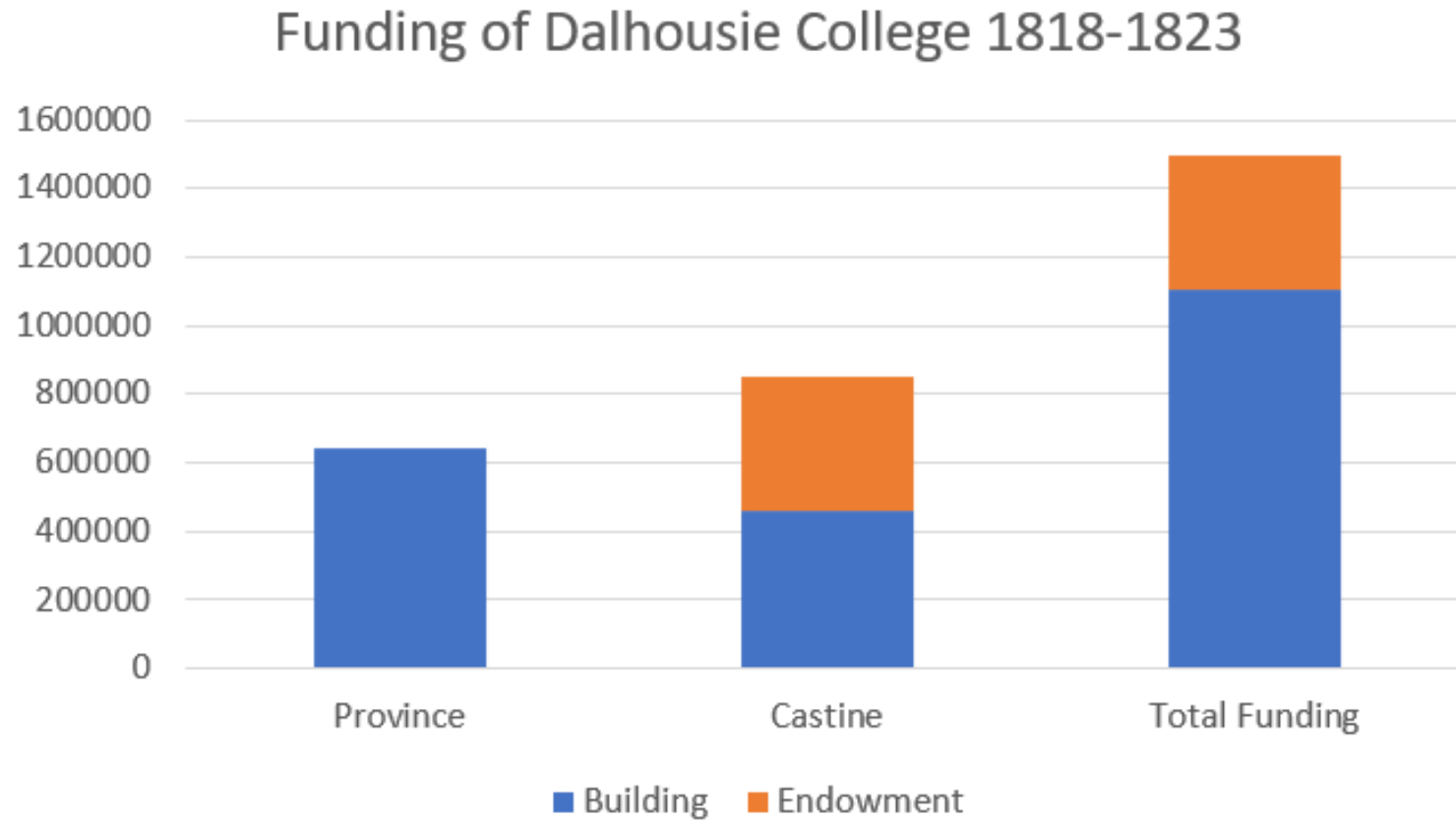
Revenue from the Castine Customs House, 30% of which was taxes on the West Indies Trade, paid for the building and the endowment of the College. In this way, slave-produced goods are part of what built Dalhousie College/University.

From 1818 to 1823, approximately £10, 596 went from the Castine Fund toward the College.

Between 1819 and 1823, £8,000 came from provincial grants and a loan for constructing the College building.



Castine Fund, continued



Dalhousie College Building Costs in 1818 and today's dollars

	Halifax currency 1818	Today's Canadian dollars
Dalhousie College building final cost	£13,707	\$1,102,969
Castine fund	£11,596	\$933,102
Amount from Castine fund spent on building Dalhousie College 1819-1823	£5,707	\$459,228
Amount from Castine fund spent on garrison library	£1,000	\$80,468
Amount from Castine fund remaining for Dalhousie college endowment	£4,889	\$393,406
Provincial Assembly grants & loan for building Dalhousie College 1819-1823	£8,000	\$643,740

4. Slave Emancipation Compensation Awards

Mather Byles Almon, member of Dalhousie's Board of Governors (1842-1848) and King's College, (1854-1868/1867-1871), was a co-awardee of slave compensation money paid by the British government to slave owners and their agents for the loss of slave property, due to West Indies slave emancipation in 1834.

Almon was one of the executors of the estate of his brother-in-law John Johnston. The estate received over £500 in compensation for the loss of property in enslaved African bodies, on Mount Salus slave plantation in St. Andrew, Jamaica.

Legacies of British Slave-ownership <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46485>



Conclusions Regarding Almon's Receipt of the Compensation Award

This is further articulation of Nova Scotia's enmeshment within the circuit of British imperial slavery.

The link to actual slave ownership has material and symbolic value. It represents the fact that slave ownership fell within the normal range of the ordinary business dealings of the generation of White Nova Scotians who were alive and influential in Lord Dalhousie's day.

Enslaved people were the collateral that a slave owner, Walter Brett, offered to secure the debt that he owed to John Johnston, the brother-in-law of Almon, the Dalhousie governor, who was one of four executors of the estate to which the compensation money came.

5. Support for the Confederacy

Dr. William Johnston Almon, nephew of Mather Byles Almon, and first head of Dalhousie's Faculty of Medicine (1868-1875), was a "rabid supporter of the Confederacy." He gave large sums of money to the cause and assisted Confederates who took refuge in Halifax.

He was involved in both the *Chesapeake* and *Tallahassee* cases.

He instituted a prize at King's College for the best essay, composed in Latin and English, to the memory of Confederate general Stonewall Jackson.

Other Connections to Race and Slavery: the First Two Dalhousie Presidents

Thomas McCulloch and Hugo Reid held disparaging views about Black people. McCulloch, president from 1838 to 1843, drew on cultural stereotypes of Black people in his publication *The Letters of Mephibosheth Stepsure*.

Hugo Reid, president from 1856 to 1860, subscribed to the ideology of Black inferiority. In his 1861 publication, *Sketches in North America*, he stated: ***“There can be little doubt of the great natural inferiority of the negro to the white race.”***

Sketches in North America, with some Account of Congress and the Slavery Question (1861) 157.



Another Dalhousie Connection to Slavery and Race: The President's Residence

The official residence of the president of Dalhousie University was originally built and owned by Levi Hart, a Halifax merchant involved in the West Indies carrying trade.



Why This Report Matters

The panel posits that today's contemporary situation with regards to Canada's Black community is, to a large part, a result of the enslavement of Africans and their descendants.

Legacies of Slavery, Racism, and Injustice include:

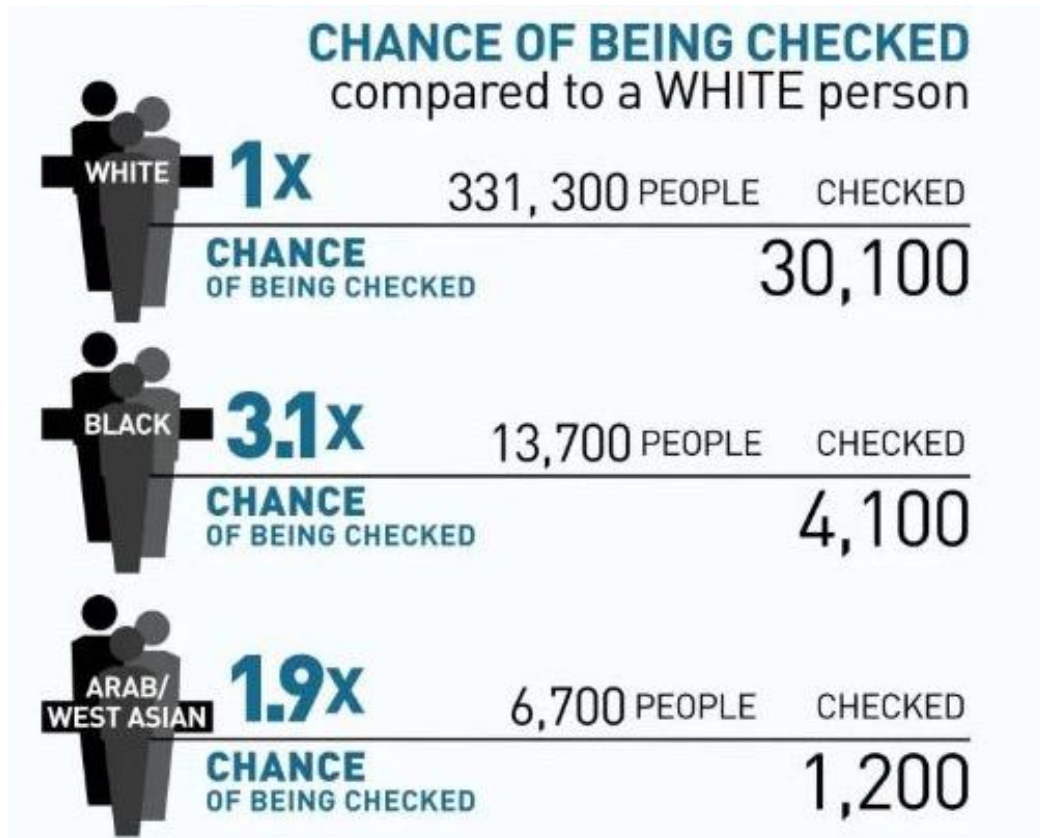


Social and Economic Determinants of Contemporary Black Life


- Un/under-employment
- Poverty rates
- Disproportionate incarceration rates
- Disproportionate school drop-out rates
- Environmental racism
- Education and social exclusion
- Racial profiling



Halifax Street Checks, 2011



ETHNICITY	2011 HALIFAX POPULATION	PEOPLE CHECKED
WHITE	331,300	30,100
ABORIGINAL	18,000	500
BLACK	13,700	4,100
EAST/SOUTHEAST ASIAN	8,000	300
ARAB/WEST ASIAN	6,700	1,200
SOUTH ASIAN	4,000	200
OTHER	2,600	300
TOTAL:	384,300	36,700

 news

RACE	HALIFAX POPULATION 2011	NUMBER OF PEOPLE CHECKED	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CHECKED PER ETHNIC POPULATION %
White	331,300	30,100	9.1
Aboriginal	18,000	500	2.7
Black	13,700	4,100	30.0
East/Southeast Asian	8,000	300	3.8
Arab/ West Asian	6,700	1,200	17.9
South Asian	4,000	200	5.0
Total	384,300	36,700	9.5

Summary

- Lord Dalhousie’s participation in the British invasion of the slave colony of Martinique and his role in the re-subjection of Martinique showed his commitment to the enslavement of African descended peoples in the West Indies.
- Lord Dalhousie shared the widespread (though not universal) racist belief in the “idleness,” and lack of “industriousness,” of formerly enslaved Black peoples. He made several references to removing the Black Refugees from Nova Scotia and returning them to slavery.
- Lord Dalhousie did not provide the necessary support to the Black Refugees as settlers, and when he had the opportunity to use Castine Funds to assist the Black Refugees he chose not to.
- There are direct linkages between the founding of Dalhousie University and the profits of enslavement in the West Indies, through the use of funds from the Castine Fund and the provincial treasury.
- Halifax merchants and others individuals grew wealthy from their involvement in the West Indies, some of whom became Dalhousie University’s early leadership.
- The legacies of slavery, racism and injustice continue to oppress Nova Scotia’s and Canada’s Black communities.

Draft Recommendations for Consideration

- Apology from Dalhousie University
- Acknowledge key individuals
- Acknowledge contributions of the Black Refugees to the British Empire
- Support for Black Studies
- Fully fund the Johnston Chair in Black Canadian Studies
- Teach Slavery and Anti-Blackness in a number of subject areas in elementary, high schools, and post-secondary institutions
- Facilitate Black Studies with the public school system



Draft Recommendation for Consideration

- Funding for Black students and recruiting Black faculty
- Infrastructure to study slavery and the Black experience
- Acknowledge the West Indies Trade contributions in the Castine Fund Memorial
- Honour the contributions of Black Refugees to War of 1812
- Establish collaborations with post-secondary institutions in the Caribbean to help build capacity in areas of mutual interest and provide funding to support these links
- University leaders' outreach to African Nova Scotian communities; these should include personal visits.



**THE SANKOFA BIRD: GOING BACK TO FETCH IT.
REMEMBERING OUR PAST AS WE MOVE FORWARD.**



Thank you