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# The Refugee Home Society : its origin, operation and results, 1851-1876.

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THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY: ITS ORIGIN, OPERATION

AND RESULTS, 1851-1876

by

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A thesis presented to the Department of  
History, Faculty of Arts and Science,  
University of Windsor, in partial require-  
ment for the degree of Master of Arts.

Windsor, Ontario

1973

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## ABSTRACT

The researcher in preparing the thesis, The Refugee Home Society, Its Origin, Operation, And Results, 1851-1876, had three essential themes to investigate. The first was to ascertain the exact location of the settlement and the names of its settlers. Secondly, due to the paucity of available knowledge regarding its officary and intentions a detailed investigation of these aspects of the Society was deemed profitable. Thirdly, the Refugee Home Society has received perhaps the most condemnation of any of the philanthropic land schemes proposed and devised to aid the fugitive Negro in his transition and relocation from Southern bondage to the status of freeman in British North America. The researcher felt it seemed somewhat incompatible that a Society manned by tested abolitionists, and conceived as a benevolent organization could have degenerated to such a poor state. Due to this incompatibility an extensive examination was undertaken to either corroborate, refute in part, or refute in totality, this negative appraisal.

Various works were available which have already dealt with this subject on a limited degree. Among them were A. L. Murray's, Canadian Anglo-American Anti-Slavery Movements, William and Jane Pease's, Black Utopia - Negro Communal Experiments in America, and Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada - A History. Various contemporary accounts such

as Benjamin Drew's, A North-Side View of Slavery, Laura S. Haviland, A Woman's Life Work, Labours, and Experiences, W. N. Mitchell's, The Underground Rail-Road, and Samuel G. Howe's, Refugees From Slavery In Canada West, provided data concerning the Society's operations and success. Newspapers such as the Voice of the Fugitive, The Provincial Freeman, The Essex Record, and various Detroit published editions such as The Detroit Free Press, The Christian Herald, and The Tribune, also proved valuable in researching the conditions and the atmosphere of the times.

Other contemporary accounts such as Florence May Holland, and Genevieve Allan Jones, two Negro ladies who trace their ancestry to the original settlers of the Home, provided invaluable information of the settler's life, problems and education.

The last major source of data available to the researcher was the records of the deeds and plans registered at the Essex County Registry Office, located in Windsor. These records provided the information regarding the cost and location of the purchases undertaken by the Society, and their subsequent redistribution to its settlers.

THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY: ITS ORIGIN  
OPERATIONS AND RESULTS, 1851 - 1876

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I <u>BACKGROUND, ORGANIZATION AND FORMULATION OF THE CONSTITUTION</u> .....	1
II <u>FORMAL OPPOSITION 1852 - 1854</u> .....	29
III <u>LAND PURCHASES AND LAND DISTRIBUTION</u> .....	67
IV <u>THE OPPOSITION OF 1857, THE QUESTION OF BEGGING, AND FINAL LAND DISTRIBUTION</u> .....	92
V <u>CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, AND FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS</u> .....	125
VI <u>CONCLUSION</u> .....	155
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u> .....	166

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: <u>LAND PURCHASES IN THE TOWNSHIP OF MAIDSTONE</u> .....	173
APPENDIX B: <u>RECORD OF LAND PURCHASES AND LAND DISTRIBUTION BY THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY TO ITS SETTLERS</u> .....	174
APPENDIX C: <u>THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY</u> .....	181
APPENDIX D: <u>LIST OF SUNDAY SCHOOL OFFICERS AND STUDENTS OF THE PUCE BAPTIST CHURCH 1880</u> .....	191
VITA AUCTORIS .....	192



THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY: ITS ORIGIN  
OPERATION AND RESULTS, 1851 - 1876

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND, ORGANIZATION AND FORMATION  
OF THE CONSTITUTION

According to both William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, the co-authors of Black Utopia - Negro Communal Experiments in America, and Alexander Lovell Murray in Canadian Anglo-American Anti Slavery Movement, the Refugee Home Society dated its genesis to a Negro convention held in Windsor in 1846. Isaac Rice, and a Negro Methodist preacher T. Willis, organized this initial effort and gathered support from Lewis Tappan, Hamilton Hill, (a friend of Hiram Wilson at Oberlin College) and philanthropists in Detroit.<sup>1</sup>

From that convention, a large tract of land was selected north of Amherstburg, since some Negroes had settled there already, this land was purchased for \$1.50 to \$2.00 an

<sup>1</sup> Alexander L. Murray, Canadian Anglo-American Anti-Slavery Movements, University of Pennsylvania, unpublished P.H.D. thesis, Philadelphia: 1960 pp. 406-407 and William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, "The Refugee Home Society, Factionalism on the Detroit Frontier", Chp. 6, Black Utopia-Negro Communal Experiments in America, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison: 1963, pp. 109-122 Both of these authors presented this interpretation for the genesis of the Refugee Home Society. This view was later supported by Robin Winks in his text, The Blacks in Canada A History, pp. 204-208, Col. 1.

acre, which became known as the Sandwich Mission. The Mission's aim was to form a new Negro settlement, provide homes, and cheap land for Negroes. Soliciting funds from friends of the Negro in the United States and England they could provide care for the sick, the aged, and the newly arrived fugitive. By 1851, Willis, acting as agent for the Mission, purchased two thousand acres and reserved 25 acres for a church and a school. An elective board of overseers was to assist a board of trustees, appointed by white backers from Michigan, to guide and govern the Mission's settlers. No settler was permitted to cut any timber from his land, until the actual settlement had occurred, and within a year of his down payment, the farmer was obliged to commence the improvement of his land. Another condition of sale, required that as much of the road that passed by his lot, was to be kept clear. To enforce temperance, it was decreed that any person or persons bringing any liquor for the purpose of selling or giving it away to the settlers, would be removed following the first offense, fined for the second, and expelled from the settlement, at the discretion of the trustees, if the offence was repeated a third time. Stealing, also, was punishable by expulsion.

In an effort to maintain harmonious relations among the settlers, it was further resolved, that no settler was to bring court action against a fellow settler without first

submitting his dispute to the trustees for arbitration. This action, it was felt, would keep acrimonious community disputes from being aired in public.

The Sandwich Mission met with little success and with the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, in September 1850, further organized action on behalf of Negro refugees and settlers, seemed necessary.

In November 1850, a new convention called at Sandwich decided to organize a Benevolent Association to undertake the purchase of 30,000 acres of land for resale to Negroes so that they might become owners of the soil, the most certain road to independence and self-elevation. Two-thirds of the income from such sales was to be invested in more land, one-third for the education of the settlers, and their children, and the lots were not to exceed 25 acres. These pecuniary measures were thought to insure that the scheme would self-perpetuate itself.

Many leaders of the Negro cause, along the Detroit-Windsor frontier supported this new project. Listed among these supporters were Isaac Rice and Hiram Wilson, both of whom had been prominent figures in the formation of the Sandwich Mission. Josiah Henson a renowned fugitive, and former African Methodist Episcopal preacher for the Colchester circuit, and patriarch of the Dawn Institute,

4

was chosen President, while Henry Bibb, the Negro editor of the Voice of the Fugitive newspaper, based in Sandwich, became the Recording Secretary. Despite this evident enthusiasm and eager support initially, this plan also failed for according to Murray, "the leadership was weak and distracted. Rice was ill, and Wilson was warning his friend Hill off the enterprise." <sup>2</sup> In any event, the Sandwich project was swallowed up by a larger one in 1852.

This new project had its origin on 21 May, 1851, when a new group of anti-slavery people met in Farmington, and from it emerged two distinct groups. The larger one based in Michigan, but primarily in the vicinity of Detroit, called itself the Refugee Home Society, and the earlier Sandwich Mission group called itself the Fugitives Union Society. <sup>3</sup> This convention also authorized Henry Bibb, the Reverend Charles Curtis Foote and the Reverend A. N. McConoughey to draw up a constitution.

Prior to this meeting in May, Henry Bibb, through his newspaper, The Voice of the Fugitive, which was later to become the official organ of the Society until its demise in December 1852, had written numerous comments regarding the various proposals the Refugee Home Society was contemplating.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander L. Murray, Canadian Anglo-American Anti-Slavery Movement, p. 407.

<sup>3</sup> The Voice of the Fugitive, Vol. II, No. 4, 12 Feb. 1852, p.1, Col.1.

Bibb, besides being active in various organized anti-slavery activities such as the Windsor Anti-Slavery and Refugee Home Societies, also provided immediate aid to destitute refugees in the form of clothing and food. His wife, Mary an equally ardent anti-slavery activist, opened a school for Negro children.

in its formulation of a constitution. In March 1851, he proposed collecting \$40,000 which would secure a land purchase of 20,000 acres for land valued at \$2.00 an acre. He also proposed that the Elgin Association's scheme, of selling stocks to fund the purchase, should be emulated. He deduced that either 4000 shares at \$10 a share or 8000 shares at \$5 a share would be equally satisfactory in raising the required capital. For him, the entire sum was not necessary for as soon as sufficient monies were raised to suffice a down payment, then land should be obtained forthright so refugees could begin immediate settlement.<sup>4</sup>

Foreseeing that neither one block that size, was still available in the Essex County region, nor that could they delay initial purchases until sufficient funds could be collected for a down payment on such a tract of land, he advocated purchases wherever land could be obtained regardless of whether the settlements would form a contiguous area or not. Deeds were to be secured to wives and children, and held in trust by proper persons for the benefit of the people and the land was to be sold to the settlers at cost.

Bibb also proposed certain conditions which were geared to promote education, morality, and industrial habits. Among these were stipulations that one-third of all money collected would be transferred to the establishment of

<sup>4</sup> Op. Cit., Vol. I, No. 7, 26 March, 1851, p. 2, Col. 4.

schools, supplies, and teachers' salaries; all settlers who did not practice temperance would be automatically rejected as potential settlers. Bibb was emphatic about the practice of abstinence from spiritous beverages because he felt that money could be utilized much better in clothing, food, and land purchases. For an example he referred to one Negro whose liquor bill had never been less than fifty cents a week for fifteen consecutive years, at the end of that time, his family was suffering, he was now an old man with no house, and not a single acre to show for his labours.

In May 1851, he proposed granting five acres to each settler free of cost with an option to purchase the adjoining twenty acres. In June 1851, he reported that his proposals had received the support of two prominent New York citizens, Lewis Tappan, of the American Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and of the American Missionary Association, and a Professor Allen, a Negro professor of the New York Central College. Besides sending ten dollars for the purchase of one share of the Society's stock, Professor Allen also sent the following letter:

"The purchasing of 20,000 acres of land in Canada for the fugitives to settle upon is worthy of you. The manner in which you propose to raise the money also is such that no one will object to....." 5

5 Ibid., Vol. I, No. 12, 1 June, 1851, p. 1, Col. 1.

Encouraging news also was reported from the Convention of the Friends of Humanity in Michigan, which pledged to raise funds for the enterprise, by efforts at home and abroad.

Despite this proposed support, the treasury report of July showed only a sum of two hundred forty-six dollars either paid in actual cash or in pledges. Bibb's despair was evident by his complaint that, "Despite numerous advertisements recruitment was still slow." <sup>6</sup> A month and half later, conditions were still as gloomy for a total of just \$337 was reported. It was also decided to place these funds in banks, so the interest could be utilized to purchase further land from time to time, as sufficient capital accumulated. The August 13 edition, also reported other major resolutions. Initially, it was resolved that the Society would exist only so long as slavery existed in the United States. Secondly, it published the Officers and Board of Trust of both organizations. The Detroit group listed its President as Nathan Stone of Detroit; A. L. Power of Farmington, was the Vice-President; Horace Hallock of Detroit, the Treasurer; and E. P. Benham of Farmington, the Secretary.

The Canadian group listed Josiah Henson of Dawn, as its President. George Williams of Sandwich, the Vice-President, Henry Bibb of Sandwich, the Secretary, and Henry Brent, the Treasurer.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, No. 14, 2 July, 1851, p. 2., Col. 1.

Last, and probably the most important, because of the paucity of the funds, which had been heretofore collected, it was resolved to send agents out to collect funds outright. In other words, it was decided to "beg" funds in the Society's name for the fugitives seeking asylum, and relocation in Canada. It appears that the Reverend Charles C. Foote was the only agent commissioned at that time. His base of operations was to be New York and New England. The wisdom of such a procedure in terms of financial success was readily evident in Foote's initial report from New York, which appeared in the 8 October 1851 issue. In it, \$1,083.39 cash and \$484.75 in pledges was recorded. This sum of \$1,578.14, collected in one month, was nearly five times more than had been able to be collected, in the previous six months. Capitalizing on this new prosperity, in November it was decided to send S. T. Judson, S. W. Pierson, and E. M. K. Glenn to finish collection work in New York, thus freeing Foote to devote his entire efforts in New England. Others commissioned were; James Bin to Illinois; E. P. Benham and the Reverend A. N. McConoughey to Ohio. Further evidence of financial success was provided by the reports of these agents. Foote's second report in December, listed another \$300, while Benham reported \$538.34 either through cash or pledges.

This pecuniary success was not without some degree of cost, however. Besides the financial situation of Foote's



December report, it also contained news of his wife being on her death bed. Although unknown to the officers at the time another costly situation which this begging system would create, was a constant source of opposition directed at both the system itself and at its agents, accompanied by a tirade of accusations of dishonesty and corruption. This would cause public opinion, which had previously supported their efforts, to switch allegiance to the opposition camp.

Nevertheless, undaunted and encouraged by the ready cash which was quickly filling the treasury, Bibb reported the Society's first purchase. George Cary and Henry Bibb, acting as trustees for the Canadian group purchased "200 acres from Lucy Denise Bouchette",<sup>7</sup> which was recorded in the Essex County Registry Office on 8 July, 1852. This tract Bibb described it as a:

Beautiful tract of unimproved Canada Land, 25 acre lots, stocked with good marketable timber, and that wood will command a liberal price on the land if chopped and corded at a price of 50¢ a cord ... (we) ... also contracted another piece, need money to purchase ... (The land was) ... located in Sandwich Township, near the Detroit market."<sup>8</sup>

Further evidence of the value of this land, was provided by Nathan Stone, the President of the Detroit organization. Stone along with a committee of competent men, among which were two practical farmers, following an invitation from Henry Bibb, inspected the land and presented the

<sup>7</sup> Sandwich East Copy Book B, Instrument Number 392.

<sup>8</sup> The Voice of the Fugitive, Vol. I, No. 24, 19 November, 1851, p. 2, Col. 3.

following report:

"... a tract of rich and productive land valued at \$3 per acre. The land is clay soil, covered with the best of timber, such as oak, black walnut, hickory, bass wood, beech maple, and elm, . . . black ash, and occasionally white maple . . . fire wood cut and corded on the ground is worth 38¢ per cord and \$2.50 per cord at Windsor, 7 or 8 miles away. An acre of this wood, if cut into cord wood, would make about sixty cords (60 x 38¢ - \$22.80) almost ten times the original price. The country has gentle undulations . . . and not much running water, but is obtained by digging seven to ten feet . . . Some farms in the same vicinity that were partly improved could be had for \$6 and \$7 an acre. . ." 9

He added,

". . . I have been particular in giving a description of this part of Canada, that the contributors to the society in the east and west may be assured that what they donate will be applied to a good and available purpose." 10

The purchase had cost \$610 dollars and at 25 acres per lot would settle eight families. Bibb proposed that this first tract be distributed to the settlers by granting to them free, the first five acres. The twenty adjoining acres, though sold at cost, would require a ten dollars down payment. The balance would be paid interest free, in six equal annual instalments. As the settlers repaid the balance, one-third of this money would be reserved for education and two-thirds reverted to further land purchases.

Support for both this purchase, and for his ideas,

9 Op. Cit., Vol. I, No. 24, 19 Nov., 1851, p. 1. Col. 3.  
10 Op. Cit., Vol. I, No. 24, 19 Nov., 1851, p. 1. Col. 3.

came from Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward, who was under a commission from the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society. His duties included delivering frequent lectures while touring throughout Canada in an effort to educate public opinion as to the function of his group. Whenever possible he collected funds to support the Society's work. During the normal discharge of these duties, Ward also volunteered to act as agent for The Voice of the Fugitive, the official organ of the Refugee Home Society. Further, he complimented Bibb on the purchase of the land and added two advantages of settlement in Essex County that were not available in the rest of Canada West. He believed these advantages to be that, ". . . yours is the warmest portion of our goodly province, and you are near to good markets." 11

To avoid confusion later, it seems wise to point out that at this time both Bibb and Ward were of like mind and their relationship was cordial and harmonious. This sameness of opinion was evident even in the question of begging.

Both men were anti-begging, Ward stated this opinion clearly,

"There is no suffering here among this class. Every one here who is willing to work, can live, and live well, without begging. . . Now if even we expect to command the respect of men, we must be something more than beggars." 12

Bibb not only accepted this interpretation but he seconded it by reiterating, ". . . Self-help is now becoming the watch-word among the refugees in Canada." 13

11 Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 6, 11 March, 1852, p. 2, Col. 4.

12 Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 4, 12 Feb., 1852, p. 2, Col. 4.

13 Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 4, 12 Feb., 1852, p. 2, Col. 4.

Lest these opinions seem contradictory with their condoning of supplying the treasury by begging, it must be remembered that being pragmatists they had long since realized the stock system would not produce the required capital quickly enough, consequently it was abandoned. They also realized that the refugees escaping into Canada came destitute of all save the clothes on their backs. These fugitives would require immediate help. The selling of land stocks could not provide this aid, for any excess capital which would be produced by settlers making time payments on their land, would be required to satisfy the interest on these stocks. Besides some benevolent organization, what other individual or group of individuals would sacrifice their time, energy, and resources to provide these needy functions? Beyond employing the begging system to fund the initial land purchase, and to supply the immediate needs of the fugitives, neither man would acquiesce any further on the subject.

During these exchanges of correspondence between Bibb and Ward, the Society met once again. This convention was held at Farmington, 29 January, 1852. The election of officers resulted in Nathan Stone being once again returned to the President's position. A. L. Power and E. P. Benham, retained their positions of Vice-President and Secretary, respectively. A new office of Corresponding Secretary was created and Mary E. Bibb, Henry's wife, assumed that

responsibility. William Dolason and Elisha Vangant of Detroit, David Hotchkiss, Amherstburg, and Henry Bibb and Coleman Freeman of Windsor Canada West, were appointed to the Executive Committee, Henry Bibb and Elisha Vangant also were appointed to the Board of Trust.

Whether Bibb's group presented a draft of their proposed constitution is not known, but that Convention did appoint a new committee to draft another constitution and its by-laws. Further resolutions appointed J. F. Dolbeare and Henry Bibb to visit the West to collect funds; the Executive Committee was entrusted to erect a school, meeting house and cemetery as soon as possible on lots to be reserved for that purpose; and The Voice of the Fugitive was acclaimed to serve as the official organ to report the Society's business to the public.

On the 12 February 1852, Bibb published the first constitution. (Since the whole constitution is printed in Appendix C, this discussion will concern itself with only the highlights.) Some points which would govern the Society are printed in its preamble:

"... whereas it is supposed that there, at the present time, between thirty-five and forty thousand refugee slaves in Canada, whose number has been constantly increasing since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

And whereas, on their arrival, they find themselves in a strange land, uneducated,

poverty stricken, without homes, or any permanent means of self-support, however willing they may be to work, with no land to work upon; and the sad story of the numerous fugitives who have been dragged back into perpetual slavery by the strong arm of the American Government, is a sufficient proof that there is no protection for the slave this side of the Canadian line. The only protection for their liberty on the American Continent is emphatically under the shadow of the British throne.

In view of the above facts, the friends of humanity in Michigan, in May 1851, organized a society which has undertaken the purchase of 50,000 acres of farming land, in Canada, on which to settle refugees from slavery.

This society would therefore represent to the refugees from Southern slavery, who are now in Canada destitute of homes, or who may be hereafter come, being desirous of building themselves up in Canada, on an agricultural basis, and who do not buy, sell or use intoxicating drinks as a beverage shall, by making proper application to this society, and complying with its constitution and by laws, be put into possession of 25 acres of farming land, and their children shall enjoy the blessings of education perpetually. . . ."

Following this preamble the constitution listed 19 articles, and 8 by-laws with which the Society's land allotments were to be governed. To protect against actual fraud by Society members, or possible accusations by outsiders, an intricate system of checks was resolved. All money was to be deposited in the First Savings Bank of Detroit, and no money could be withdrawn without the written consent of at least three members of the Executive Committee. The treasurer and all agents had to supply reports at least once monthly.

14 Ibid., Vol. II, No. 4, 12 Feb. 1852, p. 1, Col. I.

which were to be duly printed through the Society's organ. These statements were then counterchecked by an Annual Report presented by the Executive Committee.

To ensure future security of these fugitive families, no land could be sold or transferred to any one but actual heirs, husbands, wives, or children. Any violation of this article would result in the land reverting back to the Society. The violator, however, would receive compensation that the Executive Committee would decide his improvements were worth. Further security for the settlers' children through educational facilities, would be provided wherever a settlement reached the size of six families. One third of all money paid by settlers, was to be allocated for the support of these schools.

The constitution also made provisions for widows, men with families, the aged, or the infirm to receive more than the usual five acres free of charge. No one was allowed more than 25 acres, while only landless fugitives from American slavery were eligible to join the Home. Settlers could not clear or cut timber from any land except the five acres which had been granted gratis. It was felt that this would stop anyone from cutting down all the valuable timber, and then simply abandoning the land. Since the adjoining twenty acres could not be cleared until the down payment had been made, then it would behoove the settler to clear the first five acres before his two year time limit. This industry

would enable him to save enough to make the down payment on the adjoining lot. Once the adjacent twenty acres, had been contracted then the balance would be redressed by eight equal annual installments.

Ideas could be borrowed from sister colonies such as Buxton under the directorship of Reverend William King, the Sandwich Mission, and the Dawn Institute supervised by Josiah Henson and John Scoble Esquire, a British Quaker missionary. These borrowed concepts included; the settling of disputes by an arbitration board whose decision was binding; homes could contain no less than two rooms; the chimneys could not be of wood or clay but brick or stone; and any deliberate violation of the articles of the constitution would result in expulsion following the third offence. Any compensation for the expelled would be at the discretion of the Executive Committee. To protect against unforeseen circumstances, future amendments or alterations were possible under Article 19. The only requisite for this contingency was the approval of two-thirds of the membership.

The original goal was increased from 20,000 acres and \$40,000 to 50,000 acres and \$100,000, and the proposed constitution presented, contained four novel resolutions. These alterations would be a future source of opposition and factionalism. The reduction of land clearance time on the initial five acres from three years to two; the reversion



clause concerning the sale or transferral of land only to heirs or to members of the immediate family; the alteration and amendment clause; and the exclusiveness of eligibility open only to actual refugees from southern slavery; would provide the impetus for future opposition. These criticisms initiated by Reverend Ward and Mary Ann Shadd, would produce the acrimonious relationships which marked the hostility between the two groups henceforth.

Ironically, Ward congratulated Bibb for his effort, "I very much like the constitution of your Refugee Home Society . . . and we shall need no other or no better argument against colonization . . ." 15

Although a meeting held in Detroit 5 May, 1852, failed to produce any concrete revisions of the constitution it did adopt a resolution calling for another meeting in August, and added the names of Nathan Power, H. L. Power, Robert Garner, C. C. Foote, and George Cary to the Board of Trust, while Elisha Vangant was dropped.

The First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, on 25 August, 1852, was the site of the next convention. "After several amendments and a full and lengthy discussion by Rev. C.C. Foote, Rev. S. R. Ward, Rev. S. A. Baker, Rev. A. N. McConoughey, Henry Bibb, H. Hallock, and others," 16 a

15 Ibid., Vol. II, No. 6, 19 Nov., 1851, p. 2, Col. 4.

16 Ibid., Vol. II, No. 19, 9 Sept., 1852, p. 1, Col. 2.

number of revisions were adopted. Of these, a time limit was officially imposed on the Society's existence to last only until slavery continued in the United States. With the cessation of that institution, the Society would then appropriate all property in its possession at the time, for educational purposes among the refugees. Realizing the improbability that the newly arrived fugitives could both eke out a meagre subsistence and save sufficient capital to accumulate a down payment from the initial five acres, three alterations were adopted which would create more favourable conditions for the settler. The ten percent down payment was eliminated and the annual payments were reduced by stretching the repayment period from eight to nine years. The clearance time allowed for the first five acres was returned to three years from two. To insure against irresponsible tenants and to further encourage industry, the settler could still not cut any timber on the adjoining twenty acres until he had made his first payment on the land.

Greater priority was placed on education for henceforth any funds collected from the settlers would be divided equally between education and further land purchases, instead of the previous ratio of one to two.

Probably due to the opposition agitated by Mr. Ward and Miss Shadd on the non-transferral or sale clause, their position on that point softened and adopted a safeguard

much akin to the ten year non-alienation clause of the Buxton settlement. Now it became possible for the settler to sell or transfer his land, free of restriction, after the expiration of fifteen years after the purchase date.

One fairly innocuous revision which was construed to benefit the settler, but which was later interpreted as yet another onerous condition imposed upon the fugitive, was that besides being at least the size of two rooms, the house had also had to be at least ten feet in height.

Finally, as further precautions against charges of dishonesty and corruption, a unique office of Auditor was originated to check on the financial affairs of the Executive Committee. While bank drafts now required the signatures of at least six trustees from the previous three. Judging from these revisions, it appears clear that the Society was a flexible organization attuned to the needs of its settlers and not so stringent as to impose impossible conditions.

The convention also proceeded to elect its officers for the following year. Of these, the Reverend H. D. Kitchell assumed the Presidential chair, Samuel M. Mead became the Vice-President, S. M. Holmes the Secretary, Henry Bibb the Corresponding Secretary, Horace Hallock the Treasurer, while E. C. Walker Esquire assumed the new position of auditor.

Reverend S. A. Baker, Reverend Henry Coles, Francis Raymond, Robert Garner, J. M. Diamond, A. L. Power, Lewis Tappan, Samuel Zug, and George Cary comprised the Executive Council. E. P. Benham,<sup>17</sup> J. F. Dolbeare, and Reverend Charles Curtis Foote were appointed agents for the Society and were commissioned to continue to collect funds. The convention also reported a capital fund of \$3,033.25, and that 12 worthy settlers had taken up lots and had managed to clear fifty acres.

Since the composition of the Executive Officer, listed only the names of Henry Bibb and George Cary as Canadian officers, Winks concluded that authority had now shifted to Detroit. Since both the morals and motives of the Society members would come under severe question and criticism, and since the knowledge concerning this group is so meagre, it now seems prudent at this juncture, to investigate their backgrounds. This investigation would

17 Pease, in Black Utopia, p. 112 states, "... E. P. Benham, later a Civil War general, ..." but unfortunately he does not provide a source for this statement. The History of Oakland County Michigan, p. viii, in discussing the Military History of the Eighth Infantry of Michigan also refers to a General Benham. This source however lists neither his initials nor the state he originated from. Further investigation at the Burton Historical Collection failed to unearth any General E. P. Benham at any time from 1789 to 1903. Only three soldiers who shared the last name of Benham, also shared the first initial E. None of these rose above the rank of Sergeant and only one Elias P. came from Michigan. His rank was that of chief saddler (Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War 1861-1865 Vol. 37, p. 17). The only General Benham was Henry Washington (H.W.), and his rank rose to that of Brigadier General. (Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army 1789-1903, Vol. I, pt 130 and p. 210).

ascertain whether their convictions and intents would warrant the abuse which was showered upon them.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE MEMBERS OF THE REFUGEE  
HOME SOCIETY

Collectively, Silas Farmer stated the, "Refugee Home Society was organized at Detroit, and officered by active members of the Liberty Association, an organization pledged to help elect only Anti-Slavery candidates." 18

Individually; Abraham Lapham (A. L.) Power of Farmington, was a Quaker whose whole family was involved in the Underground Railroad. His brother Nathan, or Uncle Nathan, as he was universally called, was the principal conductor of the station in Oakland County. "Nathan Power and his brother A. L. Power, worked closely with Laura Smith Haviland, the most dynamic Quaker Abolitionist in Michigan." 19 In fact it was reported that Mrs. Daniel Lephram, a sister-in-law of these two anti-slavery activists, while visiting Henry Bibb's office, ". . . in 1854, saw Laura Haviland bring into this place of Bibb six slaves whom she had just assisted to escape." 20

18 Silas Farmer, The History of Detroit and Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated Vol. 1, A Chronological Encyclopedia of the City of Detroit Past and Present, Silas Farmer and Co., Detroit:1889, p. 347.

19 Mrs. Lillian Avery Drake, "Underground Railroad", Farmington Enterprise, 30 May, 1924, p. 2, Underground Railroad File, Farmington Public Library, Farmington, Michigan:1973.

20 Op. Cit., p. 2.

Edward C. Walker was a prominent Detroit lawyer and elder of the Presbyterian Church. In 1853, he was elected president of the Young Men's Christian Association. 21 Being a highly desirous position, it automatically qualified him as a social lion, while in 1864 he became Secretary of the Detroit City Total Abstinence Society. He was reputed to have been,

" . . . an able lawyer and business man . . . expert on land titles and corporate law and was a careful manager of estates and property interests . . . (a man) . . . whose activity and success in moral, religious and educational movements." 22

These qualities made him an ideal choice for Auditor. Reverend H. D. Kitchell was a Congregational minister and a long standing advocatist of the anti-slavery sentiment, while Reverend S. A. Baker, of whom even Ward begrudgingly acknowledged to be the, ". . . Editor of the Wesleyan Evangelist, . . . and professional abolitionist." 23 So highly regarded was Baker that in 1854-1855, he was elected President of the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. 24

21 E. C. Walker Esq. President, Opening Lecture Before the Young Men's Christian Association of Detroit, 30 January, 1853, Duncklee and Wales Book and Job Print, Detroit:1853, p. 1.

22 Robert B. Ross, Early Bench and Bar of Detroit 1805-1850, Richard M. Joy and Clarence M. Burton, Detroit:1907, p. 207.

23 Rev. Samuel R. Ward, Provincial Freeman, Vol. I, No. 1, 24 March 1853, p. 1. Ward printed his name as Rev. M. Baker, but records of the Wesleyan Methodist ministers show only S. A. Baker among its members, Col. 2.

The error, therefore could either have been typographical or Ward, being in Canada, simply was not aware of his proper initials.

24 C. S. Rennells, Wesleyan Methodist Church - History of the Michigan Conference 1840-1940, Detroit Historical Museum, Detroit, 1952, p. 34.

Reverend Charles C. Foote was also a Congregational minister, who became the first pastor of White Lake in either 1845 or 1846. He kept this ministerial charge for seventeen years preaching there once in every two weeks. <sup>25</sup> His connection with the Underground Railroad was established when the following article appeared in the Detroit Tribune:

"The active members of this corporation which never filed articles of association, or reported its paid-up capital, and yet comprised hundreds of brave-hearted and God-fearing men . . . are fast passing away. We recall at the moment of writing the names of Horace Hallock, William Lambert, the Rev. Supply Chase, and the Rev. C. C. Foote . . ." <sup>26</sup>

His leadership in the anti-slavery agitation was pronounced when he was asked to deliver a short speech at the founding of the Michigan Republican Party at Jackson, in 1854. <sup>27</sup>

One member of Foote's congregation at White Lake was Robert Garner. After unsuccessful campaigns for the State House of Legislature, and the State Senate on the Prohibition Party ticket, he became an abolitionist and later a Republican. His name became synonymous with Underground Railroad activities and with the principles of temperance. Durant assessed that, "He has always been a foe to slavery and a strong advocate in favour of teetotalism." <sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Samuel W. Durant, History of Oakland County Michigan, L. H. Everts and Co., Philadelphia:1877, p. 188.

<sup>26</sup> Detroit Tribune, Vol. 15, No. 963, 17 January, 1886, p. 3, Col. 2.

<sup>27</sup> George Catlin, The Story of Detroit, Detroit News Publisher, Detroit:1923, pp. 509-510.

<sup>28</sup> Samuel W. Durant, History of Oakland County, p. 190.

Horace Hallock, Francis Raymond, Samuel Zug, and Silas M. Holmes were all Detroit business men. "In 1831, Hallock and Raymond had formed a partnership in a dry goods and furnishing store. Zug opened a business across the street." 29 Silas M. Holmes was involved in various commercial enterprises, the most prestigious being the ownership of the Detroit Advertiser newspaper. Both Zug and Holmes attended the Republican Convention as delegates, and from this convention Holmes was nominated to seek the office of State Treasurer. The ensuing campaign culminated with a successful election in 1855. "Their contribution to the Railroad was recorded by Mrs. Haviland, "The principal men in Detroit were Horace Hallock, also Silas M. Holmes and Samuel Zug. These were men who could be relied upon." 30

Of this business group, Horace Hallock was the most prominent. Following his relocation in Detroit in 1831, he was almost immediately elected Elder of the Fort Presbyterian Church. In 1832, he was a leading member of the First Temperance Society of Detroit, 31 while five years later he joined the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society and the following year he was appointed Treasurer. In 1845, he was elected

29 C. M. Burton, "Detroit in 1849", Burton Scrap Book Vol. 42, p. 107.  
 30 Charles E. Barnes, "Battle Creek as a Station on the Underground Railway", Historic Michigan Vol. I, George M. Fuller editor, National Historic Association Inc., Washington:1924, p. 507.  
 31 Friend Palmer, "Horace Hallock Another Citizen who Lived Here in 1837", Friend Palmer Scrap Book Vol. 14, pp. 137-138, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.



President of the Liberty Association and two years later ran unsuccessfully, for Lieutenant Governor of Michigan under the banner of the National Abolition Party. Aside from his duties as Treasurer for the Refugee Home Society, during the 1860's he also served as a Vice-President of the American Missionary Association.

Examining the group as a whole, it can be concluded that its composition was multi-denominational and multi-vocational, drawing its membership from agriculture, business, politics, and the clergy. A more impressive array of officers would be difficult to assemble by any organization. Besides their stature in society, all members were firmly committed to the anti-slavery sentiment, and were not hesitant to participate actively in implementing their beliefs. To attest to the strength of their convictions, and to the courageousness of their activities, it should be established that they were jeopardizing themselves, their families, and their secure social circumstances, because the Fugitive Slave Bill made it illegal to harbour or aid any fugitive in flight to Canada. This law was invoked and enforced often as, "Many Quakers were imprisoned or fined heavily for concealing them in their homes." <sup>32</sup> The author also proceeds to correct an often accepted misconception:

"Contrary to popular myth, most northerners did not espouse anti-slavery views; in fact abolitionists were stoned and harassed in

32 Carol Davidson, "Farmington Quakers Shelter Slaves", Farmington Observer, 22 July, 1970, Farmington History File, Farmington Public Library, Farmington, Michigan, p. 1.

Michigan before 1861. Quakers were ridiculed by their neighbours as 'Negrolovers' and their communities called 'Negrodens'." 33

To support this point, the example of Erastus Hussey is cited. In 1840 he, ". . . was the chief conductor of the Battle Creek section of the Underground Railroad . . . in 1844, he was active as leader of the Liberty Party, an abolitionist paper and organ of the Free Soil Party." 34 His printing press was smashed and his office burned by pro-slavery incendiaries in Battle Creek.

To corroborate Miss Davidson's contentions regarding the unpopularity of the anti-slavery activities, the Michigan Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1838, ". . . passed a resolution condemning the abolition movement, and those in authority were . . . acting with stern measures. . . no doubt because many of its members and even ministers owned slaves." 35 In 1841, when the Wesleyan Connection severed ties with the established Church, one of the major reasons listed for the split was that they believed:

"Slavery under all circumstances to be a heinous sin against God, and therefore could not conscientiously remain in fellowship with a church in which so horrible a crime was practiced by many of its members and ministers, declared to be not a moral evil by whole conferences of its preachers, and openly connived at and virtually sanctioned, by its General Conference, the source of authority and power." 36

33 Op. Cit., p. 1.

34 Ibid., p. 2.

35 C. S. Rennells, Wesleyan Methodist Church - A History of the Michigan Conference 1840-1940, p. 31.

36 Doctrines and Disciplines of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, N. Sullivan Printer, Ann Arbor, Michigan:1842, p. 4.

These various abolitionist groups however, were usually individualistic in nature and lacked cohesion. In 1842, the ex-slave Henry Bibb arrived at Detroit and immediately assumed the rôle of liaison between these groups. "In 1844 and 1845, he lectured in Michigan under the auspices of the Liberty Party, promoting anti-slavery candidates and expressing the evils of slavery." 37 He also urged all who were of the anti-slavery persuasion to aid the American Missionary Association's efforts to distribute copies of the Holy Scriptures among the slave population in the South. During these travels and lectures, Bibb began to believe that:

"The future of the people of colour in Canada depended upon getting them settled on the land and his mind turned to the possibilities of establishing a distinctly Negro colony or land that might be secured as a grant from the Canadian government or if necessary, purchased from the government. . . ." 38

With Bibb's urging and with the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the following announcement appeared in various Michigan newspapers:

"A Call to the Friends of Humanity In Michigan - Friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause.  
We propose to meet . . . in convention . . . to consider the moral, social, and pecuniary condition of the coloured population of Canada West, whom the nation has driven there,

37 Silas Farmer, The History of Detroit and Michigan, p. 344.

38 Dr. Fred Landon, "Henry Bibb - A Colonizer", Journal of Negro History Vol. 4, October, 1920, p. 438

by stringent and inhuman laws, and devise means for their elevation and self-support. As a people they are afflicted, degraded, and oppressed; and as we, the law makers of the United States, have been the chief authors of their poverty and degradation, christianity, humanity, and justice thereof, require that we should extend to them the helping hand in their struggle to establish homes among strangers, whose laws protect them from the grasp of the American slave-hunters. . . ." 39

From this meeting and the ones thereafter, the Refugee Home Society was the vehicle which they devised to implement their goals.

THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY: ITS ORIGIN  
OPERATION AND RESULTS, 1851 - 1876

CHAPTER II

FORMAL OPPOSITION 1852 - 1854

It appears evident that the first Negro spokesman against the Refugee Home Society, was Mary Ann Shadd. In 1852, she published a booklet entitled, A Plea For Immigration OR Notes of Canada West, In its Moral, Social, and Political Aspect. . . For the Information of Coloured Immigration, in which she criticized settlement schemes in general on two conditions. She opposed: ". . . the individual supervision of resident agents, and the premium indirectly offered for good behaviour," 40 and because of the begging that would be involved. To support this point she quoted, "We are free men, they say who advocate independent effort, . . . by our individual efforts, to attain a respectable position, . . . as poor as we are, and we do not want agents to beg for us." 41

40 Mary Ann Shadd, Plea For Immigration OR Notes of Canada West, In its Moral, Social, and Political Aspect. . . For the Information of Coloured Immigration, Geo. W. Pattison, Detroit: 1852, Mary Ann Shadd Papers, National Archives, Ottawa, Canada, p. 24.

41 Op. Cit., p. 24.

Her criticisms specifically applicable to the Society were that because of its eligibility clause, which only allowed actual fugitives from Southern slavery to acquire land, this measure would exclude the free born Negro. This group which feared being returned to Southern bondage due to the uncertainty of the Fugitive Slave Bill, moved to Canada, " . . . but they . . . Would leave at a sacrifice, they arrive in Canada destitute in consequence, many (could) not settle on the lands of the Refugees' Home Society from the accident of nominal freedom," 42 She also criticized the Society,

" . . . as being a powerful rival, standing in the way of poor free men with its ready cash, for its lands will not all be government purchases, neither does it contemplate large blocks exclusively, but as in the first purchase, land wherever found, and in small parcels also. . . ." 43

She further criticized the society that their land policies would tend to create a factionalism among the newly arrived Negro immigrants. Resentment would arise between those who were not eligible for land towards those who were.

Examining these criticisms, Miss Shadd was concerned that the Society would gobble up all the available land in the area, large tracts or small, wherever land was available.

42 Ibid., p. 24.

43 Ibid., p. 24.

This conclusion was faulty. As evidenced by its initial purchase the Society was not interested in purchasing small parcels but lots in the neighbourhood of 150 acres or more. Secondly, a contiguous area would create a solid block of Negro settlers which would necessarily retard the goal of integration. She too, was an ardent champion of this goal, but surprisingly this consideration received no mention in her article. The Society was further condemned for its begging practices which caused the independent Negroes to reject the Home, yet she argued that eligibility should be unlimited. Her contention that the free born Negroes, escaping the backlash of the Fugitive Slave Bill, did so at a sacrifice, is indisputable. However, their sacrificed condition was not comparable with the fugitive fleeing slavery who possessed only what he wore. Miss Shadd would later, "Viciously accused the Home settlers of being mostly riff-raff", <sup>44</sup> as a consequence from the Society's poor screening practices. The Society's only criteria, in settling Negroes on the Home, was that they were actual fugitives from slavery. They deemed this group to be the most needy of aid. Miss Shadd's own assessment would establish the disparity that existed between the free born and the slave.

Miss Shadd's first literary effort also provided a clear indication of the type of inadequacies which would

<sup>44</sup> Pease, Black Utopia, p. 117.

plague her future journalistic efforts. Her conclusion, that all societies with their resident agents and begging systems would retard Negro freedom and independence, even at that period seems very enlightened. However, her application of these conclusions to all the societies would seem to produce guilt merely by association. More detailed and precise research would have revealed that the Refugee Home Society had no provision for a resident agent, while the Buxton settlement relied upon the sale of stocks to fund their Association. Explicit research of this type would have provided conclusions based more upon facts and less upon inference. Prophetically, this example seems to have established a precedent whereby much of the commentary regarding the Refugee Home Society would be more inclined towards personal opinion than factual documentation.

Miss Shadd's criticisms, however, did bear immediate fruit. Two meetings held in Windsor, in September and November of 1852, resolved that:

"We do not regard the Refugees' Home Society as a benevolent institution designed to benefit a formerly down trodden, but as an exceedingly cunning land scheme, the continuance of which, by giving fresh impulse and a specious character to the begging system, will materially compromise our manhood. . . ." 45

Another setback was provided by a Windsor resident, Alexander McArthur. He wrote the American Missionary

45 Op. Cit., p. 117.



Association and defended Mary Ann Shadd while accusing her opponents with, ". . . not knowing what they were talking about. Specifically singled out Henry Bibb and accused him of trying to slander Miss Shadd through the columns of The Voice of the Fugitive." 46 The Refugee Home Society in his estimation, though using the Elgin Association as a guide, suffered from the lack of strong patriarchal leadership and of reliable trustees.

"The Society's trustees, said McArthur, was not, 'specifically interested in the fugitives'. Furthermore, both Henry Bibb and George Cary, leaders of the Refugee Society, were despite their color, were heartily disliked by the Negro settlers. The Society and its settlement. . . does not work and never can, under the present arrangement. As a matter of fact. . . the better portion of the fugitives cannot be induced to go to the land at all. The measure is unpopular among them, partly because of some odious features in the constitution of the society, which restricts them in deposing of their property if they see fit: . . . and partly because of Mr. Bibb's connection with the measure. . . the whole scheme is destined to prove a magnificent failure. It is another of those bottomless pits which have opened their mouths here on this fugitive mission and swallowed so much of the peoples charitable contributions." 47

McArthur's version that the settlers were not interested in the Society's land, and Miss Shadd's complaint that eligibility was not universal, commentary on his prophecy of the Society's doom, his negative comments regarding Bibb's

46 Ibid., p. 118.

47 Ibid., pp. 118-119.

popularity, and the lack of strong patriarchal leadership, will be reserved until later in the presentation.

Reverend James Theodore Holly, an intimate of Bibb, and assistant editor of The Voice of the Fugitive, prepared a rebuttal. Since the Voice had ceased publication in December 1852, his defence was circulated through Garrison's Liberator. While admitting the evils of unorganized begging, Holly claimed that:

" . . . The Society brought order to that system, made it honest and effective. The strict rules of the Society regarding settlers compelled the Negroes to rely upon themselves, rather than on the charity of others. He also supported the Society's practice of restricting its activities to fugitive slaves only. 'Help for all was a Utopian dream. Reform . . . when presented in its simplest and most feasible shape, may be realized on a partial scale in the present. With this reformers must be content, accepting it as the pledge and basis of the future' . . ." 48.

Holly also listed the Society's official position on inter-racial integration and education. To those who objected to segregated communities on general principle, Holly agreed that some:

" . . . differences within a community were both acceptable and desirable, and that the difference based on color should be eradicated as a basis for the social distinctions of rank. . . this will be done by the colored man himself, when in a state of freedom, after he becomes thoroughly educated, and the personal sense of slavery shall be lost in a free-born generation of descendants, in political contact with other classes' ." 49

48 Ibid., p. 120.

49 Ibid., p. 120.

Insight as to the objectivity and reliability of these criticisms, can be gained by examining the circumstances under which they were said. Both Miss Shadd and McArthur had been fellow executive officers, with Henry Bibb as late as the autumn of 1852. The executive of the Windsor Anti-Slavery Society was manned by the, "President - Henry Bibb, Vice-President - Wiley Reynolds, and the Treasurer - Coleman Freeman".<sup>50</sup> Mrs. Bibb, Mrs. Freeman, and Miss Shadd were the only three females who were listed among the officers. Bibb, his wife, and Coleman Freeman, had been supporters of the Fugitives' Union from its inauguration in 1851. Later they transferred their support to the Refugee Home Society and all three had served as officers of the new organization. If McArthur's and Miss Shadd's opposition against Bibb, and if their convictions regarding begging and colonization had been so resolute, surely some friction and conflict would have surfaced previously. Robin Winks places little reliability upon McArthur's testimony. In 1853, he had actively sought to be appointed as an agent for the American Missionary Association but was refused. "McArthur's testimony was suspect, since Hiram Wilson - who was Bibb's friend, had persuaded the A. M. A. not to appoint. . . (him). . . as agent." <sup>51</sup>

A more detailed scrutiny of Miss Shadd's motives is possible because of D. Shadd, a descendant of the original

<sup>50</sup> Voice of the Fugitive, Vol. II, No. 22, 18 October, 1852, p. 1, Col. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada - A History, McGill - Queens University Press, Montreal:1971, p. 207.

Shadds who settled in Canada. Mr. Shadd compiled the Life Sketch of Mary Ann Shadd Cary in 1960, in which he revealed that Mary Ann was one of thirteen children. At the age of 10, in 1823, her family moved from Wilmington, Delaware to West Chester, Pennsylvania. The move had been necessary because Delaware, being a slave state did not permit Negroes to become educated. Through her childhood she practiced the Roman Catholic faith until her conversion to African Methodism. By the latter half of the 1840's she had moved to Canada West, relocating in Windsor. Mary Ann was but one of the four Shadd children who relocated in Canada. The others were Isaac D., Amelia D., and Emeline. All the girls were educated as school teachers and pursued that vocation in Canada, while Isaac was to become a partner in the Provincial Freeman, and later opened a school in conjunction with his wife in Chatham.

Meanwhile by 1852, Mary had not only espoused the anti-slavery cause, but had also opened a school for Negro children in Sandwich. Funding for her school was partly from the American Missionary Association and partly from contributions from the children's parents. At the end of that year relations were severed with the A. M. A., but the split appeared amicable and of her own volition. Winks, however, suggests other reasons:

" . . . the official suspension of financial aid was due to the fact that Miss Shadd was evangelical; having been brought up as a Roman Catholic before her conversion to

African Methodism, the split really occurred because publicly Miss Shadd gave the appearance of resenting any dependency upon whites, denounced begging in all its forms as materially compromising our manhood, by representing as objects of charity." 52

Miss Shadd wanted this covert aid she had been receiving from a white officered, non-denominational group, to remain secret, both to avoid public embarrassment and to induce further support from the parents. Bibb was unaware of her intentions and inadvertently exposed the A. M. A.'s support in the Voice of the Fugitive. Miss Shadd regarded the exposition as deliberate and once the A. M. A. cut off support, the financial base for her school was thrown into chaos and was forced to close. She blamed Bibb for the sad state that had befallen her, and henceforth he became an enemy.

These conflicts in interest were not lost upon contemporary Negro opinion. The Liberator felt that the resolutions exaggerated the weaknesses of philanthropic schemes in aid of the fugitives. Hiram Wilson, the American missionary, voiced his support of Bibb and his Society on 4 February, 1853, writing in Frederick Douglass' Paper:

"I know the leading men who are engaged in this truly humane and philanthropic movement. . . . There is no cause presented to the Christian public more worthy of patronage and sympathy; home and foreign missions not excepted." 53

52 Winks, The Blacks in Canada - A History, p. 206.  
53 Donald G. Simpson, Negroes In Ontario From Early Times to 1870, Volumes I and II, University of Western Ontario, London:1971, p. 613.

Support also came from Thomas Henning, the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, with this letter appearing in the Toronto Globe, 2 November, 1852:

"There is not sufficient reason to believe that the allegations made in the resolutions referred to, respecting the Refugee Home Society, are founded on fact. On the contrary from a careful examination of all the public documents, I believe these charges are the result of erroneous judgement; if not, of prejudice or jealousy." 54

Since Miss Shadd later was to become the most outspoken and vitriolic critic of the Refugee Home Society, it seems advisable to attempt an evaluation to determine to what degree her opposition was based on principle or either jealousy or revenge. Following this distasteful episode in her life, she denounced, "All churches (as) segregationist (and) . . . broke with all institutional churches". 55 Because she regarded the A. M. A.'s action as unjust, she delivered a bitter editorial against them in 1854. Having learned of the A. M. A.'s plan to send another missionary, Miss Martin, among the fugitive slaves, she asked:

". . . Is Miss Martin white, . . .? If so, she will doubtless fare well at the hands of the American Missionary Association. Should she be so unfortunate as to have a different complexion and at the same time claim a rational share of independence of thought, while acting under their patronage, we would not answer for her permanent support by them." 56

54 Op. Cit., p. 613.

55 Winks, The Blacks In Canada, p. 206.

56 The Provincial Freeman, Vol. I, No. 14, 24 June 1854, p. 2, col. 4.

As evidenced by this commentary, she appears to absolve her own actions as the cause of her dismissal, but attributes it totally to the fact that she was black and believed in speaking her mind. Believing these two circumstances had caused the unjust stoppage of financial aid, her editorial became more acidic:

" . . . The Fugitive slaves in Canada afford a good hobby for unscrupulous managers of societies in the United States. . . but deliver us and our people from Yankee missionaries, such as we have met in Canada, with smooth words and hearts full of Negro hate." 57

To counteract these negative influences she advocated,

" . . . a good British education, thorough instruction to the young by means of British school books, and by teachers British at heart. . . Negroes should stay away from American books, teaching pro-slavery republican preachings, Negro-hating separate institutions and Yankee clothes and habits." 58

Analyzing these comments, again, contradictions and half-truths surface. She fails to qualify her statements or make exceptions, "all American preachers, educational facilities, or institutions were pro-slavery". This statement not only contradicts the fact that her own education was made possible by relocation in an anti-slavery state, but the thousands of fugitives in Canada West could never have arrived without the goodwill and aid of certain "Yankee" abolitionists. Her staunch Anglophilism with her subsequent denunciation of American society was all very well, but these statements would be difficult to reconcile

57 Op. Cit., p. 2,

58 Ibid., p. 2.

with her actions later in her life. In 1859, she returned to reside in the United States and opened a mission school. In 1864, she accepted a commission from the government of Indiana to recruit Negroes, to defend the very institutions which she had so vehemently opposed. Finally, accepting the hypothesis that she naively accepted aid from the A. M. A. before she became fully aware of its inherent evil, why did she accept their aid to fund a school in Michigan in 1861? Further if the A. M. A. was indeed the anti-independent minded black organization as she portrayed it, why would it consent to support her, especially after all the bitter criticism she had printed?

These contradictions and half-truths coupled with the ones presented previously, seem to indicate that Miss Shadd's editorial judgement and journalistic style was often clouded by her own bias, passion, and prejudice, and all too often lacked objectivity derived from documentation and a plethora of diverse opinions.

Winks presents the most astute analysis regarding the extent of her bias when he concluded that she attacked the Refugee Home Society in particular since, ". . .its trustees were white, its local spokesman Bibb, was a mulatto, and a white man, Reverend Charles C. Foote, was its principal almoner and agent." 59



THE PROVINCIAL FREEMAN: THE SHADD-WARD ALLIANCE

The next influential Negro to voice opposition to the Fugitive Home Society was Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward. As previously mentioned, even though he had been an ardent opponent to begging from the outset, he nevertheless had accepted Bibb's proposed limitations to curb its usage. During the summer of 1852 his thinking changed as evidenced by his position at the August Convention. Whether this opposition was original or revolved around his association with Miss Shadd, as the Society members believed, it is not clear. After the convention, however, when his proposals were either not accepted, or not accepted to the degree he desired, he withdrew his support from the Society. In November he published a letter in the Frederick Douglas Paper, which was later reprinted in the very first edition of The Provincial Freeman. This new Negro paper which made an auspicious debut on 24 March, 1853, became the heir apparent to The Voice of the Fugitive. His first objection, which does not appear to have been raised at the convention, seems to reflect a distinct Shadd influence. He argued that the Society was unnecessary for the government of Canada had provided its own mechanics for the procurement of land. Land in Essex County, equal or superior to that offered by the Society was available at \$2.00 an acre, while some was available for as low <sup>as</sup> \$1.60. By simple mathematics a \$16

down payment, representing the necessary one-tenth down payment, would place the fugitive in possession of 100 acres of land. Besides the absence of an eligibility clause and restriction of sale or transferral period, Ward pointed out,

"In ten years by paying \$16 per annum with 6 percent interest, and erecting a small house, clearing five acres a year etc., he has the entire possession, by patent, of freehold. The Refugee Home Society purchased at \$2.50 an acre, they must therefore sell at that price, although even without interest, the refugees have only 25 acres, a very limited farm, and 20 acres will cost them \$50".<sup>60</sup>

Despite Reverend Ward's flowery assessment of the government land purchasing policies and his rejection of the Society proposals, the actual conditions appeared somewhat different than he represented them to be. Initially the better government land cost \$2.00 not \$1.60 an acre. If the cheaper land was available at the lower price, it seems reasonable to assume that this land was of inferior quality, and that much more difficult to make it pay. Secondly, using his own figures of \$1.60 an acre, it required a \$16 down payment, a sum which the fugitive from Southern slavery did not possess. Even by accepting his contention that economic opportunities were plentiful, a fugitive family in order to save \$16 while providing housing, food, and clothing for itself, would require a considerable length of time. A time they could have spent clearing their own land upon their immediate arrival, for the Society required no down payment. Thirdly, the Society's land cost \$50 but that was

<sup>60</sup> The Provincial Freeman, Vol. No. I, 24 March, 1853, p. 1, col. 2.

for 25 acres not 20 so the actual price per acre was \$2.00 not \$2.50. Further the government arrangement with the six percent interest made annual payments on the cheaper land \$1.70 while the better land would be \$2.12 an acre. The only true advantage was that no eligibility or transferral requirements were necessary. Conversely, the government required at least 5 acres to be cleared annually, while the Society allowed three years for the first five acres, and an indefinite period for the remaining twenty, so long as the settler could meet his annual payments. The fact that the government sold no plot less than 100 acres would also make their land less appealing to settlers not wanting such a large lot. Schools were segregated especially in the Southern-western region of Canada West, therefore, either independent societies organized schools for Negroes or they would simply go without. Miss Shadd's experience clearly demonstrated that once the A. M. A. withdrew support, the parent's contribution was not sufficient to maintain the schools. All these benefits the Society would provide its settlers were either lost upon Mr. Ward, or possibly emulating Miss Shadd's journalistic style, conveniently omitted them. In any regard his first objections had questionable value and were suspect in validity.

The objections that followed were much more convincing. He repeated the theme that agents begging in the fugitive's name were unnecessary and misrepresented the Negro situation.

Basing his opinion upon friendly conversations with the fugitives in their settlements, and at public meetings, he objected to the agents 20 percent commission. He further contended that continued begging to purchase land precluded that the Negro could not lay away enough to purchase his own lot. These points were bluntly stated, ". . . We don't want barrels of old clothes, which cost twice as much for transportation as they are worth, nor do we need a set of land jobbers to beg money to buy lands for us." 61 He also proposed lots of 50 acres because 25 acres were insufficient for it would render the settler as poor and dependent, a sort of peasantry.

Next his objections were directed to the 15 year transferral clause, and suggested instead that restrictions be imposed only so long as the land was still unpaid for, otherwise it was unjust, dishonest, and tyrannical reducing the fugitive to a sort of serf. Any further restrictions would assure him that the old pro-slavery argument, that the Negro could not take care of themselves, was being applied. Keeping in mind that previously the reversal clause had no time limitation and sale or transferral, was restricted to only heirs or the immediate family, it becomes apparent that Ward's arguments did have some impact at the Convention. In his estimation though, the revisions were not sufficient consequently he withdrew his support and termed the whole

61 Op. Cit., p. 1, Col. 2.

operation as a monstrous piece of unprecedented land jobbing and tyranny. The ensuing proposals designed to find an able replacement, convinced Ward of the correctness of his new position. The name of the Honourable Joshua Giddings, an outspoken anti-slavery Congressman, was forwarded but rejected because money had to be begged from many people who were opposed to Giddings' extreme anti-slavery position. These people would not give so readily if Giddings became an official of the Society. With Giddings rejection Ward's opinion was reinforced:

"I then saw the whole concern to be not only pro-slavery in its doctrines concerning the capacity of Negroes to hold and take care of property, but false in its declarations concerning the condition of Fugitives, and mean enough to pander to the pro-slavery appetites of such men as opposed to Mr. Giddings in his anti-slavery course in Congress. To give countenance or support to such a Society, nay, to withhold my solemn and earnest protest against it, were to be false to my abolitionism, to my love of truth, and to my manhood." 62

Foote quickly drafted a reply, and distributed it to various sympathetic papers since The Voice of the Fugitive had ceased publication <sup>around</sup> December of 1852. Miss Shadd reprinted this letter next to Mr. Ward's comments. His first comments attested to the factionalism which had arisen between the two groups of Negro leaders.

". . . The friends of the coloured people have not yet learned to agree; whether they ever will is problematical. Nor have they learned to avoid the use of unlovely epithets, and the impugning of motives." 63

62 Ibid., p. 1, Col. 2.

63 Ibid., p. 1, Col. 3.

Proceeding to recreate the exact scenario at the meeting, his interpretations showed the Society's motives in a better light. He denied that the agents received a 20 percent commission, and refuted Ward's inference that such a high fee was an attempt to recruit agents by bribery and venality. Besides offering to reveal the exact amount to Ward in private he asserted that the agents' fees were, ". . . less than I helped pay Mr. Ward for his labors. . . . nor did I deem him venal for saying, 'I won't work if I can't be paid'." 64

Regarding the paucity of 25 acres, Foote countered that personally he had never owned a solitary foot of free soil, and money was begged from poor settlers in New England who would regard 25 acres as sufficient. It was hoped, however, that the settlers upon establishing themselves, would make additional purchases. Perhaps ungenerously he added that 25 acres would exceed his most sanguine bounds, but in Ward's case it was much different for his, "farm in this State covered hundreds of broad acres". 65

Defending the 15 year transferral period he asked;

". . . Who procured this provision? A missionary in Canada, who had been an eye witness to the frightful frauds perpetuated upon the unlettered Fugitives by the vile Catliffs who would have sent S. R. Ward back to New York to be hung, and returned every fugitive to his master, if they could, long ago." 66

64 Ibid., p. 1, Col. 3.

65 Ibid., p. 1, Col. 3.

66 Ibid., p. 1, Col. 3.

Concluding his remarks he added at the Detroit meeting,  
". . . Mr. Ward raised all these objections, . . . and was  
fairly met and answered, and his objections were routed,  
. . . and when the final vote was taken the secretary stood  
alone." 67

Foote's stand on the larcenous frauds inflicted upon  
the fugitives was on firm ground. Laura Smith Haviland's  
eye witness account leaves no doubt about this. She reported:

". . . The unabounded confidence they  
placed in me was surprising; for they  
brought their business papers for me to  
examine; to see whether they were right.  
One man brought me a note, as the employer  
could not pay him for his work in money.  
He said it was a note for groceries; but  
the grocer refused to take it, and said  
it was no good. I told him there was  
neither date nor name on it. I wrote the  
man a letter, asking him to rectify the  
mistake, which he did; but he gave his  
employee credit for only half the days he  
had worked. They were so often deceived  
and cheated in many ways, because of their  
extreme ignorance . . ." 68

Foote also corrected some faulty logic in Mr. Ward's  
comments: "With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the  
western shores of Canada were thronged with crowds of  
fugitive slaves with their families fleeing from their  
pursuers. This influx caused a strain on the labour market  
so, ". . . for many to find homes and employment at living  
wages was impossible." 69

67 Ibid., p. 1, Col. 3.

68 Laura Haviland, A Woman's Life Work, Labours, and Experiences,  
Walden and Stowe, Cincinnati: 1881, p. 192.

69 Provincial Freeman, Vol. I, No. I, 24 March, 1853, p. 1,  
Col. 3.

Bibb undertook to supply this first mass of homeless fugitives with aid from friends in Michigan, but he was also astute enough to realize that this aid was at best stop gap. Long term solutions would require setting up greater facilities for securing homes and providing educational facilities than those offered by the government. To support his contention he pointed out that besides the poor if not non-existent educational facilities, the refugees could not get land from the government on short notice. Furthermore the government land was no panacea, for they could purchase government land as cheaply as anyone, and in return provided better financial and clearance terms. If any doubt remained as to the validity of his comments, he directed Mr. Ward to consider the fact that the majority of the fugitives were homeless at that date.

An unexpected ally proved to be The Detroit Free Press when it quoted a piece from The Essex Advocate the Windsor daily journal of May 1853, regarding the conditions of the Negroes in the Canadian society:

"... as it occasions an unwelcome and burdensome obligation to their population, and if so many unfortunate, needy, and helpless human beings, who must not be left to suffer and perish from want of care and charity, it imposes upon the people of Canada, contributions and expenses that may well be considered as no trifling grievance." 70

70 The Detroit Free Press, Vol. 17, No. 68, 13 August, 1853, p. 2, Col.



After this initial effort at editorialship, Ward seems to retain the title of editor in name only, for his duties and lecture tours both at home and abroad removed him as an effective working staff member. With his absence Miss Shadd ascended to the editor's chair. His first effort criticized Foote's rebuttal on three counts. First she didn't accept Foote's statement that the agents were not receiving 20 percent commission. If not 20 percent, what was the exact rate? Secondly, she pointed out that Foote did not refute Ward's contention that the arbitrary figure of 25 acres was insufficient. Thirdly, she reasoned that a coloured man who has enterprise enough to buy a farm, cultivate it, and pay for it, might be trusted to sell it at his own discretion. Included with these refutations, was the first of the many vicious attacks that would appear in the columns of The Provincial Freeman during the duration of its existence. This attack took the form of an anonymous letter from "a trustworthy colored woman in Canada,":

"I spent the new year in sight of the Refugees' Home. . . . (I) went on the land and talked to the settlers and during a meeting before quite a congregation, read the Constitution of the Society to several of them, . . . and the astonishing fact was that it had been read to them as it is not printed by the honest, merchants, priests, and gentlemen of Detroit. How many do you think live thereon? Just seven families, and altogether one dozen lots have not been taken. The settlers are the worst descriptions of persons with few exceptions. Three out of seven families have Irish wives, and men and women drink whiskey, steal and idle, borrow

from their neighbours, (fugitives who own land bought from others) and otherwise annoy the settlers.

In stopping for a visit with a fugitive who had 120 acres of land paid for lives in a house 40 x 18 feet, and is building a beautiful cottage 30 x 25. I never saw greater evidences of comfort anywhere than I did in that home. This is but one in a dozen, to be found within a mile or two. These men laughed at the begging, and wish the friends would open their ears. They also lament their vicinity to the Refugee's Home." 71

A letter with such grave implications, appearing in an unchallenged or undefended form as it was presented in the Freeman could have shaken the confidence of even the staunchest supporters of the Society. Because of the lethal implications the letter contained a detailed investigation is warranted to either corroborate the statements or refute them.

An examination of the possible authoress would provide the first clue as to the objectivity and reliability of the letter. Windsor in 1853, certainly could not boast a large number of educated Negro women who could have commanded enough respect to organize a large meeting, read the constitution to the settlers, and proceed to interview neighbouring settlers. Considering the difficulty in travelling in the uncleared wilderness, the distance from Windsor, the hazardous conditions of a Canadian winter during New Year, the time and expense incurred for such a venture,

71 The Provincial Freeman, Vol. I, No. I, 24 March, 1853, p. 1, Col. 7.

it seems reasonable to assume that only a very interested person in the affairs of the Society would undertake such a journey. Three possibilities were Mrs. Bibb, Mrs. Freeman, and Miss Shadd herself. The first two being active members of the Society can in all likelihood, be ruled out immediately, while the possibility of Miss Shadd remains very real. It would be difficult to envision another Negro woman who could satisfy all the conditions listed and who would have more interest in the Society's affairs. A brief examination of her first criticism, that of the revision of the constitution, appears to point further to Miss Shadd's authorship. It was true that the Society had revised the constitution, but except for the revision dictating houses now to be at least ten feet in height, all the other alterations were favourable to the settler. Mention of these superior conditions would have vindicated the "honest merchants, priests, and gentlemen in Detroit". Because of this omission, and considering Miss Shadd's penchant for journalistic irresponsibility, her candidacy becomes almost a certainty. In any event, that a vested interest wrote the letter, seems evident, in which case the author's objectivity becomes questionable.

Regarding the paucity of numbers, her claim of 7 families although not quite in tune with Bibb's report of 12 families in October of the previous year, seems close enough not to require further inspection. Her contention that some

Negroes drank whiskey; three out of seven had white wives; that other Negroes were better situated; and that with few exceptions the general norm of settler was of the worst description borrowing and stealing from their neighbours; although they have some validity, their degree and interpretation requires further scrutiny. Regarding other Negroes enjoying more affluent circumstances, there were recorded cases of many Negroes in the Maidstone area holding high social positions. Manuel Eaton owned an ashray where he made potash and pearl ash from wood ashes and at times, even employed full time helpers. "Albert Scott was a veterinarian, while Tom and Josh Lucas, who lived in Puce were owners of a large scow and were prosperous in their business".<sup>72</sup> Comparing these early settlers to the newly arrived fugitives was hardly an equitable evaluation. A fairer comparison would have been with the newly arrived at Dawn, Buxton, or the Sandwich Mission.

Regarding the drinking since she does not mention the number, it would appear to be small. However, temperance was both a requirement of the Society and a goal which Negro Churches of the period pursued. As a testimony that the Society invoked the temperance clause was evidenced by Thomas Jones who in 1854, reported to Benjamin Drew, that one of the criticisms of the Society was not restrictions on liquor.

<sup>72</sup> Malcolm W. Wallace, The Negroes, "Pioneers of the Scotch Settlement On the Shore of Lake St. Clair", Ontario History, Vol. XLI, No. 4, (1949).

Donald Simpson corroborates the fact that some Negroes in the Windsor area had white wives. He quotes a "W. C." reporting in the Canada Oak, who stereotyped the Negro as a, "Sensual animal out to defile the fragile flower of white womanhood." 73 Simpson stated that this type of thinking continued to confuse efforts for healthy relationships between the races, and correctly termed "W. C." as a white supremacist. If "W. C." can be attacked for advocating a totally homogenous white marriage relationship in turn, should not the black counterpart be equally attacked as a black supremacist? Secondly, Miss Shadd raises serious question as to whether she was condemning the intermarriages of various couples, or whether she was condemning intermarriage of the couples residing at the Refugee Home. In 1856, when reviewing the progress of the Buxton settlement she wrote, ". . . too much can not be said, . . . rendering every fireside a place of happiness. . . ." 74 Without questioning her assessment of the Elgin settlers, it seems inconsistent that, "The Buxton settlers by their own count enumerated 40 white wives". 75

73 Donald G. Simpson, Negroes In Ontario From Early Times to 1870 Volumes I and II, University of Western Ontario, London:1971, p. 155.

74 The Provincial Freeman, Vol. II, No. 48, 12 April, 1856, p. 1, Col. 2.

75 Daniel A. Payne, "Separation From the A. M. E. Church," Chp. XXIX, History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, A. M. E. Sunday School Union Publishing House, Nashville, p. 389.

Because these white wives were not of African extraction, and therefore not eligible for the A. M. E. Church, this was one reason presented for the need of the British Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada.

Miss Shadd labels the settlers as of the worst description, as idlers and stealers. If by "worst type" she meant them to be destitute and penniless, of this there can be no argument. By definition the Society's settlers would be of the poorest type upon their immediate settlement on the land. If however she meant them to be generally of an idle and shiftless nature inclined towards stealing for their support, this does not appear true. No doubt there were examples of that, as there would be in any segment of society, but unlike Miss Shadd's contention that they were the norm they were the minority. Mrs. Haviland provides a much more plausible contemporary account. Although admitting that there were some things for which she had to "reproach them", on the whole she found them quite industrious:

"They had built log houses and cleared from one to five acres each on their heavily timbered land, and raised corn, potatoes, and other garden vegetables. A few had put in two or three acres of wheat, and were doing well for their first year. . . Great efforts to improve their homes were made by taking trees from their woods to the saw mills to be cut up into boards for better floors than split logs, and for partitions to make their little houses more comfortable. These improvements could not better find expression than the report of one of the settlers, in a reply to an inquiry of a friend in Detroit, as to how they were prospering in the refugee colony. Fine, fine, we've all come to life, an' are in a strife to see who'll make the bes' house." 76

Later reports will also substantiate Mrs. Haviland's statements and oppose those of Miss Shadd.

76 Laura S. Haviland, A Woman's Life Work, p. 192.

Judging by these various interpretations, the anonymous letter printed in the Provincial Freeman when placed in perspective was not nearly as formidable as it first appears, and sympathetic groups who had maintained communication with the Society maintained steadfast support. The American Missionary Association kept favourable impressions right up to the onset of the Civil War. In fact their agent in Canada the Reverend David Hotchkiss, served as the Society's Corresponding Secretary for a period. Michigan also continued unwavering support both by donations and secondly by public print. An example was the report of the General Association of Congregationalists in Michigan which was circulated to all the various church sponsored newspapers throughout the State. That report which the Provincial Freeman copied from the Wesleyan Evangelist, after printing various ideas presented by Reverend Foote regarding the type of education received in the Home, published three reasons enumerated by a Reverend St. Clair why the Society should be supported even though it existed in a foreign land:

- "...1. Because they cannot be properly instructed in our own. . .
2. The coloured man is allowed no resting place but in slavery. If he flee and come among us, instead of aiding him we are commanded to return him to slavery. . .
3. The sense of moral obligation on this subject is so low as to suffer this system and law . . ." 77

Despite the continued support of American based organizations, the Freeman's first edition was prophetic, and the battle for the support of Canadian public opinion, especially that of the Negro opinion began to sway over to the Shadd camp with the cessation of The Voice of the Fugitive, in December of 1852. Acting as the Society's official organ, it had heretofore held a monopoly in reaching Negro readers and consequently made great strides in formulating public opinion, understandably much of which was pro-Society. This was evidenced by the number of influential Negro leaders giving public support. Bibb's articulation of the reasonableness of the Society's terms and the attractiveness of the land they were offering induced many fugitives, including the free born to seek the Home's land. The demise of the Voice followed immediately by the establishment of the Provincial Freeman in March of 1853, edited by two staunch opponents, Reverend Ward and Miss Shadd, surrendered the leadership of the formulation of Negro public opinion. This inadvertent surrender not only permitted the opposition to choose the type of news that reached the readers' eyes, but it also allowed them to determine the interpretation of this news. Consequently the only news regarding the Society which were printed in its columns was all negative. The aforementioned report of Michigan Congregationalists, showed clearly just how effectively Miss Shadd used this weapon. The original report that reached the eyes of the Wesleyan



Methodist readers rendered the Society in a favourable light. Miss Shadd used the article to commence another cutting attack against the necessity of the Society, and the need for more black preachers not more of those "white Yankee slavery lovers."

Miss Shadd made various other accusations. Although acknowledging that the Society had originated as a benevolent organization it had now degenerated to the point where, ". . . the Detroit people had seen Henry Bibb's Sandwich Convention, recognized it as a good thing, had forced their way in, and were now trying to complete their coup by easing Bibb out." 78 Pease stated that another editorial stated that Horace Hallock and other members in Detroit had free access to the funds, by which they carried on extensive business operations. She was glad that a colored man, Henry Bibb could have the same. To corroborate all these varied accusations, she asserted that George Cary, who was a member of the Dawn executive committee, ". . . told me the agents had acted dishonestly, and made no exception - that he dis-trusted most of the officers - they were not anti-slavery men." 79 George Cary's testimony was suspect on two counts;

78 William Pease, Black Utopia, p. 117.

Pease also states that Miss Shadd, later married George Cary, p. 117. Evidence in the Cary papers at the National Archives shows that Miss Shadd married Thomas F. Cary of St. Catherines at Toronto 3 January, 1856. Later the couple moved to Chatham and published The Provincial Freeman from there.

79 Op. Cit., p. 117.

McArthur an early ally of Shadd, had claimed both Cary and Bibb were thoroughly distrusted by blacks, and secondly he was a member of the same Dawn executive, which was under fire from Miss Shadd. Interestingly as a Dawn executive he was untrustworthy but as an opponent to the Society his testimony was reliable. Notwithstanding Cary's statement even Miss Shadd's own accusations are not compatible. She accuses the Detroit group of trying to oust Bibb from the executive so as to cut him off from a share of the spoils, yet and she accuses him of being one of the leading figures in defrauding the Society. Finally, nowhere in her commentaries does Miss Shadd ever mention either the strict rules the Society had imposed upon the spending of funds or the undeniable reputation that these men had built as tested abolitionists, respected leaders of society, and successful businessmen. If indeed Bibb had usurped some of the society funds, why did he not use them to reprieve, or later to revive his newspaper from a financial death? This revival would have offered a favorable alternative and refutation of the Freeman's editorial policy. These contradictions and questions never seemed to cause Miss Shadd undue concern.

Despite these many unchallenged accusations, Negro leadership and Negro public opinion, remained behind the Society while Henry Bibb lived. Foote, Bibb, and Holly all presented enthusiastic speeches in the Society's defence, and proceeded to also cast a few doubts as to the motives of

the Ward-Shadd alliance. Bibb and Holly at a public meeting in Windsor, March 1853, stated that:

"The Society had faithfully upheld the Negroes interest and deserved support. Although discouraging begging, the meeting encouraged further contributions for the welfare of the Negroes." 80

Footnote, publishing in the True Wesleyan, ably demonstrated that he was the equal of Miss Shadd, in the arena of delivering cutting epithets. On a report to the Liberty Association, he forgave Reverend Ward for his indiscretion, since Ward's fall:

"Could be attributed to the fall suffered by Father Adam for . . . if he had not been prevailed upon by evil council, spoken by a serene voice. . . it was a fatal stroke to his judgement, the three weeks preceeding the Annual Meeting of the Refugees' Home Society, that he was in the vicinity enjoying the company of one whose whole conversation then, was opposition to the Refugees' Home Society because the Society would not give land to FREE BORN COLOURED PEOPLE, and because one of the editors of this paper against whom she had a personal pique, is an officer in said society. . ." 81

With Bibb's illness in the spring of 1854 because of a fever, and his subsequent death in August 1854, the Society lost its most articulate and respected Negro spokesman. Almost immediately his loss was evident. In July 1854, a convention held at the Baptist Church in London Canada West, resolved that since:

80 Op. Cit., p. 119.

81 The Provincial Freeman, Vol. I, No. I, 24 March, 1853, p. 1. Col. 3.

"... there are ample facilities for support and progress, and as coloured people... all things considered, we emphatically condemn and shall oppose begging made for what ever purpose in our name." 82

In Toronto, on 9 August, 1854, Miss Shadd successfully organized the Provincial Union, which was to be centred in Chatham. Proposing The Provincial Freeman as its official organ, the constitution recorded its goal as:

"To encourage and support a press which will stand... to notify the citizens of this country against the unjust imputations, reflections, and designs of many in the United States and this country, who would carve out a policy for immigrants, formerly bond and free... to aggregate themselves into exclusive communities." 83

A Vice-President of this new group was Coleman Freeman, Bibb's close friend and previous officer of the Society. Bibb's death also occasioned a power struggle over the leadership, waged between Reverend C. C. Foote and Isaac Rice. Pease stated that Rice retired from the scene, and almost by default Foote ascended to the leadership role. Donald Simpson, offers a plethora of reasons why Rice judiciously retired from the battle. In 1852, after some questionable practices the A. M. A. was the first to drop their support of him. Undaunted, he remained in Amherstburg, where aided by the American Baptists, his name became synonymous with the begging system. In February 1852,

82 The Provincial Freeman, Vol. I, No. 19, 29 July, 1854, p. 2, Col. 7.

83 Constitution of the Provincial Union, Toronto, August 9, 1854, pp. 3-4, Mary Ann Shadd Cary Papers, National Archives.

the Fugitive carried a letter from a group of coloured Baptist churches of Amherstburg and Chatham complaining about a new begging organization, the Union Border Society, which had been formed by Rice and other coloured Baptists.

As the letter described it:

"This Union board has appointed three able-bodied men, each able to cut three cords of wood per day, as public beggars, among whom is the Reverend W. Carter. It suffices to say at our late board meeting, Isaac J. Rice, Elder W. Carter, and all others of our denomination found connected with that clique, have been excluded from our Missionary Society. Recent developments about the so-called Mission house has brought to light things which have been secreted for some considerable time. In fact some of the members of the Baptist Church said in a public meeting that they had almost perjured themselves to save Rice's character and they would not do it any longer. Drunkenness and other abominations have been carried on at the mission house." 84

In 1854, the Freeman argued that Rice was a white man who, has neither the confidence of the fugitives nor of the whites and his notorious lying and begging operations have been frequently protested against by fugitives and coloured people generally. The controversy got particularly ugly in the spring of 1855 after a fire had raged through Rice's mission. People fighting the fire, upon entering the house supposedly found an ill man living in the house who was in a wretched condition, covered with lice and dirt from head to foot. After the fire Rice and his four assistants would have nothing more to do with the sick man, who was cared for

84 Donald Simpson, Negroes In Ontario, p. 568, quoted from The Voice of the Fugitive, 26 February, 1852, and The Provincial Freeman, 2 September, 1854.

by the True Band Society, until he died two days later. In Simpson's assessment though, the greatest uproar was provoked by Rice's own written report of having had received \$725 in cash which was supposedly paid out to refugees. A Negro meeting in Amherstburg of three to four hundred people, ascertained that at most the total distributed was \$10 and some items of clothing. It was obvious that to them Rice not only was supporting an activity which they felt was destructive but he was also a crook.

Although the uglier aspects of Rice's practices came to light after the power struggle of 1854, it was already apparent that his character was suspect, and that his retirement may not have been as voluntary as it initially appeared. Even at that, Rice's candidacy for the leadership probably reinforced Miss Shadd's opinions that if such a person could even have been considered for the directorship, imagine how opportunistic his superiors must be. In her mind his exposure served as proof of the various accusations she had made against the Society. Even though there is no evidence that Rice's dishonest practices carried over into his connection with the Refugee Home Society, Miss Shadd's pet device of guilt by association, blanketed the whole Society:

"... a few of the agents (of the Refugee Home Society) anti-slavery men, and that many who come to support it are genuine abolitionists. I do not know that it was gotten up only for the benefit of the agents and officers, but I believe it is for their benefit - now only;

I know that if the agents have not been benefitted, the black people have not. Let it be got up for whatever purpose, it is not at present any good one." 85

In any event, the loss of Rice's service was at most marginal, but it did remove a constant source of embarrassment which the Society's opponents could exploit.

Further reversals also occurred during this period:

"The white residents of Windsor blocked George De Baptiste's ( a mulatto, and caterer to Detroit's exclusive Boat Club), and renown abolitionist and Underground Railway conductor, Bibb's formal successor, and Head of the coloured Vigilance Committee of Detroit, attempt to purchase town lots for the settlers." 86

Why De Baptiste attempted to make this purchase does not seem clear. Bibb, in the days of the Sandwich Mission had mentioned providing town lots for the settlers but this idea was dropped, and no mention was made of it during the Constitutional Convention. Evidently, the idea was resurrected in 1854, and its implementation was the duty of De Baptiste. Despite its failure, it does offer further proof of the extent of racial prejudice existent in Windsor during this period.

The final and costliest setback the Society suffered was the resignation of Reverend James Theodore Holly. Functioning as either associate editor of the Voice or

85 William Pease, Black Utopia, p. 117.

86 Robin Winks, The Blacks In Canada, p. 207.

public spokesman, he had been a valuable ally and his loss would be deeply felt, especially in the area of Negro leadership. Why Holly withdrew is not clear. A number of possibilities do appear. Bibb's death may have relieved him from a sense of obligation to the Society; he may have become disenchanted with the direction and leadership of the organization; he may have been spurred by Freeman's defection and Rice's subsequent exposure; he may have felt that Bibb's death had precluded that he, not Foote, should assume the agent's position; finally he may simply have wished to abandon a sinking ship. Nevertheless in 1855, Holly visited Port-au-Prince, Haiti, and following a year's residence on that island, he became an ardent enthusiast for immigration there. Despite outspoken endorsements of the adviseability of Haitian immigration, his efforts for the next four years proved fruitless. To his credit though unlike Freeman, he did not join the ranks of the opposition.

Having examined the opposition from 1852 to 1854, a number of conclusions can be drawn. Initially the Society had no member in its officary the equal of Henry Bibb. In partial refutation to McArthur's claim that Bibb was despised in the Negro community, he was a dynamic, respected spokesman not only in the Negro camp but also in white society. His talent for cajoling and rallying public opinion to espouse his cause became irreplaceable after his death.



The formation of the various anti-Society organizations, such as the London Convention, the Provincial Union, and even the True Bands, plus the defections of Freeman and Holly, added to De Baptiste's ignominious failure to purchase town lots, are all evidence of this.

Secondly, the rampant racism as evidenced by reports in the Essex Advocate, and the Canada Oak, De Baptiste's failure, and the accounts of Mrs. Haviland reveal the hostile conditions the fugitives encountered. Supplied with only the clothes that covered their bodies, uneducated, accustomed to performing only the most menial tasks and discouraged from independent thought while in bondage, they came equipped with no marketable skill. The labour market they found was already glutted by the enormity of their own numbers fleeing to Canada. Ideally most Negroes living further inland advocated that they be left dependent on their own resources almost immediately after arrival. The realism of the situation demanded immediate aid both in the form of material goods but also in re-establishment and relocation. Resident Negroes recognized this phenomenon by organizing themselves into self-help groups called True Bands. Donald Simpson places this whole point in perspective:

"It is understandable perhaps that the blacks in places like Chatham and Toronto took more idealistic position with regard to the treatment of the fugitives for these people did not face the same problems that Bibb and his associates did. Windsor was

the front-line post for the reception of the fleeing fugitives and for some time after 1850 they were faced with a Crises." 87

Thirdly, with the cessation of publication of the Voice of the Fugitive, the Refugee Home Society surrendered the leadership in the formulation of Negro public opinion to the Provincial Freeman. Its editors Mary Ann Shadd and the Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward were outspoken opponents, and since they controlled the news and the interpretation of that news, the Society had for all intents and purposes lost the support of Negro public opinion in the area. Despite the fact that Miss Shadd's editorials were often unsubstantiated, contradictory, and poorly documented, and based primarily upon guilt by association, no other viable Negro newspaper was extant in the area which could offer a counter view.

Finally the year 1854, presented the most serious test for the Society's continuance. Faced with serious defections, the death of its leader, and the organization of hostile groups, the Society's fortunes were at their lowest ebb. Leadership passed into the hands of Reverend Charles Curtis Foote. Faced with serious opposition from its settlers over land policies, his immediate dictates would determine the Society's future course.

THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY: ITS ORIGIN  
OPERATION AND RESULTS, 1851 - 1876

CHAPTER III

LAND PURCHASES AND LAND DISTRIBUTIONS

As stated Bibb had originally intended to purchase a contiguous area, as in the case of the Sandwich Mission. Since his plan was much grander in scope, a purchase such as the Elgin Association's which was six miles long and three miles wide, was more akin to his thinking. By 1851 Negro leadership began to question the advisability of exclusive communities, for they would retard the goal of integration between the races. Samuel Ringgold Ward, an early ally and friend of Bibb, had been one of the first to foresee this:

"I do not agree with the policy of coloured people settling themselves together. . . . some of their white neighbours need to be taught even the first ideas of civilization, by being near to enlightened progressive coloured people, such as are not few in Canada. . . ." 88

The sale of land in Essex County also discouraged the purchase of <sup>a</sup> large tract of compact land, for this could have been possible only by combining a number of adjacent tracts. Since some of these lots would have already been taken, the expense of such a purchase would have been

88 S. R. Ward, Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro, His Anti-Slavery Labours In the United States, Canada, and England, Jack Snow, Toronto: 1855. Reprinted Arno Press and New York Times, New York: 1968, p. 205.

prohibitive. The Society's financial condition was not conducive to such an initial cash outlay either. Consequently the goal of settling the optimum number of settlers in the shortest time possible, replaced the previous plan to delay purchase until sufficient funds had been collected to enable the purchase of a huge tract. This novel system would permit the Society to accumulate land piecemeal, wherever a lot was for sale, and whenever the Society had sufficient funds for the purchase. Thus whether by accident or design, the Society's land accumulation did not form a compact geographical area.

The first purchase, of 200 acres costing \$610 from Denise Lucy Bouchette, was registered on 8 July, 1852, at the Essex County Registry Office, (S<sub>B</sub> 392).<sup>89</sup> The exact date of possession is not known, either in the case of the purchase or in the case of the fugitive's settlement, for the Registry Office records only the actual date the deed was granted. The only primary source which could provide this information, the records of the Refugee Home Society, were either destroyed or lost. Because of this unfortunate circumstance, the only sources available to this researcher were those of the Registry Office, and any contemporary socio-economical or biographical data available for the period. The inavailability of these records, also made the

<sup>89</sup> All deeds are registered under Instrument Number, the name of the Copy Book, and the Township locale. S<sub>B</sub>392 indicates Sandwich Township, Copy Book B, Instrument Number 392. Other entries will be SE for Sandwich East and M for Maidstone.

actual research for the initial purchase more difficult. Since three quarters of the Society's land purchases were all contracted within a twelve month period and since Bibb did not print the actual location of the land nor its seller, other methods were improvised to gather this data. His clues that the land was in the Township of Sandwich and would settle eight families, seemed to indicate a 200 acre lot. This information was of little benefit for most purchases were 200 acres and many were in Sandwich Township. Benjamin Drew's report, A North-Side View of Slavery, published in 1856, provided the first positive lead. John Martin one of the Society's settlers with 20 acres,<sup>90</sup> had in 1855 been farming for three years. This information would trace his initial settlement to 1852, and establish him as one of the Society's earliest tenants. John Martin's farm was listed among the farms of a 200 acre lot comprised of lot numbers 125 and 126, on the Third Concession of Sandwich East (S.E.57). These 200 acres were originally owned by Miss Bouchette, who in turn sold them to Henry Bibb and George Cary, trustees of the Fugitives' Union. Following the amalgamation of the Fugitive Union with the Refugee Home Society, this tract was transferred to Horace Hallock and Edward C. Walker, trustees for the Society on 27 January, 1853 (S.C153). On the same day this transferral

90 Benjamin Drew, A North-Side View of Slavery, John P. Chewett and Co., Boston:1856. Reprinted by Johnson Reprint Co., New York:1968, p. 335.

The actual deed listed his acreage at 22, but this discrepancy will be explained later. Since Appendix B, lists all the deeds in reference to date, size, cost, and location, henceforth only the instrument number will be quoted.

was transacted, Hallock and Walker acting as the Society's purchasing agents, were deeded 29 acres from Michael Martin, consisting of parts of lots 126 and 127 on Concession 3, costing £ 30 <sup>91</sup> (S.E.562). Besides John Martin (S.E.57), this 229 acre package would also provide a home for Thomas Coombs (S.D.979), Labin Collins (S.E.13), Jessie Stomers (S.E.68), Sarah Ann Cook (S.E.132), Allen Johnson (S.E.167), Henry Copper (S.E.168), Granville White (S.E.188), and others. Others henceforth will mean various landowners of which some question exists as to whether they were actual Negro fugitives; whether they were black; or whether they had already received their allotment of 25 acres from the Society. These occurred during and after the Civil War so they will be dealt with later in the presentation. The names of the roads in this particular section of Essex County have undergone considerable change in the period between 1850 and 1973. A slight digression at this point, would facilitate understanding for the remainder of this chapter. Tecumseh Road at various times during this period has been named Concession 1, Concession 2, and Highway 39. Base Line Road (the highway the Windsor City Airport is situated today), has been called Concession 2, Concession 3, and Highway 2.

91 Bibb recorded that the initial purchase cost \$610. In the Registry Office it is listed as £150. Assuming that \$10 were for registry fees and other incidentals, then the pound was equal to approximately \$4. To facilitate computation of any purchase, this arbitrary figure will be used? This figure, we believe will be reliable for all conversion tables because all land purchases were undertaken within a four year period, with the vast majority within eighteen months. The fluctuations in the pound-dollar ratio, would not for our purposes, be sufficient to destroy the basic reliability of such a conversion rate. Therefore, Michael Martin's purchase of £ 30 would convert to \$120.

A brief examination of the road system from Windsor to Maidstone will solve this puzzle. In Sandwich East, the Concessions run east-west commencing from the Detroit River, while in Maidstone they run north-south beginning at the Belle River and numbering westward towards Windsor. The Maidstone situation is sufficiently elucidated by the map in Appendix A. Sandwich East however, is more complex.

Citing the example of Windsor, Wyandotte Street was Concession One, Tecumseh Road Concession Two, Third Concession and its extension E. C. Row - Concession Three, and Cabana Road as Concession Four. Unfortunately the geographic composition of Sandwich East did not lend itself to such an ideal division. As recorded in all the Sandwich East Abstract Indexes, two different surveyors, Iredell and McNiff, both had different conceptions of the correct numerical sequence of these concessions. McNiff's survey added one extra concession to Iredell, that is, Iredell's second concession was McNiff's third and so on. A possible explanation of this incompatibility might be that in Windsor, Wyandotte Street remains sufficiently distant from the Detroit River to warrant its maintaining a Concession status. In Sandwich East though, the shoreline recedes and where Wyandotte ends at the Little River, it is only a short distance from the shoreline. Possibly Iredell considering that Wyandotte ended and because of its proximity to the Detroit River, rejected it as his First Concession, and

designated Tecumseh Road as Number One. E. C. Row followed as Concession Two, so the Base Line Road became Concession Three, or Highway 2 until a recent change. McNiff in all probability, projected Wyandotte Road eastward and that line was still regarded as Concession One. Tecumseh Road was Concession Two, E. C. Row was Concession Three, and the Base Line as Concession Four. Until recently the numbering system of the highways were haphazard for Tecumseh Road which was further north and therefore much closer to the river was Number 39, the Base Line further south from the river was Number 2. The Essex County Road Commission rectified these inconsistencies by adopting McNiff's survey and has renamed Tecumseh Road as No. 2 and the Base Line as County Road 42 which later becomes Highway 40.

Luckily the Essex County records state which surveyor they were using and on the whole they quoted Iredell. Another fortunate circumstance was that both Iredell and McNiff concurred as to the correct sequential numeration of the lot numbers running east-west. As a point of reference, the present day Lauzon Road was flanked by lots 126 and 127, so the Society's first purchase was at the corner of where Lauzon Road intersects County Road 42. So long as the source listed which survey they employed the exact location was fairly simple but in some cases, the author was forced to guess at what survey was cited. As an example, the Little River Baptist Church was located at the corner of the



Little River and the Second Concession. Since the Little River does not interest the Base Line, by elimination then McNiff's survey was being quoted. From this, the church was located on Tecumseh Road, situated anywhere between Lauzon Road and the Little River - a distance of about 50 yards.

Another problem encountered by this researcher, was that the number of acres deeded was not always compatible with the number of acres purchased. This disparity can be attributed to two reasons. Deeds were not necessarily registered, and if the initial purchaser did not resell the land to someone who later did register it, the name of the initial owner would be lost. Proof of this was the record of Maidstone E 1463, registered 22 February, 1872. One Joseph O'Briant sold 25 acres to George Washington consisting of part of lot 13, Concession 2. This whole lot of 200 acres was originally owned by the Society and all but these 25 acres are accounted for. By deduction either O'Briant, or whoever sold him the land, must have purchased the land from the Society. Judging that O'Briant is not a surname commonly associated with the Negro community, we assume that Joseph O'Briant was not the original purchaser. Consequently he bought the lot from one of the Society's settlers whose name seems lost. In a case such as this where the section originally belonged to one owner, such an investigation can be undertaken, but where numerous owners

appear, such a deduction becomes virtually impossible.

The second cause which created a discrepancy, was that original surveys were not always accurate. With subsequent corrections a landowner could either gain or lose a few acres. John Martin according to his own admission to Drew, thought he owned only 20 acres, yet in the deed issued him on 18 September, 1861, 22 acres were quoted. If one of the Society's settlers gained two acres, it would also seem reasonable that some settler would lose an equal number elsewhere.

The Society's second purchase was from James Dougall and wife on 4 October, 1852. The parcel contained 350 acres comprised of 150 acres from the eastern section of lots 119 and 120 on the Third Concession and 200 acres from lot 17 on the Ninth Concession in Maidstone. The total purchase cost was £193.3 - \$773, (S.B434). Of these lots number 119 and 120 seemed to attract no settlers, for in 1863 during the American Civil War, when the Society's liquidation was already in process, these lots were sold to Edmund Brown for an aggregate total of \$490. Of this sum \$90 was designated for lot 119 and \$400 for lot 120. (S.E.E154). Lot 17 however eventually afforded deeds of 25 acres to Alfred Thomas (S.D659), Washington Smith (S.E.E318), Lewis Paine (S.E.E416), James McFarlane (S.E.E346), Edwin Stoward (S.E.E666), and others.

On 27 November, of the same year, Denis Ouellette sold 100 acres of the South half of Lot 9 on the East Side of Pike Creek (River Aux Peches), for \$41.5 - \$166, (M.A277). This property also appeared to attract little interest for it was not until 25 September, 1866 that William Laurie purchased 76 acres (M.C729) and Alexander L. Jones Esquire of Detroit, a horse farmer, purchased 24 acres (M.C861). Jones appears to have been a land speculator for he owned large sections of land throughout Maidstone and soon thereafter bought out Laurie's 76 acres.

As the year of 1852, drew to a close the Society was holding in trust approximately 696 acres of land (including Michael Martin's purchase), having been acquired at a total cost of \$414.8 (\$1659), which averaged out to approximately \$2.39 an acre.

According to Henry Bibb's report of 12 October, 1852, 12 families had taken up residence, and had already cleared 50 acres, while Mrs. Haviland provides further insight as to their activities. Besides the improvements in their homes, she added that:

"The settlers had built for themselves small log houses, and cleared from one to five acres each on their heavily timbered land, and raised corn, potatoes, and other garden vegetables. A few had put in two or three acres of wheat, and were doing quite well for their first year." 92

Beginning on 1 February, 1853, land purchasing was shifted to high gear. Acting through the agency of their treasurer Hallock, and their auditor Walker, in whose names all Society land would be deeded, within a short span of three months, the purchase of approximately 1185 acres costing £702.376 (\$2810 approximately), was undertaken. These parcels were all from Alonzo Reid (Reed), a lumber merchant, except for a small 200 acre section. This exception however, on 1 February, 1853, was from Reed and two partners, John McAlister and Eldridge Merrick. That tract was made up of lot 13 on the Fifth Concession (M.A203). That purchase plus one week previously of 158 acres from lot 14 on the Fifth Concession (M.A204), totalled 358 acres, costing £233.15.4 (\$892). The first of February also saw a total of £265.12.6 (\$1060), allocated for the purchase of another 425 acres. The 125 acres of lot 11, 150 acres of lot 12 (M.A233), and 150 acres of lot 14 (M.B333), all in the Second Concession made up this parcel. The last purchase was 402 acres, costing £214.10 (\$856), for 152 acres from Lot 11, Fourth Concession (M.A216) and 250 acres from Lot 7 on the East Side of the Puce River. It appears that Alonzo Reid was a land speculator, yet his total package, averaging approximately \$2.30 an acre, was cheaper on the average per acre by almost ten cents, than the Society's first purchase.

Since this represented the majority of land the Society was to purchase, it is understandable that the majority

of its settlers would also come from these areas. Among them were John Miller (M.B237), John Walls (M.B368), Golson W. Canaday sometimes written Canada (M.D1336), Benjamin Gooden (M.B228), James Shye (M.E1673), John Ward (M.C584), James Henry Holland (M.D1335), Mrs. Margaret More and four heirs (M.B580), Absalom Revels (M.C604), Lewis Lucas (M.B482), and many others. In all at least fifty families settled in these tracts. All of the purchases from Alonzo Reid were in the vicinity of the Scotch Settlement, situated on the shores of Lake St. Clair in the Township of Maidstone, some 14 miles east of Windsor. Malcolm Wallace who traces his own ancestry to this area describes that:

"The settlement proper extended from Concession 6, commonly known as the Wallace Line, to Concession 7 known as the Martindale Line (Patillo Road today), and consisted of four lots of 200 acres each. . . Many Scotch families however who were living on the . . . Puce River, a mile to the east and even some west of Pike Creek, thought of themselves as part of the Scotch settlement. . . . By the 1850's . . . (there was) a large Negro population along the Baseline and South of it." 93

Regarding this group of Negroes, John Walls was one of the earliest settlers, and one of the most successful. As recorded in The True Royalist and Weekly Intelligencer, a Negro newspaper published by Reverend A. R. Green, a British Methodist Episcopal minister, "John Walls was born a slave in North Carolina. Following his master's death

93 Malcolm Wallace, The Negroes, in "The Scotch Settlement", p. 173.

in or around 1854. He married the master's wife, who had heretofore been the mistress of the house and mother of three white daughters, and migrated to Canada." 94 David P. Botsford, long time curator at Ford Malden, stated that, "From this union sprang three sons, all of whom became successful farmers and Mrs. Wall's white daughters grew up to marry Negro husbands." 95

John Walls' family also proved to be the Society's prime example of the sufficiency of 25 acres to afford the

94 The True Royalist and Weekly Intelligencer, Vol. I, No. 4, 20 May, 1860, p. 1, Col.

The paper printed in Windsor on Goyeau Street either died quickly or only a few copies have survived as witnessed by the fewness of its numbers at Ford Malden National Museum. It is interesting that the paper should begin publication around the time the Provincial Freeman ceased around 1859. Since this had been the pattern with The Voice of the Fugitive, and The Freeman, one might conclude that the Negro reading public was not sufficiently large to warrant two newspapers publishing simultaneously, and competing for the same patrons.

Rev. A. R. Green was also worthy of note. He appears to have been an American who had been appointed on the A.M.E. committee to review the Canadian request for Separation to form the independent B. M. E. Church. (D.A. Payne, The History of the A. M. E. Church Vol. I, p. 335). Following the separation he remained in Canada serving under the episcopacy of Willis Nazrey. Disenchanted, in 1863 he formed the Independent Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada. (Upper Canada's Queen Bench Vol. 44, p. 328), with himself being elected Bishop. With his resignation in 1876, the movement almost perished, and some trustees as quoted in the case, Coleman et. al. vs. Moore et. al., engaged in a legal battle evolving around the division of assets. Eventually the members of the Congregation joined other denominations such as the B.M.E., A.M.E., but the majority joined the A.M.E. Zion Church.

95 David P. Botsford, "John Walls Family", Botsford Genealogy File, Fort Malden National Museum: Amherstburg, p. 196.

fugitive a start from which through industry, he could expand his financial and proprietary situation. Eventually he bought more land in the neighbouring area, totalling nearly 100 acres. Besides the original 25 acres allotted to him costing \$75, when the Society was liquidating its assets he purchased another 25 acres which cost \$150 (M.C725). On this land today still stands a two storey, frame building, which even though abandoned for years and considering modern housing standards, would still be considered impressive. Larry Walls, a great grandson and presently a farmer on the original land, stated in an interview that this abandoned edifice was once coated with brick. Once the house was abandoned, the bricks were removed and used to construct an aunt's well. 96

Further evidence of the Walls' family's relative affluence is the small private cemetery about 100 yards from the Puce Road adjacent to the Puce River about a mile from Highway 42. Today it is cordoned off by a rusty wire fence which has fallen down in places. According to Larry Walls, the cemetery has other families in it, but this researcher

96 This researcher extends his gratitude to Larry Walls, Mrs. Genevieve Allan Jones, and Mrs. Florence May Holland for their courtesy and aid upon being interviewed. All three are descendants of original settlers of the Society. Mrs. Allan Jones (nee Scott), was born 7 October, 1887 at Elmstead (East Pike Creek Road). Mrs. Holland (nee Scott) was born in 1890 at the corner of Ninth Concession and Highway 42. Special thanks are extended to Mrs. Holland for allowing me access to the Baptist Church Sunday School Register of 1880.

was only able to distinguish the names of John Walls 1818-1905; Mary E. Walls 1849-1923; David Walls 1860-1947 and wife Clara 1857-1918; and Henry Walls 1854-1945. This cemetery, which no doubt had been reserved at the expense of needed farm land, indicates further that the Walls' family had indeed elevated themselves above their humble origin. The headstones placed over their graves were bigger and more ornate than the other tombstones in the cemetery. Since these stones have been able to resist the erosion of time, as witnessed by the still discernable inscriptions. In contrast the others have faded badly. This would indicate that these stones had been of superior quality and consequently costlier.

Being devout Church members, the Walls clan also became prominent in the lay officialdom of the Puce Baptist Church. According to Mrs. Holland, John Walls loaned the Puce Baptist Church the funds to buy out the interest the British Methodist Episcopal Church had on the building. The Walls family was but one example of the industry and independence demonstrated by some of the settlers who joined the Home. Wallace reports that it was commonplace for Negroes, striving to accumulate capital, to serve as a labour force for their white neighbours. They could be seen:

" . . . ten or a dozen Negroes . . . in a cornfield where they were husking corn, singing plantation melodies, and keeping



up small fires to cook their dinners. Most of the older men and women had been slaves and helped to spread in the community a first hand acquaintance with slavery. . . ." 97

Wallace also felt that this social interaction forced by a labour shortage in this farming community during harvest time, lessened the tension between the two races, and was conducive to a more congenial and harmonious relationship:

". . . In the unabounded democracy of the farm community, the Negro hired help occasionally ate their meals with the white employees, though not always. This interaction also led to an occasional admittance of a Negro child into the white school." 98

He cautioned however, that beyond this, the colour bar was fixed. The year 1853 was one of the Society's most productive. It held in trust approximately 1614 acres while many of its settlers through personal frugality, industry, and sacrifice were well on the road to a successful relocation. Fred Landon, quoting the Canadian Anti-Slavery Report of that year recorded that, "600 acres had been taken up". 99 Dividing these into 25 acre farms, the minimum number of fugitive families would be 24. Considering that some lots were not 25 acres, then the number of families was greater.

97 Malcolm Wallace, The Scotch Settlement, p. 195.

98 Op. Cit., p. 196.

99 Fred Landon, Agriculture Among Negro Refugees in Upper Canada, p. 7. Reprinted from The Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXI, No. 3, July 1936.

The next year proved to be quite the opposite. The upheavals of the various Anti-Society organizations sponsored and led by Miss Shadd; the fiasco resultant from DeBaptiste's attempted purchase of town lots; the embarrassment of Rice's exposure followed by the prestige lost by the defection of both Holly and Freeman; coupled with the inestimable loss of Henry Bibb; was to prove a year of near disaster. Since these points have already been discussed in detail, and since the land policies, proposed in 1854, should be evaluated on their own merit, this discussion will only centre upon the revised land policies proposed. The only qualification to this omission, is that the Society's public relations and the leadership's ability to gauge the extent of hostility must be considered. Otherwise a fruitful evaluation would be improbable.

Perhaps deluded by the success of 1853, the Society quickly contracted further purchases. On 12 June, 1854, James McGill Desrivieres sold the Society 153 acres, comprising of part of Lot 11, Fifth Concession, costing £114.15 - \$456, (M.A283). Later in the year, on 7 November, Thomas Brock Fuller transferred a package of 90 acres, composed of 40 acres from lot 7 on the East Side of the Puce River, 100 and 50 acres from lot 12, Second Concession. This total parcel cost £123.4 - \$493 (M.A307). The reasons for these purchases are not clear. Judging by the number of vacant lots

the Society still had in 1854, no immediate need for their purchase seemed evident. The most plausible reason, seems that the Negroes, like the whites appeared clannish in nature. The Negro was not keen in becoming a precedent settler by moving into a totally white or nearly all white farming community. Clear evidence of this was that the Society's land in Sandwich East, although closer to Windsor and therefore more accessible to the Detroit markets, was mainly empty, while the lands in Maidstone, though further distant from markets, were more highly regarded. The only advantage Maidstone held over Sandwich East was the already thriving Negro community established there. The Society

100 William Pease, Black Utopia, p. 113, and later quoted by Simpson, Negroes In Ontario, p. 604, reported. ". . . By 1855 half of the 2,000 acres purchased had been resold and homes had been provided for close to 150 settlers. A few years later the Society bought a 290 acre block of land from Horace Hallock along the Puce River east of Windsor where there was already a thriving community of Negroes. . . ." Evidence in the Registry Office refutes that Hallock or Walker sold any land to the Society or that the 290 acres was a compact sale. In fact, as has been shown by (M.A307), and (M.A216), the lot was comprised of two distinct purchases. Confusion whether Hallock and Walker were the purchasers or sellers is quite understandable. Sometimes the seller (Grantor) and the buyer (Grantee) are reversed in order appearing in the Indexes or even in the alphabetical listings of the Copy Books. The actual instrument or rechecking the Indexes to the original owner would establish the correct Grantor.

realizing this preference appears to have actively sought out lots in the Maidstone area as proven by the fact that all purchases that year were in that area. The wisdom of this thinking was soon apparent for there seemed little difficulty in contracting these lots. McGill's 153 acres were deeded to Benjamin Gray (M.B235); J. B. Holliday (M.D1130), William Tolover (M.E1552), Lewis J. Carter (M.D1346), and others. Further mention of the settlers from the two Fuller sections, since they adjoined previous purchases from Alonzo Reid, is unnecessary since they were already mentioned in that connection.

This new found formula to attract fugitive settlers was not without a price though. As the Society judged the desirability of these lots so did the Grantors. Fuller's package for 190 acres was £123.4 - (\$494). A per acre cost of nearly \$5.50, an incredible figure considering purchases the year before averaged only \$2.30. McGill's and Brock's purchases totalled together were 243 acres costing £237.9 - (\$952). This per acre cost is a more reasonable \$3.10, yet still nearly 75 cents greater than the purchases of the first two years. Since the cost of this land was greater than the previous purchases, consequently the sale would also be higher. This added expense would place undue strain on the new settler. To ease his payments, it was rumored that a proposal placing a retroactive increase of four <sup>price</sup>

shillings on the Society's settlers would help redress the balance. It was further proposed that this increase could be justified under the use of a new survey. It also appears that some settlers were not too industrious and the clearance of their land was slow. John Martin, reporting from Sandwich East, thought his eight acres to be the most land cleared by any settler on the Home. This conjecture, however, does not appear accurate. The report of Bibb in 1852, the annual report of 1853, and the example of John Walls, and the Maidstone group, indicate that some settlers had cleared considerably more. Martin's error, however, seemed understandable considering the distance and lack of communication separating the settlers of the Home.

To counteract this laxity some settlers were displaying, it was proposed to revert to the original time limit of two years grace for the clearance of the original five acres. Some question<sup>also arose</sup> whether the settlers would ever receive deeds for their lands. This question of ownership plus the proposed retroactive price increase and land policies produced immediate resistance. Predictably Miss Shadd was quick to print these rumours. Of course with her previous repertoire of charges claiming the corruptness of the agents, the tyrannical land policies, and the redundancy of the Society itself, these new land policies only reinforced her previous beliefs of the undesirability of the Society it-

self. In her estimation the cessation of such a group would be a welcomed circumstance. True to the Provincial Union's aim of exposing the "unjust imputations, reflections, and designs of many in the United States and this country," the Provincial Freeman printed an almost continual tirade of attacks from 1854 to 1857. These editions carried editorials of agents receiving 25 per cent commission instead of the 20 per cent reported by Ward, and once she tripled Ward's figure and,

"Accused the agents of retaining up to 63 per cent of the contributions for themselves. . . . at one point all but one agent, Charles C. Foote, had to be dismissed for malfeasance." 101

Unlike her previous attacks, <sup>this time</sup> even the Society's settlers were in open opposition. Thomas Jones, not a Society settler reported to Benjamin Drew:

"Some of the dissatisfaction exists because an advance made of four shillings an acre for surveying, although the land has already been surveyed once. The refugees all refused to pay it. They were to clear up the five acres in three years. They have altered the constitution bringing it down to two years. Some had not been on 3 years but went with that understanding. Alterations were made, too, enlarging the size of the houses. One of them has left the lands in consequence and more talk of doing so. They doubt about getting deeds, and they begin to think it is a humbug. The restrictions in regard to liquor, and not selling under so many years, nor the power to will his property to his friends, only to his children, if he have any, make them dissatisfied. They want to do as they please. If they want to exchange and get a bigger place, they want to do it without being cramped." 102

101 William Pease, Black Utopia, p. 117.

102 Benjamin Drew, A North-Side View of Slavery, p. 327.

Jones, despite a bitter analysis regarding the quality of the settler which the Society attracted, which will be examined later, appears to have written a fairly accurate appraisal of the temperament of the day. His statements are corroborated by John Martin:

"The land was to be bought at the original price, but they bought more land at a higher rate and wanted to average it on all alike. The old settlers are dissatisfied and will probably leave, if this is enforced. Except for the threatened raise in price, those around me well satisfied with their homes . . . The prospect is that if the new arrangements about the price are given up, the settlers will go on clearing, and progress in the best way we can. I believe the lands will be taken up and the colored people have good farms here." 103

The Society wisely assessed that the retroactive cost increase was more decisive an issue to the settlers than the reduction of grace in clearing the land. Following this conclusion the latter was legislated while the former was rescinded. The new tenants however were not forced to bear the higher cost of these purchases. Their contract price of \$75 was the same amount as was paid by the first settlers. This would indicate that the Society itself bore the financial loss.

The absence of Society records makes it impossible to determine either who originated these new proposals or when they were proposed. Such a fact could explain whether they were Henry Bibb's last acts, whether they were proposed

during the state of flux accompanying the changeover in leadership, or whether they were the Foote regime's first official acts. These records could also answer whether the town lots were an independent proposal or designed to assuage the settlers' ruffled feelings which these novel measures would cause. Despite this handicap a number of conclusions are still possible. Initially, it would tend to indicate that the Society's ability to gauge popular sentiment was poor. Considering the hostile atmosphere prevalent in 1854, unpopular retroactive proposals were ill conceived. The Society's aim to encourage additional industry and ease conditions for new settlers was noble, however their intended aim was not produced. The resultant resistance only further inflamed already hostile public opinion. Secondly the purchase of the land was regrettable in itself. Further land was unnecessary especially at the increased cost which was being asked. The disparity in selling price would detract from its attractiveness, consequently settlement would be very slow. To keep the price at par, either the Society or the older settlers would have to redress the balance. Neither alternative was appealing.

The legality of these retroactive measures are also suspect. Legal alteration was possible by the Article 16 of the Constitution. Whether these revisions were binding to previous contracts is questionable. Disregarding the



constitutionality of these measures, they were unfair to the original settlers who had entered upon a contract in good faith and planned their land clearance schedule accordingly. Even though most had cleared more than their five acres long before the deadline date, the loafers were still legally entitled to that period regardless of their personal laxity. Even though 2 years was still superior to the government's requirement of five acres per year, the easy terms of the three year period had been one of the inducements the Society's lands had offered. This revelation regarding the apparent facility with which the Society could impose retroactive measures, would make future settlers skeptical about such an undertaking.

The measures did produce some positive results though. Some loafers foreseeing the improbability of meeting the deadline used this opportunity to leave their lots. Those who left provided an equally satisfactory solution for both parties. For themselves, the Executive Committee reimbursed them the amount their improvements were deemed to be worth. With this money they could establish themselves elsewhere, an opportunity which had not been open to them upon first arrival in Canada because of their destitute and penniless state. The Society on the other hand, was able to avoid further public uproar when they would necessarily have had to eject these delinquent settlers. Their self-removal

also saved the Society any further embarrassment or strife due to their presence. The settlers that remained appear to have been caught up in this new spirit of industry. Even though John Martin was the leading land clearer in his area, two neighbours Thomas Coombs and Labin Collins, finished paying off their land in 1860, nearly a year before Martin. This distinction appears to be of dubious value however, for it could be argued equally successfully that perhaps these farmers strove to complete their payments to escape further uncertainty regarding future alterations. Nevertheless 1854, despite all the upheavals, was a fairly successful year settlement wise. The Society's acreage had increased to 1676 from 1433; the land contracted rose from 600 acres to 1000; while its population rose to approximately 150 comprised of 40 families, an increase of 15 families from the previous year.

Perhaps the most benefit derived from the land policies of 1854, was the lesson it provided for the officers. Never again would these errors be repeated. On 1 April, 1856, James McGill Desrivieres sold the Society another 75 acres, consisting of part of Lot 7 on the West Side of the Puce River. This time though the price was £30 - \$120<sup>a</sup> per acre average of only \$1.60. This price represented the lowest per acre average of any purchase the Society contracted. A month and a half later, Mary E. Bibb, Henry's widow and an

ex-officer of the Society herself, transferred 200 acres located on Lot 13, Second Concession, for £100 - \$400. This purchase averaged \$2 an acre. Mary Bibb's sale represented the Society's last acquisition of land. Some farmers settling in these last two lots were Noah Graves (M.C.928), John W. N. Glenn (M.C.805), Israel Hooker (M.A97), Lewis Jackson (M.A98), and others. The economic condition these new farmers inherited was the most favourable of any that the other Society settlers found. Thanks to the Reciprocity Treaty passed in 1855, which allowed Canadian agricultural products into the United States duty free, Neil P. Morrison recorded, ". . . in March, 1855, Essex County farmers were finding a market in Detroit for their wood and hay." 104

104 Neil F. Morrison, Garden Gateway to Canada - One Hundred Years of Windsor and Essex County 1854-1954, Ryerson Press, Toronto:1954, p. 26.

THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY: ITS ORIGIN  
OPERATION AND RESULTS, 1871 & 1876

CHAPTER IV

THE OPPOSITION OF 1857, THE QUESTION OF  
BEGGING, AND FINAL LAND DISTRIBUTION

Mary Ann Shadd Cary's acrimonious attacks upon the Refugee Home Society printed in the columns of The Provincial Freeman in the previous four years, despite their severity, could be termed mild in comparison to the quantity and quality of the criticisms she printed in 1857. Quoting a report Foote sent in November, 1856 to the American Missionary, the official organ of the American Missionary Association, Mrs. Cary (formerly Miss Shadd) in February 1857, began her attacks anew. From this report Miss Shadd commented, "C. C. Foote, when not out begging, lives in Detroit, keeps a depository of clothes, and other valuables... and makes the anti-slavery public believe through the columns of the American Missionary, that he is keeping the coloured people of Canada by means of their donations." 105

Having established the theme of her editorial, she continued with the usual charges of 25 per cent commission and the corrupt practices of the agents and the officers.

Unlike her previous attacks, new claims were introduced:

"... (we) defy genuine philanthropists to prove to the  
105 Provincial Freeman, Vol. 111, No. 26, 21 Feb., 1857 p.2, Col. 1

contrary after having investigated the matter thoroughly, not simply depending upon the names of the parties favouring or concerned in the same.... nor by examining any books that may be kept for that purpose.

...Of the tons we may safely say of clothes contributed the worst specimens mostly, and but little has reached them and so well was Mr. Foote's custom in this respect known that Mrs. Haviland took back to Detroit a box sent out at one time because the clothes were too good and said, "Brother Foote had certainly not asserted them before sending them."

Why did Mrs. Haviland leave so unceremoniously?

Samuel Williams, a teacher applied to Mr. Foote for funds towards a school among the fugitives during the present winter, as accounts have been collected by Mr. Foote for the purpose, and a school of twenty-five being offered, and Mr. Foote would allow him one shilling a week for all over that number. Mr. Williams was obliged to abandon the post. Benevolent friends sent funds to Windsor by an honest man, who gave among others, to a poor woman and were told by a witness to the transactions that on learning the fact afterwards C.C. Foote came to the woman, demanded money and got it.

C.C. Foote and Dennis Washington, both beg for the home, but the fugitives get but little of the spoils, "The two worst features of the case are, the turning from a worthy channel, benevolent persons to aid a society the operation of which through its agents, are filling its coffers and demoralizing the settlers," and at the same time degrading the majority of the refugees who are independent and self-supporting. 106

If the combination of: the suspicion of false record books; brutal attacks on character; and the contradiction that these same "independent and self-supporting" refugees were four years prior "only of the lowest description" mainly riff-raff; was not sufficient for one editorial, she added:

"Why did C.C. Foote leave the Home so suddenly after having insisted on larger payments from the same individual? Why do not the benevolent of Canada endorse the operation as it is intended to benefit in Canada? We think it is due to the refugees on the home ... When the slaves are required to praise.... the settlers on the Home are somewhat similarly situated, for threats of prosecution against those who canvass and condemn the policy of Mr. Foote, and those connected hide behind their reputation of high character and standing, whose

acts must not be questioned, though known injurious to the people protesting..." 107

Lest anyone remain in doubt to the correctness of her accusations she added emphatically that she had names and facts.

The 14 March, edition carried the following appraisal:

"What a degrading institution is the Home! A nursery of poverty and degradation, a theatre for the display of petty tyranny by Mr. C.C. Foote, and the existence which enables him to draw thousands of dollars in goods and clothes from the public, pretendingly for them when these same goods are sold or given away or taken away at the whim of C.C. Foote as his own to dispose of - a temptation is thus held up to the hungry and naked settlers."

...What has the American Missionary society to do with his operations? Their missionary, the Reverend Hotchkiss there who is silent as a mouse in cheese about these flagrant wrongs? Is he too, hired by C.C. Foote? Else why not out? Mr. Hotchkiss in cooperation with us, when at the Home, disapproved....of Mrs. Haviland's course and of the begging for the fugitives in Canada. Why does he not speak out? It cannot be possible that there is collusion between his society and the Refugee Home Society." 108

Mrs. Cary also reported a legal case being heard:

"A settler on the Refugees Home deceased, and his widow disposed of his lot to another settler named Wilson, upon which suit was commenced in Sandwich; Mr. Wilson claiming a right to the land, and Mr. Foote on behalf of the Society; persisting that the death of the former owner, the land must revert back to the Society. Settlers have been deceived." 109

Further comments regarding this case were added 18

April,:

"C.C. Foote lives in Detroit in "good style, fares sumptuously every day; and yet this man could find conscience to justify him in entering the houses and selling out the furniture of two of the settlers during the past winter, when they were absent, working to earn their bread. We dare

107 Lbid. p.2, Col. 1

108 Provincial Freeman, Vol. 111, No. 29, 14 Mar., 1857, p2, Col.2

109 Op. Cit., p.2, Col. 2

to assert that not one settler in ten was ever told by the society, that in the event of the death of the purchaser, the land must revert back to the society. Settlers have been deceived as we hope that British justice, will overtake this in his high handed course towards Canadian settlers on the Home; and that the cause of the widow and fatherless will triumph." 110

This edition also reported that the Society had appointed a committee to investigate some of the charges appearing in the Freeman. The committee consisted of: "Reverend Kitchell (the President), a party who has been in the society since its formation, Reverend Mr. Hotchkiss, and Mr. George De Baptiste, a comparatively new member." They report all correct. They are interested parties. How could they report otherwise?... Home and half of the American Missionary Society." 111

The 4 July, edition finally concluded her account of the court case:

"....Foote against certain poor settlers,...(the) British courts decided against the society, upon the grounds the purchase money for the land was begged in the name of the fugitives, they are entitled to the land without payment." 112

Unlike her attacks between 1852 - 1854, Mrs. Cary was careful to disclose her proof this time. Her first source was herself:

"We have been to the Home, we walked over the lands when C.C. Foote, was drawing tears from the eyes, and dollars from the pockets of New England philanthropists because of these "poor suffers, " when there was not one family settled upon it." 113

This statement establishes it fairly convincingly, that the last time she had been on the Home was in the early part of 1853. Further proof is her assertion that Mr.

110 Provincial Freeman, Vol. 111, No. 34, 18 April 1857, p.2, Col.3

111 Op. Cit., p.2

112 Provincial Freeman, Vol.111, No.44, 4 July, 1857, p.2, Col.3

113 Op. Cit., p. 2.

Hotchkiss joined the Society and soon became an officer. He was part of the Committee to inspect for malpractices. The only time that Hotchkiss would conceivably have held Mrs. Cary in confidence would have been in 1852, when they were both in Windsor area, working under the sponsorship of the A.M.A. Finally, her biography does not seem to indicate that she returned to Windsor after the Provincial Freeman moved first to Toronto and then later to Chatham. Yet even though her last personal contact with the Home had been at least four years before, she seemed convinced of the righteousness of her criticisms.

Her other evidence was two letters from Dennis Washington, a Society settler whom she had accused of being an agent. His first letter was dated 2 March, 1857, in Maidstone Township, exactly one week after her first editorial:

"To Provincial Freeman... I have never been an agent for the society as yet, nor will I be without a great change... I was sent out last spring to get some help for the settlement, when our people was on the point of starvation here, and I only did business for them for two weeks. I do not like the way Mr. Foote does business here myself, for some of the people he gives to, and to some he sells the donations for cord wool. Some of them he will not give one thing, and I am one of them. I did not come all the way from slavery to have a whiteman as my overseer. I want you to come and see me and we will all call a meeting for you. ...I am presently at Belle River.  
Yours from suffering humanity,  
Dennis Washington.

The second letter was dated 2 days later on 4 March:

"...my neighbours last spring sent (me) to Michigan among my friends to get some help, we were in a suffering condition. Two weeks and I gave it up, (I) won't be agent again. The things I got were fairly given to me, which I can



prove by them. As for Mr. Foote he pretended to hire me since I have been here on the land to show people lots, and he promised to pay me for it, and only gave me three dollars for all my troubles... when I bought my lot, I paid him thirty dollars as half of my payment on the land and the society charged me ten dollars, more which would make the lot seventy dollars.

This winter I went to the school house where he had some things and got one flannel shirt, and he came and took it away from me and sold it....I asked him to give me some bed quilts for this winter for my family, but he would not give me any.....just before last Christmas, I went and got me some corn ten bushels, and three bushels of potatoes for my family. Mr. Foote came and wanted to take them from me, things that I got for myself from Michigan. People that try to get along here, he will not give anything at all, and some that have cleared off half their land he is trying to starve out, so as to get their land back. This same Mr. C.C. Foote, said here two or three Sabbaths ago, if any of the people did not like his teachers and would not send their children to school, he would take their land from them. ...There are some twenty-two families here; all of the teams that we can muster are four pieces of teams.

Some of the children here have been barefooted and naked...

Dennis Washington. 114

These two letters of Dennis Washington Mrs.

Cary confidently claimed, "His letter corroborates our former statements." 115

From these two letters coupled with her own impressions formulated when the Home was still in its embryo stage, the editor proposed to substantiate all of the various and complex charges she had condemned the Society for in the first half year of 1857. From Washington's own testimony he had gone to Michigan on his own, without Society sponsorship to get help from his friends in Michigan. It seems inconceivable that a fugitive on his escape route from Southern slavery

114 Provincial Freeman, Vol. 111 Vol. 29, 14 Mar., 1857, 2, Col. 2

115 Op. Cit., p. 2, Col. 3

could take enough time to form enduring friendships. It was from these friends that Washington received his "ten bushels of corn and three bushels of potatoes". It seems more plausible that begging in the Society's name would have induced friends of the fugitives in Michigan to lend him some aid. In any event, the Society did not permit independent begging but preferred that the settlers gain material success through their own industry. It seems inconceivable though that Mrs. Cary could ally herself to this self-professed beggar. Judging from his poor economic condition, he seemed to typify the "lowest type" in which Mrs. Cary often grouped the Society's settlers. He also refers that for "all his troubles" for showing prospective settlers the lands available, he only received three dollars. Perhaps three dollars was an insignificant sum in his estimation, but it represented the buying power of at least one acre of land and nearly one-twentieth of his total land purchase. The \$70 cost of his land was \$5 less than the usual \$75 charged to most of the original settlers. Despite Washington's personal opinion, it appears that he has little cause for complaint. Further comment on Dennis Washington will be reserved until later in this chapter.

Considering both Mrs. Cary's penchant for hastily drawn conclusions based on insufficient documentation and the severity of the accusations she has levied, a detailed scrutiny of each charge will be undertaken. The case of Mr. Williams, the school teacher, and the school children will be dealt with under the heading of Education, which is discussed later in the text.

The first individual accusation that Mrs. Cary examined is Mrs. Haviland who allegedly had been unceremoniously dismissed, even though she had done Foote's bidding by returning any articles to Detroit

which seemed too worthy to be allocated to the settlers on the Home. Mrs. Haviland's autobiography makes it clear that she had only accepted the Society's teaching position on an interim basis until her own Raisin Institute re-opened in Michigan. The departure appears to have been amiable since she did not leave until a new teacher had been hired and plans had been made for the continuance of the religious program which she had inaugurated. Further proof of this amiability was reported by Mrs. Daniel Lephau, that in 1854, a year after she had left her teaching position, she was still helping slaves escape to Canada and bringing them to Henry Bibb for aid in relocation. In light of Mrs. Haviland's history of abolitionism and the devotion of her whole life to the Negro cause, it appears inconceivable that she would return clothing to Foote because the quality was too fine. A more plausible explanation, if indeed that quote was correct, would be that Mrs. Haviland felt that Foote had not "asserted" the articles in the record book and returned them to be registered. Judging by the high esteem and the faith the settlers showed for Mrs. Haviland, it would seem that Mrs. Cary's attack was unwarranted, if not bordering on slander.

Her opinions of Reverend Foote also prove to be ill founded. By her own admission Foote had been the only agent not dismissed for malfeasance while her charges of his "good style" were not documented. It is almost certain that these comments were not from personal observation, for as stated there appears to be no evidence of her having come to Windsor during that period. Even if she had, it is improbable that Foote, considering the hostility which had arisen between the two, would allow her into his own house to witness his circumstance. At best her comments would have been hearsay, but an examination of Reverend Foote's personal financial

situation seems to indicate that was not the case at all. Between 1854 and 1863, he lived in three different residences. In 1855 his residence was recorded at 4 William Street, 1858 at 90 Adams Avenue West, 1861 at 80 Columbia West and in later years at 88 Columbia West.<sup>116</sup> These locations are presently all located in the downtown area of Detroit. 80 Columbia Street appears to have been the furthest north from the Detroit River, three blocks east of Woodward Avenue near Grand Circus Park. No socio-economic data of the type of neighbourhood this core area represented between 1850 and 1870 was available at the Burton Historical Collection, but even then the city proper was expanding eastward, westward, and northward. As new residential areas were erected people of means, as the modern day case would indicate, left the inner city and moved to the suburbs. It could be argued that since Foote assisted fugitive Negroes crossing to Canada, the logical location of his home would be near the river, as close as possible to the ferry. Since Reverend Foote maintained a city residence during and long after the Civil War when aid for the fugitive was no longer needed it would indicate that he was not among the affluent who could afford a suburban residence.

Besides the duties he performed for the Refugee Home Society and his preaching at White Lake until 1862, in September of 1860 he accepted an appointment from the American Missionary Association to

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116 James Dale Johnston, The Detroit City Directory and Advertising Gazetteer of Michigan for 1855-6, R. F. Johnston and Co., Detroit: 1855 - p. 73  
This Vol. for 1857-8 also source for residence of 1858, p. 181

Charles F. Clark, Annual Directory of the Inhabitants, Incorporated Companies, Business Firms, In the City of Detroit for 1862-3, C. F. Clark, publisher; Detroit: 1862, p. 200

preach at Livonia every other Sabbath. He reported to have two congregations of 100 each at this new post, preaching to one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Despite the poor support which these Livonia congregations offered, he stated that his financial burden was eased ".... by a sympathetic stage coach operator who let him ride to and fro but paying for only one way".<sup>117</sup> This embarrassing financial circumstance would indicate that Foote's total remuneration from these three positions was poor, let alone that his commission from the Refugee Home Society allowed him to live in "a good style".

The case of Dennis Washington also supports Reverend Foote's innocence of wrong doing. In another letter dated 11 April, 1857, "Washington revealed that Foote called a meeting of the Home Council to be held before all the Society's settlers".<sup>118</sup> John Ward, a Negro, was appointed Chairman; F. G. Anderson, a school teacher, was appointed secretary; while Nathan Evans, Mr. Barnes, Anderson, Ward, John Henry Holland and Washington formed part of the Council. Of this group Anderson, the school teacher was probably white; Ward, Holland and Washington were Negro settlers, while Evans and Barnes were probably white members of the Society. In any case, it is clear that the Society had established a Home Council which was a vehicle for the settlers to govern themselves by. The officary of that Council was divided between

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The residency on Columbia Street, at both 80 and 88 were either two distinct residences or the same house for the Detroit City streets had their numbers changed at this period. In any event the two numbers were still on the same block. His residence was recorded at this location as late as 1880.

117 American Missionary, Vol. IV, No. 9, September 1880, p. 209

118 Provincial Freeman, Vol. III, No. 34, 18 April, 1857, p. 2, Col. 4

the Negro settlers and whites, who were either Society officials or possibly there to represent the Society interest.

The object of the meeting was the correspondence by Dennis Washington appearing in the Provincial Freeman. Foote claimed that 15 errors were present in the letters. Unfortunately only 5 were printed. Whether Washington omitted the other 10 or whether Mrs. Cary did not print them is not clear. Reverend Foote pointed out that exchanging produce from the soil for goods did not constitute selling them, in fact Washington had offered to sell him the wool and he had refused to buy it at all. Foote denied that he was a white overseer and exclaimed, "I want the people to be free!"<sup>119</sup> Washington's interpretation of "my friends in Michigan" next came under scrutiny. Foote corrected him that as an agent he was sent to Michigan to seek aid from the Society's friends, not his own. Any donations which he may have collected belonged to the Society, to be administered as they deemed worthy, his share being only his commission. It was also pointed out that taking the flannel shirt without an agent present to properly register the item and its worth in the records was tantamount to stealing. Foote having presented his version of the correct story, then requested the Council to vote to have Washington's letters exposed and corrected. Foote's interpretation of the truth must have been accepted for Washington reported, "Mr. C. C. Foote can make some of the people vote just as he has a mind to do .... We have some exceptions here".<sup>120</sup>

The bravado evident in his last line though was quickly dissipated two days later on April 13. Foote's testimony appears to have

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119 Ibid., p. 2, Col. 4

120 Op. Cit., p. 2, Col. 4

created some suspicion as to Washington's honesty when he served as agent. The Home Council, this time chaired by William Haws, another settler along with other signees William Wheelock, Nathan Evans, Willet B. Brown, Lewis Black, James Henry Holland, Benjamin Gray and F. G. Anderson, called an independent meeting to investigate Washington's activities. Again, however, since either the author omitted some facts or whether the Freeman censored them, the details are sketchy. Apparently the chairman, William Haws moved "..... to clear Mr. Washington of all charges; since the things he got were properly given to us when he was agent for us, and as he had given up the agency ...".<sup>121</sup> Dennis Washington also added that since he was \$150 in debt, he would gladly give up his land. This appears to have been the case for there is record of a deed being registered in his name.

Despite these attacks impugning the moral character of both Mrs. Haviland and Reverend Foote based upon questionable evidence, Mrs. Cary's most blantant example of irresponsible journalism, when referring to the Refugee Home Society, occurred in her reporting of the litigation which transpired in 1857. Her initial report that a widow disposed a lot to another settler named Wilson causing the Society to reclaim the land seemed accurate enough. Her additional comment that "the settlers have been deceived", immediately established her bias. In her next report, Wilson is no longer the litigant but is replaced by the cause of the "widow and the fatherless". She also claimed that not one settler in ten was ever told that in the case of the death of the purchaser, the land would revert back. In her final account, the "widow and fatherless" had now become "certain poor settlers". Just the gradual distortion of the

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121 Ibid., p. 2, Col. 4

facts regarding the identity of the litigant seems enough to establish the irresponsibility of the editorial policy. Her report that not one settler in ten was ever told that in the death of the purchaser the land would revert back to the Society was also incorrect. Probably no settler was ever told, for that rule did not exist. Article 8 of the Constitution did state however that land could not be transferred before the expiration of 15 years from the original date of purchase. Samuel R. Ward writing in Provincial Freeman in its very first edition in March 1853, argued against this very clause. Mrs. Cary herself claimed that the anonymous author of the letter condemning the Refugee Home Society, had gone to the Home and read the correct constitution to the settlers. Finally, Thomas Jones reported to Benjamin Drew that "The restrictions in regard ..... (to) ..... selling under so many years, nor the power to will his property to his friends, only to his children, if he have any, make them dissatisfied". This is conclusive evidence that the Society's regulations were well known to its settlers. The Society also made it clear that if any settler wished to sell his land back, he could do so and receive equal compensation for his improvements. In light of these facts Mrs. Cary's comments seem groundless.

In spite of such partisanship and factual distortion, the coup de grace was reserved for her account of the verdict of the case. As reported in the Freeman, since the purchase money for land was begged in the name of the fugitives, they are entitled to land without payment. Almost incredibly she proceeded:

"The decision is said to be very agreeable to the settlers indeed!! Wonder will Brother Foote continue to beg in any line but the clothes business now? According to Brother Hotchkiss he will certainly leave. And so he should. M.A.S.C." 122

122 Provincial Freeman, Vol. III, No. 44, 4 July, 1857, p. 2, Col. 2



The actual case published in the Reports of Upper Canada Common Pleas Volume VII, was recorded because it set a precedent in Canada as whether, "Registration in the county registry office in Upper Canada held sufficient to make a deed valid under the Statutes of Mortmain, without enrolment in Chancery".<sup>123</sup> It was added that the decision, regarding this question, would determine whether a tenant or licensee of land is estopped from disputing his landlord or licensor's title as void on a statutable objection. The two litigants were listed as Hallock et al. vs. Wilson and appeared before Judge Buel Richards during the Spring Assizes. "The plaintiffs, Trustees of the Refugee Home Society, held title to the land deed 4 October, 1852 from James Dougall. The defendant had entered into possession under them with a view to and under agreement to purchase the land sought to be recovered."<sup>124</sup> The Society was represented by John Prince, while the defendant's counsel was John O'Comer. The defence maintained that since the Society was a charitable organization for the settlement and assistance of refugees from slavery, "the conveyance to the plaintiffs was void under (the) Statutes of Mortmain".<sup>125</sup> A verdict was reserved until the Easter Term, but the Society was granted a temporary decision until the next court session.

Basically the defence had argued that under the Laws of Mortmain, a charitable organization had to insure that the deeds it was offering had to be of value. Value was ascertained by due registry of

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123 Edward C. Jones, Upper Canada Common Pleas, Reports, Vol. VII, R. Caswell, printer; Toronto: 1877, p. 28

124 Op. Cit. p. 28

125 Ibid. p. 28

the purchase within one calendar year of the date of the purchase, and registration of the same deed with the Court of Chancery. O'Conner maintained that since the deed had not been enrolled in the Court of Chancery, the Society was in violation of the Laws of Mortmain, therefore it says the tenant's role on that particular piece of land was void. Such being the case, the Trustees could not legally stop the land from being transferred.

Judge John Hawkins Hagarty delivered the final verdict. His decision was based on whether the deed held by the Society was of value and whether due registry with the county registry office was sufficient, without enrollment in the Court of Chancery to deem a deed valid. Since the defence had not questioned that the deed the Society held from James Dougall was of value and that since it had been duly registered and witnessed in the same month in the County Registry Office, "we are of the opinion that the same is valid ....., and our judgment is for the plaintiffs."<sup>126</sup>

By extending the benefit of the doubt, Mrs. Cary could be excused for the inaccuracy of her accounts of the trial with those recorded by the court clerk, as being victimized by a faulty report which she accepted in good faith. Even so, her quotations of the settlers' joy over the verdict and Reverend Hotchkiss' prediction of Reverend Foote's pending resignation had to have been Mrs. Cary's personal fabrications. Without passing judgment on her motives, this blatant irresponsibility represents an inexcusable example of shoddy journalism. Disregarding the ramifications

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Laws of Mortmain as defined in Black's Law Dictionary, p. 1163, state that no lands should be given to charities unless certain requisites should be observed.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. p. 29

this exposure has on the Freeman's credibility, Mrs. Cary's strained anti-Society editorial bias is beyond doubt. Since much of the criticism and abuse accorded to the Refugee Home Society as been the result of Mrs. Cary's oft repeated accusations of malfeasance, corruption, and fraud, in the light of this new evidence, these criticisms will be re-evaluated in the Conclusion.

#### The Question of Begging

Perhaps no other policy resulted in as much abuse suffered by the Society than that criticism regarding its policy on begging. The Freeman printed a constant stream of accusations regarding the malfeasance of agents; the discrepancy in the allotment of goods varying from settler to settler; and of course the charges of corruption, whereby high officials were either accused of utilizing funds for personal use in private business, or simply living in grand style from money begged in the name of the fugitives, from benevolent donors. The many cases of dishonest practices arising from the begging question that were recorded and documented made it much more believable that the Society officials also were in collusion and were perpetrating countless frauds. Since Isaac Rice an early <sup>Society</sup> member personifies one of these undesirable types, it appeared that much more plausible that the officary on the whole, was equally guilty. Rice's position in the Society was only peripheral and there appears no evidence to support that he either handled funds or goods. This view was substantiated both by Mrs. Cary and Donald Simpson, for none of the evidence they presented against Rice connected any of his wrong doing with the Refugee Home Society. To better assess the credibility of the Ward-Cary accusations, and the degree, if any, of official wrong doing, the Refugee Home Society's official policy

on begging will not be examined in light of the alternatives open in 1851-2.

Both Bibb and Holly accepted Ward's argument that begging was undesirable and to be discouraged as much as possible. Holly's letter in The Liberator pointed out that the "Society brought order to that system, made it honest and effective". Henry Bibb and later Reverend Foote sought to encourage personal industry and independence, while discouraging loafing and dependency predicated upon expectations of goods collected through begging. The depth of this conviction was evidenced by the enactment of the unpopular revision of the time limit for land clearance at a period when opposition was at its height in 1854.

Judging by Dennis Washington's correspondence, the order of which Holly spoke, forbade any Society settlers from independent begging or receiving goods which had been acquired through another individual's independent begging. The only begging condoned was under certain conditions strictly supervised by the Society's officials. All money collected was to be used for the purchase of further land, while goods were to be used to clothe and feed fugitive slaves escaping from the United States, passing through the Detroit area on their flight to Canada. These goods were deposited at the home of the Reverend Charles C. Foote, residing in Detroit. Aid of this kind was extended indiscriminately to free or slave, whether the fugitives agreed to settle on the Society's land or not. Provisions were also made for the members of the Society, who were handicapped by infirmity, age, illness or widowhood. Provisions were legislated in the Constitution to extend conditions for land clearance time and sale at a lower price. Special considerations were also extended to these people in regards to providing them with goods and clothes acquired

through begging. Aid was also extended to the new settlers who by definition, came with no provisions of any kind. After a reasonable period of time, governed by individual need, this aid was discontinued.

The Society also used a settler's home on its land to serve as a depository which allowed settlers to choose whatever goods they desired at a reasonable price. All articles either had to be paid for in cash, by barter usually in farm produce, or finally on credit registered by Foote in a record book.

The various corrupt practices which had plagued the begging system in the southwestern portion of Canada had provided the Society with sufficient experience to realize that safeguards must be enacted to remove the temptation from individual agents. All monies or goods collected or received had to be itemized and published regularly, usually in yearly quarters, in a number of publications, the most prominent of which was the American Missionary. All goods sent to the Society were instructed to be sent to Horace Hallock, the treasurer in Detroit, after an inventory he re-routed these articles to Foote's depository. Foote's accounts had to match both those of Hallock and the individual agents. Once a year all records were audited by Edward C. Walker. To safeguard against collusion by the Treasurer (Hallock) and the Agent (Foote) over goods and cash donated directly by individual donors from the United States, the Agent had to publish the exact amounts received and their donor. If a discrepancy then arose from a certain donation which had either been misplaced or misused, the donor could instigate an inquiry through the American Missionary Association. If Mrs. Cary's comments can be accepted, her own criticism that "all agents but Foote had been dismissed due to malfeasance", would prove that the Society enforced these regulations with due sternness. This would also prove that Foote's integrity and honesty were beyond

reproach since only he had complied with the stated regulations and consequently had maintained his position.

Reverend Foote also made public the fact that the Society was aiding the fugitives. On 18 January, 1854, the following report appeared in the Detroit Daily Democrat:

"The U.G.G.R... Today I have supplied over a dozen persons with sundry warm garments, yesterday as many more and so on. Scarce a day passes that does not witness the arrival of passengers at the last depot of the U.G.G.R. ...." 127

Since this human traffic continued right up to the days of the American Civil War, so was this service extended to that time. "A few days ago we had nine calls for help in a single hour. Today, a man, his wife, and three children, half of the total to be cared for, fresh from slavery."<sup>128</sup> It is interesting to note that even though the Provincial Freeman's official policy was that these refugees needed and should be aided upon their immediate arrival, as best as can be ascertained by this researcher, not once was it published in its columns that the Refugee Home Society was providing this necessary function. If this was the case it would be yet another example of the absence of objectivity displayed by Mrs. Cary in her comments regarding the Society.

The Provincial Freeman claimed that by 1853, since the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society was aiding newly arrived fugitives, any other agency in this vein was redundant. Be that as it may, and not wishing to prejudice the fine work that the anti-Slavery Society provided, it should be recalled that since Samuel Ward, the nominal editor of the Freeman, was

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127 The Detroit Daily Democrat, Vol. I, No. 239, 18 Jan. 1854, p. 2, Col. 3.

128 The American Missionary, Vol. IV, No. 7, 1860, p. 165

also an agent for this group, the editorial's objectivity again may be questioned. Assuming that Mr. Ward was above the disreputable practices of which he accused the Refugee Home Society's agents, then the Freeman was only advocating the replacement of one group supported by begging with another. The Canadian Anti-Slavery Society too was supported by benevolent donations from individuals, and whatever funds, agents such as Reverend Ward could collect from their lecture tours throughout North America and England. It appears though that the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society's agents were not above the accusations that the Freeman accused Foote and the other Society agents of. Robin Winks reported Reverend Ward, too, fell from grace. While on a lecture tour in England he was:

"..... charged with swindling a London tradesman, he did not return to the province taking up residence in Jamaica on fifty acres of land given to him by a British Quaker philanthropist, John Chandler in 1855."<sup>129</sup>

Considering Mrs. Cary's insistence upon exposing any Refugee Home Society's questionable practices, real or imagined, it was surprising that no mention of Reverend Ward's indiscretion appeared in the Freeman.

Notwithstanding these charges and counter-charges, the Refugee Home Society was faced with a dilemma, how to fund the purchase of a large tract of land upon which fugitive slaves could be settled. A number of possibilities were open to the Society other than begging. Bibb's original proposal stated as early as 1846, was to petition to the government for a land grant. Since the Society eventually had to purchase their own land it appears that the response was negative. If the government had granted the land, aid in the form of tools, farm implements, seed and clothing would still be necessary. As in the case of the United Empire Loyalists moving into Upper Canada during and after the American War of

<sup>129</sup> Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada, p. 227

Independence, the government in Britain provided all these services. Even if the government of Canada had provided the land which Bibb had requested, it is very doubtful that it would ask taxpayers to support the relocation of thousands of fugitives from Southern slavery, especially since most of these taxpayers had been immigrants themselves, and had started under the same unfavourable conditions that faced the Negro now. If the government would not provide aid for immediate relocation, would not this aid by necessity be collected through begging? In any event, this speculation is only academic for the government extended neither land nor aid.

The only other possibility was a funding scheme such as the one utilized by the Elgin Association at Buxton. Although variations of this were possible this text will only examine the actual one that the Reverend William King employed. Legislated as a corporation by the Canadian government in 1850, its financial base would resemble any corporate group. By purchasing shares of stocks, the investor would then receive dividends at regular intervals. Quoting from a share of stock sold to John Millar on July 13, 1860, each share cost 12 pounds returning six percent interest compounded semi-annually.<sup>130</sup> This system was ideal for both funding the corporation and stopping any charges of fraud and corruption associated with begging. For the first few years the system functioned well; reports from and of the Elgin Association were sanguine of success and the Association was held as the yardstick by which other Negro colonization schemes were judged. Weakness in such a system quickly became evident, however. The educational system was nearly in chaos by 1857 and Reverend King returned to the British Isles to beg funds to rescue

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<sup>130</sup> Reverend William King Papers, National Archives, Ottawa, p. 846



the educational program. Throughout his lecture tour he pointed out emphatically that the money was not necessary for the support of the settlers but, " .... 8,000 pounds were needed to place the schools of the mission on a permanent and efficient basis with permanent buildings".<sup>131</sup> Supported by a sympathetic British press, King was able to collect 6,000 pounds before returning to Canada. His arrival was somewhat rocky for the Toronto Globe immediately accused him of expropriating the funds for his own personal use. King, in a letter printed in the same newspaper, "..... denied the story as utterly false, a vile calumny ....."<sup>132</sup>

Notwithstanding these charges, a number of useful observations are evident from this episode. First it appears that the question of begging was equally important to the white community as to the black and no agent was above reproach. Secondly it shows, as in modern society, the staggering cost that education involved in that day. 8,000 pounds converted at \$4 a pound represents almost double the original \$18,000 which had funded the Elgin Association. Finally, it exposes that a corporation approach would not support an educational system. Almost predictably that plan was doomed from its outset. The settler besides repaying his capital had to also satisfy the interest on that capital. His annual payments were reverted back as dividends to the share holders, so little if any money could be saved for educational purposes. Land was a tangible asset which if necessary could readily be transferred to negotiable collateral. With this security and the added benefit of six percent interest compounded semi-annually, share holders were abundant. Education, however, could not be so financed.

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131 Op. Cit., p. 845

132 Ibid., p. 845

Buildings, the only tangible asset, would depreciate in value with age; salaries and school supplies were lost forever and returned no dividends; by definition the Elgin Association could not succeed under this assumption. Since the government offered no assistance; and since the folly, in trying to carry on a school system with just parental support, was exposed when Mrs. Cary had to close her school, when the A.M.A. withdrew aid; Reverend King turned to the only other possible source of funding — begging.

The Refugee Home Society was faced with the same problems as the Elgin Association with an additional one. All of the settlers' payments were to be divided equally between further land purchases and education. Assuming that the total collected in one year is \$1,000 — half would go to further land purchase, while the half that went into education would return no financial dividend but would be lost. The \$500 which this new land purchase provided would then have to be divided again equally. The original \$1,000 has now shrunk to \$250 and will continue to decrease by one half with each successive expansion. Clearly the system would not self-perpetuate and as more settlers moved into the new purchases, the school enrolment would increase. Education then would have to be provided for more children with less money. Even if such a system could be devised the quality would be poor, but more probably as in the case of Elgin the operation would eventually cease.

Reverend George Whipple, the Corresponding Secretary of the American Missionary Society, after spending two weeks in Canada West in January 1861, quoting the Mayor of Chatham, described the appalling

conditions of the coloured school in Canada. The public school laws of Canada rightly interpreted and administered, would furnish the same provision for coloured people as for the whites. But they are not so administered, especially in the Western part of the Province..... In other places, as at St. Catharines, at Chatham, and nearly all the counties

of the West, the coloured children are shut out of the general schools, and either have separate government schools, or are deprived of school privileges entirely, except in the few instances where schools are sustained in the whole, or in part by the contributors of the benevolent" 133

Reverend Whipple then proceeds to list several reasons for begging:

".... It can be readily seen that men with families, as most of these settlers have, going into Canada destitute of means to pay for a night's lodging, or buy a loaf of bread, or an axe to work with, and surrounded by those who were but lately in the same condition must find it extremely difficult to sustain their families, clear off any number of acres of heavily timbered land, and make even the smallest annual payment for their farms..... It should not be taught derogatory to men thus circumstanced, to accept from friends, the clothing and bedding they need for a longer time, to prepare their children for school. Aid of this kind, for the newly arrived in Canada, especially those who are sick or suffering, from the long and severe exposures to which they have been subjected and to clothe their children suitably for school, will be long needed and should be supplied with a liberal hand...." 134

The best example why begging was necessary was by Mary Ann Shadd Cary herself.

Besides the aforementioned aid from the A.M.A. which she tried to keep clandestine, in 1861, she too reverted to begging to help support the new school she had opened in Michigan. It is not clear whether she was seeking this aid before she received aid from the A.M.A. or as a supplement but nevertheless Mrs. Cary who had authored so much criticism over the begging controversy, in turn was denounced at a meeting in Chatham on 27 December, 1862. The story printed in the Globe, "Reported a mass meeting at Chatham protesting against persons "begging" for refugees and institutions. M.A.S.C. was named and denounced for begging on behalf of a mission school." 135

The most accurate contemporary account that placed the dilemma the Refugee Home Society faced with the question of begging, was written by Reverend W. N. Mitchell, a Negro minister from Toronto who visited various settlements in Canada West during 1859, to compile material for his text, The Underground Railroad. Writing two years after the passions of 1857 had subsided and having had an opportunity to evaluate both positions regarding begging, despite displaying no particular admiration for, or

133 American Missionary, Vol. V, No. 3, March 1861, p. 93

134 Op. Cit., p. 54

135 D. Shadd, Life Sketch of Mary Ann Shadd Cary, p. 3

sympathy of the Society, he assessed, "This plan answered the purpose very well, at that time and no doubt it was the best that could be adopted under the circumstances."<sup>136</sup>

Final Land Distribution:

After eight long years of adversity, some conditions were finally arising by 1859, which afforded the Refugee Home Society some hope of a more sanguine future. The successful legal battle waged in 1857, finally silenced all the accusations of fraud, collusion and that settlers would never receive deeds for their lands from the Society. It also established the Society's legal authority so any settlers who had heretofore thought they could legally circumvent the Society's constitution as did the defendant Wilson, now realized that any future litigation was in vain. This realization would serve to convince any delinquent settlers to either fulfill the requirements of their contract in good faith or sell the land back to the Society.

The subsequent exposure of Mrs. Cary's journalistic bias and irresponsibility that undoubtedly followed the comparison of her version of the legal proceedings with the actual court case, probably exonerated the Society in the public's opinion. This trust would now permit the officers and the settlers to carry out their functions in an atmosphere of stability and tranquility unlike the volatile and embarrassing episode which had characterized the Dennis Washington affair. Soon thereafter, the Provincial Freeman itself ceased publication. Mrs. Cary, the Society's most vitriolic opponent, had printed acrimonious condemnations with impunity. What effect this constant source of agitation had upon retarding settlement is nearly inestimable but some conclusions can be drawn. By 1861,

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<sup>136</sup> Reverend W. N. Mitchell, The Underground Rail-Road, Negro Universities Press, Westport Connecticut; originally published 1860- Reprinted 1970, p.147

Reverend Whipple reported that 100 lots had been taken up while 60 families were residing on the Home. Of these farms, some had already been paid for and deeded to the settlers. He added, "More might have been done in this way, but for the opposition raised against the society",<sup>137</sup> Examining first the effect her editorials had in convincing actual settlers to abandon the land, no figure can be calculated. That some left there is no doubt, Thomas Jones reported of one as early as 1854, while Reverend Mitchell reported in 1859, that the poorer farmers who had only cleared, "mere garden spots, have either rented off (to) their neighbours or left it do to wreck and have bought, leased or rented larger farms elsewhere ..."<sup>138</sup>

The Freeman was not the only factor which may have affected this group's decision to move in 1859 though. Influence may also have been exerted by renewed interest in Haitian immigration which arose in this period. Reverend Holly had been the first to in 1856, enthusiastically support immigration to that Caribbean Island. After three years, his efforts bore no fruition. Robin Winks reported that in 1859, a revolution in Haiti culminated in the installation of Fabre Geffraud to power as President. Immediately he set upon a course to encourage Haitian immigration. To further this end he placed the actual recruitment of prospective immigrants under the care of James Redpath, whose personal lectures and newspaper advertisements were able to drum up considerable interest for the project. Redpath pointed out the superior economic opportunities available to Negroes in Haiti, the tropical weather, and the absence of racial prejudice. As further inducements, the Haitian government passed the Homestead Bill which gave each new settler five carreaux (just over sixteen acres), free of charge,

<sup>137</sup> American Missionary, Vol. V, No. 3, March 1861, p. 56

<sup>138</sup> Mitchell, The Under Ground Rail-Road, p. 148

condition only to clearing provisions. Free passage to St. Marc and settlement facilities would both be allotted from the public domain. "In May of 1861, 111 Negroes arrived from Canada. This contingent was largely from the Puce River, Little River, Buxton, and Toronto, (and) in October another 113, among which included some of the white wives of the previous group."<sup>139</sup>

Haiti was not quite as glittering as Redpath depicted it however. Pastor J. Kennaday, a Methodist Episcopal Minister published a letter in the American Missionary dated 12 March, 1862, in which he revealed some of the repugnant aspects of Haitian immigration.

"1. All persons who become agents for the Haitian Government, and induce persons to emigrate receive from that government a premium on each person. This fact should lead to caution in receiving the statement of parties thus pecuniarily interested.

2. The Roman Catholic religion is the established religion, and though the President is a liberal man, and a measure of toleration exists, yet our coloured people can scarcely bear the restrictions which exist.

3. It is a country threatened with constant revolutions: even the colonists are called upon to perform military duty and are subject to all the inconvenient circumstances of such liability.

4. Whatever the government pays for, passage or settlement money must be refunded or no colonist can leave until the expiration of three years.

5. Among the common prejudices of the country, one of the most virulent in nature is the irreconcilable hatred shown all mulattoes to those of deeper skin.

The disabilities of the coloured people in our own country are numerous, yet in leaving it, to go to Hayti, they will, I am assured, in no instance find improvement."<sup>140</sup>

Reverend Kennaday's assessment of Haitian society appears to have been correct for Robin Winks reported, "... In time, most of the immigrants from Canada West returned to North America."<sup>141</sup>

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139 Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada, p. 163

140 American Missionary, Vol. VI, No. 6, June 1862, p. 124

141 Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada, p. 165

The number of emigrants that had been part of the Refugee Home Society is uncertain. Since, not quite 250 immigrated to Haiti, and since Buxton and Toronto both contributed to that number, both being more populous than the Home, then the actual percentage that left the lands of the Refugee Home Society appears small. The number may have been no more than five to ten families. It is unfortunate that Reverend Mitchell did not record the number of settlers in 1859, then a comparison with Reverend Whipple's figures in 1861 would have assessed the number more accurately.

The effect the Provincial Freeman had upon retardation of actual settlement, although not very accurate, can be predicted with a bit more precision. Utilizing Benjamin Drew's figures of 40 families in 1855 and Reverend Whipple's figure of 60 in 1861, and considering that little or no new settlement might have occurred during the period of 1856-57 because of the public uproar precipitated by Mrs. Cary, then all things considered Reverend Mitchell in 1859, might have found 40 families. Assuming that 1858 saw some improvement, possibly 5 new families, then the figure would become 45 families. Reverend Mitchell reported that definitely some settlers had moved so this figure of five would be negated by the settlers that left. Considering further that five more families, experiencing difficulty in farming on the Home and enthused by the prospect of Haiti, also left then the new figure would become 35 families. This speculation being the case then the period between Mitchell's visit in 1859 and Whipple's visit in January of 1861, saw 25 families move onto the land. In a period of two years the Society settled 25 families, while the eight years between 1851-59, only 45 families had moved in. Projecting the figure of 25 families for every two years then 125 families should have settled in the ten year period between 1851- 1861. Less than half of this total was reported by

Whipple. Notwithstanding that these figures are highly speculative, nevertheless the basic conclusion seems that the Provincial Freeman's affect in retarding settlement of the Refugee Home Society was extreme.

Regarding the settlers he found on the Home in 1859, he reported that generally he found no fault with their industry and that :

"Of this settlement some places are more densely inhabited than others - perhaps the larger portion of this land is still uncultivated, while a great deal is in a high state of cultivation, and many of the people are doing well .... (some) have become larger proprietors and have sufficient quantity of land to augment trade by raising live stock, such as hogs, cows, horses, sheep, or the cultivation of grain, beans, peas, Indian corn, wheat and hay, all of which are saleable when turned into cash enables them to pay their land."<sup>142</sup>

Neil Morrison also adds how agricultural producers were finding farming very profitable. The Detroit Free Press in 1859 advised, "

"Michigan tobacco growers to look to their laurels since large quantities of Canadian tobacco were going East over the Great Western Railways. In the same year it was reported that more fall wheat than ever before was being sown in South Essex. The corn crop was classed as excellent."<sup>143</sup>

Morrison also points out that perhaps this economic prosperity especially in the tobacco crop could not have been possible had the Negroes not settled in Essex County. "The abolitionists, who were aiding the movement, bought small farms for many of the people in Essex County and elsewhere. It is on record that through their knowledge of tobacco growing the coloured immigrants provided a stimulus to this industry in Essex County."<sup>144</sup>

Reverend Whipple also noted this prosperity two years later, noting that, "still many acres were vacant but the ones who persisted were (now) much better."<sup>145</sup>

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142 Mitchell, The Underground Rail-Road, p. 148

143 Neil F. Morrison, Garden Gateway to Canada, p. 26

144 Op. Cit., p. 29

145 American Missionary, Vol. V, No. 3, March 1861, p. 53



Unfortunately as both the number of settlers and their economic situation improved, in April 1861, hostilities between the North and South were commenced in the United States. The fugitive slave traffic ended. Since the Society's constitution stated that with the cessation of Southern Slavery so too will the Society cease, the officers began to liquidate the assets. Before examining the actual liquidation it should be noted that the Society land policies excluded all but actual fugitives from Southern bondage and only 25 acres were allotted to each settler. These conditions appear to have been executed religiously except in the case of Reverend David Hotchkiss, the American Missionary Association's representative in Essex County. Following personal strife at Amherstburg around 1855, he established a Church while his wife opened a school at the Little River. This school also appeared to have been his residence but following its destruction he moved to the Puce River, in 1858, on land owned by the Refugee Home Society. He was deeded 40 acres on 15 December, 1858, on Lot 7 which was bounded by the Puce River and the Puce Road, adjacent to Base Line Road. The cost was \$140 and the only condition imposed upon Reverend Hotchkiss was that at least one-half acre was to be reserved for a cemetery (MP281). Hotchkiss complied with this reservation for today the Baptist owned Puce Memorial Cemetery stands on that lot. No definitive evidence exists as to whether Hotchkiss was Negro or Caucasian,<sup>146</sup> but clearly he was not a fugitive from Southern bondage and his allotment exceeded more than the usual quota of 25 acres. There seems no evidence to indicate why Reverend Hotchkiss received this preferential treatment. Mrs. Holland explained that she had understood that the Baptists in Puce were to have

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<sup>146</sup> John O'Farrell initially reported that he was black but Donald Simpson without actually refuting that claim does raise some question as to its validity.

been allocated 35 acres for their cemetery. Because of the paucity of their numbers, in 1858, and not foreseeing a need in the future, they wired off a section they deemed sufficient and the rest was sold. Even though this fact does not explain why Reverend Hotchkiss was sold the land, two other possibilities arise from it. A school was soon thereafter built on that lot. Assuming that since the Baptists did not take the full 35 acres reserved for them, it may have been decided to build a school on the property. Conceivably the profit from the sale of the land would have provided Hotchkiss with the funds to build and furnish this school. Another possibility was that the Society built the school and the profit from the sale of the land was intended as payment to the Hotchkisses. This being the intent then this remuneration would probably act as a supplement to the aid they received from the A.M.A. The Society's purpose may have been to relieve the parents from contributing to their support. In any event, on 3 October, 1860, Reverend Hotchkiss sold the whole 40 acres except for the school and the cemetery to George Leadley for \$300. (M<sub>B</sub> 282). Whatever the intent had been, the profit of \$160 represented an annual dividend of \$80.

The liquidation period saw many other inconsistencies. Besides the case of Edmund Brown, L. William Laurie, and Alexander L. Jones, Esquire, Richard A. Coleman (M<sub>C</sub> 936) also purchased a large tract. His 137 acres cost \$400. Notwithstanding these large purchases many of the original settlers bought more land. Lewis Paine, John Walls, G. W. Glenn, James Shye, Golson W. Canada, James Henry Holland, John Ward and John Jackson were among this list. John Walls besides the additional 25 acres purchased from the Society (M<sub>C</sub> 725) on 14 June, 1866, five years later he bought an additional 42 acres from Thomas Street (D1348). His farm then had increased to approximately 92 acres. James Henry Holland had been one of the settlers who had received special consideration from the Society under the "ill, aged,

widow, or infirm" clause. His first plot was 10 acres costing \$10 (Mp1335), but in a short time he was able to purchase an additional 9 acres which cost \$50 (Mp1609). These two men perhaps were the best examples of the Refugee Home Society's contention in 1853, that 25 acres were enough to afford each settler a start. Through personal industry and independence his possibilities were endless.

Other settlers who received special consideration from the Society were Anne Walker, 24 $\frac{1}{2}$  acres for \$25 (Mc683), Sarah Ann Cook, 12 acres for \$2 (SEg132), Lewis J. Carter, 20 acres for \$1 (Mp1346). According to Mrs. Holland, Sarah Cook was the mother of two children born out of wedlock while Lewis Carter was an aged African Methodist Episcopal preacher. The Refugee Home Society acknowledging the steadfast support of the A.M.A. had provided, sent a draft for \$500:

"To aid the Freedman as your association deems best (since) your association was one of the earliest and most faithful agencies for help of those suffering poor ones."<sup>147</sup>

The Executive Committee also allocated 20 acres of land to the A.M.A. (Mc817) on the 1 August 1867. This was later resold to the Society for \$195 on 16 January, 1872 (Mc1526) The total sum paid to the A.M.A. was therefore \$695.

The Refugee Home Society, for all intents and purposes ceased operations on 15 June, 1876. On that date Thomas Lucas purchased the last 25 acres for \$75 (Mp2631) and although the Society trustees, Hallock and Walker, still concluded some business at the registry office up until 1885,

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<sup>147</sup> American Missionary, Vol IX, No. 6, June 1865, p. 135

these transactions were insignificant. Their nature usually involved registering deeds which had been granted years previously or in the case of Manuel Eaton, who purchased 10 acres from G. W. Glenn, the location was incorrect on the original deed, so all parties had to sign the corrected copy.

Recapitulating the land purchase and distribution, all of the 2372 acres were purchased between July 1852 and May 1856. The total cost was approximately \$5075. The lands were located in Sandwich East Township around the Little River area, and in Maidstone Township bounded or near Pike's Creek, Puce River, or Belle River. The lands in Maidstone were much more attractive to new settlers because of the large Negro settlement already established there while the Negro population in Sandwich East was small. Although 78 actual land deeds were granted, many were not registered so the actual figure was probably in the area of 85. Since this number includes deeds granted to some purchasers who were not fugitives and additional purchases made by the settlers themselves, 65 families would represent a fairly accurate estimation of the number of families which the Refugee Home Society relocated in Essex County. Considering the number which either migrated to Haiti or moved on elsewhere, the actual number may have reached 80. Such being the case, the total Negro population which either resided on the Home or received their start to re-establish themselves elsewhere would be in excess of 300 people.

THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY: ITS ORIGIN  
OPERATION AND RESULTS, 1851 - 1876

CHAPTER V

CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, AND FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

Background:

Prior to the Refugee Home Society establishing in the Maidstone and Sandwich East area, a substantial number of Negroes already resided in this area. There appears to have been quite a number of religious denominations. Mrs. Haviland reported, "There were in this colony a mixed religious element - Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Free - Will Baptist . . . ." 148 Of these groups no actual church building was erected, but were attended by various travelling preachers.

The Presbyterians were visited by the Reverend William King from Buxton, but being a primarily white congregation few Negroes attended these services. Mrs. Haviland reported of one fugitive's view of the white man's religion:

"His master was a Presbyterian minister, but he had known him to whip his sister, the cook, after coming home late from church, and said he would never have faith in white folk's religion. Since

148 Laura S. Haviland, A Woman's Life Work, p. 196.

coming to this colony he watched me a long while before he made up his mind that white people could have a pure religion." 149

The two major distinctly black religions in the area were the Baptists and the African Methodist-Episcopaleans. The cornerstone of the First Baptist Church of Puce records its genesis to 1846, while the A. M. E. began operations in Canada with the Upper Canada Conference organized by Reverend Morris Brown 21 July, 1840. 150

Those of the A. M. E. proclivity in the Maidstone and Sandwich area belonged to the West London Circuit (London and all area west). James Harper was appointed the travelling deacon but the congregation was small, for the whole circuit only numbered 256. Some of the goals of the A. M. E. Church were that:

"All preachers should preach expressly in favour of education, and everywhere encourage it. Sabbath schools be established wherever possible and the first Friday of each year to be set apart as a day of fasting, thanksgiving, and prayer." 151

In 1841 Josiah Henson was ordained a preacher and took over the services in Essex and Kent counties. The following year in July, Henson was ordained a deacon and

149 Op. Cit., p. 196.

150 Daniel A. Payne, History of A.M.E. Church Vol. I, p. 128.

151 Op. Cit., p. 129.

appointed to the Colchester Circuit which included Maidstone. The circuit was small for yearly collections were usually less than \$20. In 1848, Henson left the Church, whether it was of his own volition or whether he was ousted is not clear, but his replacement was not named in the A. M. E. Church History. In 1851 all of Canada West came under the directorship of Bishop Quinn, who presided over the Indiana and Canada Conference. This Conference divided the Colchester circuit into two in 1853. Windsor, Sandwich, and the Industrial Institute became the Sandwich circuit, while Amherstburg and Colchester remained <sup>the</sup> Colchester circuit.<sup>152</sup> In all probability these revisions were necessitated by the influx of Negro fugitives escaping American slavery who settled in Essex County.

The Baptists were formally organized by the Amherstburg Baptist Association in 1840:

"Wherever two or three families settled, they assembled themselves to give praise to their God, . . . small groups met for worship on the Sabbath in homes or in schools all over the country, and during the week, prayer meetings were held from house to house." 153

In the early years itinerant preachers were appointed to visit these various Baptist enclaves. The first appears to have been Horace Hawkins of Amherstburg and every

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>153</sup> Reverend H. S. Talbot, moderator, Pathfinders of Liberty and Truth, A Century with the Amherstburg Regular Missionary Baptist Association, Windsor:1940, p. 1.

year thereafter a new travelling missionary was appointed. Brother Wilson Carter served this function for two consecutive years, 1845-1846. The remuneration was always small, so in 1847 it was proposed that three preachers divide this work up so no one would be forced to suffer the financial burden for the whole year. A measure was also, "Recommended that each church member give one cent per week for missionary collections. In addition sisters were asked to make a donation for Amherstburg Baptist Association treasury." <sup>154</sup> 1847 also marked the year Elder Washington Christian made a missionary tour of all the Baptist Churches as far west as Chatham but still the remuneration was poor. In 1852, Elder A. Brown was to have the expenses of his travels defrayed from the individual churches in which he laboured, but judging from the various novel fund raising schemes which were proposed following this date, it appears that Elder Brown also suffered the same fate as his predecessors.

In the educational situation, it has already been stated that in theory, the law either allowed Negro admissions into public schools or Negro separate schools were to be established. In practice, aside from the odd Negro which was admitted into the public schools, the majority of communities were bereft of Negro educational institutions. Such was the situation when in 1852, Henry Bibb, Horace

<sup>154</sup> Op. Cit., p. 3.



Hallock, and Reverend Charles C. Foote; the education committee for the Refugee Home Society, hired Laura Smith Haviland to fulfill the position of teacher at Little River effective September 1852.

Mrs. Haviland recorded that prior to her appointment a frame house had already been erected for a school and meeting purposes seven or eight miles from Windsor. In that autumn:

"I opened school and gave notice . . . there would be a Sabbath school for parents and children . . . This drew a number of callers who had no children to see if (they) could come to my Sabbath school, when (I) told them it was for everybody of any age who desired to come, my school house was filled to utmost capacity . . . It was not strange to listen to many crude ideas; but a more earnest, truth seeking congregation we seldom find . . ." 155

She added that after six weeks of steady attendance, fifteen young men and women could read the second reader, and write a legible hand, and draft a negotiable note. According to her own report she had between seventy and eighty students, "and not one dull scholar in that number; although the same disparity is found among them that exists in all other schools." 156

Meanwhile the Methodist element proposed that the individual religious elements unite into a single body.

Mrs. Haviland, deeming it unwise to organize from any one

155 Laura S. Haviland, A Woman's Life Work, p. 192.  
156 Donald Simpson, Negroes In Ontario, p. 608, quoted from the Provincial Freeman, 13 October, 1855.

denomination, counter proposed a Union Christian Church without disturbing the Church relationship of any one with his previous affiliation. This proposal was quickly adopted and with Reverend Foote making frequent appearances on Sundays, the religious order of the settlement followed this format during Mrs. Haviland's stay.

Realizing her departure was imminent, the Society organized further plans for that contingency. Brother Maglothin, a recently arrived Wesleyan Methodist minister from Virginia, took over the charge of the Methodist flock, and assumed the teaching duties of both the day and Sabbath schools and the prayer meetings which accompanied this position.

Those of the Baptist persuasion called upon Reverend N. P. Colver of Detroit, to organize their church. He ordained Brother (Israel) Campbell to look after the spiritual needs of this group. The two denominations were to alternate the use of the Church every other Sunday. Mrs. Haviland reported that, because of the small numbers, "after the 4th meeting, the Baptists discontinued and joined the Methodist proclivity."<sup>157</sup> The African Methodist Episcopal Church however soon would cease operations in Canada. About a year after this union, on July 21, 1854, the Canadian A. M. E. conference petitioned the American General Conference, ". . . To set us apart as a separate body. . ." <sup>158</sup> The Canadian churches began to organize as

<sup>157</sup> Laura S. Haviland, A Woman's Life Work, p. 201.

<sup>158</sup> Daniel Payne, History of A.M.E. Church Vol. I, p. 321.

a separate entity, and according to Mrs. Haviland, this Methodist group came under the auspices of the British Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, organized at the Chatham Convention, 22 September, 1856, under the Episcopacy of Reverend Willis Nazrey.

### Churches

Relatively little has been able to be compiled by this researcher about the B. M. E. churches that were established in the area. <sup>159</sup> Some facts which are available however seem to indicate that the B. M. E. group at Little River either joined the Baptist denomination in that area or joined the Puce River group which continued to share facilities alternating each Sunday with the Baptists until June 1872. At that time, the Baptist congregation paid the Refugee Home Society \$50 to buy out the Methodist interest. The Refugee Home Society then deeded one half acre of land to Golson W. Canada, George Glen, and Henry Franklin, trustees of the B. M. E. Church. A church and cemetery was erected on the site which is still standing today. Lying in a thick bush, about 200 feet from Highway 42, and nearly one half mile east of the Puce Memorial Cemetery, a red frame building is still erect. The cemetery which had been buried for years under fallen leaves and thicket was found

<sup>159</sup> Correspondence with both the A.M.E. headquarters in the United States, and the B.M.E. headquarters in Canada has failed to produce any information at this date.

in 1962 by two boys who lived on the adjacent farm. Mr. Charvin the boys' father reports that the frame building has pillars much resembling a church, a plethora of evidence exists to support his belief. Mrs. Holland and Mrs. Jones both recall a B. M. E. Church and a A. M. E. Church in that area located side by side separated only by a vacant lot. Malcolm Wallace supports this, "Near the corner of Puce River and the Base Line, there were at one time a school and three churches . . . the Baptist, A.M.E., and B.M.E." 160 Al Worby, a reporter for the Windsor Star, in 17 April, 1962, printed a report with a picture of the cemetery centering upon a large tombstone bearing the inscription "Lewis Jackson - Born a Slave in Kentucky, Died April 12, 1897 age 62". 161 A confirmation from Charles Lawson, an official of the B.M.E. Church Conference in Detroit corroborated the existence of the two churches side by side. Mr. Worby assumed that since Lewis Jackson's tombstone was so superior in both size and quality to the others around it, then Jackson may have been the preacher. This appears incorrect for both Mrs. Holland and the Society deeds concur that he was a farmer. Mr. Worby also assumed that Lewis Jackson belonged to A. M. E. Church but Mrs. Holland stated that he was a member of the B. M. E. group. Besides Lewis Jackson and the three trustees listed on the

160 Malcolm Wallace, The Scotch Settlement, p. 195.

161 Carnegie Library Scrap Book Vol. 43 Essex County Negroes, Windsor, pp. 26-27.

deed other families belonging to this denomination were the Beechams, the Cooks, the Allens, and the Carters. It appears that Lewis Carter, even though he had been an A.M.E. preacher, joined the B.M.E. in 1856. However, when the A.M.E. Church experienced a revival around 1880, he rejoined his previous Church.

No definite information was available to identify the pastors which administered to this group. The Canada Directory for these years does list the ministers of the B.M.E. Church who lived in or around the Windsor area. Among these were included J. L. Christian of Amherstburg and J. B. Huffman of Windsor in 1860. In 1861, N. H. Turpin was stationed at Colchester, followed by Benjamin Whipper, Caswell Crosby, G. R. Bloute, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Whipper, and W. Hawkins in that order until 1869.<sup>162</sup>

Further insight to this group is available from the Minutes of The Seventeenth Session of the Annual Conference of the B.M. E. Church held at St. Catherines in 1873. The Puce River Mission was under Reverend Thomas Jefferson the travelling deacon for the area. He reported; one chapel with a congregation of 26 members, a Sabbath School staffed by two teachers under the directorship of a Superintendent, with an enrolment of 20 scholars supplied with 36 books.

<sup>162</sup> Canada Directory, John Lovell Printers, Montreal: Volume 8, 1855 to Volume 22, 1869.

A Juvenile Missionary Society, "Established on the principle of total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquor and tobacco," 163 was also reported to be in operation.

The Baptists - Little River

Around 1855, two distinct religious groups were organized. One established by Reverend David Hotchkiss who used his own home for church services on Sunday and a school during the week. Quite possibly this was the same building Mrs. Haviland had taught <sup>in</sup> and resided. The other group was organized by the Baptists living in the Little River area. They built their church on Tecumseh Road adjacent to the Little River about 50 yards east of Lauzon Road. In that year, under the sponsorship of Reverend Israel Campbell the itinerant missionary of that annual term, and their clerk Brother David Cooper, the congregation applied for admission into the Amherstburg Baptist Association. They reported a membership of only nine, so understandably \$1 was all that could be mustered to help defray the expenses the travelling missionary incurred. In 1856, Reverend Camel replaced Reverend Campbell as the itinerant preacher and even though the remuneration was small it appears that his visits were regular. In 1857, the gospel was only preached twice. Led by clerks or licentiates the regular prayer meetings were still continued but recruitment remained slow.

163 Reverend R. R. Disney, The Seventeenth Session of the Annual Conference of the British Methodist Episcopal Church, E. S. Leavenworth printer, St. Catherines: 1873, p. 12.

In 1858, among the 11 members reported five attended the Annual Convention as delegates. These were, "David Cooper, M. P. Newman, L. H. Davis, G. Johnson, and L. Lynn." 164

Reverend Hotchkiss on the other hand, was experiencing greater success. In a letter dated 24 November, 1856, he reported:

" . . . Our little church is doing well, everything considered, it now numbers seventeen an increase of six since its organization, and there will soon be others added. . . . I have more calls to preach than I can possibly fill." 165

In April 1857, the membership had increased to 22, and still the requests for ministerial labour were more than he could meet. At this time the Provincial Freeman agitation began to intensify. He was accused of being in collusion with Reverend Foote in hiding the sordid facts of the tyrannical practices Foote was inflicting upon the settlers of the Home. Coincidentally his house was burned to the ground by incendiaries. Courageously he rebuilt his home and once again it was razed by fire. He abandoned plans to rebuild it again and decided to maintain this mission by circuit travel headquartered from the Puce settlement. His letter describing these events displayed no rancor, "Some stood in doubt but there are many among them a goodly number of pious men and women as he ever knew anywhere." 166 The congregation at Puce apparently

165 American Missionary, Vol. I, No. I, January 1857, p. 1.

166 American Missionary, Vol. I, No. 6, June 1857, p. 138.

were not as impressed by Mrs. Cary's comments:

" . . . The people seem very anxious he should attend, the day before his writing, the congregation voted and earnestly requested him to do so, and pledging themselves to welcome and encourage his labours." 167

Hotchkiss maintained his former missions but things were not as before, in May he reported the attendance to be "tolerable", while in August, the attendance was reported low because of a "Baptismal of two young ladies."

This point also reveals the competition between the congregation administered by Reverend Hotchkiss and the group belonging to the Baptist Church. The years following Reverend Hotchkiss' moving to Puce, following Mrs. Cary's allegations, the Little River Baptist Church shows a 200 per cent increase in membership. From 11 in 1858 the number jumped to 22 by 1860; among this new membership were Clerk Edmund Rollins, George Stewart, L. Turner, J. Ellis, H. Younge, W. Carnis, A. Balter, and John Walls, while the Sunday School enrolment had reached 40. This peak however was short lived, in 1861, the membership dropped to 13 and in 1862 to 10.

As the Baptist membership dropped, the Reverend Hotchkiss group experienced a revival. Reverend Whipple's report for the winter of 1860 stated:

167 American Missionary, Vol. II, No. 5, May 1858, p. 104.



" . . . (the) Church numbered sixteen members. The meeting was held in a large log school house, which on this occasion was well filled. Much enthusiasm was displayed and another appointment was asked for the afternoon. . . . The violent opposition has abated, and a more attentive congregation than that which was gathered on this occasion, is seldom seen. . . ." 168

Pease, probably judging by the violence and Mrs. Cary's allegations, assessed Hotchkiss to be, "A dubious asset for he despised the Negroes as depraved and inferior." 169 This conclusion seems particularly harsh and investigation of the reasons why Reverend Hotchkiss' position improved in the Little River area will, we believe, soften this assessment. The demise of the Provincial Freeman, and the success and tranquility he enjoyed at Puce began to cause a revision of the poor image Mrs. Cary had depicted. His courageousness in rebuilding his home once, and his later continuance of his mission in the face of violence attested to his dedication. His wife's death in 1859 also afforded him an excuse to quit the situation, but he rejected any such idea. This violence had not been the first Hotchkiss had experienced. While at Amherstburg, he had striven to make the Negro conscious of the advisability of industry and self-dependence. In so doing, he exposed a number of dishonest begging groups, Winks reported that for his troubles, his well was poisoned. In 1857 he, "was sure that the settlers would

168 American Missionary, Vol. V, No. 3, March 1861, p. 55.  
169 William Pease, Black Utopia, p. 121.

repudiate this violence and rally to support him," 170  
 blaming the violence upon a small group who were working,  
 "to drive every white missionary from the colony." 171  
 Judging from his reaction Hotchkiss believed himself  
 innocent of any wrong doing.

The final possibility for renewed interest was  
 suggested by Reverend M. N. Mitchell reporting on the  
 ineffectiveness of the travelling missionary scheme:

" . . . The school-houses are used for  
 worship on Sundays, when they can get  
 preachers. They do not like to go into  
 the back woods, if they do they do not  
 like to go through snow, very often half-  
 leg deep, or knee deep. Therefore they  
 have but few sermons during the winter.  
 . . . There is a great deal of spiritual  
 bareness, and intellectual ignorance." 172

No doubt the more religiously conscious concluded  
 that a Reverend Hotchkiss, accused on questionable evidence,  
 was a superior circumstance than one where no minister  
 existed at all.

To corroborate that Reverend Hotchkiss had indeed  
 found new popularity at Little River, then upon his voluntary  
 retirement in 1862, the Baptist Church should have experienced  
 a corresponding revival. This appears to have been the case.  
 The following year, the membership rose to 29 from 16, even  
 though this probably includes the five members from Pike

170 Donald Simpson, Negroes In Ontario, p. 624.

171 Op. Cit., p. 624.

172 Mitchell, The Underground Rail-Road, p. 147.

Creek. Hotchkiss' effect becomes even more significant considering that the number had nearly tripled despite the loss of Negro settlers because of the Haitian immigration. The norm remained well over 20 until 1869 with a congregation of 28, they felt themselves sufficiently strong to afford a part-time minister. Reverend A. Williams assumed the position alternately every other Sunday with the Puce Baptist Church. "With the passing of the Fifteenth Amendment in the United States, many Negroes moved back to the U.S.A." 173 This reverse migration had a significant attrition rate for by 1880, various small Baptist Churches such as New Canaan and Mt. Pleasant had ceased operations. The Little River group reported only six members and it too was soon to close its doors. In all probability the remaining membership transferred to either Puce or Windsor.

#### The Puce Baptist Church

The Puce River Church was initially established along the same lines as the one at Little River. The Baptists and the A.M.E., later B.M.E., would utilize the building every alternate Sunday. The first minister to preach at Puce was Reverend Charles C. Foote. No doubt he alternated service here with his duties at White Lake and the Baptist Church at Little River. In 1855, Reverend Hotchkiss began a circuit which included Puce, Pike Creek, and Little River. All of these points were enumerated in the "History of Puce

173 Minutes of the Amherstburg Association, p. 29.

Baptist Church", written in Pathfinders of Liberty and Truth:

"This structure was built on logs and served as both school and church services, being held alternately between the Baptists and the Methodists for several years. First ministers were Elder Foote. . . Elder Hodgekiss, and Elder Washington." 174

This plan was continued until the Hotchkisses moved to Puce and a school was established on Base Line Road in 1858. No data about this congregation is available until 1858 when the membership was 14, ". . . mostly new converts, and I think they are generally of the very best material." 175  
In December, Hotchkiss reported:

"During the present quarter . . . (We) . . . have been in a prosperous condition having had a revival spirit all the time, (and) now numbers 23 members . . . Reached as high as 26." 176

This figure remained the norm until 1862. Again as testimony to Hitchkiss's appeal, the year after he retired the membership dropped to 12. Left without a minister, the church members under the direction of their clerks, Granville Lawson and John Jackson, requested admittance into the Amherstburg Association in 1863. Growth was slow until 1866, when the membership increased to 24 from 17 of the previous year. This figure remained constant until 1878

174 Pathfinder of Liberty and Truth, p. 88.

175 American Missionary, Vol. II, No. 8, August 1858, p. 200.

176 Op. Cit., Vol. II, No. 12, December 1858, p. 292.

when the membership jumped to 37 members. This unusual increase may have been partly attributed to the demise of the churches at New Canaan and Mt. Pleasant. Some of these members probably joined the Puce Church.

The first pastor mentioned at Puce was Reverend S. H. David in 1865, but because of the old nemesis of insufficient funds his name did not appear in the report of the following year. In the next three years the church appeared to grow in stature for in 1868, the Annual Convention was held here. One of the highlights of the Baptist Association occurred when Elder Anthony Binga Senior, a renown Negro minister and an original member of the Association, ordained his son Anthony Junior. As further testimony to the church's growth A. D. Williams was hired on an alternate weekly basis with the Little River Church in 1869. Reverend J. W. Faulkner replaced him in 1871 and he remained until 1879. Members of this church included John Jackson, Granville Lawson, Deacon John Walls, Matthew Walls, R. M. Duling, Thomas Green, George Washington, S. Glenn, and J. Sampson. In 1870, a Sabbath School of 33 scholars and four teachers was reported directed by Superintendent John Walls. In 1880, Noah Johnson had become the Superintendent, George Scott the secretary, Matthew Walls, John Walls, and Manuel Eaton the assistant secretaries, and Parthania Walls the teacher, while the enrolment appeared

to total 29.

In 1850 the Baptist Association strongly urged the practice of temperance upon its membership and this guideline appears to have been followed with strict adherence. In November 1856, Reverend Hotchkiss suspended, "One member for using spirituous liquors." 177

Reverend Paul Kner besides attending to his congregation's spiritual needs also looked after their physical ones. Being a carpenter, in 1872 he built the frame church which remained until 24 October, 1964, when a new 55,000 brick structure replaced the old one. The old church stood where the parking lot of the present church is now. One of the designers of the present edifice was Clifford Walls, a descendant of the original Walls family and an employee of the Planning Department at the University of Windsor.

### Schools

As stated previously Mrs. Haviland the first teacher was succeeded by Brother Maglothin. John Martin assessed the changeover: "We have a school here, I cannot tell whether it is good or not, as it has just commenced under a new teacher. The former one did well." 178

177 American Missionary, Vol. I, No. I, January 1857, p. 3.  
178 Benjamin Drew, A North-Side View of Slavery, p. 335.

The duration of Mr. Maglothin's tenure is uncertain but when Mrs. Hotchkiss opened a school at Little River in 1855, there is no record of any other teacher being present. According to the Provincial Freeman, the Society also hired a Mr. Williams as a teacher. Necessarily his teaching position was at Puce. His pay was to have been one shilling per week per pupil over the quota of 25 he was able to attract to his school. Dennis Washington accused that the parents did not like Reverend Foote's teachers and as a result, were not sending their children to school. The issue was much more complex than the simplistic view Washington offers. It appears that the necessity of education was not a prime consideration in the minds of most parents. This view was a reflection of the ideas of many Negro leaders:

"Others felt the Negroes should be prepared for an agricultural life or for lower jobs in light industries or in the service industries. These people saw themselves as practical people. If most of the Negroes had half-decent jobs they felt there would be no problem. A high proportion of the black leaders were convinced that the best type of practical job was to be found on the farms. The Agricultural Committee of the Amherstburg Convention was merely echoing the sentiments of many when they urged, 'that our oppressed race in North America should as fast as possible. . . abandon the cities and villages . . . go into the country where you can teach your sons and daughters the more honourable business of farming'." 179

The True Bands, also acknowledged this view when one of their goals was, "to improve all schools, and induce their race to send their children into the schools . . ." 180 Another condition retarding the parents enthusiasm for schooling for their children was that in striving to clear land and harvest a crop, to both sustain themselves and to make payments on their land, the children represented a viable labour force which in most cases could not be spared. Secondly, education in the forms of school materials and clothing for their offspring represented an additional expense which the parents could not or would not subsidize.

The Refugee Home Society realized this dilemma. If Dennis Washington's statement can be accepted then Foote threatened to remove all parents from the Home who did not send their children to school. If Foote did state such a condition, then it proves emphatically the amount of importance the officers of the Refugee Home Society placed upon the education of the Negro youngsters. His unusual offer of payment to Mr. Williams based upon a quota system, can also be interpreted as an effort by the Society to cajole the teachers to become themselves more attractive to the parents, which would in turn raise the school enrolment. Finally, Reverend Hotchkiss asked for clothes for the school children so the parents would be relieved of yet another condition which restricted education for their off-



spring.

Mr. Williams was succeeded by F. G. Anderson at Puce in 1857 while at Little River Mrs. Hotchkiss operated that school from 1855 until the strife in 1857. The following year when the Hotchkisses relocated at the Puce River, Mrs. Hotchkiss opened a school there and reported an enrolment of 40. Her expectations were high that a further increase would occur in December. It is not clear, who if anyone, replaced her at Puce. In all probability since the school house had been burned to the ground no one assumed a teaching position there. This is further indicated by her husband's report that his circuit work was receiving tolerable attendance both in the church and the school. From this statement either Mr. Hotchkiss was doing the teaching after his sermons, or his wife was accompanying him on the circuit work and looking after the academic needs. In November 1859, Mrs. Hotchkiss relinquished her teaching duties at the Puce School because of ill health and on the 27th of that month she died. Reverend Whipple's eulogy written posthumously stated:

"Mrs. Hotchkiss had 30 pupils, a few of which were white. None have made much advancement, but some are good readers, and all appear to love their teacher for her kindness, and her devotedness to their welfare. Her education and advantages would qualify her to teach a school of a much higher grade than this one." 181

Reverend Mitchell, it appears made his tour of the Society soon thereafter which caused him to conclude:

" . . . There are two schools built of hewed logs, perhaps there is a school three months in the year, but oftener none at all, sometimes for the want of teachers, at other times for want of money to pay the teachers." 182

Following this assessment, and Reverend Whipple's report that in 1860, Mr. W. W. Wheeler, a student from Oberlin Ohio, was teaching at the Little River with a school of thirty pupils, there is a dearth of information as to what occurred to the schools after this date. Donald Simpson does report that by the 1860's, the Refugee Home Society was aiding another Negro school in Chatham run by Mrs. Shadd, a sister-in-law of Mrs. Cary. It seems ironical that the Shadd clan after their vehement opposition to the Refugee Home Society and the question of begging did not mind accepting a \$150 a year from the Society. Possible insight to the occurrence to the Home's schools was provided by Samuel Gridley Howe, who reported that some Negro communities had opted for separate Negro schools:

"Dr. Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Public Instruction in Canada West . . . (stated). . . in country municipalities, it is the option of the coloured people to have separate schools or not. . . . In some country places, the trustees have refused to admit colored children to the schools, the parents have appealed to me, I have referred them to the courts; and the courts have always given decisions in their favour." 183

182 Mitchell, Underground Rail-Road, p. 147.

183 Samuel Gridley Howe, The Refugees From Slavery In Canada West - A Report to the Freedman's Inquiry Commission 1854, Arno Press: New York, 1969, p. 52.

Howe reported that the coloured people of Chatham, Malden, and Windsor opted for this choice. The exact date is not stated but in 1859, Reverend Mitchell reported that even at that early date, the Society's schools were receiving one half of the teachers' salaries from the government. This added revenue could explain how the Society could afford to supplement the school in Chatham. The idea of separate Negro schools soon fell from disfavour for in 1864 Howe reported, "There is a growing feeling on the part of the coloured people that they made a mistake in asking for separate schools, and a strong disposition is manifested to give them up . . ." 184

The Society's schools had never been exclusively black as reported by Mrs. Hotchkiss who had some white students attending. This integration may have been more due to a question of proximity than a question of the white parent's enlightened view. The township of Maidstone operated only two schools one, "In the village of Puce near the shore of Lake St. Clair and one at Pike Creek." 185 Both had been built in 1853, and both were a considerable distance from the Puce River area.

With the onset of the American Civil War, the Society's days became numbered. Sometime between 1861 and 1872 the Township of Maidstone must have taken over the

184 Op. Cit., p. 52.

185 Neil F. Morisson, Garden Gateway to Canada, p. 23.

control of the Edward C. Walker School on the Base Line Road next to the Puce River. This fact was officially recorded in Maidstone deed E1415 which in 1872, transferred that school to the Maidstone Board of Education. The only two contingencies the Society imposed were that school be continued for at least another ten years and a rent of \$1 be paid for the period. These conditions being satisfied then the ownership of the building and the one-quarter acre of land surrounding it would be the property of the Township of Maidstone. Further proof that this school was still in existence appeared in the Essex Record of 1875, when it published that one election post in Maidstone was at, "The School House at the Puce River." 186 This school was conceivably named S. S. No. 9. This supposition is based upon the fact that another S. S. No. 9 was built on the Puce Road across from the Baptist Church in 1913. Since country schools take on the name of their School Section, the original wooden structure is only one mile north from the brick edifice built later. Another factor is that a S. S. No. 9 existed as early as 1871 and 1872 as witnessed by the names of G. Hann and J. Alexander teaching there in those years. 187 Neither one of these buildings are being employed under the same circumstances under which they were built. The latter is now a house, while the former was bought by Albert Scott and converted into a tavern. Later it was remodelled into a grocery

186 Essex Record, Vol. I, No. 18, 19 March, 1875, p. 3, Col. 3.

187 Op. Cit., Vol. X, No. 620, 7 March, 1873, p. 3, Col. 3.

store but around 1930 the building was torn down and today the lot is vacant.

The other Negro children of the Society's settlers attended S. S. No. 3 at Pike's Creek. Some teachers in the 1870's were Julia King and Mary Ann Franklin (nee Hamilton), a Negro who appears to have been the daughter of Willis Hamilton an original settler on the Home. Mrs. Holland recalls that Mary Ann Franklin taught her mother during that decade and then her brother Willis Hamilton also taught at that school for a short period.

A description of the type of education these children received was written by Theodule Girardot, the Essex County inspector. His remarks were included in Ryerson's Annual Report for 1870. "All the schools in my division, with very few exceptions, are well provided with maps, tablets, time tables, programmes, etc." 188 Another distinguished Negro graduate, besides the Hamilton's, was Rosabelle Scott Molok, Mrs. Holland's aunt. Her dates as listed on her tombstone at the Puce Memorial Cemetery record her: born in 1873 and death in 1933. She was reported to have attended and graduated from the high school in Windsor. Unfortunately the corroboration of this fact through the Windsor Board of Education is impossible for the Board keeps no records prior to 1900. Evidence of

188 Ibid., Vol. I, No. 18, 19 March, 1875, p. 3, Col. 3.

Mrs. Molok's stature among her contemporaries is recorded in Pathfinders of Liberty and Truth, which named her as, "the first working President of the Amherstburg Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Association". 189

### Fraternal Organizations

The first such organization in the Essex County area appears to have been the True Bands recorded by Benjamin Drew in 1854. In his report the True Bands were defined as:

" . . . Those who are willing to work, can procure employment in a short time after their arrival, so that was specially needed, is such associations of friends at the different places where fugitives land, as will interest themselves in the coloured man, put him in the way of finding employment and extend to him such encouragement in the way of grants of land or otherwise as his altered circumstances may require." 190

The residents of the Home and other settlers in the vicinity had also organized a True Band. Little or nothing has been recorded or preserved by this group. Examining the goals of the group in Chatham, some insight might also be gained regarding the settlers in the Windsor area:

"A True Band is composed of colored persons of both sexes, associated for their own improvement. Its objects are manifold, mainly these: the members are to take a general interest in each other's welfare; to pursue such plans and objects as may be for their mutual advantage, . . . to break down all prejudice; to bring all churches

189 Pathfinders of Liberty and Truth, p. 89.

190 Benjamin Drew, A North-Side View of Slavery, p. 326.

as far as possible into one body, and not let minor differences divide them; to prevent litigation by referring all disputes among themselves to a committee, to stop the begging system entirely, . . . to raise such funds among themselves as may be necessary for the poor, the sick, and the destitute fugitive newly arrived; and to prepare themselves ultimately to bear their weight of political power." 191

To carry out these objectives they proposed to meet once a month, to hear suitable lectures and to pay dues which would be used to fund their various functions. It seems inconceivable that the settlers on the Home, who had just recently escaped from slavery and were barely eking out a subsistence while clearing their land could manage to pay any sum, no matter how minute, to support other fugitives. Other True Bands also suffered a short life due to the controversy which arose as to whether money obtained through begging, should be used to help alleviate the conditions of the newly arrived. Since the stoppage of begging had been one of the True Band's goal, the movement quickly ceased.

Another factor which may have quickened the demise of the Bands was the number of fraternal organizations that were initiated in Essex County at the same time. The first lodge the Masons, was manned mainly by the workers of the Great Western Railway in 1854. The Masonic order quickly further established itself in Amherstburg, Kingsville and Sandwich. Other orders were the Good Templars, the Orange

Lodge, and the Oddfellows. These lodges maintained many of the same goals as the True Bands. The Masons stated:

" . . . you must also consult your health, by not continuing together too late or too long from home after lodge hours are passed, and by avoiding of gluttony and drunkenness, that your family be not neglected or injured, nor you disabled from working. . . ." 192

The Oddfellow's purpose was the most akin to the True Band:

"The great aim of Oddfellowship was to assuage woe and alleviate distress in the human family to the fullest possible extent. . . . To aid widows educate the orphan, assist the poor, minister the sick and bury the dead. . . Its teachings were morality, charity, and love. . . The society was not an exclusive one (and) did not favor affiliation with the poor. Any man who bore a good moral character and was a believer in God was admitted." 193

The settlers of the Home were not quick to espouse anyone group. Two reasons were responsible. First, up until the mid 1860's few settlers had paid for their land, consequently all money and effort was devoted to that goal. Secondly, the Amherstburg Baptist Association in 1845 condemned,

"Secret and consequently irresponsible societies are necessarily a violation of the Divine Law of reciprocity, . . . and we solemnly advise all the churches composing this Association to immediately withdraw fellowship from any member that may hereafter connect with any such society, and being now a member of any secret society, shall persist in continuing in such connection." 194

192 Constitution of Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted of Canada, Thomas Bird Harris, Hamilton:1871, p. 13.

193 Essex Record, Vol. I, No. II, 29 January, 1875, p. 3, Col. 4.

194 Pathfinders of Liberty and Truth, p. 50.



In 1852, the Association was more blunt, "We recommend to all the Churches of this Association to have no fellowship with any person who is connected with Free Masons, Odd Fellows, or any other secret society." 195 This edict from the Association was followed for recruitment from the Home settlers was extremely slow. The Honourable Schuyler Colfax, one of the pillars of the American Oddfellowship acknowledged this opposition, but added that, "The secrets of the order were not designed to cover up anything bad, they were intended solely to be a means of recognition, and a protection in time of peril if such should arise." 196 Slowly a re-approachment between the Church and the fraternal organizations took place. The settlers of the Refugee Home Society established an Odd-fellow's Hall at the second house from the corner of the Puce Road and Base Line Road. Mrs. Holland joined the female counterpart of the Oddfellows called the Daughters of Rebecca. The particular chapter she belonged to was named the Grand United Order of the House of Ruth 1172. So secretive were these societies that even though both Mrs. Holland's father and husband belonged to the Order she could never find out the name or number of the men's chapter. Perhaps the most effective pronouncement of how serious the Church opposition had been was articulated by Mrs. Jones. Even though her mother and sister had joined

195 Minutes of Amherstburg Baptist Association, p. 242.

196 Essex Record, Vol. I, No. II, 29 January, 1875, p. 3, Col. 4.

the sorority she spurned the organization, "Wanting no part of secret societies."

In conclusion the Negroes which settled on the lands of the Refugee Home Society with some exceptions can be generally described as hard working, industrious, and displaying quite a flair for adaptability. The most obvious circumstance to which they adapted was the severe climatic condition, which was foreign in the Southern States. In the economic vein, their adaptive skills again were prominent. They shifted from agricultural workers guided by their overseers, to farmers and property owners growing a multiplicity of crops such as wheat, flax, corn, tobacco, and potatoes. Judging by their adherence to temperance, the abstinence from tobacco, their quest for spiritual understanding, and their enthusiasm to aid fellow fugitives and later the downtrodden, they displayed a reverence not only for God, but also for their fellow man.

REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY: ITS ORIGINS,

OPERATION AND RESULTS 1871-1876

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Perhaps no other Negro colonization scheme in Canada has received as much negative criticism as the Refugee Home Society. Much of this criticism has been the direct result of conclusions drawn from statements published in the Provincial Freeman by Mary Ann Shadd Cary. In the light of the new evidence which has come to light, the trust placed in Mrs. Cary's editorials was unwarranted, consequently conclusions drawn from her allegations and accusations need re-evaluation.

Initially, the Freeman maintained that the Elgin Association was a resounding success. Since the Refugee Home Society was patterned after that association, then whatever success the measures that they had emulated had achieved at from Buxton, that same success should have been equally applicable in Maidstone, any such comparison was emphatically rejected by Mrs. Cary. She concluded that, "It is an insult to the Elgin Settlement to be put in such a degrading juxtaposition -- for the Home is clearly sought to be introduced into favourable notice by the association,..."<sup>197</sup> Mrs. Cary's assessment was incorrect for Reverend King told Howe in 1864:

"I formed an association, in order to secure all this land, if they failed to purchase it themselves, because I knew

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<sup>197</sup> Donald Simpson, The Negroes In Ontario, p. 625

speculator would come in and buy it if I did not take that precaution.

"...I had an anti-alienation clause inserted in deeds, so that these people could not transfer their land to a white man until they had been here for ten years. That has kept them a compact body, so that the political power they will have will protect them." 198 These reasons for the ten year waiting period for the transfer of land were almost identical to the ones stated by the Refugee Home Society. Both Pease and Simpson accepted the parallel but they pointed out weaknesses in the Society not evident at Buxton. Pease stated that since, "...contiguous and compact land purchases (were) impossible. Therefore much of the unity of the usual organized Negro community, dependent as it was upon physical isolation was lost." 199 Simpson regarded this lack of cohesion as a deterrent for, "The development of self-government along the lines of the Elgin settlement was impossible." 200 He had added further that the Refugee Home Society lacked the "leadership which King, Stanger, Abott, Day and others provided at Elgin." 201 Simpson added,

"Was benevolent paternalism or education for self-reliance the best long-range solution for the Negro settlers? Were these concepts necessarily incompatible? The experiment of the Refugee Home Society offered no definite answer to these questions." 202

Examining first King's contentions that speculators would take the land from the ignorant Negroes, there were many instances of dishonest citizens deceiving the poor fugitive. The Refugee Home Society concurred with this point, yet Miss Shadd attacked them on the ground that if a Negro could purchase and pay for his land then he should

198 Samuel G. Howe, Refugees In Canada West, p. 108.

199 William Pease, Black Utopia, p. 114.

200 Donald Simpson, Negroes In Ontario, p. 626.

201 Op. Cit., p. 625.

202 Ibid., p. 626.

dispose of it as he saw fit. Reverend King's second contention that a compact community has more political power seems faulty. A Negro vote, in any given geographical area, we think would have the same legal power whether the voter's neighbour was black or white. The Refugee Home Society rejected the idea of a compact community for the higher goal of racial integration. This decision we believe should be applauded not condemned.

There appears to be no evidence that the Society thought the goal of paternalistic benevolence was worthy of emulation. Unlike Buxton, there was no resident agent living on the land. Reverend Foote emphatically corrected Dennis Washington that he was no white overseer! He wanted the people to be free. It appears clear that from the outset the goal had been of intergration between the two races, while stressing industry and self-dependence. The goal of education had always been a prime consideration of the Society and Foote cajoled both the parents and teachers in an effort to combat the poor attitude many Negroes maintained regarding education. The wisdom of such thinking was immediately evidenced by the democracy arising from the Negro and white working side by side at harvest time. Educationally the integration of first the public school and later Mrs. Hotchkiss' school, although the number was small, nevertheless provided for a smoother transition when full integration was possible. Howe as early as 1864 stated that such was the wisest course:

"The Negroes, going into an inhabited and civilized country should not be systematically congregated into communities.... Experience shows that they do best when scattered about, and forming a small proportion of the whole community.. The discipline of the colonies, though it only subjects the

Negroes to what is considered useful apprenticeship, does prolong a dependence which amounts almost to servitude, and does not convert them so surely into hardy, self-reliant men, as the rude struggle with actual difficulties, which they themselves have to face, and to overcome, instead of doing so through an agent." 203

Pease and Simpson both accepted Mrs. Cary's report of the litigation. Pease concluded:

"Finally, reported Hotchkiss again, many Negroes were behind in their payments, a condition which provoked the Refugee Home Society to bring suit against "certain poor settlers" to compel payment. The settlers won the case, however, on the "ground that as the purchase money for the land was begged in the name of the fugitives, they are entitled to the land without prayment" 204

Simpson concluded that since this dispute became a legal case then a Court of Arbitration, such as existed at Buxton, was non-existent at the Home. Winks assessed that the Society unwisely used the legal system to seek redress instead of using their own arbitrary procedures. Pease's comments regarding Hotchkiss' alleged remarks, and the case against certain poor settlers who could not meet their payments, and the verdict of the case, are all errors based upon Mrs. Cary's inaccuracy. The Society's Home Council was powerless over Wilson who was not a Society member. Secondly the Society was confronted by a de facto legal deed duly registered, only a decision from a court of law could reverse such an action.

The ~~Society~~ did indeed have a Court of Arbitration. It was called the Home Council and as in the case of Dennis Washington it was used frequently. Again the Society's plan

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203 Howe, Refugees In Canada West, p. 69  
 204 Pease, Black Utopia, p. 114

for self-dependence and self-education were evident. The Society's representative had no more voting power than a settler, in both instances a Negro settler chaired the proceedings. Since each time it was a different settler one could conclude that such was the plan. In the second hearing of Dennis Washington it becomes clear that the settlers could call and decide a meeting whether a Society representative was present or not. That decision appeared binding as Washington reported in the Provincial Freeman. Further evidence of the existence and the usage of the Home Council was provided by Henry Coleman. He claimed to be one of the original Society members. To corroborate his claim he recalled, "...The land was divided into lots of twenty acres, which were parcelled among different families, and the affairs of the settlement were looked after by a society including, a few of the more intelligent fugitives." 205

Henry Coleman wanted to plow over the cemetery land and proceed to farm it but since he received no deed from the Society his claim was questionable. His neighbours disagreed both with his logic and his planned usage of the land and legal proceedings ensued. No record of the case was printed but judging by his claim and that all the cemeteries are still extant, then his case was probably in vain.

The last conclusion based upon Mrs. Cary's columns was her claim that the Home's settlers were poorly screened and largely riff-raff. Jones echoed these sentiments to Benjamin Drew:

". . . The men who have settled there, have been a

bother to the society. As they were dependent. Smart men would not go, and it has been occupied by men who expected aid from the other side." 206

Simpson concluded that, "the land policies of the Society excluded many fine Negroes from settling there and providing the settlement with its own internal dynamics" 207

Regarding Thomas Jones' assessment of the settlers, if smart men would not go there, then why was the Society condemned for excluding free born Negroes? Secondly in 1854, Jones saw the settlers after their recent escape from slavery. By definition they would be in a poorer economical, educational, and social position than the free born or the residents who had lived there for any period of time. Since the Society had no screening process other than the criteria that the fugitive by escaping from Southern slavery, there is no doubt that among its members some were idlers and shiftless. Simpson's contention that since free born Negroes were excluded then the Home was deprived of internal dynamics, is correct; however among the free born would also be found a group of idlers and skulkers. In any given segment of any given society a diverse range of personalities are present ranging from highly desirous attitudes, to highly rejected ones. The Home realized this range but their goal was aid to those who needed it the most. As Holly stated "aid for all was utopian." Simpson's contention that internal dynamics were missing was undoubtedly evident at the beginning. The free born would have brought capital and knowhow based upon experience. Conversely however,

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206 Benjamin Drew, A North-Side View of Slavery, p. 327.  
207 Donald Simpson, Negroes In Ontario, p. 625.



an internal caste system could just as easily have been created between the haves and have not, which would have been equally injurious to internal harmony. Another advantage of the equality of the settlers was that since there was not an elitist group present than authority and responsibility could be shared by all. The workings of the Home Council would seem to verify this procedure.

The Society was responsible for many tangible results for which it has not been accorded credit. There is no dispute that the members were active and influential conductors in the Underground Railway of Michigan. They aided countless hundreds, feeding, clothing, hiding, and finally ferrying them across the Detroit River to Canada. Once on this side of the border indiscriminate aid was proved to facilitate the adjustment from slave to free, from dependence to independence. This work was of utmost importance and their efforts could compare favourably with any other organization so conceived.

The Refugee Home Society purchased 2372 acres of land and settled at least 65 families. This represented a population of at least 250 residing on the Home. Many others were afforded their initial start in Canada, by reselling their land to the Society. Whatever value their improvements were deemed worth, would provide them with funds to relocate elsewhere. Many of the Home settlers became much larger proprietors and became respected civic leaders within the community. Others unable

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to satisfy land purchase conditions due to adverse circumstances, such as Sarah Ann Cook, and Lewis J. Carter became land owners largely because of the generosity and benevolence of the Society.

The Society with the aid of the A.M.A. operated two schools and supplemented another in Chatham. They also donated the land for three Churches and two cemeteries. Both measures were intended to provide for the fugitives' immediate intellectual and spiritual needs. No doubt the refugees would have in time provided themselves with these services, but as seen in the case of education that opportunity was distant in the future. Reverend Whipple in 1861, assessed the Refugee Home Society's true value when he described the conditions the fugitives encountered upon their arrival:

"They met there much of the same prejudice that had made their lives so bitter in the United States, and in one place we learned that the community gravely voted neither to furnish the fugitives with work, nor supply their wants, either by giving or selling them anything." 208

Perhaps the Society's function could be paralleled to a modern day employment agency. They provided the land which afforded the settler an opportunity for any type of living he chose to pursue.

Despite these positive results the Refugee Home Society was a failure. First their goal of 50,000 acres and \$100,000 was grandiose and utopian. Even at that early date it seemed conceivable that considering the difficulty in acquiring the funds for the first land purchase of \$610, their goal was

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208 American Missionary, Vol. V, No. 3, March 1861, p. 56.

impossible. Secondly such an amount of land would settle 2,000 families representing a total of 8,000 settlers. Such a number of families would be difficult to recruit even if conditions were ideal. A number of reasons existed why many fugitives rejected farming. Many fugitives associated farming with their lives in slavery, they naturally revolted at any link with their unhappy past. Many awaited the day they could return to the United States. Howe reported "...They earnestly desire to go to the southern region of the United States, partly from love of warmth, but more from love of home." <sup>209</sup> A settlement that could not be sold until 15 years after the date of purchase was an unwelcomed burden by this group. The Windsor area because of its proximity to the American frontier was undesirable, for some bold bounty hunters were reported as far as Chatham attempting to deceive unsuspecting Negroes back into the clutches of slavery. Many fugitives such as Ellen Wilson of Farmington came to Canada only for the three years necessary to acquire British Citizenship. "They then moved back to the States secure that as British subjects they could not legally be returned to slavery." <sup>210</sup> This group also would not seek employment by farming. Finally Mrs. Holland believed that farming did not appeal to some fugitives especially the ones with teenage children. "When the youngsters grew up, there was no employment in the country, the sons did not want to farm, so

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209 Howe, Refugees In Canada West, p.8.  
 210 Carol Davidson, "Farmington Quakers Sheltered Slaves," Farmington Observer, 22 July, 1970, Farmington History File, Farmington Library, Farmington, Michigan. p.2.

they sold the farms and moved to the city." Some fugitives may have had the foresight to see this development, consequently they never moved on to the land.

Some potential settlers were also discouraged by the Society's land policies. The revision of the land clearing period from three to two years caused their credibility to suffer. Samuel Ward's suggestion that the non-transferral clause be only until the land was paid for, was a wise proposal. No doubt some attempt would be made to deceive the settler, but for this contingency legal advice could have been made available to the settler. If this advice was rejected then the Society was clear of any responsibility. If these fugitives were free then the ultimate decision, right or wrong, had to be theirs. Even if the Society had enacted these provisions, the project was still doomed however. Howe assessed the whole colonization movement in Canada:

"Taken as a whole, the colonists have cost somebody a great deal of money, and a great deal of effort; and they have not succeeded so well as many who have been thrown entirely upon their own resources. . . it is just to say that some intelligent persons, friends of the coloured people, and familiar with their conditions, believe that in none of the colonies, not even in Buxton, do they succeed so well, upon the whole, as those who are thrown entirely upon their own resources." 211

As a final conclusion, we believe that the Refugee Home Society, despite considerable personal risk and inconvenience to its members, provided relief and aid to the fugitives on their route to freedom, for this noble action

their work is commendable and praiseworthy. Their colonization scheme can be most fairly assessed by a quote by Benjamin Drew from the second report of the Canada Anti-Slavery Society 1853, "There is doubtless a better state of things amongst the fugitives, than existed at the time when such a plan was proposed."<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Benjamin Drew, A North-Side of Slavery, p. 325.

INTERVIEWS

Chauvin, F., 24 August, 1973.

His farm is adjacent to the abandoned British Methodist Episcopal Church and cemetery on Highway 42. His sons found the abandoned area in 1962. His residence is on Highway 42  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile east of Puce Road.

Holland, Florence May, 8 July, 1973, 24 August, 1973.

Provided invaluable material regarding the families in Maidstone, social and educational conditions of the period, and the Odd Fellow's Lodge. She resides at 1333 Goyeau Street, Windsor, Ontario.

Jones, Genevieve A., 12 July, 1973.

This material was basically a corroboration of Mrs. Holland's evidence. Her opposition to fraternal organizations did provide a different view point of that group in contemporary Negro opinion. She resides at the Beacon Lodge, Windsor, Ontario.

Walls, L., 19 March, 1973.

Living and farming on the original tract his great grandfather John Walls purchased, he provided valuable information regarding his ancestors and also allowed this researcher to see and study the private Wall's cemetery. His residence is on Sixth Concession Road, Maidstone, Ontario.

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APPENDIX A

Refugee Home Society-Land Purchases in the Township of Maidstone (following the same numbering system as appearing on Land Purchases and Land Distribution recorded on the next pages)

4.4 Oct. 1852, Lot 17 Concession 9, 200 acs.

5.27 Nov. 1852, Lot 9 South Half of East Pike Creek, 100 acs.

6.1 Feb. 1853, Lot 13 Concession 5, 200 acs.

7.25 Jan. 1853, Lot 14 Concession 5, 158 acs.

8.22 Mar. 1853, Lot 7 East Side of Puce River, 250 acs.

9.7 Nov. 1854, Lot 7 East Side of Puce River, 40 acs.

10.1 Feb. 1853, Lots 11 and 12, Concession 2, 275 acs.

11.7 Nov. 1854, Lot 12, Concession 2, 50 acs.

12.17 June 1854, Lot 11, Concession 5, 153 acs.

13.22 Mar. 1853, Lot 11, Concession 4, 152

14.1 Feb. 1853, Lot 14, Concession 2, 150 acs.

15.1 Apr. 1856, Lot 7, South Half of West Puce River, 75 acs.

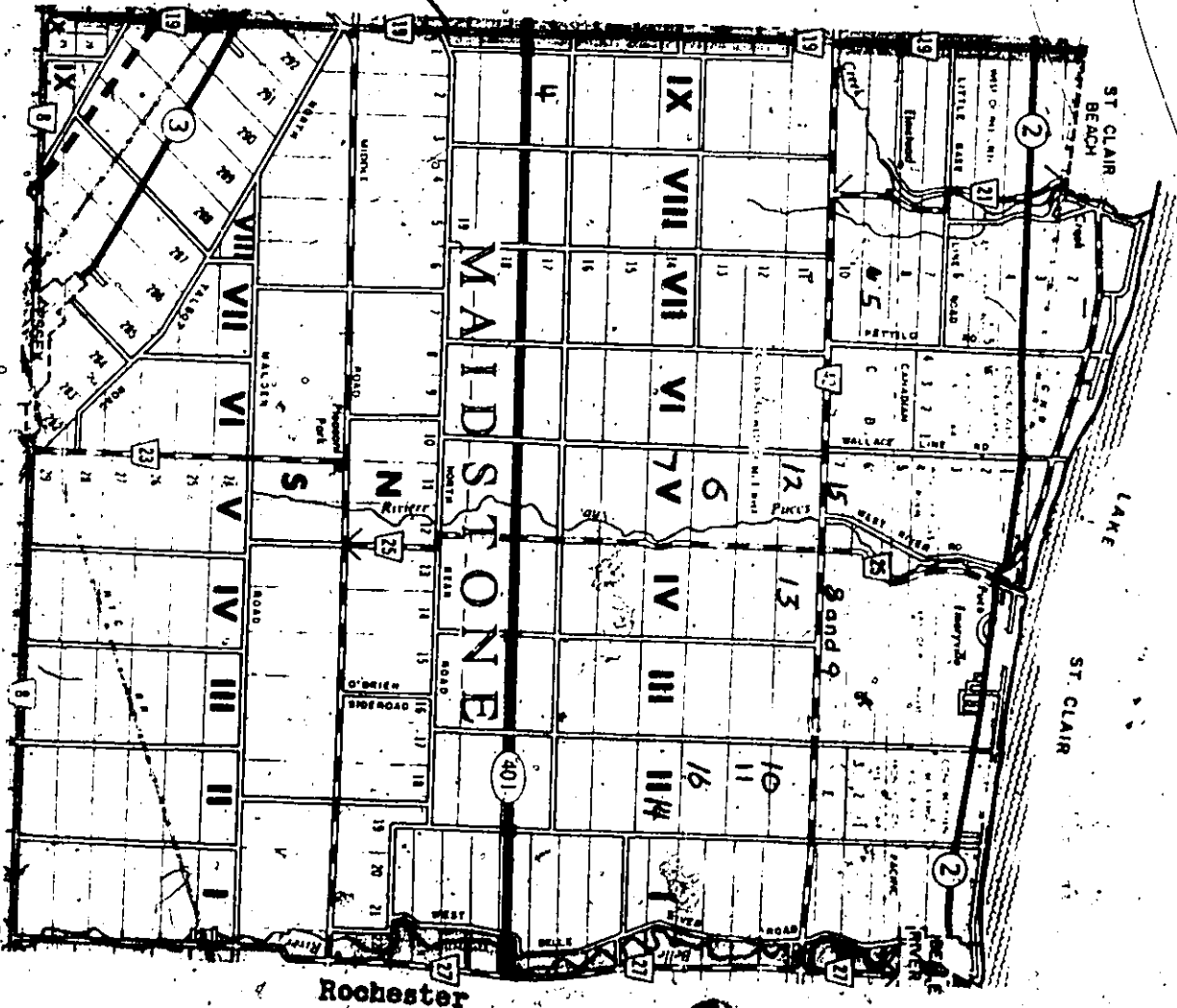
16.26 May 1856, Lot 13 Concession 2, 200 acs.

\* Purchases 1 - 3 are located in

Sandwich East therefore do not appear on this map.

Sandwich South

Town Of Tecumseh



APPENDIX B

Record of Land Purchases and Land Distribution by the Refugee Home Society to its Settlers - listed primarily according to chronological order but where applicable according to locality.

1. 8 July, 1852, Lucy Denise Bouchette sold 200 acres to Henry Bibb and George Cary, trustees, consisting of the Northern part of lots 125 and 126 on Concession 3 in Sandwich East, costing ~~150~~ (\$610.00), recorded as Instrument Number: Sandwich Book B392.  
27 January, 1853, George Cary and Henry Bibb transferred the title from themselves to Horace Hallock and Edward C. Walker, trustees of the Refugee Home Society, (Sandwich C153).
2. 27 January, 1853, Michael Martin sold 20 acres approximately, consisting of parts of lots 126 and 127 on Concession 3, costing ~~30~~ (\$120.00), (SB 562).

LAND DISTRIBUTION:

<u>Instru- ment Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of Acres</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Location</u>
SD 979	Thomas Coombs	20 Nov. 1860	20 acs.	\$75	pt. of lots 125-6
SEE 13	Labin Collins	26 Dec. 1860	20 acs.	\$60	pt. of lots 125-6
SEE 57	John Martin	18 Sept. 1861	22 acs.	\$75	pt. of lots 125-6
SEE 68	Jessie Stone's	12 Oct. 1861	20 acs.	\$75	pt. of lots 125-6
SEg132	Sarah Ann Cook	30 Oct. 1862	12 acs.	\$2	pt. of lots 125-6

<u>Instru- ment Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of Acres</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Location</u>
SE <sub>E</sub> 167	Allen Johnson	10 Mar. 1863	25 acs.	\$80	pt. of lots 125-6
SE <sub>E</sub> 168	Henry Cooper	10 Mar. 1863	29 acs.	\$85	pt. of lots 125-6
SE <sub>E</sub> 188	Granville White	4 May 1863	25 acs.	\$90	pt. of lots 125-6
SE <sub>E</sub> 231	Labin Collins	27 Oct. 1863	25 acs.	\$150	pt. of lots 125-6
Sc1124	John L. Smith	29 Apr. 1865	25 acs.	\$125	pt. of lots 125-6
SI1750	Joseph Dupratt	3 Nov. 1874	2 acs.	\$1	pt. of lots 125-6

3. 4 October, 1852, James Dougall and wife sold 150 acres approximately, consisting of parts of lots 119 and 120 on Concession 3 in Sandwich East, and 200 acres consisting of lot 17 on Concession 9 of Sandwich South, costing £193.3 (\$773), (SB434)

4. 2 January, 1863, the Society sold to Edmund Brown lot 119 for \$90 and lot 120 for \$400, which comprised an aggregate total of \$490. (SE<sub>E</sub>154).

DISTRIBUTION OF LOT 17 CONCESSION 9

SD 659	Alfred Thomas	8 Dec. 1857	25 acs.	\$70	pt. of lot 17
SE <sub>E</sub> 318	Washington Smith	4 Oct. 1862	25 acs.	\$85	" " " "
SE <sub>E</sub> 416	Lewis Paine	22 Jan. 1863	25 acs.	\$75	" " " "
SE <sub>E</sub> 346	James McFarland	21 Nov. 1864	25 acs.	\$150	" " " "
SE <sub>E</sub> 666	Edwin Stoward	28 Mar. 1865	25 acs.	\$100	" " " "
SE <sub>E</sub> 161	Lewis Paine	28 Apr. 1865	25 acs.	\$125	" " " "
SE <sub>E</sub> 665	William D. Gillespie	18 July 1867	25 acs.	\$90	" " " "
SE <sub>E</sub> 1124	James McFarland	1 Dec. 1870	25 acs.	\$150	" " " "

5. 27 November, 1852, Denis Oullette sold 100 acres consisting of part of the South half of Lot 9 on the East side of Pike Creek (River Aux Peches), costing  $\text{£}41.5$  (\$166), (Maidstone A277).

Mc 729	William Laurie	25 Sept. 1866	76 acs.	\$300	pt. of lot 9
Mc 861	Alexander L. Jones Esq.	25 Sept. 1866	24 acs.	\$25	pt. of lot 9

6. 1 February, 1853, Alonzo Reid (Reed) and wife, John McAlister and wife, and Eldridge Merrick, sold 200 acres consisting of lot 13 Concession 5 in Maidstone, costing approximately  $\text{£}40$  (Maidstone A203).

MB 237	John Miller	12 Sept. 1860	25 acs.	\$75	pt. of lot 13
MB 368	John Walls	12 Feb. 1862	25 acs.	\$75	" 13
MB 503	Alexander Woods	28 May 1867	25 acs.	\$155	" "
MD1336	Golson W. Canada(y)	8 May 1867	50 acs.	\$175	" "
MC 913	William Hows	2 Mar. 1868	25 acs.	\$75	" "
MD1334	G. W. Glenn	18 Sept. 1871	40 acs.	\$175	" "
MH2609	G. W. Canaday	15 Sept. 1871	30 acs.	\$150	" "
MD1333	R. H. S. on 16 Sept., 1871, purchased 20 acres from G. W. Canaday costing \$100.				

7. 25 January, 1853, Alonzo Reid and wife sold 158 acres consisting of lot No. 14 Concession 5 in Maidstone, costing  $\text{£}98.15$  (\$393.00), (Maidstone A204).



MB 228	Benjamin Gooden	16 Apr. 1859	25 acs. \$75	pt. of lot 1 <sup>1/2</sup> con. 5
MC 930	John Jackson	12 Feb. 1862	25 acs. \$75	" "
ME1673	James Shye	10 June 1865	28 acs. \$120	" "
MC 725	John Walls	14 June 1866	25 acs. \$150	" "
MD1180	Hauceford G. Monroe	1 Oct. 1870	25 acs. \$75	" "

8. 22 March, 1853, Alonzo Reid and wife sold 250 acres, consisting of part of lot 7 on the East Side of the Puce River, costing \$575 approximately, (Maidstone A216).

9. 7 November, 1854, Thomas Brock Fuller and wife sold 40 acres, consisting of part of lot 7 on the East Side of the Puce River costing ~~548~~ (\$219), (Maidstone A307).

MB 281	David Hotchkiss	15 Dec. 1858	40 acs- \$140	pt. of lot 7 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ acre reserved for a cemetery)
MC 584	John Ward	20 Apr. 1865	13 acs. \$150	pt. of lot 7
MC 698	John Ward	14 June 1865	10 acs. \$75	" "
MC 806	George Harris	17 July 1866	25 acs. \$130	" "
MC 816	Edward Graves	1 Aug. 1867	12 acs. \$36	" "
MC 817	American Missionary	1 Aug. 1867	20 acs. \$1	" "
ME1526	Association-A.M.A. resold land to the Society for \$195, on 16 Jan. 1872.			
MC 129	George Washington	2 Mar. 1868	25 acs. \$75	pt. of lot 7
MC 887	James R. Williams	30 Apr. 1868	25 acs. \$50	" "
MD1105	Isaac Taylor	3 Mar. 1870	25 acs. \$75	" "
MD1335	James Henry Holland	18 Sept. 1871	10 acs. \$10	" "
MD1337	Daniel Hurst	18 Sept. 1871	20 acs. \$20	" "

M <sub>E</sub> 1433	Willis J. Hamilton,	1 Apr. 1871	25 acs.	\$125	pt. of lot 7		
M <sub>E</sub> 1415	E. C. Walker School	16 Oct. 1871	$\frac{1}{4}$ acs.	(donated on provision of \$1 rent for ten years and that building to remain a school for that period).			
M <sub>E</sub> 1503	George Glenn, Henry Franklin, Golson W. Canaday-trustees of British Methodist Episcopal Church	6 June 1872	$\frac{1}{2}$ ac.	\$1	"	"	
M <sub>E</sub> 1571	Daniel Hurst	30 July 1872	12 acs.	\$40	"	"	
M <sub>E</sub> 1609	James H. Holland	8 Feb. 1872	9 acs.	\$50	"	"	
M <sub>F</sub> 2004	Daniel Hurst	19 Feb. 1875	25 acs.	\$80	"	"	
M <sub>F</sub> 2150	Joseph Green	6 Jan. 1876	9 acs.	\$50	"	"	

10. 1 February 1853, Alonzo Reid and wife sold 275 acres, consisting of parts of lots 11 and 12 Concession 2 of Maidstone, costing \$632.50, (Maidstone A233).

11. 7 November, 1854, Thomas Brock Fuller and wife sold 50 acres consisting of part of lot 12 Concession 2, costing ~~£~~ 68.5 (\$274), (Maidstone A307).

M <sub>B</sub> 580	Thomas Cook	8 Mar. 1865	25 acs.	\$55	pt. of lot 11		
M <sub>C</sub> 747	Mrs. Margaret More and four heirs	20 Dec. 1866	25 acs.	\$75	"	"	
M <sub>C</sub> 936	Richard A. Coleman	2 Mar. 1868	S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ of $E\frac{1}{2}$ incl. $E\frac{1}{2}$ (137 acs)	\$400	pt. of lot 11		
M <sub>C</sub> 937	Silas Green	10 Nov. 1868	23 acs.	\$75	pt. of lot 11		
M <sub>E</sub> 2185	Oakley Richardson	2 Mar. 1876	21 acs.	\$90	"	"	
M <sub>C</sub> 605	Jacob Johnson	1 Nov. 1865	25 acs.	\$75	pt. of lot 12 Con. 2		
M <sub>C</sub> 604	Absalom Revels	6 Dec. 1865	25 acs.	\$50	"	"	
M <sub>D</sub> 1082	Joseph G. Alexander	8 Nov. 1866	25 acs.	\$75	"	"	
M <sub>C</sub> 869	Robert B. Johnson	24 Mar. 1868	25 acs.	\$125	"	"	

12. 12 June, 1854, James McGill Desrivieres sold approximately 153 acres, consisting of part of lot 11 Concession 5, costing ~~£~~ 114.15 (\$456), (Maidstone A283).

M <sub>B</sub> 235	Benjamin Gray	4 Oct. 1859	25 acs.	\$75	pt. of lot 11 Con. 5
M <sub>C</sub> 691	Manuel Eaton	21 Dec. 1866	25 acs.	\$75	" " "
M <sub>D</sub> 1130	J. B. Holliday	20 Feb. 1869	25 acs.	\$50	" " "
M <sub>F</sub> 1862	William Tolover	2 Sept. 1872	20 acs.	\$100	" " "
M <sub>E</sub> 1552	William Tolover	1 May 1874	20 acs.	\$100	" " "
M <sub>F</sub> 2043	George Glenn (transaction transpired June 1867-original cost uncertain)	12 April 1875	10 acs.	\$1	" " "
M <sub>D</sub> 1346	Lewis J. Carter	24 Oct. 1871	20 acs.	\$1	

13. 22 March, 1853, Alonzo Reid and wife sold 152 acres consisting of part of lot 11 Concession 4, costing approximately \$350, (Maidstone A216).

M <sub>B</sub> 438	John Ward	22 May 1863	25 acs.	\$75	pt. of lot 11 Con. 4
M <sub>B</sub> 482	Lewis Lucas	21 Dec. 1863	25 acs.	\$75	" " "
M <sub>C</sub> 683	Anne Walker	8 June 1866	24 $\frac{1}{2}$ acs.	\$25	" " "
M <sub>D</sub> 1347	Alexander Tivis	24 Oct. 1871	53 acs.	\$225	" " "
M <sub>H</sub> 2631	Thomas Lucas	15 June 1878	25 acs.	\$75	" " "
M <sub>H</sub> 2968	John Walls, Matthew Walls, Benjamin Gray-trustees of Baptist Church.	10 May 1879	$\frac{1}{4}$ ac.	\$50	" " "

14. 1 February, 1853, Alonzo Reid and wife sold 150 acres, consisting of part of lot 14 Concession 2, costing approximately \$345, (Maidstone B333).

MD 969	Samuel Monamus	2 Jan. 1869	25 acs.	\$75	pt. of lot 14, Con. 2
MD1117	Edward Walsh	13 Dec. 1869	50 acs.	\$165	" " "
MD1153	Charles A. Warren	1 July 1870	50 acs.	\$150	" " "
ME1145	Edward Walsh	1 Mar. 1872	25 acs.	\$100	" " "

The whole Reid package cost ~~£~~702.376 for 1185 acres.

The figures shown are approximate \$2.30 an acre.

15. 1 April 1856, James McGill Desrivieres sold 75 acres, consisting of part of lot 7 West Side of Puce River (River aux Puces), costing 30 (\$120), (Maidstone).

MC 928	Noah Graves	29 April 1865	25 acs.	\$75	pt. of lot 17
MC 805	John W. N. Glenn	9 May 1867	25 acs.	\$75	" " "

16. 26 May, 1856, Mary E. Bibb sold 200 acres consisting of lot 13 Concession 2, costing 100 (\$400), (Maidstone A57).

MA 97	Israel Hooker	8 Dec. 1865	50 acs.	\$140	pt. of lot 13, Con. 2
MA 98	Lewis Jackson	8 Dec. 1865	25 acs.	\$70	" " "
MC 827	John G. Black	7 Aug. 1867	75 acs.	\$262.50	" " "
MD1182	John G. Black	10 Sept. 1870	25 acs.	\$87.50	" " "
ME11463	Joseph O'Briant selling 25 acres to George Washington				

22 February 1872 for \$145. No deed was registered for Joseph O'Briant although he must have bought the land from the Society for his purchase represents the missing 25 acres.

TOTAL LAND PURCHASED: 2372 ACRES APPROXIMATELY

TOTAL COST: \$5075 APPROXIMATELY.

## APPENDIX C

### THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REFUGEE HOME SOCIETY

On the 21 May, 1851, Henry Bibb, Reverend Charles C. Foote, and Reverend A. N. McConoughey were appointed to draw up a constitution. On 29 January, 1852, they presented the following constitution at the Farmington Convention. The Constitution and the above information was recorded in the Voice of the Fugitive, 12 February, 1852, Volume II, Number 4, p. 1.

. . . Whereas it is supposed that there are, at the present time, between thirty-five and forty thousand refugee slaves in Canada, whose number has been constantly increasing since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

And whereas, on their arrival, they find themselves in a strange land, uneducated, poverty stricken, without homes, or any permanent means of self-support, however willing they may be to work, with no land to work upon; and the sad story of the numerous fugitives who have been dragged back into perpetual slavery by the strong arm of the American Government, is a sufficient proof that there is no protection for the slave this side of the Canadian line. . . . The only protection for their liberty on the American Continent is emphatically under the shadow of the British throne.

In view of the above facts, the friends of humanity in Michigan in May 1851, organized a society which has undertaken the purchase of 50,000 acres of farming land, in Canada, on which to settle refugees from slavery.

This society would therefore represent to the refugees from Southern slavery, who are now in Canada destitute of homes, or who may be hereafter come, being desirous of building themselves up in Canada, on an agricultural basis, and who do not buy, sell or use intoxicating drinks as a beverage shall, by making proper application to this society, and complying with its constitution and by-laws, be put into possession of 25 acres of farming land, and their children shall enjoy the blessings of education perpetually.

The following Constitution and By-Laws have been ordained and established by the Society, for the government of their future action.

#### CONSTITUTION

Article 1. The title of the society shall be known as the Refugee's Home.

Article 2. The object of the society shall be to obtain permanent homes for the Refugees in Canada, and to promote their moral, social, physical, intellectual, and political elevation.

Article 3. The officers of this Society shall consist of President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of at least five persons, two of whom shall constitute a board of trust.

Article 4. It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to record in full the proceedings of the Society's meetings in a book provided by the Secretary for that purpose, and to do much other business as usually devolves on such officers.

Article 6. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to correspond for the Society with other kindred societies, and private individuals who are interested in our cause, and to preserve and report such communications to the Society.

Article 7. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to receive and deposit all funds collected for the Refugees' Home in the Savings Bank of Detroit, to the Credit of the Executive Committee, no part of which shall be drawn therefrom except it be by an order which shall be signed by at least three of the Executive Committee.

Article 8. It shall be the duty of the Board of Trust to hold property for the Society, and to deed the same to settlers thereon, when directed so to do by the Executive Committee.

Article 9. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer, and of all the agents who collect funds for the Society, to report the result of their collection in detail, at least once in every month, through the Society's organ.

Article 10. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to appoint agents to collect funds and to transact all other necessary business for the society, and to have a written annual report for the Society, in which its pecuniary and business transactions, shall be fully set forth and published to the world.

Article 11. The Society shall not deed land to any but actual settlers who are refugees from Southern slavery, and who are the owners of no land.

Article 12. All lands purchased by this Society shall be divided into 25 acre lots, or as near as possible, and at least one-tenth of the purchase price of which shall be paid down by settlers before possession is given, and the balance to be paid in eight annual instalments.

Article 13. One-third of all money paid in land by settlers shall be used for educational purposes for the benefit of said settlers' children, and the other two-thirds for the purchase of more land for the same object, while chattel slavery exists in the United States.

Article 14. Any person can become a life-member of the society by paying into its treasury, at one time, the sum of \$5.

Article 15. No land bought by individuals from the society shall be sold or transferred by them to any other person or persons, except it be to their heirs, the wife, the husband, or children, as the case may be, otherwise it shall fall back to the Society.



Article 16. This Society shall meet for the transaction of business at least twice per year, and extra meetings may be called by the Executive Committee, if the business of the Society should require it.

Article 17. When a settlement under the supervision of this Society shall increase to as many as six families or more they shall erect a school for the instruction of their children.

Article 18. Any society may become auxiliary to this society, by contributing to the funds of the parent institution.

Article 19. This Constitution may be altered or amended by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of its members present, if due notice shall be given for such alteration or amendment, three months previous to its being voted upon.

#### BY-LAWS

Article 1. No person shall receive more than five acres of land from the Society at less than cost.

Article 2. No person shall be entitled to a free grant of land from this Society, except they are widows, men with families, or aged persons; and in all cases they shall clear off that portion of the land which the Society proposes to deed them free of cost, within two years, from the time they enter it, unless prevented by casualties, otherwise they shall pay the society for it just what it costs.

Article 3. This society shall be under no obligation to hold in reserve any lot for those who shall not have settled on it, or commenced improvements within three months from the day they make the first payment.

Article 4. No person shall be allowed to remove any timber from the said land until they have first made payment thereon.

Article 5. All matters of difficulty arising among the settlers on said land, where the laws are violated which are intended to regulate the settlement, shall be left to arbitration with the Executive Committee, and by those decision the parties shall abide.

Article 6. All applications for lots of land shall be to the Executive Committee.

Article 7. No dwelling house can be erected on said land by settlers containing less than two rooms, nor shall they have chimnies of wood and clay, but of brick or stone.

Article 8. Any settler who shall wilfully violate the Constitution or By-Laws of this Society, shall forfeit and pay to the aggrieved party according to the nature of the offence, which shall be left to the decision of the Executive Committee, and if the same offence is repeated, the fine shall be doubled; and repeated the third time, the offender shall be expelled from the settlement or said lot of land, receiving such compensation as the Executive Committee shall decide his improvements entitle him to.

A revised Constitution appeared in the Voice of the Fugitive, 9 September, 1852, Volume II, Number 19, p. 1. The society had met in Detroit, to consider the first proposed constitution article by article, on May 5, 1852 and later met a second time on August 25 at the First Presbyterian Church, also in Detroit.

A number of revisions were accepted after several amendments and a full and lengthy discussion by Rev. C. C. Foote, Rev. S. R. Ward, Rev. S. A. Baker, Rev. A. N. McConoughey, Henry Bibb, H. Hallock, and others.

#### CONSTITUTION

Article 1. This Society shall be known as the Refugee's Home Society.

Article 2. The object of the Society, shall be to assist the refugees from American slavery; to obtain permanent homes in Canada; and to promote their moral, social, physical, and intellectual elevation.

Article 3. The officers of this Society shall consist of President, Vice-President, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, Treasurer and Auditor, and an Executive Committee consisting of nine persons; six of the Executive Council shall constitute a quorum; the President, Vice-President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Auditor shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee, all of whom shall hold their offices until others are elected.

Article 4. The Executive Committee shall have the entire control and management of the financial affairs of the Society subject to the Constitution and By-Laws of the same, and of any resolutions which the society may adopt in accordance therewith. They shall appoint and commission all agents that may be necessary for raising funds, or for the purchase, holding, and conveying legally lands in Canada - shall allow them such compensation for their services as they may agree with them upon and shall make any arrangements that may be necessary to carry out the objects of the society, in the purchase, holding and conveying real estate, under a foreign Government, and shall have power to fill all vacancies which may occur in the interval of the Annual Meeting.

Article 5. There shall be appropriated to each family of actual settlers twenty-five acres of land, five of which they shall receive free of cost, providing they shall within three years from the time of occupancy, clear, and cultivate the same. For the remaining twenty acres they shall pay the primary cost in nine equal payments, free of use, for which they shall receive deeds. This article may be varied to favour the aged, infirm, and widows at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

Article 6. This society shall give deeds to none, but landless Refugees from American Slavery.

Article 7. All monies received for the sale of lands shall be devoted in equal shares to the support of schools, and

the purchase of other lands.

Article 8. No person receiving land by gift or purchase from the Society shall have power to transfer the same under 15 years from time of purchase or gift.

Article 9. All lands being vacated by the removal, or extinction of families, shall revert to the Executive Committee.

Article 10. All orders on the Treasurer shall be signed by at least six of the Executive Committee.

Article 11. A meeting of the Executive Committee, or of the Society, may be convened at the call of any six members from the Executive Committee. And it shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to notify such meeting at least four weeks before the time of meeting in some public paper.

Article 12. Any person may become a member of this Society by contributing annually to its funds and subscribing to its Constitution.

Article 13. Other societies may become auxiliary to this, by adopting a Constitution in harmony with this, and contributing to its funds.

Article 14. This Society shall hold its annual meeting on the first Wednesday of September 1853, and annually thereafter for the election of officers, and the transaction of business.

Article 15. This Society shall continue so long as American slavery exists - after which all property belonging to the society shall then be appropriated for educational purposes.

among the refugees from slavery.

Article 16. This Constitution may be altered or amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members at any regular meeting of the Society if due notice shall have been given for such alteration or amendment three months previous to its being voted upon.

#### BY-LAWS

Article 1. No person shall chop or remove timber from lands to be sold; until the first payment shall be made thereon.

Article 2. No dwelling house shall be erected on said lands by settlers less than ten feet in height, nor containing less than two rooms.

Article 3. No house shall be used for manufacturing or vending intoxicating liquors on any lot received from the Society.

Article 4. Any settler who shall wilfully violate the first and third articles of the By-Laws of the Society, shall for the 2nd offence, forfeit all claim to his or her lot receiving such compensation as the Executive Committee shall decide his improvements entitle him to.

Article 5. When a settlement under the supervision of this Society shall increase to as many as six families or more, they shall erect a school for the instruction of their children for which a lot shall be reserved in each settlement, and also a lot for a cemetery.

APPENDIX D

List of Sunday School Officers and Students of the  
Puce Baptist Church 1880 - as enumerated in the Sunday School  
Register in the possession of Mrs. Holland written by her  
father George Scott, the Treasurer for the months January,  
February, and March.

1. Noah Johnson - Superintendent
2. George Scott - Secretary
3. W. M. Walls - Secretary
4. Manuel Eaton - Assistant Secretary
5. John Walls - Assistant Secretary
6. Parthania Walls - Teacher
7. Mary Walls - Assistant Teacher
8. Elizabeth Scott - Assistant Teacher
9. James Eaton - Assistant Teacher
10. John Scott - Treasurer
11. Neall oro list ? (undecipherable)
12. Atrivis     ? (undecipherable)
13. George Washington
14. Henry Walls
15. Henry Scott
16. Leonard Scott
17. Charley Scott
18. Norah Hursey
19. Mary Hursey
20. John Jackson
21. William Hursey
22. Florence Hursey
23. Catherine Hursey
24. Mary Miller
25. Annie Miller
26. Corah Wray (Mrs.  
Hollands mother)
27. Lidie Walls
28. Eva Walls
29. John Scott
30. Joseph Scott
31. Joseph Holland
32. Rosabelle Scott
33. Walter Walls
34. David Scott
35. Archie Miller
36. Jerry Jackson  
March 17th
37. Miney Thomas
38. Lige Beechem
39. Samuel Carter
40. Daniel Allen

VITA AUCTORIS

The researcher was born 23 March, 1947, at Casalvieri, in the province of Frasinone, in Italy. In November 1953, his family immigrated to Windsor, Ontario. His grade school requirements were satisfied at St. Alphonsus, St. Anthony and St. John Separate Schools. His secondary diploma was obtained through attendance for one year at J. L. Forster Collegiate Institute and four subsequent years at H. C. Patterson Collegiate Institute. After graduation from Windsor Teacher's College in 1967, and having completed one year of teaching with the Windsor Separate School Board, the researcher enrolled full time at the University of Windsor in the fall of 1968. Receiving the Bachelor of Arts degree on 18 October, 1969, he began his studies leading to a degree of Master of Arts during the fall of that year through the extension program.

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