

G. A. Rawlyk

## THE GUYSBOROUGH NEGROES:

### A STUDY IN ISOLATION

RELATIVELY LITTLE HAS BEEN WRITTEN about the historical development of the various Negro communities in Nova Scotia. However, since 1948, two historians, Dr. C. Bruce Fergusson of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and Professor Robin Winks of Yale University,<sup>1</sup> have written perceptively about the Nova Scotia Negro. Unfortunately, Dr. Fergusson's monograph is restricted largely to the period from 1812 to 1848, and the recent study of Dr. Winks is a general survey of Negro history for the entire Atlantic region. Consequently, there are still many glaring gaps in Negro history in Nova Scotia. One of the most glaring of these concerns the Guysborough Negroes—those who lived in the north-eastern corner of peninsular Nova Scotia.

The Guysborough Negroes, like most Nova Scotia Negroes, live in an historical vacuum. Lacking a written historical tradition, and being understandably ashamed of their African and slave origins, they have become a rootless people with little awareness of their historical past. Most of the historical data about these Negroes has been carefully filtered through the minds of white observers. As a result, any historical study of the Guysborough Negroes is likely to be distorted.

For those "Loyalist Blacks" who settled in Nova Scotia after the American Revolutionary War, leaving their former homes in the South was a traumatic experience. In the harsh wilderness of Nova Scotia they were abruptly confronted by a series of hazardous and even harrowing experiences. It was to be expected that the problems posed by their migration to a strange land and climate, and often by their sudden emancipation, would be almost impossible for them to solve adequately. The extreme difficulty of establishing themselves in Nova Scotia was only the first and most immediate of such problems. In the ensuing years the Negroes throughout Nova Scotia were to be plagued by the combined ravages of crop failure, poverty, starvation, ignorance, and white prejudice. For the Negroes, the migration to Nova Scotia was to result in a grim adventure in an alien world.

It can be effectively argued that there were several underlying factors

which greatly influenced the manner in which the Negro communities in Nova Scotia developed during the years following the end of the Revolutionary War. One of the most significant was the poor quality of most of the land granted to the Negroes and the inadequate size of these grants.<sup>2</sup> It was virtually impossible for any man to eke out an existence on from ten to forty acres of perhaps the worst land in Nova Scotia. In addition, the Negroes were ignorant of the methods that were necessary to be used on frontier farms in a northern climate. Another factor—and one of profound importance—was a certain lack of industry and initiative on the part of the Negroes themselves. This characteristic was usually attributed to their previous state of slavery together with their being accustomed “to a more sultry climate”. Bishop Charles Inglis of Nova Scotia, often a most sympathetic observer, maintained in a letter written to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1786 that “In general the Negroes are very indolent and improvident (the natural consequence of their former state and sudden emancipation).”<sup>3</sup> Inglis, however, did not feel that this state of affairs would never improve. He declared that “Latterly they [the Negroes] seem to manage better. . . . It is probably that the descendants of these Blacks who are now free will in general be as industrious and useful as white people of the same rank.”<sup>3</sup> There is strong evidence to suggest, therefore, that the vast majority of Negroes in Nova Scotia were unprepared psychologically, as well as practically, for life in their new homeland.

In Guysborough County,<sup>4</sup> most of the problems confronted by Loyalist Negroes throughout Nova Scotia were present, but in much more intensified form. This was partly because the land was on the whole less fertile. But the chief reason was that the region was extremely isolated and consequently the struggling Negro could not depend on ready assistance from either the government or his white neighbours to the extent that his fellows could in other settlements, especially Halifax. It appears, moreover, that racial prejudice was especially intense in the more isolated communities in Nova Scotia. Of course, this is not to say that in Guysborough County a kind of segregation came about as a consciously determined policy of the white inhabitants. On the contrary, it appears that segregation was rather an assumption reached more or less independently by both races. Even before being granted their own land, the Negroes had become quietly established in their own primitive settlements on Chedabucto Bay. One of the most important of these settlements was “Niggertown Hill” on the fringe of what would be known as Guys-

borough. The granting to some of the Negroes of 3,000 acres of land at Tracadie merely formalized a segregation that already existed.

This kind of segregation was by no means restricted to Guysborough; but, because of its isolation and the fact that many of the Negroes were forced to live at a considerable distance from the whites, the Guysborough Negroes could depend even less on their white neighbours for aid in time of need than normally would have been the case. Both groups were likely to be in dire straits at the same time. And, as would be expected, the white inhabitants, who were likely to be better off than most of the Negroes even at the worst times, would tend to forget the Negroes in a moment of crisis. Out of sight out of mind!

Largely because of government assistance, the Guysborough Negroes were able to survive their first winter in Nova Scotia. But the winter of 1785-6, their second in the colony, was a harrowing experience for the Negroes. For in September of 1785 a vessel carrying much-needed provisions to Guysborough was hijacked by a mutinous crew and taken to the United States, where it was sold:

A sad result of the loss of supplies was the death of a number of coloured people who had been slaves in the revolted colonies, and had followed the Loyalists into exile. They lived apart from the whites in a village in the forest and were dependent on the ship that brought the winter supplies to Guysborough for sustenance until the harbour opened in the spring.<sup>5</sup>

The seizure of the supply vessel, of course, meant that both whites and Negroes would lack necessary provisions. But the whites had guns and could hunt for food, while the Negroes were completely helpless. Lacking food, suffering from exposure, and profoundly affected by the strange new environment, many Negroes died. Most of those who survived were exhausted, and many became increasingly dependent upon the white inhabitants. While undoubtedly a few who survived became increasingly confident in their own ability to cope with the realities of the situation, these Negroes were the exception and not the rule.

Besides the vitally important problem of survival, the Negroes were forced to deal with the question of white prejudice. In her manuscript *History of the County of Guysborough, Nova Scotia*, H. C. Hart related the following revealing incident which occurred soon after the arrival of the "Loyalist Blacks:"

Many Negroes who had formerly been slaves had accompanied their

masters to Chedabucto. They had their quarters on the hill near where the upper road now crosses Mr. Hartshorne's mill brook. It was called "Niggertown Hill." They suffered severely from famine and many died from want. One poor man named Tom Thompson trying one very severe day to go home from the lower part of town, became so faint when passing Captain Ralph Cunningham's . . . that he thought he must ask there for help. As he neared the door he heard a voice calling a dog, and fancying that the inmates were taking that means of driving him away he started again for Niggertown Hill, but he was so badly frozen before he reached his destination that he eventually lost his feet and went about in that crippled condition for the remainder of his life.<sup>6</sup>

Approximately twenty-five years later this same kind of prejudice still existed in Guysborough County. The Roman Catholic Bishop Plessis, who visited the Tracadie region in 1812, noted in his diary of that year:

Another reason why he [the local priest] is not suited to this place [Tracadie] is that there are twenty-five families of Protestant negroes there, who have been abandoned by the ministers of their belief, and who, to become Catholics, are awaiting only the presence of a priest able to preach to them in English. It would be difficult to express the sorrow felt by the Bishop of Quebec when he saw so fine a prize separated from his flock, with so little needed to procure for them a knowledge of the true religion. . . . The poor Negroes abstained from appearing in the neighbourhood during the two days of the visitation, thinking, wrongly, that they were not in the good graces of the Catholic clergy, because they had been erroneously told that they would be sent away if they showed themselves there.<sup>7</sup>

It is interesting to note that the Roman Catholic Acadians were perhaps just as prejudiced concerning the Negroes as the English-speaking Protestants of Guysborough County. It should also be noted that, while most white Protestants were willing to have the Christian gospel preached to the Negroes, many Acadians refused to have anything to do with them. This attitude of the Acadian Roman Catholics may explain why so few Negroes in Guysborough County became Roman Catholics.

The various problems that the Negroes faced in Guysborough County in the years immediately following their arrival did not disappear in the nineteenth century. What could be effectively done to improve the quality of Guysborough soil or to reduce Guysborough's isolation? How could racial prejudices be destroyed? How could many of the Negroes be instilled with

some sense of pride and some sense of initiative and learn to turn their backs on white paternalism?

In 1830, Captain W. Moorsom, a British traveller who had visited Guysborough County and other sections of Nova Scotia observed,

Scarcely does a winter pass without the distressed situation of the negroes coming under the consideration and relief of the Legislature. Their potato crop fails; their soil is said to be incapable of supporting them; and disease makes fearful ravages . . . the negro settlements continue with numbers gradually diminishing, in summer miserable, and in winter starving. Their origin, their story, and their condition, thus contribute to shed an almost romantic halo around them; and the first question put to anyone who has returned from their neighbourhood is sure to be—"How are the poor blacks?"<sup>8</sup>

As far as Moorsom was concerned, the condition of the Negroes of Guysborough County was superior to that existing in other areas of Nova Scotia:

In many parts of the country, both east and westward, detached families of negroes are to be found, whose condition, though still miserable poor, is far better than that of their brethren near Halifax. The nearest approach to comfort I have observed among this race is in a few families who occupy the backlands of Great Tracadie. . . . They are descendants of some slaves who came with refugee loyalists, and consequently have only experienced by inheritance the demoralizing effects of slavery. Those who are employed as labourers and servants in the towns are in better circumstances than the rest. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Moorsom also declared that the only livery stable in the Guysborough area was managed by a Negro whose fame was widespread and who, according to some "county jockies", was able to breed cattle far better than those owned by the governor! "No mean personage is Mr. Campbell when an invite to some universal party, or a rainy eve, renders his huge mourning coach the object of at least half a dozen separate engagements."<sup>8</sup>

It was Moorsom's contention that the Guysborough Negroes were in most respects superior to those elsewhere in Nova Scotia. In addition, a few had shown some unusual initiative in spite of the very real and perplexing problems confronting them. Under the existing circumstances this Negro enterprise and initiative were amazing. But it should be emphasized that such enterprise and initiative were restricted to only a handful of Negroes such as Mr. Campbell, Thomas Brownspriggs, and Dempsey Jordan. Most of the

Guysborough Negroes had to be satisfied with walking the tightrope of mere existence. To these people life continued to be a grim adventure, but it now was taking place in a somewhat less alien world. The second-generation Guysborough Negroes had learned to come to grips with the Nova Scotia environment. They were no longer "Loyalist Blacks"; they were now "Nova Scotia Negroes."

Brownspriggs and Jordan both played a very important role in the educational and religious life of the Tracadie Negro community. Furthermore, both men provided a link between the white and Negro worlds.

Brownspriggs was apparently the leader of the Negro community in "Guysborough County" from the very beginning. Relatively well educated, respected by some of the white inhabitants and by almost all of the Negroes, Brownspriggs was thrust forward as the chief Negro spokesman. By early 1787 he had grown totally dissatisfied with the state of the Negro community in the Chedabucto Bay area. He therefore urged Lieutenant-Governor Parr to make a grant of land for those Negroes who wished to become independent farmers. It can be assumed that the leaders of the white community encouraged Brownspriggs in his petition to Parr. Some of these leaders wished to drive many of the Negroes into the interior, where they could be forgotten. This would be a simple way to solve the problems of race and welfare in one move. Other white settlers, a little more sympathetic to the Negroes, wished to see them established on their own land and given every reasonable opportunity to become self-sufficient; but even the more sympathetic white settlers regarded the Negroes as inferior and were anxious to keep any large concentration of them at a safe distance.

On September 28, 1787, Lieutenant-Governor Parr ordered Charles Morris, the Surveyor-General, to "lay out under Thomas Brownspriggs and seventy-three others at Tracadie . . . 3000 acres".<sup>9</sup> It was hoped that 172 Negroes would eventually settle at Tracadie. But not all of them apparently were willing to leave the Chedabucto Bay area. Some chose to remain, working as servants and labourers for the white inhabitants.

Brownspriggs' Negroes had been thrust into an entirely different white milieu, that of the Acadian Nova Scotians. Of course, the Negroes remained isolated in the barren interior, miles from the Acadian community and still farther from Chedabucto. But in 1788 they had no time to feel sorry for themselves. They were forced immediately on settling their land to clear some of it, plant some potatoes, and build temporary lodgings.

Bishop Charles Inglis was concerned about the plight of the Tracadie



Negroes. Consequently, in 1788, he appointed Brownspriggs as a teacher for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Tracadie. Brownspriggs received a yearly salary of £10. At the time of appointing Brownspriggs, Inglis described the Negro as having formerly been "agent for that settlement" and maintained that he "behaved well, that he was well recommended and the only fit person I could find."<sup>10</sup> Inglis observed to the Bishop of London:

I have just sent a Black to that station [Tracadie] who bears an excellent character, and is tolerably well qualified for the office. He had formerly been agent for the settlement. I gave him upwards of 100 books and tracts adapted to their use; among which were several Testaments and Prayer Books and your Lordship's tract on Good Friday.<sup>10</sup>

In the following years Brownspriggs is infrequently mentioned in the S. P. G. reports. In 1790 it was reported that "The Negro School at Tracadie goes on well, the master teaches twenty-three black children."<sup>11</sup> In 1793 there was a brief reference to Brownspriggs: "There is one unfortunate event to relate, that Thomas Brownspriggs had abandoned the Negro school at Tracadie."<sup>11</sup> Nothing more was said.

Dempsey Jordan was especially active in Tracadie settlement during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. He had displaced Brownspriggs as the leader of the community. In 1808, Rev. Weeks, the S. P. G. missionary at Guysborough, reported that Jordan was reading prayers, printing sermons, and teaching children on Sundays. Of the thirty-eight children at Tracadie, eighteen knew the catechism perfectly.<sup>12</sup> In 1818, Jordan was appointed S. P. G. schoolmaster at Tracadie, but he also continued to print sermons and to give religious instruction.<sup>12</sup> In the following year Jordan was listed in the records of the Lower District Sydney County Court as "Collector of Taxes for the Blacks." In 1820 he was listed as an "Assessor of County Taxes."<sup>13</sup> Jordan, like Brownspriggs earlier, had become the general factotum in the Negro community. He was the religious, educational, and civil leader, and he was the means by which the white community made its contact with the Negroes in Tracadie.

Tension between the Tracadie Negroes and their Acadian neighbours continued to develop in the nineteenth century. In spite of Jordan's missionary work, some of the Negroes were eager to worship in the neighbouring Roman Catholic Church. Here they were greeted with open hostility and not with Christian charity. The parish priest, Father Marceau, wrote to Bishop Plessis on October 15, 1815:

There is a sort of antipathy between the whites and the Blacks, and it is one of the greatest obstacles I have to overcome. There is a complaint that these newcomers bring in a bad odour, and that there is no way to put up with them. . . . In my sermon last Sunday I exhorted the parishioners to show a bit more charity towards these infidels. . . . A sure way to bring about peace would be to construct a gallery where the blacks alone would be admitted.<sup>14</sup>

Rebuffed by the Roman Catholics, largely forgotten by the Church of England, the Tracadie Negroes in 1821 turned to the Baptist Church. In that year the Reverend David Nutter, a Baptist evangelist, visited Tracadie and began preaching to the Negroes: "The Spirit came upon them like rain upon the mown grass and showers that water the earth."<sup>15</sup> The emotional Baptist religion preached by Nutter appealed to the Negroes. To Nutter a Negro's soul was just as important in the sight of God as the soul of a white man.

To those Negroes who had remained in the Chedabucto Bay area, the emotional brand of Christianity as preached by Baptist and Methodist evangelists also had a great appeal. The emotional excesses of their meetings were eagerly anticipated, since here at least they could forget about white prejudice, hunger, cold, and a bleak future.

The Christian Churches, especially the Baptist and Methodist, continued to be concerned with the plight of the Guysborough Negroes throughout the nineteenth century. But they were primarily interested in the "souls" of the Negroes. However, during the years immediately following the Tupper educational reforms of 1864 and 1865, the Nova Scotia Council of Public Instruction revealed some interest in the question of Negro education. Inspector Samuel Russell observed in 1867:

Tracadie—a section of coloured people with seventy schoolable children—very poor and for want of good men for trustees nothing has been done. The coloured people adjoining Tracadie are not only poor, but careless—will not keep the school supplied with fuel—even when everything else is done for them. This is the only log schoolhouse in the country.<sup>16</sup>

In 1869 it was reported:

Tracadie—no school house—no leaders; aid will be required to enable the people to get up a building. I have no doubt of their willingness to assist in labour—but they cannot pay in money.<sup>16</sup>

In 1870:



New building established in Tracadie—Section 35, Section 34—coloured people—poor and ignorant; several attempts have been made to establish a building; nothing yet has been done.<sup>16</sup>

By 1871 the discouraged Russell was forced to declare that the Guysborough Negroes "poor and ignorant . . . have now no means at their disposal" to do anything about education. He therefore urged that "some special provision should be made for them."<sup>16</sup>

It is virtually impossible to be accurate concerning the actual number of Negroes living in Guysborough County at any specific date during the period from 1784 to 1871. In 1784 there were at least forty-eight adult male Negroes, forty-eight women and fifty children in the Chedabucto region, and thirty-four Negro servants or slaves.<sup>17</sup> In the census of 1817 reference is made to twenty-seven Negroes living in Guysborough village. Most of these Negroes were servants. There were 174 Negroes in Tracadie—eighteen men over fifty, thirty-two men ranging in age from fifteen to fifty, forty-one boys, forty-five women, and thirty-eight girls. In Country Harbour and New Harbour there were thirty-one Negroes, at Canso eighteen, at Little River two, and at Manchester forty. If the 1817 census is complete, the total Negro population in Guysborough County in 1817 was only 292.<sup>18</sup>

Apparently, during the period from 1817 to 1871, there was a significant movement of Negroes from Tracadie to Guysborough, Intervale, Melford, and Manchester. Tracadie, of course, could support only a limited number of Negro families. Negroes had moved from Guysborough to Tracadie in 1787-8, but after 1817 there was probably a movement from Tracadie towards Guysborough.

In 1871 there were 747 Negroes living in Guysborough County.<sup>18</sup> In the whole of Nova Scotia, only the much more populous Halifax County had a larger Negro population. Ten years later the Negro population in Guysborough County had grown to 918, only to decline sharply in 1901 to 664, 559 in 1911, and 471 in 1931. This significant decrease in the Negro population was largely the result of a relatively large-scale movement of people from the depressed, unpromising Guysborough area to the expanding industrial and mining centres in Cape Breton as well as to New Glasgow and to the provincial capital of Halifax. In addition, in all likelihood, a small number of Guysborough Negroes made their way to a New World—that of Quebec and Ontario.

In Guysborough County in 1871 the Negroes were to be found in most

of the major settlements. There were 223 in Guysborough town, 205 in Tracadie and Guysborough Intervale, 209 in Manchester, fifty-eight in Melford, twenty-seven in Isaac's Harbour, ten in Salmon River, six in Sherbrooke, five in Stormont, two at the Forks of St. Mary, and one each in Canso and Crow Harbour.

By using the manuscript census report of 1871, to be found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, it is possible to make some observations concerning the Negroes of Guysborough County. It has been estimated that in the Manchester area there were at least thirty Negro families. Of these thirty Negro families, twelve were members of the Church of England, fifteen were Baptists, one was Roman Catholic, and only two families had no Church connection. There were five unwed mothers in the community, with a total of sixteen illegitimate children. Only two families had fathers who could read, but unfortunately these men were not able to write. Apparently only one Negro child between the ages of five to eighteen inclusive was attending school. The only Negro child going to school was a lad named Thomas Sheppard, an orphan servant of a white farmer. Thus illiterate Negro parents brought up illiterate Negro children. "What else could these primitive people expect, anyway?" expresses the attitude of many of the shiftless and illiterate white inhabitants.

Most of the adult Negro males worked on their own rocky, marginal farms, or else laboured for their white neighbours. Three Negroes were seamen and four brothers were fishermen. A large number of Negro women worked as domestics in various white houses. This master-servant relationship tended, of course, to widen still further the existing chasm between the Negroes and the white inhabitants.

In the region of Tracadie and Guysborough Intervale, most of the Negroes were Baptists except for a family of Roman Catholics and another belonging to the Church of England. Illiteracy was just as prevalent as in Manchester. However, there was only one unwed mother. Most of the men were either farmers or labourers. There was one shingle-maker, and as one would expect of an isolated interior region, there were no Negro fishermen. Nor were there any Negro servants working for white families.

The general situation of the Negroes in Guysborough was quite different from that in Manchester or Tracadie-Guysborough Intervale. There were forty-nine Negro families in Guysborough: twenty-five were Baptists, thirteen were Methodists, ten were Church of England, and one was Roman Catholic. There was only one unwed mother. Illiteracy was not as widespread in Guys-

borough as in other Negro communities. A few adults could read and write. Out of 102 children between the ages of five and eighteen, twenty-five were attending school. Most of the men and older boys worked on their farms or on those belonging to white neighbours. However, there were also nine Negro fishermen, ten seamen, and one miner. A number of women were employed as domestics.

Apparently the Negroes in Guysborough were much better off than those in Manchester or in Tracadie-Guysborough Intervale. The white inhabitants of Guysborough were more prosperous than those of Manchester and consequently the Negroes, many of whom were dependent upon the white inhabitants for jobs, were usually better treated. Furthermore, Guysborough as a shipping centre and fishing port provided more job opportunities for those Negroes unable to make a living from their marginal farms.

In summary, in 1871 the Negroes in Guysborough County were to be found in five main areas—Guysborough, Guysborough Intervale, Tracadie, Manchester, and Melford. In other localities where they were to be found they were usually servants. Almost all of them were illiterate. Most of them were Baptists. However, in the Guysborough-Manchester region the Church of England and the Methodist Church were of some consequence. Most of the Negroes were farmers, labourers, and domestics. A few were fishermen and sailors, one was a miner, and apart from one shingle-maker there were no artisans. The Negroes had been quite prolific and were reasonably healthy. But theirs was a second-class kind of existence, and apparently they had learned to be satisfied with their second-class state. They knew nothing else!

In 1872 in Guysborough County a dramatic change concerning Negro education took place. Schools were erected at Tracadie and at Manchester. In 1874 the new inspector, William Hartshorne, noted:

In the coloured section No. 34 Tracadie, school has been in operation during the summer term for the first time. There were sixty-seven registered pupils, average attendance thirty-nine. The progress made in their school has been satisfactory, and the pupils are very well supplied with books, etc.<sup>19</sup>

But in spite of the worthy efforts of the Nova Scotia Council of Public Instruction, Negro education made little very real progress in the period after 1874. Negro students were "very irregular in attendance;" schoolhouses frequently burned down; it was difficult to find teachers willing to teach in the Negro schools.

From the last decade of the nineteenth century until 1930 very few Negroes were educated at even the elementary level. Inspector R. L. Coldwell reported in 1932:

A new school for the coloured children of Guysborough Road opened in October with an enrolment of seventeen pupils. There has been no educational opportunity provided for the children of this community for forty years. Funds for the support of the school were raised largely by concerts, suppers, etc. and by generous grants from the Department.<sup>19</sup>

By 1936, Negro children from Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough Road, Prospect, and Birchtown were being educated. Most of the teachers had "Permissive Licenses" and were poorly qualified. They were usually Negroes, since it was felt that no respectable white teacher would teach under such primitive conditions. The Negro schools in the 1930s and 1940s were often in a "dilapidated state".<sup>19</sup>

Some progress was indeed being made by the 1940s, but the quality of Negro education nevertheless left a great deal to be desired. Many Negro parents were not interested in obtaining adequate educational facilities for their children. Some stubbornly maintained that if illiteracy was good enough for them it was good enough for their children.

At the middle of the twentieth century, the Guysborough Negroes found themselves in an extremely depressed condition. They and their forefathers had known little else. Theirs had been a "grim adventure in an alien world." Evangelical Christianity had provided some with an escape from the harsh realities of life. Others had escaped by emigrating to industrial Cape Breton, New Glasgow, and Halifax, and to "Upper Canada." Those who remained were forced to struggle from crisis to crisis. This struggle was the essence of their life—life in Guysborough County, their "alien world."

#### NOTES

This paper was originally prepared for the Dalhousie University Institute of Public Affairs' report, *A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations: Sunnyville, Lincolnville, and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia*. A great deal of the research was done by two of my former students, Miss Jane Gill and Mr. Paul Rose.

1. C. B. Fergusson, *A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1948). Professor Winks' paper, "The Position of the Negro in the Maritime Provinces", was delivered in June, 1964, at Charlotte-

town, Prince Edward Island, at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association. A revised version will be found in his forthcoming book on the Negro in Canada to be published by Yale University Press.

2. J. M. Beck, *Joseph Howe: "Voice of Nova Scotia"* (Toronto, 1964), 115-116.
3. Public Archives of Nova Scotia (P.A.N.S.), Bishop Charles Inglis Papers, Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury, November 20, 1788.
4. The term "Guysborough County" will be used throughout the paper even though Guysborough County as such did not come into being until 1836.
5. *Acadian Recorder*, Sept. 9, 1916.
6. P.A.N.S., H. C. Hart, *History of the County of Guysborough, Nova Scotia* (1895), 67.
7. A. A. Johnston, *A History of the Roman Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia* (Antigonish, 1960), 249.
8. W. Moorsom, *Letters from Nova Scotia* (London, 1830), 127-131.
9. P.A.N.S. Land Papers, Parr to Morris, Sept. 28, 1787.
10. P.A.N.S., Bishop Charles Inglis Papers, Dec. 1788.
11. P.A.N.S., S.P.G. Printed Reports, 1790, 44, 1793, 45.
12. C. B. Fergusson, *A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia*, 65.
13. P.A.N.S., Guysborough County, Quarter Sessions, I, 77, 115.
14. Johnston, *A History of the Roman Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia*, 336-7.
15. I. F. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces* (St. John, 1880), 238.
16. *Nova Scotia Educational Reports* 1867, 1869, 1870, 1871.
17. Hart, *History of the County of Guysborough*, 208-217.
18. P.A.N.S., Census of 1817, 1871.
19. *Nova Scotia Educational Report*, 1874, 1877, 1883, 1887, 1896, 1897, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1932, 1940.