**Race, Britishness, and the 1866 British North American Trade Mission to the West Indies and Brazil**

 In 1865, the colonies of eastern British North America created a joint commission to investigate the possibility of reciprocal trade agreements with other parts of the Western hemisphere. In early 1866, the commissioners visited the West Indies and the Empire of Brazil, where they met officials and business leaders. The immediate cause of this search for alternatives to the U.S. market was the announcement in March 1865 that the United States was cancelling the Reciprocity Treaty, effective in twelve months.[[1]](#endnote-1) The end of Reciprocity, which had given British North American producers of natural products unrestricted access to the United States since 1855, triggered a panic in British North America and a search for alternative markets.

No actual tariff agreements resulted from the commissioners’ travels. Indeed, the initiative was bound to fail because of the British government’s commitment to Free Trade and hostility to differential duties of the sort envisioned by the British North American commissioners. The main concrete result of the 1866 trade mission, the establishment in 1867 of a direct steamship service between Canada and the West Indies, was a relatively modest accomplishment. Although it did not result in any grand tariff-reduction agreements, the commission is worthy of study as the discussions surrounding it reveal different elements of the emerging Canadian identity on the eve of Confederation. Constructivist scholars of international relations have shown that transnational imagined communities such as race, language, and religion influence diplomacy, including trade diplomacy.[[2]](#endnote-2) As other historians have noted, intra-Commonwealth trade agreements in the twentieth century were often more about asserting Britishness than actual trade promotion, with the volume of additional trade being generated often being small in comparison to the symbolic political importance of the agreements.[[3]](#endnote-3) Even though the trade commissioners did not confine their attention to British colonies, visiting Brazil and several Spanish possessions as well, a strong pan-Britannic influenced the decision to appoint the commission and the way in which the commissioners spoke about their mission and the inhabitants of the British West Indies.

The politics of race in the North Atlantic world, which were especially complicated in 1866, shaped the context in which the trade mission operated. The 1866 trade mission was also connected to Confederation, the desirability of which was then being debated in British North American newspapers and legislatures. The Confederate Council of Trade was created in 1865 to coordinate the trade policies of the colonies in anticipation of their actual federation. It is well known that one of the motivations for Confederation was to establish internal free trade within the British North America. The creation of the 1866 trade mission suggests that many of the so-called “Fathers of Confederation” (i.e., the colonial politicians who created the Canadian federation in 1867) favoured the reduction of the trade barriers between British North Americans and their fellow British subjects in the British West Indies.One of the goals of the Fathers of Confederation was to unite in one polity all of the British subjects living in different regions of North America. Britishness was central to Confederation, for the union of the colonies was intended to preserve and strengthen the ties linking the North American colonies to Britain.[[4]](#endnote-4) Britishness was the ideological glue that united Canada, a sprawling agglomeration of diverse territories that otherwise had little in common. Britishness was not, however, enough to qualify a territory for admission to the Dominion. Whiteness was also important. The Fathers of Confederation did not consider making Bermuda, which was just 851 miles from Halifax, part of their federation, even though it was closer to Ottawa than some of the territories that actually became part of Canada. Ideas about race and tropicality helped to limit the territorial ambitions of the Fathers of Confederation, as did the conceptual map of the world’s “natural” regions the British imperial state had developed in the early nineteenth century. Even Bermuda, the northernmost of the colonies of the so-called “British West Indies” during the first half of the nineteenth century, was conceptualized as on the cusp of the temperate and tropical worlds by the mid-nineteenth century.  The whiteness of Bermudeans of European descent was questioned by those who believed that whites degenerated if they lived in the tropics for an extended period. The West Indies were therefore contrasted with British North America, which was thought of as being temperate and populated by people of European descent.[[5]](#endnote-5) As other historians have shown, the criteria used by the British in the 1840s and 1850s to determine which colonies were worthy of Responsible Government were largely and explicitly racial.[[6]](#endnote-6) Contemporary methods of categorizing territories and human beings help to explain why the idea of inviting the West Indian colonies to join the proposed federation does not appear to have occurred to any of the Fathers of Confederation. Ideas about race and tropicality also contributed to the defeat of the various proposals for Canada-West Indian political union that were made between the 1880s and the 1920s. [[7]](#endnote-7)

However, the ideology of Britishness and the status of the British West Indians as fellow subjects of the British Empire does appear to have influenced British North American thinking about commerce with the Caribbean. In a speech delivered in January 1865 to white officials, merchants and plantation owners in Georgetown, the capital of British Guiana, Father of Confederation William McDougall related the 1866 trade mission to the Fathers’ goal of building up a great and thoroughly British Empire in northern North America. McDougall, who was an Upper Canadian Liberal of Irish Protestant extraction, informed his listeners, that while the population of British North America was divided by religion, ethnic origin, and partisan affiliation, they were now united “for the purpose of carrying out the same great object, the consolidation of British power and influence in British North America.” Growing out of that political project, a practical commercial question had, according to McDougall, “presented itself. It had occurred to various persons that time ought not to be lost in bringing the other British colonies in other parts of the world into more intimate relations us commercially and otherwise.”[[8]](#endnote-8)

British North American interest in the tropical parts of the British Empire appears to have increased in the 1850s and 1860s, when the Anglo-Celtic population of British North America came to feel that they were part of the ruling ethnic group of the British Empire. For instance, when Canada learned in 1857 that the natives of India were in rebellion against British rule, a force of volunteers was formed to help put down this uprising against Anglo-Celtic rule on the other side of the world.[[9]](#endnote-9) The tendency of British North Americans to think in more imperial terms and to reflect on their place within the wider British Empire was reinforced by the fact individual British North Americans were now beginning to help with the governance of the non-white parts of the Empire. Francis Hincks, a former Canadian politician, served as Governor of Barbados and then Guiana in the 1850s and 1860s.[[10]](#endnote-10) Writing in 1861 about the effect of Hincks’s appointment on Canadian thinking about the Empire, John Stuart Mill wrote: “it is a very shallow view of the springs of political action which thinks such things unimportant because the number of those in a position actually to profit by the concession might not be very considerable.”[[11]](#endnote-11) His point was that appointing prominent white Canadians and white Australians to governorships in the non-white regions of the Empire would cause the populations of those colonies to identify more strongly with the Empire. The shifts in political culture represented by the Hincks’s appointment and the eagerness of some Canadians to fight for British rule in India help to explain the Fathers of Confederation decided to send a trade commission to the British West Indies in the middle of the struggle over Confederation.

## The Politics of Race in the North Atlantic World in the 1860s

Racial politics filled the newspapers of the North Atlantic world in 1865 and 1866. Of course, race had long been a sensitive issue for British, North American, and West Indian people, but the question was particularly delicate in the months following Lee’s surrender at Appomattox Court House in April 1865. By the spring of 1866, the tensions in the United States over the status of the freed slaves were rising. Conflict between President Andrew Johnson, a Tennessee Democrat who unsympathetic to the freedmen, and the Radical Republicans in Congress, who insisted on full civil rights for Blacks, was rising. This conflict would eventually lead to impeachment proceedings against Johnson. In the spring of 1866, Congress overrode the President’s vetoes and began implementing radical policies that came to be known as Congressional Reconstruction. The Toronto *Globe*, which had supported the North during the Civil War endorsed Congressional Reconstruction, while many of the British North American newspapers that had adopted pro-Southern positions during the war sided with President Johnson.[[12]](#endnote-12) The politics of race influenced U.S. hemispheric diplomacy in the Reconstruction Era, when US legislators had to consider proposals to annex Alaska, the Virgin Islands, and part of the island of Santo Domingo. With the exception of the purchase of Alaska in 1867 and the acquisition of the unpopulated Midway Islands, most of these proposed expansions of US territory failed, in part because of Congressional opposition to including additional non-white majority territories in the United States. The predominant view in the North was that the country already had enough problems connected to the semi-tropical and racially mixed states of the former Confederacy.[[13]](#endnote-13)

Within the British Empire, people were also dealing with the legacies of slavery, which had been ended by parliament in 1834. In October 1865, an uprising by Blacks in Morant Bay in Jamaica had been ruthlessly crushed by British troops under the command of Governor Edward John Eyre. News of this action had exposed a rift between racist and relatively liberal people in Britain. John Stuart Mill, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and other liberals associated with London’s Exeter Hall unsuccessfully campaigned for the prosecution of Governor Eyre for what they consider unlawful killing and a general lack of respect for non-white life. In contrast, conservatives such as Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, and Thomas Dickens supported Eyre.[[14]](#endnote-14)

In the aftermath of the rebellion, the officials in Colonial Office, most of whom had long believed that representative institutions were inappropriate in the West Indies, began to push for the conversion of these colonies into Crown Colonies. In a Crown Colony, the Governor rules in conjunction with an unelected council whose members he has himself appointed. Crown Colony government was thus less democratic than the standard British colonial constitution, which provided for an assembly elected by all property holders. Jamaica’s largely white elected assembly accepted the Colonial Office plan and voted itself out of existence in 1866. Jamaica would not have elected legislators again until 1884.[[15]](#endnote-15) By the mid-1870s, Crown Colony government had been established throughout the British West Indies with the exception of Barbados, the Bahamas, and Bermuda. These colonies were able to preserve their representative institutions in part because they had relatively large white minorities. However, they were certainly not granted Responsible Government, a privilege reserved for Britain’s colonies of white settlement in mainland North America and Australasia.[[16]](#endnote-16)

In both the U.S. South and the British West Indies, people continued to debate whether the economy could function without the coercion of Black labourers. After 1834, large number of ex-slaves had refused to work for their former owners, which had caused a dramatic decline in the production of sugar in the British West Indies. Plantations became less profitable and were, in some cases, abandoned. There was political conflict over land tenure, since much of the land was still owned by the former slave-owners, wages, education policy, and taxation. In Jamaica and the other colonies, the white-dominated assemblies succeeded in transferring the tax burden to regressive consumption taxes, which bore most heavily on the newly freed Blacks. Colonial governments subsidized the introduction of South Asian and Chinese indentured servants, which was resented by the Black population. In the generation after 1834, the British Colonial Office had vacillated between policies designed to benefit the freedmen and those calculated to enrich the planters, who were represented by the influential West India Committee in London.[[17]](#endnote-17)

The collapse of the British West Indian economy after 1834 exposed a pre-existing philosophical division between the classical political economists, who regarded human economic motivations as a universal constant, and those authors who emphasized the differences between human races. Racialists such as Thomas Carlyle argued that while free wage labour might be a satisfactory system where the workforce was white and economically rational, a coercive system was required wherever the workforce was Black and non-rational.[[18]](#endnote-18) In the 1840s and 1850s, white Americans had frequently referred to the post-1834 economic decline of the British West Indies in their discussions of the slavery question.[[19]](#endnote-19) This question in articles William Grant Sewell, a Nova Scotian, published in in the *New York Times* in 1859. Sewell argued that emancipation would not be as bad for the economy as pro-slavery zealots envisioned.[[20]](#endnote-20) During Presidential Reconstruction between April 1865 and March 1866, some in the Northern states acquiesced in the introduction of Black Codes, on the grounds that some form of coercion to work was an economic necessity. As we shall see, the ongoing debate about whether free Black labour could sustain a prosperous economy influenced the attitudes of William Henry Pope, one of the British North American trade commissioners.

# Background: History of Relations Between BNA and the West Indies

The 1866 trade mission to the West Indies was, in part, about reviving an old commercial network that had dwindled in relative importance. During the visit of the trade commissioners to the British West Indies, older members of the local mercantile community recalled that before the British Empire’s shift to Free Trade in the 1840s, the trade between the British West Indies and British North America had been substantial. James Stuart, a planter who was regarded as a leading figure in British Guiana, reminisced at a banquet held in the commissioners’ honour that he was old enough to remember when Guiana’s produce had been conveyed directly to Canada. He hoped that the commissioners’ meetings would result in the renewal of “direct intercourse,” as “at present, very little of our produce goes to Canada.”[[21]](#endnote-21) F.A.R. Winter, the Mayor of Georgetown, noted that he had been born in British North America and had come to the colony at a young age. “He remembered perfectly well when our connection with Canada was more extensive and when we received a large proportion of our lumber from New Brunswick.”[[22]](#endnote-22)

Commercial relations between the territories that later became Canada and the West Indies were, of course, quite old. During the French regime, there was an extensive commerce between the Saint Lawrence Valley, the fortress of Louisbourg, and the French colonies in the West Indies.[[23]](#endnote-23) After the American Revolution, trade relations between the remaining parts British North America and the British West Indies had strengthened, as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland had briefly replaced New England, which was now outside the British Empire’s mercantilist system, as a point of the Atlantic triangle trade. In the 1780s, Halifax finally achieved its dream of becoming the main supply base for the British West Indies and some of this prosperity filtered down to the new Loyalist settlements in the Maritimes. The Jay’s Treaty in 1794 permitted US merchants to export to the British West Indies, which cost British North American merchants business in the region.[[24]](#endnote-24) The British government had opened this market to American producers due to pressure from the West India planters, which wanted to feed New England fish to their slaves.[[25]](#endnote-25) Thereafter, British North Americans and New Englanders would compete to supply British West Indian plantations with fish and timber in exchanged for West Indian sugar, rum, and molasses, and other commodities produced by African enslaved labour. The commercial rivalry between the neighbouring regions was influenced, of course, by political events, with the deterioration of Anglo-American relations under Presidents Jefferson and Madison creating opportunities for colonial merchants. In the years immediately before the War of 1812, Halifax became the pivot of conveys sailing between Britain and the British West Indies. New Brunswick’s exports to the Caribbean also increased rapidly.[[26]](#endnote-26)

Under the Old Colonial system, British imperial economic policy had been mercantilist and tariff policy had served to encourage the various regions of the British Empire to trade with each other, rather than with foreigners.[[27]](#endnote-27) In the 1820s, the British government moved tentatively in the direction of Free Trade, eliminating a progressively larger number of mercantilist regulations. In 1830, it opened the markets of the British West Indies to fish from the United States, which harmed the interests of British North American fishermen and fish merchants.[[28]](#endnote-28) However, at no point before 1846 were United States fish, lumber, and flour producers able to access the British West Indian market on precisely the same terms as people in British North America.

The result of this policy was that people of British North America had a state-created advantage in this trade that helped them to counteract the disadvantage of being further from the West Indies than their rivals in New England. The trade ties between Halifax and the British West Indies were particularly strong, thanks in part to mercantilist regulations.[[29]](#endnote-29) In the 1840s, the government led by Sir Robert Peel took decisive action to implement the *laissez-faire* doctrines of Adam Smith and the other classical political economists: Britain scrapped its protective duties and declared than henceforth the policy of the empire was Free Trade and non-discrimination between foreign and domestic producers.[[30]](#endnote-30) This belief in Free Trade, which was controversial in the 1840s and which split Peel’s Conservative Party, became part of the political consensus in the United Kingdom in the early 1850s and remained hegemonic in that country until the Second South African War.[[31]](#endnote-31)

Britain’s move to Free Trade disadvantaged certain groups of colonial producers, such as New Brunswick timber producers and Canadian wheat producers. These interests had previously enjoyed tariff advantages in the British market denied to their competitors in the Baltic and the United States. The impact of the adoption of Free Trade on the sugar-producing colonies in the British West Indies was even more pronounced. It is true that the policy of Free Trade made it easier to do trade with the United States, which made some foodstuffs cheaper. However, the net effect of Free Trade, at least in the eyes of the West India Committee in London, was negative. In the 1830s and early 1840s, the higher labour costs associated with the end of slavery had been partially offset by the tariff policy, as the British government had implement differential duties to allow British colonial producers to compete in the British market with sugar from countries that still had slavery, such the United States, Cuba, and Brazil. However, the Peel government decided that there would be no exceptions to its Free Trade policy and it equalized the duties on British colonial and foreign (i.e., slave-grown) sugar.[[32]](#endnote-32) Equalization of the sugar duties had taken place over the objections of the absentee plantation owners. The anti-slavery movement had been divided by the issue of discriminatory duties, with some arguing that sugar was a special case to which the general principle of Free Trade could not be applied. Others applied the teachings of classical political economy in a more rigid fashion.[[33]](#endnote-33)

T.William Acheson observes that the sector in the British North American economy most affected by this change in policy was the Nova Scotia carrying trade with the British West Indies: prior to 1846 much of Nova Scotia’s seagoing commerce had been based on purchasing fish, meat, and grain from the other colonies and the northeastern United States and carrying them for sale in the West Indies. With the shift to Free Trade, most of this re-export trade was eliminated. By 1850, the British West Indies market was much less significant to merchants in the Maritime colonies than it had been just a decade earlier.[[34]](#endnote-34) Julian Gwyn indicates that the importance of the West Indies for Nova Scotia’s economy declined in both absolute and relative terms after the 1840s.[[35]](#endnote-35) The surviving trade statistics support these conclusions. For instance, in the period 1856-8, just 1.1% of New Brunswick’s imports came from the British West Indies and just 0.68% of its exports went to that region. In contrast, 68% of the province’s exports went to the United Kingdom, 17.7% went to the United States, and just under 10% went to the other British North American colonies. In Nova Scotia, the equivalent figures were similar and the Province of Canada was even less involved in West Indian commerce. Newfoundland, the British North American colony with the strongest trade ties to the West Indies, sent 4.9% of its exports to and received 2.1% of its imports from the British West Indies, in 1857 and 1858, the years for which we have data.[[36]](#endnote-36) By 1860, 7% of Newfoundland’s exports went to the British West Indies, which was the source of a similar proportion of imports. The colony also had substantial exports to Portugal and Spain.[[37]](#endnote-37) Other data show that relatively the few ships travelled between the major ports of British North America and the British West Indies. In 1858, 403 ships entered the port of Montreal. Just two of these vessels were from the British West Indies and they arrived without cargoes and in ballast.[[38]](#endnote-38)

While the British West Indies were a relatively unimportant market for the British North American economy as a whole in the 1850s and 1860s, they were doubtless important for particular firms. One important factor driving the growth in British North American interest in the West Indies was the emergence of a sugar refining industry in several of the colonies. The first sugar refinery in present-day Canada was established in Halifax in 1818 by a syndicate of investors led by John Moody. It suffered in because of the opening of the British West Indies to American merchants in the 1830s and closed in the aftermath of the 1836-7.[[39]](#endnote-39) In contrast, by 1836, there were no less than 38 sugar refineries in the United States, including 8 in Baltimore, 11 in Philadelphia, 11 in New York, and 5 in New England. In 1840, there were 43 refineries in the United States with an average capital of $131,000.00 per plant.[[40]](#endnote-40) American sugar refiners were moving from artisanal to mechanized production.

In 1853, John Redpath acquired a property by Montreal’s Lachine Canal where he began constructing British North America’s sugar refinery. The Redpath plant stood out because of the size of its workforce and its use of advanced technology. Whereas other industrial enterprises along the canal utilized hydraulic power to drive machinery, Redpath’s sugar mill contained a steam engine of fifty horsepower, which allowed the firm to refine 30,000 pounds of sugar per day with just one hundred workers. The total value of the refinery’s fixed capital is indeterminate, but we know that after 1856, the refinery produced 3,000 barrels of sugar per month. Redpath’s plant appears to have been similar to the more advanced American plants. With such an extensive production capacity, it was essential for the Redpaths to ensure a steady supply of inexpensive raw materials.[[41]](#endnote-41) In the mid-1850s, the Redpath interests lobbied the Canadian legislature to reduce its tariff on unprocessed sugar cane, their main raw ingredient. It also asked for tariff protection to allow it to compete with non-Canadian refiners of “White Bastard” sugar.[[42]](#endnote-42)

It should be stressed that the relationship between British North America and the British West Indies had important non-economic dimensions, some which were naval and military. The linkages between Halifax and Bermuda were particularly strong, thanks to the seasonal migration of naval officers and enlisted men. In 1818, the Royal Navy divided the world into a number of naval stations. Eastern British North America, which was within the North American and West Indies Station, was protected by a fleet of ships that was based in Halifax in the summer months and Bermuda in the winter.[[43]](#endnote-43) It should be remembered that a sizeable minority of the sailors in the Royal Navy and the British merchant fleet in this period were Blacks came from the British West Indies.[[44]](#endnote-44) Halifax was an important part of what had been called the “Black Atlantic.”[[45]](#endnote-45)

The English Atlantic had many colours. White, Black, and mixed-race people migrated back and forth between the British West Indies and British North America. Although the surviving census and qualitative data is fragmentary, there is enough evidence to suggest that significant numbers of West Indians lived in British North America throughout the nineteenth century. For instance, when the slavery was abolished in the British Empire in the 1830s, partial compensation for the value of the slaves was paid to the owners of plantations. Several of the recipients of compensation payments listed addresses in British North America. For instance, Mather Byles Almon of Halifax, who was a director of the Bank of Nova Scotia, received £514 15s 7d in compensation for the 23 slaves on the Mount Salus plantation in Jamaica.[[46]](#endnote-46) Robert Neilson of Stoney Creek, Upper Canada received compensation for slaves on a number of plantations in Trinidad.[[47]](#endnote-47) Ralph Botoler Johnson of Montreal claimed unsuccessfully for compensation for Holly & Savannah estates in Antigua as an annuitant of his father.[[48]](#endnote-48) The first Dominion census in 1871 recorded 21,496 individuals of “Negro” racial origins out of a total population of 3,485,761.[[49]](#endnote-49) 2,358 individuals were described as having been born in parts of the British Empire than were neither in the British Isles nor British North America: these figures likely included many people of West Indian birth, along with a handful of people who had been born in more distant British possessions in the Mediterranean, Africa, Asia, and Australasia.[[50]](#endnote-50)

Perhaps the best-known migrant from the West Indies in Canadian history is Sir James Douglas, the legendary governor of British Columbia. Douglas was born in British Guiana in 1803, the illegitimate son of a Scottish plantation manager and a mixed-race woman.[[51]](#endnote-51) Douglas was a powerful figure on the West Coast before his retirement in 1864. We can say with some confidence that he had no influence over the 1865 decision to create the trade commission, as only the eastern British North American colonies were represented on the Confederate Council of Trade. However, another migrant from the West Indies may have had greater influence over the decision to appoint commissioners to travel to the West Indies. Between 1857 and 1867, John A. Macdonald’s personal secretary was Hewitt Bernard, the son of a Jamaican planter, who assisted Macdonald in becoming the first Prime Minister of Canada in 1867. The abolition of the slavery in the British Empire had reduced the value of the family assets, as had Britain’s subsequent adoption of Free Trade. After a boarding school education in England, Hewitt qualified as a lawyer in Jamaica. However, in 1851 he left Jamaica’s now stagnant economy for Canada, where he found work in a law firm in the booming town of Barrie. Hewitt was the official secretary of the 1864 Quebec Conference. In 1867, Bernard was appointed the first Deputy Minister of Justice in the Dominion of Canada. He also introduced Macdonald to his sister Agnes, whom Macdonald married in February 1867 in London.[[52]](#endnote-52) Agnes appears to have been proud of her Jamaican background: in 1885, the Canadian Pacific Railway presented Sir John with a private car, which was named “Jamaica” in honour of his wife’s birthplace.[[53]](#endnote-53)

# The Commissioners

The chairman of the commission was William McDougall, a Clear Grit politician who then served in the Great Coalition as provincial secretary for Upper Canada. McDougall is today best known for his role in precipitating the 1869-70 rising at Red River. McDougall was one of Upper Canada’s foremost exponents of territorial expansion: in the 1850s and early 1860s, when many Upper Canadians were uncertain of the wisdom of acquiring Rupert’s Land, McDougall had demanded that the province’s boundaries be pushed to the Rocky Mountains. In the 1862 and 1863, McDougall had prepared the way for white settlement in the far north of the Upper Canada by dramatically reducing the size of Indian Reserves on Manitoulin Island. McDougall was also among the more Francophobic members of Upper Canada’s Liberal Party: in 1862, he said that the Anglo-Saxon population of Upper Canada might need to “look to Washington” if they were to escape domination by “a foreign race, and of a religion which is not the religion of the Empire,” by which he meant the French Canadians.[[54]](#endnote-54)

The other delegates from the province of Canada were Thomas Ryan, Alexandre-Maurice Delisle, and J.W. Dunscombe. Thomas Ryan was a successful Montreal shipping entrepreneur. Although Ryan’s ships were mainly found on the St Lawrence and the Great Lakes, in 1853 he had incorporated a company to compete with the Allan Line for the trans-Atlantic mail contract, which shows that he had grander ambitious. Between 1855 and 1861 he served as consul for France, Denmark, and three German city-states. At the time of his visit to the Caribbean, Ryan was serving as an elected member of the upper house of the Canadian legislature.[[55]](#endnote-55) Alexandre-Maurice Delisle was a Montreal entrepreneur and member of the *parti bleu*. His private business interests were mainly in land development and railways. In 1859, the Cartier-Macdonald government had appointed him commissioner of Montreal’s harbour. In January 1864, Delisle was deprived of this post after evidence of corruption surfaced. He was not reinstated as harbour commissioner until August 1866.[[56]](#endnote-56)

Little is known about J.W. Dunscombe aside from the fact he was Collector of Customs at the Port of Quebec. However, we do know that his father, John Dunscombe, was from an established Bermudian family that owned cedar plantations for several generations.[[57]](#endnote-57) In 1816, John Dunscombe sold these properties in Bermuda to the Crown for £3,000.[[58]](#endnote-58) Dunscombe then emigrated to Newfoundland where he invested his money in a firm that traded with Bermuda. It was here that J.W. Dunscombe was born. J.W. joined his father’s business and then moved to Montreal to establish J.W. Dunscombe Co., a wholesale grocery enterprise.[[59]](#endnote-59) In 1841, this company appears to have been involved in an abortive scheme to remove “coloured people from Upper Canada.”[[60]](#endnote-60) This initiative appears to have been similar to the plans for the resettlement of African-Americans in the tropics that were promoted by a variety of moderate anti-slavery figures in the United States between 1807 and 1864.[[61]](#endnote-61)

From Nova Scotia, the delegates were James Macdonald and Isaac LeVesconte. Little is known about Macdonald. Although he was born in Jersey, LeVesconte was familiar with the Caribbean and Brazil because his family’s firm was involved in the triangular trade between Europe, Nova Scotia, and Brazil and the West Indies. When he was just seventeen, LeVesconte captained one of the firm’s ships to Puerto Rico.[[62]](#endnote-62) New Brunswick was represented by William Smith. Since 1842, Smith had held a number of posts in Saint John, New Brunswick: surveyor of shipping, controller of customs and navigation, and registrar of ships. Although he had no known family ties or business interests in the West Indies, Smith would have been aware of the comings and goings of ships to and from the Caribbean.[[63]](#endnote-63)

Prince Edward Island was represented by William Henry Pope, a Conservative politician who is generally recognized as one of the Fathers of Confederation.[[64]](#endnote-64) Pope was editor of *The Islander* newspaper between 1859 and 1872. Articles Pope wrote for *The Islander* about his 1866 trip the West Indies and Brazil are the only surviving first-hand account of the mission by one of the commission. In the letter he wrote from Brazil, Pope declared that “it is not to be denied that the negroes of Africa of men.” Moreover, Pope declared that he was opposed to slavery, although he added that he was opposed to slavery despite the evident racially inferiority of Blacks. With this statement, Pope disassociated himself from the more extreme forms of scientific racism, which held that people of African descent were a non-human form of primate. This theory had been promoted by the London Anthropological Society, by defenders of slavery in the Antebellum Southern states, and by the “co-Adamists,” a group of theologians who believed that only whites were descended from Adam and Eve.[[65]](#endnote-65)

Most of Pope’s comments about Blacks were negative and emphasized their animal traits and their sheer difference from whites. In the same column in which he declared that Africans were undeniably human, he asserted that they “do not belong to the same species as white men.” Pope stressed that Blacks were “indolent when free” because their economic psychology was fundamental different from that of whites. Whereas the prospect of financial accumulation impels whites to work hard, the more one pays a Black, the less work he will do. According to Pope, this is because Blacks are content with a barebones subsistence and in the absence of slavery will work only as much as is necessary to prevent starvation.[[66]](#endnote-66) Pope also informed his readers that “the abolition of Negro slavery in the West India Islands” was “the chief cause of the decay in the trade of these Islands and the ruin of the planters.”[[67]](#endnote-67) In the Danish West Indies, Pope found abandoned plantations and ruined buildings, the result of the abolition of slavery by Denmark in 1848. In the streets of the main city, one finds “hundreds of idle, able-bodied negroes, whose only ambition appears to be to prolong existence and who, as long as one day’s wages will support them for six, will idle for six day in every week.”[[68]](#endnote-68) During his visit to Brazil, Pope wrote that the “monkeys of the Amazon are very funny fellows” similar, but also superior, to Blacks.[[69]](#endnote-69)

It should be noted that *The Islander*’s coverage of the Morant Bay uprising was noticeably more anti-Black than that of some other British North American newspapers. Whereas the Toronto *Globe* joined liberal newspapers in Britain in criticizing Governor Eyre’s harsh measures towards the rebels, *The Islander* was sympathetic to Jamaica’s Blacks. Although Pope was in London at the time the articles about Morant Bay appeared in his paper, managing editor’s selection of material for republication in the paper was likely informed by Pope’s general editorial philosophy. The articles carried in *The Islander* stressed that the Blacks who rebelled in Morant Bay did so without legitimate grievances and with tremendous barbarity. *The Islander* declared that “the conduct of the mob was marked with cruelties only paralleled in the history of Indian or New Zealand warfare,” the latter reference being an allusion to an going Maori war. The paper blamed the rebellion on fanatical Baptists.[[70]](#endnote-70) Pope, it should be noted, came from a Methodist family. *The Islander*’s accusation that the rebellion had been sparked by radical pro-Black statements by Edward Bean Underhill, the Secretary of the London Baptist Missionary Society, prompted a professor at Acadia College, a Baptist institution in Nova Scotia, to write a letter defending the Baptists and claiming that the Blacks of Jamaica were oppressed.[[71]](#endnote-71)

# Sequence of Events

The creation of the Confederate Council of Trade was motivated by a suggestion made in the summer of 1865 by Lord John Russell, the British Foreign Secretary. Russell believed that negotiations for the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty would be easier if British diplomats in Washington could deal with a single body responsible for the fiscal policy of all of the North American colonies.[[72]](#endnote-72) Colonial Secretary Edward Cardwell passed Russell’s suggestion to the various colonial governments. In September 1865, the Confederate Council of Trade held its first meetings in Quebec City. The council included representatives of the Province of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland.[[73]](#endnote-73) Although the council’s main focus was on persuading the United States to reverse its decision to end Reciprocity, it also sensed the importance of searching for alternative markets for Canadian produce should its charm offensive in Washington fail. The Council resolved that an “application be made to Her Majesty’s Imperial Government, requesting that steps be taken to enable to the British North American Provinces to open communications with the West Indies Islands, with Spain and her Colonies, and with Brazil and Mexico” for the purposes of ascertaining how trade with them could be increased. [[74]](#endnote-74)

In his memoirs, Francis Hincks recalled that the individual most responsible for the 1866 trade mission was Alexander Galt, the Canadian finance minister.[[75]](#endnote-75) This conjecture was likely correct, for while Galt did not attend the 18 September meeting of council, which was the one that passed the resolution authorizing the appointment of the trade commissioners.[[76]](#endnote-76) However, he had attended a meeting of the council two days earlier and later wrote detailed instructions for McDougall, the chair of the trade commission.[[77]](#endnote-77) Galt’s interest in the Caribbean does not appear to have been a function of his private business interests, which were centred on railways and the Eastern Townships. Moreover, Galt had never visited the West Indies and had no known family relations in the area. However, he had lived and worked in the City of London, the commercial hub of the British Empire, where he had likely associated with merchants active in the West India trade.

On 23 September 1865, Lord Monck wrote to Edward Cardwell, to request that the British government support this initiative. Cardwell supported the proposal and wrote to the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade to secure their assistance. The response of the Earl of Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, was more cautious. He indicated his willingness to have British diplomats in Spain and the Americas assist in the negotiation of a reciprocity agreement with British North America. However, he specified that the British North American provinces should not attempt to negotiate such agreements themselves, as a colony could not appoint diplomats of its own. Instead, the colonies should send “Agents” to gather information. “Having thus obtained grounds for further proceedings, Her Majesty’s Government might in the next place consider… how far any proposals might be made to foreign Countries in behalf of the Colonies.”[[78]](#endnote-78)

The Foreign Office also wanted to ensure to any agreement made on behalf of British North America would be consistent with Britain’s pre-existing treaties.[[79]](#endnote-79) In 1860 Britain, had signed a trade agreement with the German Zollverein that expressly prohibited the creation of a regime of imperial preference within the British Empire.[[80]](#endnote-80) In its correspondence with the Colonial Office about the British North American initiative, the Board of Trade, also expressed concern that a treaty providing for the reciprocal reduction in tariffs by the British North American colonies and a single foreign country might alienate other foreign powers. Nevertheless, it appeared willing to acquiesce in the British North American initiative, provided it did not lead to imperial preference.[[81]](#endnote-81)

Galt wrote detailed instructions for the Canadian delegates on 17 November. These instructions noted that while the West Indies, Brazil, and Mexico “all produce articles which enter very heavily into the consumption of the people of Canada and the Maritime Provinces, while at the same time they consume the staples of production here to an immense amount.” Potentially, the volume of commerce between these two regions was significant. However, “it is found that the commerce is very restricted in amount and of slow development.” The principal cause of the under-development of this trade were “fiscal laws which both on our part and theirs interfere with the exchange of our respective commodities.” Galt expected that the delegates focus would, at first, be on “the British West Indies, and subsequently to the Spanish, French, and other foreign islands, ultimately visiting Demerara and Brazil.” He also instructed the delegates to visit Mexico, but only if time permitted, “in view of the disturbed state of that Empire.” Galt expressed his hope that the commissioners would complete their mission by the start of April.[[82]](#endnote-82)

William Smith, New Brunswick’s commissioner, received similar but far less details instructions from Arthur Hamilton Gordon, the colony’s Governor, in December 1865.[[83]](#endnote-83) In December 1865, Newfoundland’s Governor advised Lord Monck that the Newfoundland government did not intend to participate in the mission to the West Indies. No explanation for their decision not to participate was given.[[84]](#endnote-84) Although he did not mention it, much of Newfoundland public opinion had turned against Confederation and its supporters, such as Ambrose Shea.[[85]](#endnote-85)

 In early December 1865, the commissioners assembled in London for meetings with Cardwell and other British officials. Lord Monck, who was then vacationing in Ireland, travelled to London for these talks. These discussions resulted in an instruction from the Admiralty to the commander of the North American and West Indian Station to prepare a steamer to convey the delegates around the British West Indies. Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, gave the commissioners introductory letters to the British Consuls in the foreign countries they were planning to visit, while Cardwell gave them similar letters of introduction addressed to the colonial governors. On 2 January 1866, the commissioners left Southampton on the *S.S. Atrato* for St. Thomas, in the Danish West Indies. St Thomas was the terminus of the regular trans-Atlantic steamer service from England and a local steamship hub. The “unusually large number of passengers” carried by the *Atrato* on this voyage was connected to the disturbed political state of the Caribbean basin. There was a contingent of journalists from the London dailies who had been sent to report on the disturbances in Jamaica. Army officers who were en route to Jamaica to serve under Sir Henry Storks, Eyre’s replacement as Governor, were also on the ship, as was the London barrister who represented the liberal philanthropists who were then demanding the criminal prosecution of Eyre. The Prussian diplomat who was his kingdom’s new representative to the court of the Mexican Emperor could also be found in the first-class section of the vessel.[[86]](#endnote-86)

 The British North American trade commissioners arrived in St Thomas on the 16th. Here, the commissioners split into two teams: Dunscombe, Levesconte, and Pope went to Brazil, while the remaining five commissioners decided to focus their energies on the Caribbean. The five commissioners travelled on a scheduled mail steamer to British Guiana, arriving in Georgetown, the capital of Guiana, on 22 January. Here they were received by Governor Francis Hincks, a former Canadian politician. Hincks had left Canada in 1856 following the corruption scandal known as the “Ten Thousand Pound Job.”[[87]](#endnote-87) From 1856 to 1861, Hincks served as Governor of Barbados and Governor-in-Chief of the Windward Islands. From 1861 to 1869, he was Governor of British Guiana.

As William McDougall explained at a banquet given by the leading planters and merchants of Georgetown, the commissioners had selected Guiana as their first stop in the West Indies because it was governed by a Canadian who could be counted on to support their plan for a tariff agreement. As Hincks mentioned that he had known McDougall since the latter had been a boy.[[88]](#endnote-88) Unfortunately for McDougall, Hincks was actually quite hostile to the idea of a BNA-BWI reciprocity treaty. Hincks made his opposition clear in private interviews with McDougall.[[89]](#endnote-89) In his 1884 memoirs, Hincks poured scorn on the idea, saying that it would be “insane” for the British West Indies to alienate the United States by signing agreements giving Canadians preferential access to their markets.[[90]](#endnote-90) Hincks, it should be noted, came from a family in which the Free Trade teachings of classical political economy were regarded as almost an article of religious faith. Indeed, Hincks brother, the Reverend William Hincks, a University of Toronto economist, was British North America’s leading intellectual defender of *laissez-faire*.[[91]](#endnote-91)

Hincks appears to have dissuaded the commissioners from pursuing the idea of a reciprocity agreement further, for the memorandum Hincks and McDougall signed on 29 January 1866 made no reference to reciprocity. Instead, it innocuously stated that “that customs duties and port charges on the produce and shipping of the respective Colonies shall be levied solely for revenue purposes…” rather than protection “and that the several Governments will be prepared to consider in a liberal spirit any complaint having reference to imposts that may be referred by another Government on the ground that such imposts are calculated to obstruct trade.” The second point declared that it was desirable to improve “the postal communications between the West Indies and British North America.”[[92]](#endnote-92)

On 31 January, the commissioners left Georgetown for Trinidad, their next destination, travelling on the warship, *HMS Buzzard*, that had been placed at their disposal. The commissioners arrived at Port of Spain, Trinidad, on 3 February. On 5 February, they met John Henry Manners-Sutton, the governor of the colony. Manners-Sutton had formerly been governor of New Brunswick and thus likely knew trade commissioner William Smith. The memorandum signed by Manners-Sutton and McDougall was similar in spirit to the Hincks-McDougall memorandum of 29 January, although it provided more details about the proposed steamship service, which would be a “semi-monthly line between St. Thomas and Halifax, touching at suitable intermediate commercial ports on the North American coast.”[[93]](#endnote-93)

 On 6 February, the commissioners left for Barbados. They arrived at Bridgetown, the colony’s capital, on 8 February and then met Barbadian legislators and businessmen. On 13 February, they were honoured with a formal banquet in Bridgetown. [[94]](#endnote-94) Here, members of the local elite delivered lengthy speeches on the need to increase trade with their fellow subjects in British North America. Lieutenant Blackett of *HMS* *Buzzard* also spoke at this event to deplore the “retrograde” decision of the United States to end Reciprocity. He said that this move went against the noble principle of Free Trade.[[95]](#endnote-95) James Walker, the Governor of Barbados, privately told the commissioners that the British government would not support the use of differential duties to artificially promote trade between British North America and the British West Indies. “The Commissioners confined themselves, therefore, to advocating the establishment of a regular post and passenger” service between the British West Indies and British North America.[[96]](#endnote-96) On 14 February, they left for the French colony of Martinique, arriving on thenext day. The commissioners’ official report noted that their meetings with merchants and officials in Martinique were conducted in French, which means that A.M. Delisle likely spoke on behalf of the group. The commissioners left Martinique on 16 February and arrived in Antigua, a British colony, on 17 February. Three days later, they left Antigua for St Thomas where McDougall, the chairman of the commission, decided to return to Canada. The other commissioners remained in the Caribbean so as to open negotiations with the Spanish colonial authorities. They selected Macdonald as their chairman. On 24 February, three of the commissioners sailed for Puerto Rico, then a Spanish colony. Macdonald then sailed directly for Havana, the capital of the most important remaining Spanish possession in the New World.

On 3 March, the other commissioners left Puerto Rico for St Thomas, where they waited for the next steamer to Cuba. On 17 March, they arrived in Havana, where they met the Intendant, the Spanish official responsible for economic affairs. The commissioners also had the opportunity to travel around the island. Ryan visited Matanzas on the north shore, a port that shipped large quantities of slave-produced sugar to British North America. Delisle and Smith explored the southern coast of Cuba before travelling by steamer to Jamaica. On 9 April, they arrived in Kingston, where they were received by Governor Sir Henry Storks, and a group of local merchants. Kingston’s merchants passed a resolution calling for the Jamaican government to contribute to the costs of subsidizing a line of steamers to link the colony to British North America. Storks said that he agreed with this general idea that he would be prepared “to promote the arrangement submitted when the new form of Government for the colonies is established.” Here, Storks was alluding to efforts to persuade the elected assembly to endorse Crown Colony governance and then vote itself out of existence.[[97]](#endnote-97)

The three commissioners who went to Brazil were Dunscomb, Levesconte, and Pope. Britain had recently re-established diplomatic relations with Brazil after a rift caused by the Royal Navy’s efforts to suppress the trans-Atlantic slave trade.[[98]](#endnote-98) Although the commissioners likely could have called on the services of the British Consuls in Brazil, there are no references in the records of the Foreign Office of their having done so. After visiting the cities of Para, Pemambuco, and Bahia, they arrived in Rio, Brazil’s capital, on 27 February. They met first with Brazil’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, to whom they submitted a memorial calling for “reciprocal Free Trade between the Empire of Brazil and the British North American Provinces.” The commissioners also spoke about opening the coasting trade of Brazil to British North American ships and the elimination of a prohibitive tax on the transfer of British North American built ships to the Brazilian registry.[[99]](#endnote-99) The commissioners also had “a lengthy audience” with Emperor Pedro, who “made minute enquiries relative to the Victoria Bridge” and other aspects of British North America. They remained in Rio until 3 April, when the left for New York. They arrived in New York on 2 May and then made their way to Canada.[[100]](#endnote-100)

# Afterlife of the Mission

 After their return to British North America, the commissioners published a report of their findings. Thereafter, their respective governments appear to have lost interest in the question of improved trade ties with the British West Indies. This was likely because British North Americans were then pre-occupied with the more pressing issue of Confederation and the arrangements for the London constitutional conference, which took place in the winter of 1866-7. Moreover, the various departments in the British government, including the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, had made it clear that it was hostile to the very idea of reciprocal tariff agreements between British colonies, which meant that it would have been pointless of British North American politicians to persist with their initiative, at least insofar as it related to the non-self governing British possessions in the hemisphere.

While the commission produced no a formal free trade agreement, it did foster stronger communication ties between the Dominion of Canada and the West Indies, which later strengthened networks between the two sites. In December 1867, William Cunard signed a packet service contract with the Postmaster General to transport mail between Halifax, Bermuda, and St. Thomas on the Cunard Line.[[101]](#endnote-101) By 1874, the Quebec Steamship Company solidified an oceanic route to Bermuda and the West Indies, facilitating the movement of Canadians to the Caribbean as part of an emerging tourism industry.[[102]](#endnote-102)

Between 1867 and 1869, sugar refiner Peter Redpath lobbied Sir John Rose, the Dominion of Canada’s first Finance Minister, to adjust the tariff so as to lower the costs of his raw materials while providing protection from more efficient American refiners. These refiners were able to produce sugar at low costs despite the wartime devastation to Louisiana’s sugar plantations and the imposition of an excise tax on refined sugar between 1862 and 1869.[[103]](#endnote-103) Redpath’s demands for protection were likely connected to the fact he now had domestic competition: in the 1860s, the Molson family entered the sugar refining business and constructed a plant in Montreal, which doubtless eroded Redpath’s margins. When successive federal budgets failed to deliver tariff protection, Redpath suspended operations at his refinery. In early 1870, Peter Redpath visited Cuba, which still used slaves to produce low-cost sugar, in search of a source of raw materials that would allow him to compete.[[104]](#endnote-104)

The 1868 Manifesto of Canada First called for closer ties between Canada and the West Indies. McDougall was a member of this organization, which also advocated the acquisition of Rupert’s Land by Canada and a host of other measures aimed at strengthening the Canadian nation-state and its relationship to Britain.[[105]](#endnote-105) In the late 1860s and early 1870s, members of the new Dominion parliament occasionally spoke about improving commercial relations with the British West Indies.[[106]](#endnote-106) In 1870s, the idea of trade agreements between Canada and the West Indies and possibly Brazil as well was pushed by William Paterson of the Montreal Board of Trade. He succeeded in getting the Dominion Board of Trade to endorse the concept at its annual convention in 1876. Nothing came of this particular initiative, until 1879, when Alexander Tilloch Galt negotiated a commercial treaty with Spain that gave Canadians improved access to the Spanish West Indies.[[107]](#endnote-107) In the 1880s, the question of closer economic ties between Canada and the West Indies became connected, for the first time, to the possibility of an actual political union. In 1882, a Torontonian of Barbadian parentage, A. Spencer Jones launched a campaign to have the West Indies join Canadian Confederation as provinces. He promoted the idea through letters to Canadian, Jamaican, and Barbadian newspapers and convinced a number of Jamaican and Barbadian whites that forthcoming trade talks with Canada should also deal with the possibility of a full-fledged political union. [[108]](#endnote-108) Jones’s letters to the Prime Minister suggest that Sir John A. Macdonald appears to have expressed some interest in his proposal.

However, any mild interest on the part of Macdonald was outweighed by the opposition of other figures within the Canadian government to the concept. Sir Francis Hincks, who had returned to Canadian political life and had served as Minister of Finance in 1869-1874, was particularly hostile to Jones’s proposal as he was convinced that union with coloured populations was unworkable.[[109]](#endnote-109) The attitude of the Colonial Office to Jones’s initiative was equally unfriendly. In 1885, it prohibited the commercial delegates from the British West Indies from even discussing the proposal during their meetings with Canadian leaders.[[110]](#endnote-110) By the start of 1886, proposals for political union between Canada and the West Indies were dead. Moreover, the 1885 trade talks were abortive and a Canadian-British West Indian tariff reduction agreement was not concluded until 1913.[[111]](#endnote-111) The concept of including some or all of the British West Indies in Confederation was not revived until 1905, when the Maritime Board of Trade’s endorsed political union with the West Indies at its annual meeting in Halifax. Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier then rejected the proposal on the grounds of the ethnic origins of the people of the West Indies.[[112]](#endnote-112) However, the idea continued to be discussed over the next fifteen years. Early twentieth century Canadian interest in political ties with the West Indies was likely related to the growing involvement of Canadian banks, utility firms, and other enterprises in the Caribbean and Brazil.[[113]](#endnote-113)

# Conclusion

The 1866 journey of the British North American trade commissioners to the Caribbean and South America was more than simply a response to the recently announced cancellation of the Reciprocity Treaty. It also represented an attempt to go back to the future and to reconstitute a trading system that had been deranged by Britain shift to Free Trade in the 1840s,namely, the tariff policies that had “artificially” promoted trade between disparate parts of the British Empire.

No actual tariff agreements resulted from the commissioners’ travels in 1866 and the main results of the mission being a semi-monthly steamer service between Halifax and the West Indies. The conversations British North Americans had around the trade mission are chiefly important because they reveal different elements of the emerging Canadian identity on the eve of Confederation. Even though the trade commissioners did not confine their attention to British colonies, visiting the New World monarchy of Brazil and two of the possession of the Spanish Crown, the ideology of Britishness influenced the commission, as did contemporary ideas about race. After 1867, all of these ideas would continue to shape public policy in the new Dominion of Canada.

1. **ENDNOTES**

 The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty was the result of a Congressional coalition that included garden-variety protectionists, such as Michigan lumbermen, and those who sought to punish Britain and British North America for their perceived support of the South in the Civil War. Masters, *The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854*. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Vucetic, *The Anglosphere*. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. For instance, in the middle of the twentieth century, English-speaking Canadians attached tremendous emotional significance to Commonwealth trade agreements because of the persistent ideology of Britishness. McKenzie, *Redefining the Bonds of Commonwealth*. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Smith, *British Businessmen and Canadian Confederation.* [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Lambert, *White Creole Culture*. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Hall, McClelland and Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation*, 179-80. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. For the post-1884 attempts to include parts of the British West Indies in the Canadian Confederation, see Stewart, “Canadian West Indian Union, 1884–1885,”  369-389; Winks, *Canadian-West Indian Union*; Schultz, “White Man's country,” 53-64; Smith, “Thomas Bassett Macaulay and the Bahamas”. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. *Demerara Colonist*, 29 January 1866. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Hitsman, “How Successful was the 100th Royal Canadians?”; Stone, “Perceptions of an Imperial Crisis”. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Longley, *Sir Francis Hincks*. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, 344. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Stouffer,  *The Light of Nature*; Skelton, ***Galt*,** 307-311;**Winks, *Canada and the United States***, 210. Reconstruction is described in: Foner, *Reconstruction* .  [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Love, *Race Over Empire*. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Heuman, *The Killing Time*; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*;Desmond and Moore,  *Darwin’s Sacred Cause.* [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. Will,  *Constitutional Change* . [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Wrong, *Government of the West Indies*, 81-94; H.A. Will, *Constitutional Change,*11. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Heuman,  *Between Black and White*, 132-3; Hall, *Free Jamaica, 1838-1865*; Hall, *A Brief History.* [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Levy, *How the Dismal Science Got Its Name.* [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Clayton, “Managing the Transition to a Free Labor Society.”. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Sewell, *The Ordeal of Free Labor*. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Although Stuart did not mention it, he was connected to the family of Sir James Douglas and had worked with the firm of J. T. and A. Douglas and Company, which had been established by Sir James’s father, John Douglas. Girard, “Sir James Douglas' Mother and Grandmother.” [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. *Demerara Colonist*, 29 January 1865. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Banks, *Chasing Empire* ,76-84; Mandelblatt, “ ‘Beans from Rochel and Manioc from Prince’s Island’ ”.. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Condon, “1783-1800: Loyalist Arrival, Acadian return, Imperial Reform, ”206. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Keith, “Relaxations in the British Restrictions on the American Trade with the British West Indies, 1783-1802,” ; Ryan, “Fishery to colony: a Newfoundland watershed, 1793-1815,” 44. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Wynn, “Turning the Century,” 210-233. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Reid, “Intercolonial Trade during the French Regime.”  [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Benns, *The American Struggle for the British West India Carrying Trade*; Carrington, “The United States and Canada.” [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Sutherland, “Halifax Merchants and the Pursuit of Development, 1783–1850.”  [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Schuyler, *The Fall of the Old Colonial System*; Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism*; Schonhardt-Bailey, *From the Corn Laws to Free Trade*. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Howe, *Free Trade and Liberal England, 1846-1946*, 38-69; Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 61-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Green, *British Slave Emancipation*, 232. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Huzzey, “Free Trade, Free Labour, and Slave Sugar in Victorian Britain.”. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Acheson, “The 1840s: Decade of Tribulation,” , 313. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. Gwyn, *Excessive Expectations*, 54-55. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Author’s calculations based on Table 14, “Total Value of Imports and Exports from Each Country, In Each of the Years 1857 and 1858,” in *Statistical Tables* (1858), 118. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Table derived from data in “Return Showing the Principle Statistics of the Several British Colonies in 1860” in *Statistical Tables* (1862). [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Table 2, “Number and Tonnage of British and Foreign Vessels Enterred (From Sea) at the Port of Quebec in the year 1858” in *Statistical Tables* (1858), 71. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. Feltoe, *Redpath*, 21. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Ballinger, *A History of Sugar Marketing*, 12. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Parks Canada, “Énoncé de valeur patrimoniale,” 14. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Redpath, 6 November 1854, memorial to Elgin and Kincardine, cited in Feltoe, *Redpath,* 44. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. Kennedy, *British Naval Mastery*, 180. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. Costello, *Black Salt*; Cobley, “Black West Indian Seamen,” 259-274. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. Dubois and. Scott, eds. *Origins of the Black Atlantic*. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. Legacies of British Slaveownership Database, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46485>. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. *Ibid*, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44571>. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. *Ibid*, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146631637>. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Table A125-163, “Origins of the population, census dates, 1871 to 1971.” [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, “Series A297-326.Country of birth of other British-born and the foreign-born population, census dates, 1871 to 1971.” [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. Ormsby, “Douglas.” [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. Waite , “Hewitt Bernard.” [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. Waite, “ Agnes Bernard.” [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. Zeller, “McDougall.” [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. Tulchinsky and Dever, “Ryan.” [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Monet, “Delisle.” [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade*, 275. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. Brockman, *Bermuda.* [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. Mackey, *Done with Slavery*, 524. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. *1842 Jamaica Almanac*. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. Page, “Lincoln and Chiriquí Colonization Revisited.”  [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. Hamilton, “LeVesconte.” [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. Jones, “Smith.” [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. Robertson, “Pope.” [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. Burrow, “Evolution and anthropology in the 1860’s,”; Rainger, “Race, Politics, and Science,”; Luse, “Slavery's Champions Stood at Odds.”  [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. *The Islander,* 18 May 1866, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. *The Islander,* 12 April 1866, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. *The Islander,* 9 March 1866, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
69. *The Islander,* 18 May 1866, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
70. *The Islander,* “Jamaica Revolt,” 1 December 1865, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
71. *The Islander,* “Insurrection in Jamaica,” 8 December 1865, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
72. Monck to Cardwell, 5 August 1865 in Colonial Office 42/650. [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
73. Rogers, “The Confederate Council of Trade.” [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
74. The minutes were enclosed in Monck to Cardwell, 30 November 1865 in CO 42/650. [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
75. Hincks, *Reminiscences*, 412. [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
76. The members of the Council present on 18 September were: Lord Monck, George Brown, Ambrose Shea, James C. Pope, John William Ritchie, Robert Wilmot. [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
77. The key meeting was on 18 September 1865. The minutes were enclosed in Monck to Cardwell, 30 November 1865. [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
78. Foreign Office to Sir Frederic Rogers, 25 October 1865 in Colonial Office 42/652. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)
79. The history of these treaties is discussed in Marsh, *Bargaining on Europe*. [↑](#endnote-ref-79)
80. Britain did not repudiate this treaty until 1897, which point it had become the bête noire of Joseph Chamberlain and other advocates of imperial preference. Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism,* 262-4, 291, 302, 319 [↑](#endnote-ref-80)
81. Tennent to the Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 26 October 1865 in *Proceedings of the Commission*. [↑](#endnote-ref-81)
82. A copy of Galt’s memorandum for McDougall, 17 November 1865, was enclosed in a letter from Monck to Cardwell, 30 November 1865 in Colonial Office 42/650. [↑](#endnote-ref-82)
83. Arthur Hamilton Gordon to William Smith, 15 December 1865, in *Proceedings of the Commission,* 4-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-83)
84. Musgrave to Monck, 4 December 1865, in Colonial Office 42/650. [↑](#endnote-ref-84)
85. Mayo, “Newfoundland and Confederation.”   [↑](#endnote-ref-85)
86. *The Islander,* “From Southampton to Saint Thomas,” 9 March 1866, p.2 [↑](#endnote-ref-86)
87. The most recent research on this scandal is Romney, “‘The Ten-Thousand Pound Job’”. [↑](#endnote-ref-87)
88. *Demerara Colonist,* 29 January 1866, account of the dinner. [↑](#endnote-ref-88)
89. Hincks to Cardwell, 1 February 1866, CO 111 vol. 355. Minute was dated 2 March 1866. [↑](#endnote-ref-89)
90. Hincks, *Reminiscences*, 412, 416, 418. [↑](#endnote-ref-90)
91. Hart, *A Trading Nation*, 58. [↑](#endnote-ref-91)
92. Hincks, *Reminiscences*, 412. [↑](#endnote-ref-92)
93. Hincks, *Reminiscences*, 414. [↑](#endnote-ref-93)
94. Walker to Cardwell, 17 February 1867, in Colonial Office 28, vol. 202. [↑](#endnote-ref-94)
95. *Barbados Globe,* “British North American Commissioners,” 13 February 1866. [↑](#endnote-ref-95)
96. Walker to Cardwell, 17 February 1867, in Colonial Office 28, vol. 202. [↑](#endnote-ref-96)
97. Minute by Sir Henry Storks, 17 April 1866 in *Report of the Commissioners*, 14 [↑](#endnote-ref-97)
98. Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 193; Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 383-4; Huzzey, *Freedom Burning* , 58-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-98)
99. Memorial Dated 5 March 1866 in *Report of the Commissioners,* 14. [↑](#endnote-ref-99)
100. *Report of the Commissioners,* 17. A thorough search for correspondence related to the British North Americans’ visit was made in The National Archives of the United Kingdom Foreign Office 843/4 and Foreign Office 881/1423. [↑](#endnote-ref-100)
101. *Halifax, Bermuda, and St. Thomas Packet Service Contract: Copies of a Contract, Dated 2 December 1867* (London : HMSO, 1867) [↑](#endnote-ref-101)
102. The Quebec Streamship Company named three ships after Bermuda fortifications: *Fort St, George*, *Fort Hamilton*, and *Fort Victoria*. See: Victor B. Teye, “Cruise sector policy in a tourism-dependent island destination,” in Ross K. Dowling (ed.) *Cruise Ship Tourism*. (Wallingford, Oxfordshire: CABI, 2006), 53; Brian J. Cudahy, *Around Manhattan Island and Other Maritime Tales of New York* (Lower Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 1997), 170-171. [↑](#endnote-ref-102)
103. Ballinger, *A History of Sugar Marketing*, 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-103)
104. Feltoe, *Redpath*, 72,79. [↑](#endnote-ref-104)
105. Farrell, “The Canada First Movement,”;Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power*. [↑](#endnote-ref-105)
106. See speeches by McCully, Senate, 20 November 1867; Mills, Canadian House of Commons, 2 December 1867. [↑](#endnote-ref-106)
107. Galt, who was then Canada’s High Commissioner in London, conducted the actual negotiations in Madrid and the British Ambassador’s involvement in the treaty was limited to the actual signing ceremony. MacLaren, *Commissions* High, 49-50. [↑](#endnote-ref-107)
108. See Jones to Macdonald, 1 November 1883,126906 to 126916 , in Library and Archives Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald Fonds, microfilm reel, C1685. [↑](#endnote-ref-108)
109. Hincks to Macdonald, dated 20 September 1884, pp.95972, C-1655. [↑](#endnote-ref-109)
110. Lansdowne to Macdonald, 29 March 1885, 33021, C-1516; Norman to CO, 18 April 1885 M11-CO 137 vol. 521 microfilm reel C-13616. [↑](#endnote-ref-110)
111. Smith, “Thomas Bassett Macaulay and the Bahamas”. [↑](#endnote-ref-111)
112. Laurier to J.S. Irwin, 20 February 1905; Laurier to Johnson, 8 May 1905; Laurier to Frost, 7 September 1906 in Library and Archives Canada, Laurier Papers. [↑](#endnote-ref-112)
113. This involvement is discussed in Armstrong, *Southern Exposure*; McDowall, *The Light*.

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