

British-Canadian Myths of Purity and Segregated Schools in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada West

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In the mid-nineteenth century, British settlers in Canada West adopted British cosmologies to order their world. According to the British version of the myth of divine providence, God had placed the Anglo-Saxon people at the top of the racial, social, political, and moral order and their divine mission was to rule over the so-called inferior races of the world and spread God's dominion over the earth.¹ Canadians of British heritage believed that as part of the empire, Canada had a significant role to play in making the earth "the garden of the Lord."²

This paper will examine the practice of school segregation in Canada West--a practice that emerged when notions of the superior, chosen British race came into conflict with ideals of a moral and egalitarian empire in the context of a diverse Canadian society. This conflict and the contradiction between moral ideals and discriminatory practice were not generally acknowledged by the British immigrant population and came to be masked by discourses of purity. British cosmologies describing the British as a chosen race and their empire as a moral and egalitarian exemplar to the world had originally emerged out of the context of purported homogeneity in the British homeland and sanctioned colonial situations in which British administrators had little interaction with the people they governed. In Canada, however, the exotic "others" (Native Americans, Asians and Africans) lived in close proximity to British settlers and a diversity of people interacted in the creation of this British colony. This form of human encounter directly challenged British myths;

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in response, British immigrants to Canada developed a new discourse that allowed them to maintain their ideals of British purity while relegating those who were not considered white to the peripheries of society.³

Although the British constitution and laws applied in Canada West purported to allow equal treatment for all, racialized blacks⁴ were denied equal access to education in the province. The exclusion of these children from public education was an illegal but widespread practice in Canada West. Guardians of the education system tolerated such discriminatory practices, ignoring the contradiction with British egalitarian and moral ideals.

The very myths that allowed the British in Canada to assert their moral superiority and egalitarian tendencies also allowed for the exclusion of those who were not considered to be of the white British race from full participation in British-Canadian society. The presence of these racialized others was perceived as a threat to British-Canadian identity, rooted in myths that solidified attachment to empire and British race, and so, they were denied acceptance as equal British citizens in this Canadian province. In the Victorian era, notions of Britain and empire took on a religious significance for the people who oriented their existence around myths that God had ordained this nation to rise above worldly existence and to spread His dominion over the earth. The British empire represented divine order in this world. As Charles H. Long has noted, “the beginnings of all things within the culture are modelled on the pattern of [the cosmogonic] myth.”⁵ British actions in the world thus aimed to mimic the divine model and recreate it in history.

It was considered the Christian duty of the British people to spread their influence to the so-called “weaker races” through the civilizing powers of the morally superior British empire. In 1850, the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* reported that England’s “high position amidst the nations of the earth is a providential dispensation.”⁶ According to the *North American Review*, Britain’s “flag wherever it has advanced has benefited the country over which it floats; and has carried with it civilization, the Christian religion, order, justice and prosperity.”⁷ The perpetuation of “English laws and English principles of government” was seen to be “essential to the freedom of mankind.”⁸ The empire was seen to be timeless in nature, in that it would live on eternally through the Christian nations it founded and nurtured.⁹ In this way, the empire was sacred to the British people in that it was likened to the arm of God on earth and was seen to transcend history.

According to British myths, the Anglo-Saxon race was the “natural colonizer”¹⁰ of the world and the “greatest governing race.”¹¹ The British people were chosen by God to carry out His mission in the world; thus, it followed that they were also protected and privileged by Him. The placement of the Anglo-Saxons at the top of the racial hierarchy was given sacred significance in this way, as it was in accordance with God’s divine plan.

The empire, which represented transcendent reality to many British immigrants to Canada, shaped their sense of meaning and identity in this so-called “outpost of the British race.”¹² The actions and experiences of these people in Canada West were fashioned by their mythical understandings of the racial and moral superiority of the British people and their empire.

During the mid-nineteenth century, Upper Canada strongly asserted its loyalty to the British empire. British immigrants and their Canadian-born children held onto a sense of identity derived from a different time and place and attempted to refashion their new home in such a way as to mimic the land they left behind.¹³ Egerton Ryerson, editor of the *Christian Guardian*, insisted that loyalty to Britain was “of the highest spiritual and eternal advantage to thousands in Upper Canada.” He equated support and respect for the British government with Christian duty, as its beneficent laws and equitable administration stemmed “from the authority of God.”¹⁴ Loyalty to Britain, according to Ryerson, was based upon “Scripture, justice, and humanity,” and would “sacrifice life itself in the maintenance of British supremacy.”¹⁵

British settlers believed that Canada, as part of the British empire, was a moral example to all nations on earth. The abolition of slavery was seen as a moral victory for the empire over the United States, and the fact that thousands of fugitive slaves fled to Canada to live in freedom reinforced this notion of moral superiority. According to the *London Free Press*, Canadians sympathized with “the suffering and moral degradation of the unfortunate African in the neighbouring Republic,”¹⁶ but at the same time they asserted that they did not want blacks to attend the same schools as their children. Many opposed the settlement of black people in or near their communities while at the same time asserting, like Alexander McCrae (a vocal opponent to black settlement near Chatham), that “every member of the human family is entitled to certain rights and privileges, and nowhere on earth, are they better secured, enjoyed, or more highly valued, than in Canada.”¹⁷ Malcolm Cameron, Member of Parliament and

an important advocate for segregated schools, asserted that all men were “free and equal” under the British constitution. He claimed to have “ever advocated the perfect equality of all mankind, and the right of all to every civil and religious privilege without regard to creed or color.”¹⁸ However, it would seem that equality did not apply when people of different colour moved into McCrae’s neighbourhood or attended school with Cameron’s children. In 1849, Cameron proposed a bill in the legislature providing for segregated schools.

After the passage of the American Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Canada West’s black population increased exponentially as thousands of fugitive slaves and free black people arrived via the underground railroad. By the mid-1850s the black population numbered between 20,000 and 40,000 and was mostly dispersed among the French and British populations in the southwestern and Niagara peninsulas of Canada West.¹⁹ By 1854, blacks made up 20 to 30 percent of the populations of Chatham, Colchester and Amherstburg, while constituting only about two percent of Toronto’s total population and a negligible proportion of the population east of the city.²⁰

By 1861 an estimated 40 percent of Canada West’s black population was reported to have been born in the province,²¹ and they asserted their rights to equal participation in Canadian institutions. Although many Canadian blacks were proud British subjects, and appealed to the government to live up to its British ideals by treating all subjects equally, they were prevented from participating on equal terms with other Canadians. Blacks in Canada, although British subjects, were not considered to be part of the British race and were classified, like the people of Africa and the West Indies, as an inferior race, destined to be governed, “protected and elevated by England.”²² It was taken as a given in the nineteenth century that they could never be on a par with their racial superiors. Attempts by black British subjects to assert the rights guaranteed to them by British laws, and ordained by the myth of the British Empire’s moral superiority, were seen to be nefarious and threatened the racial hierarchy that was ordained by another myth, that of white British racial superiority.

Egerton Ryerson, the influential superintendent of education for Canada West since 1844, expressed his desire to make Canada West “the brightest gem in the crown of Her Britannic Majesty.”²³ He aimed to “devise and develop a system of sound universal education [based] on Christian principles, imbued with a spirit of affectionate loyalty to the

Throne and attachment to the unity of the Empire.”²⁴ According to Ryerson, the school system would be “the indirect but powerful instrument of British Constitutional Government.”²⁵

The emerging education system was to be “universal, practical and religious” with an emphasis on training the next generation of morally responsible citizens of the empire.²⁶ Schools taught British and Christian values and disseminated the myth of providence. Although Ryerson’s common school system purported to offer education to all children in Canada West without discrimination, the system was devised to teach the next generation of racialized white children and those who were not included in this group were never allowed to benefit equally from the system.

Efforts to segregate black students were blatantly against the laws in force prior to 1850. The School Act of 1843 clearly states: “it shall not be lawful for such Trustees, or for the Chief, or other, Superintendent of Common Schools, or for any Teacher to exclude from any Common School or from the benefit of education therein, the children of any class or description of persons resident within the School district to which such common school may belong.”²⁷ Although all Canadian children had the same legal right to attend common schools, in practice, blacks in many parts of Canada West were excluded from these schools and denied their right to education. In accordance with myths of racial superiority, the idea that black and white children should be compelled to associate in the same classroom was repugnant to most white Canadians at the time. Equally as repugnant was the idea that the children of the so-called “inferior African race” should be provided with the same kind of education that was provided to white children. But perhaps a more important motivating factor for exclusion was that the presence of blacks in the same schools as British-descended children conflicted with images of Canada as a white British society. Black children were prevented from interacting with whites, thus allowing for the perpetuation of ideals of purity.

The Department of Education received several appeals to intervene against segregation, and in response superintendent Egerton Ryerson admitted that exclusion was “at variance with the letter and spirit of the law, and . . . with the principles and spirit of British Institutions, which deprive no human being of any benefit . . . on account of the colour of his skin.”²⁸ However, Ryerson continued to tolerate illegal discrimination in the schools, claiming there was nothing he could do to stop it, as “the caste of colour . . . is stronger than the law.”²⁹

Some of the strongest opposition to integration came from the white citizens in and around Chatham where the presence of blacks threatened ideals of white racial purity and black children were perceived as a negative influence to white morality. In 1849, the citizens of this town expressed their strong opposition to the settlement of what McCrae called a “horde of ignorant slaves”³⁰ in the nearby township of Raleigh. He argued that “the presence of the Negro among [whites] is an annoyance,” and “amalgamation, its necessary and hideous attendant, is an evil which requires to be checked.”³¹ Edwin Larwill, local school commissioner, politician and editor of the *Chatham Journal*, went even further with his expressions of opposition to racial integration. According to Larwill, “amalgamation is as disgusting to the eye, as it is immoral in its tendencies and all good men will discountenance it.”³² Northeast of Chatham, white parents refused to allow black children into their schools because they feared that “the children of the coloured people” were “in respect to morals and habits . . . worse trained than the white children,” and that their own children “might suffer from the effects of bad example.”³³ Parents in Amherstburg, an important underground railroad terminus in the extreme southwest portion of the province, would have “sooner . . . cut their children’s heads off and throw[n] them into the road side ditch” than send their children to school with “niggers.”³⁴ Black children were presented as dangerous, and as potential polluters of white British purity.

By 1850, the Council of Public Instruction had changed education laws to accommodate racist tendencies. The School Act of 1850 includes a provision for the establishment of separate schools based on race. Section nineteen reads:

It shall be the duty of the Municipal Council [or] the Board of School Trustees, on the application, in writing, of twelve, or more, resident heads of families, to authorize the establishment of one, or more, Separate schools for Protestants, Roman Catholics, or Coloured people.³⁵

Ryerson inserted this clause “with extreme pain and regret.” He argued that because “the prejudices and feelings of the people are stronger than law,” the provision for separate racial schools had to be introduced for the protection of black children.³⁶

Despite claims that the new law would protect blacks, vague regulations on education were open to various interpretations by white trustees, and black students’ interests were usually overshadowed by those

of the white population. Few black parents requested separate schools in accordance with the 1850 law; however, municipal trustees often used their powers under another clause of the School Act to enforce segregation upon an unwilling black population so that public schools would reflect the illusion of racial purity in the province.³⁷ Unwritten rules allowed for the perpetuation of segregation while claims to moral and egalitarian principles were justified by Ryerson's efforts to ensure that "nothing insidious be admitted into the Statute book."³⁸

In many towns, black children were simply denied any benefit of education, even when their parents' tax money went to support common schools. In towns where the people were said to have "a strong old-fashioned English hatred of oppression,"³⁹ black children were refused admission outright to common schools. If a black child attempted to attend, the white students were often taken out of school by their parents, or teachers dismissed their classes.⁴⁰ In other towns, segregated schools were inaccessible to many black children at distances of up to fifteen miles from their homes.

Attempts by blacks to assert their rights to attend common schools were seen as "evil," and threatening to "the harmony in school matters."⁴¹ Several trustees complained to Ryerson that "schools have been broken up"⁴² because black children were "forcing themselves into the same schools with the white children."⁴³ They expressed fears that "African barbarism" might "triumph over Anglo-Saxon civilization."⁴⁴

Numerous petitions to the Education office argued that segregated schools were "contrary to . . . the fundamental principles of British common law."⁴⁵ Black parents and community leaders appealed to education administrators' "sense of justice and judgment,"⁴⁶ demanding that they live up to their British-Canadian egalitarian ideals and allow for equal access to education.⁴⁷ Ryerson's intervention in these cases was minimal; he usually asserted that he sympathized with the parents' appeals, and advised them to take their grievances to court, a costly and time-consuming process that most parents could not afford.

The vast majority of schools attended by black children were severely under-funded and of poor quality. Several schools were likened to chicken "coops"⁴⁸ or "pig pens"⁴⁹ for the black students. According to American observer Benjamin Drew, many segregated schools were "comfortless and repulsive," lacking a blackboard, chairs, ink, and used readers that were "miserably tattered and worn-out."⁵⁰

These under-funded schools welcomed a diversity of Canadian children, regardless of heritage. Schools opened by or for black communities in several towns opened their doors to white children who had no other options of education themselves or whose parents saw that the quality of education, provided by some well-educated missionary teachers, was in a few cases of a better caliber than was available to them.⁵¹

The willingness of blacks to accept others in their schools is evidence of the fact that they had come to terms with the heterogeneous nature of Canadian society. In this way, they accepted the refashioning of human identity that becoming Canadian entailed. In contrast to this, white authorities showed a strong propensity towards segregation and, thus, a reluctance to adapt to their newly plural Canadian surroundings.

While popular Canadian sentiment was purportedly in favour of equal rights for all, association between black and white people was commonly seen to be “immoral,” “disgusting,”⁵² “hideous” and “evil.”⁵³ Segregation in education was the norm, as was the exclusion of blacks, among others, from most aspects of white society. As Canadians of British heritage rigidly held onto an established sense of identity in the face of a changing environment, they also adhered to a language about cultural purity that coloured their encounters with those who were not considered to be of British stock. Integration with these people was perceived as a threat to British purity and to the very identity of British immigrants to Canada.

The image of Canada as an extension of the British Empire perpetuated colonial attitudes in North America where the nature of human encounter was completely different than in most other British colonies. In colonial situations where the myth of the chosen British race had generally been applied, the so-called “weaker races” were exotic strangers in far-off lands governed at arm’s length by British administrators. This was not the situation in Canada where white British settlers shared the same space and interacted on a daily basis with people who did not conform to the racial ideal.

At the same time as British settlers encountered human diversity on an unprecedented scale in North America, they developed a discourse of purity that presented Canada West as a transplanted British province on the Western side of the Atlantic and British immigrants to Canada as untouched by their new surroundings. This discourse allowed for the inhuman treatment of certain British subjects who were perceived to be a threat to British identity in Canada. These people, seen to be of the weaker

racism, were excluded from British-Canadian national discourse and relegated to the peripheries of Canadian society.

The parallel mythologies of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority and the moral and egalitarian British empire came into conflict over the issue of black education in Canada. Yet, this conflict was not generally acknowledged and discourses of purity ensured that these myths would remain deeply entrenched in spite of Canadian demographic reality.

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank Andrew Bryant, Robert Choquette, Matthew Fulkerson, Jennifer Reid and Tim Stanley for their helpful input as I prepared this paper.
2. John Strachan; cited in William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 5.
3. Jennifer Reid, "'A Society Made by History': The Mythic Source of Identity in Canada," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 27 (1997): 1-19.
4. I employ the term "black" to refer to American immigrants of African heritage and their Canadian-born children. Many of these people were of mixed descent and were identified as "Negroes," "coloured" people, "blacks," or "Africans" in nineteenth-century Canada West. The term "white" will refer, in the case of this paper, to immigrants of British heritage and their Canadian-born children. On racialization see Timothy J. Stanley, "Why I Killed Canadian History: Towards an Anti-Racist History in Canada," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 33, No. 65 (May 2000): 95-103.
5. Charles H. Long, *Alpha: The Myths of Creation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1963), 30.
6. Cited in Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 111.
7. Cited in Robert A. Huttenback, *Racism and Empire: White Settlers and Colored Immigrants in the British Self-Governing Colonies 1830-1910* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976), 14.
8. Cited in Huttenback, *Racism and Empire*, 16.
9. William Wilberforce, "The Conditions of Missionary Success" (1850); cited in John Wolffe, ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain, Volume V Culture and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 306-307.

10. S.W. Baker; cited in Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes*, 148.
11. Joseph Chamberlain; cited in Huttenback, *Racism and Empire*, 15-16.
12. Huttenback, *Racism and Empire*, 26.
13. Towns and landmarks were given English names; counties in the Western peninsula of Canada West such as Essex, Kent and Middlesex were all named after counties in the British homeland, and the River Thames ran west from London. According to Donald Simpson, the village of Sandwich, later absorbed into Windsor, was said to have a very English appearance, with its pear trees, English-style public buildings and gardens aside many homes (Donald Simpson, "Negroes in Ontario from Early Times to 1870" [Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1971], 593).
14. J.G. Hodgins, ed., "*The Story of My Life*," by the late Rev. Egerton Ryerson D.D., LL.D. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1883), 40-41.
15. Hodgins, "*The Story of My Life*," 373.
16. *London Free Press*, 22 July 1861.
17. McCrae, "Address to the Inhabitants of Canada," recorded proceedings of "A Public Meeting Being held in Chatham" *Chatham Chronicle*, November 1849.
18. "Correspondence between the Hon. Malcolm Cameron and the colored stock holders of the Elgin Association," 21 February 1850, Heritage Room, Chatham-Kent Black Historical Society.
19. In 1852, the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada estimated that the black population of Canada West was 30,000; cited in Benjamin Drew, *A Northside View of Slavery. The Refugee: or the Narrative of Fugitive Slaves in Canada. Related by Themselves, with an Account of the History and Condition of the Colored Population of Upper Canada* (1856; Toronto: Coles, 1972), v. In 1855, Samuel Ringgold Ward suggested that there were between 35,000 and 40,000 blacks in the province (see *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada and England* [London: Paternoster Row, 1855], 154). Recently, Michael Wayne has argued that the population has been overestimated and was likely between 22,500 and 23,000 in 1861 ("The Black Population of Canada West on the Eve of the American Civil War: A Reassessment Based on the Manuscript Census of 1861," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 28, No. 56 [November 1995]: 470). With the exception of the Elgin settlement, segregated settlements were largely unsuccessful and attracted few settlers (see William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, *Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America* [Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963], 49, 65, 92).

20. According to Benjamin Drew, the peak population of blacks in Toronto was 1,000 out of a total population of 47,000 in 1854. In Amherstburg there were approximately 400-500 blacks out of a total population of 2,000; in Colchester, 450 blacks out of a total population of 1,500; and in Chatham, 800 out of a total population of 4,000 (*A North-side View of Slavery. The Refugee: or, The Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada. Related by themselves, with an account of the history and condition of the colored population of Upper Canada* [Boston: J.P. Jewett, 1856], 94, 234, 348, 367).
21. See Michael Wayne for an analysis of 1861 census data ("The Black Population of Canada West," 473).
22. *The Times* (London), 4 November 1864; cited in Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, 78.
23. Hodgins, *Story of My Life*," 349.
24. Address to Lord Dufferin; cited in J. George Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, from the Passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791, to the Close of Reverend Doctor Ryerson's Administration of the Education Department in 1876. Volume XXIV: 1872* (Toronto: Warwick and Rutter, 1908), 70.
25. Cited in Clara Thomas, *Ryerson of Upper Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969), 99.
26. "Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada, 1846," in Hodgins, *Documentary History, Vol. VI: 1846* (1899), 146-147.
27. "An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada," Section 44, Clause 7, in Hodgins, *Documentary History, Vol. IV: 1841-1843* (1897), 258.
28. Ryerson to Isaac Rice et al., 5 March 1846, Vol. 3, Ontario Department of Education, Outgoing Correspondence (hereafter Outgoing Education Correspondence), RG 2-8, Archives of Ontario.
29. Ryerson to W.H. Draper, 12 April 1847, 12, J. George Hodgins Fonds, F 1207, Archives of Ontario.
30. McCrae, "Address to the Inhabitants of Canada," recorded proceedings of "A Public Meeting Being held in Chatham," *Chatham Chronicle*, November 1849.
31. McCrae also argued that when the British empire abolished slavery, it proved itself as a moral example to all nations on earth ("Address to the Inhabitants of Canada," recorded proceedings of "A Public Meeting Being held in

- Chatham,” *Chatham Chronicle*, November 1849).
32. Cited in Simpson, “Negroes in Ontario,” 335.
 33. Re. Dennis Hill v. the School Trustees of Camden and Zone, *Upper Canada Queen’s Bench Reports*, 11: 578.
 34. Isaac Rice et al. to Egerton Ryerson; cited in Hodgins, *Documentary History*, Vol. VI: 1846, 294.
 35. J. George Hodgins, *Historical and Other Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Educational System of Ontario, 1853-1868* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1911), 213.
 36. Egerton Ryerson, “Explanation of the Provisions of a Proposed School Bill of 1849” in Hodgins, *Documentary History*, Vol. VIII: 1848-49 (1901), 91.
 37. Section XXIV, clause IV of the School Act asserts that the Board of Trustees have unlimited power “to determine the number, sites, kind and description of schools which shall be established and maintained” in their cities and towns. Thus, even if black parents did not request a separate school, municipal trustees could set up and manage a segregated public school in order to prevent black children from attending the schools set up for white children (*Statutes of Upper Canada*, 13 and 14 Victoria, Cap. 48 [1850], 1264). Ryerson often encouraged trustees to open these segregated schools (Ryerson to George Duck, 7 April 1852, Vol. 6; Ryerson to James S. Currie, 16 June 1857, Vol. 19, Outgoing Education Correspondence, RG 2-8, Archives of Ontario).
 38. Ryerson to W.H. Draper, 12 April 1847, 12, J. George Hodgins Fonds, F 1207, Archives of Ontario.
 39. Simpson, “Negroes in Ontario,” 597-98.
 40. Samuel Atkin (Malden) to Ryerson, 29 December 1856, Vol. 21; Henry Brent (Sandwich) et al. to Ryerson, 9 March 1858, Vol. 23; and Duncan Campbell (Harwich) to Ryerson, 14 March 1862, Vol. 27, Incoming Education Correspondence, RG 2-12, Archives of Ontario.
 41. George Duck (Chatham) to Ryerson, 7 March 1852, Vol. 12, Incoming Education Correspondence, Archives of Ontario.
 42. John Cowan (Sandwich) to Rev. McNab, 15 October 1845, Vol. 4; and James Douglas (West Flamboro) to Ryerson, 3 February 1856, Vol. 20, Incoming Education Correspondence, Archives of Ontario.
 43. Harrow and Colchester South Township School Area Board, *A Story of Public Schools in Colchester South Township* (Harrow: School Board, 1966), 11.

44. Philip Smith to Ryerson, 1 August 1854, Vol. 18, Incoming Education Correspondence, RG 2-12, Archives of Ontario.
45. H.F. Douglass, "The Duties of Colored Man in Canada," *Provincial Freeman*, 28 March 1857.
46. Henry Brent et al. (Sandwich) to Ryerson, 9 March 1858, Vol. 23, Incoming Education Correspondence, Archives of Ontario.
47. Jones et al. to Ryerson, 2 March 1859, Vol. 26; Peter B. Smith (Dresden) to Hodgins, 29 June 1856, Vol. 20; Henry Brent et al. to Ryerson, 9 March 1858, Vol. 23; Jefferson Lightfoot (West Flamboro) to Ryerson, 5 October 1858, Vol. 25; and Clayborn Harris (Windsor) to William Horton, 16 February 1859, Vol. 26, Incoming Education Correspondence, Archives of Ontario.
48. Clayborn Harris to William Horton, 16 February 1859, Vol. 26, Incoming Education Correspondence, Archives of Ontario.
49. Jefferson Lightfoot to Ryerson, 5 October 1858, Vol. 25, Incoming Education Correspondence, Archives of Ontario.
50. Drew, *A North-Side View of Slavery*. Schools for blacks in Amherstburg and Colchester received grants from the Education Department's Poor School Fund after petitions to Ryerson (Ryerson to James Kevill, 13 March 1857, Vol. 19; and Ryerson to F.G. Elliot, 3 December 1857, Vol. 21, Outgoing Education Correspondence, RG 2-8, Archives of Ontario).
51. According to Mary Bibb of Windsor, seven of the forty-six students in her class were white (Simpson, "Negroes in Ontario," 645). Because the quality of instruction at William King's mission school in Raleigh was far superior to that of schools in neighbouring Chatham, by 1851 almost all the students from Chatham's common school joined the blacks in Buxton ("Schools in Canada," *Voice of the Fugitive*, 18 July 1852; and Ullman, *Look to the North Star*, 148-49). Robin W. Winks points to a similar situation in Brantford where the level of instruction at the black school was superior to that at the white school. White students began to enroll here until the two schools were eventually integrated (*The Blacks in Canada: A History* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971], 367). Segregated schools for blacks imposed by Colchester trustees accepted white students and eventually many of them served a majority of white children (Harrow and Colchester South Township School Area Board, *A Story of Public Schools*, 12).
52. Simpson, "Negroes in Ontario," 335.
53. McCrae, "Address to the Inhabitants of Canada."

