Ontario History

"Justice was Refused Me, I Resolved to Free Myself"

John W. Lindsay. Finding Elements of American Freedoms in British Canada, 1805-1876

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Volume 109, Number 1, Spring 2017

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1039198ar
DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/1039198ar

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Publisher(s)

The Ontario Historical Society

ISSN

0030-2953 (print)
2371-4654 (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this article

Broyld, D. J. (2017). "Justice was Refused Me, I Resolved to Free Myself": John W. Lindsay. Finding Elements of American Freedoms in British Canada, 1805-1876. *Ontario History*, *109*(1), 27–59. https://doi.org/10.7202/1039198ar

Article abstract

Though born a free man, John W. Lindsay at the age of seven was abducted by slave catchers and enslaved in Washington D.C. He eventually landed in Western Tennessee where he made a declaration that he intended to emancipate himself no matter the cost. In order to receive the rights, liberties, and immunities granted to natural-born white men in the United States constitution, Lindsay had to flee to the border town of St. Catharines, Ontario. This article will reconstruct the principally unknown life of Lindsay as he negotiated nations, helped to build a Black community in Canada out of American refugees, and resolved to live in citizenship and equality with his contemporaries.

"Justice was Refused Me, I Resolved to Free Myself"

John W. Lindsay Finding Elements of American Freedoms in British Canada, 1805-1876

by Dann J. Broyld

Around 1805, John W. Lindsay[1] was born a free Black man in the newly established capital of Washington, D.C. However, at the age of seven, slave catchers abducted and enslaved him in that very city.[2] In bondage, Lindsay was moved around the American South until he landed in Western Tennessee. There, he made the profound declaration that he intended to emancipate himself no matter the cost. While in flight to British Canada, Lindsay considered returning to Washington, D.C. but was wisely advised that this was a dangerous proposition. In order to receive the rights, liberties, and immunities granted to natural-born white men by the United States Constitution, Lindsay had to flee to Canada where he achieved those desired assets in the borderland town of St. Catharines, Canada West.[3] Through interviews with Lindsay (as a man of social stature) by abolitionists Benjamin Drew[4] and Samuel G. Howe,[5] and a

[1] It is not clear if John W. Lindsay had the "Lindsay" last name while he was living in Washington, D.C. or if the name was changed during enslavement or in Canada. Lindsay's last name was also spelled Linzy, Lindsy, or Lindsey. For example: Benjamin Drew spelled his name "Lindsey," while Samuel G. Howe used "Lindsay." His middle name was "Washington;" it is unclear if the name was given to him at birth or whether he adopted it in honor of his birthplace when he moved to Canada. Most Blacks that lived in Washington, D.C. inhabited a few key areas including: the southern part of the city away from the downtown fashionable neighbourhoods. The southwest portion of D.C. was a hub for working-class people and Blacks. Also Georgetown was well-noted for its sizeable Black population. Letitia Woods Brown, *Free Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1790-1846* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1972).

[2] See Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*, (New York, NY: Free Press, 2007). Steven Hahn, *The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1-53; the first chapter of the book, "Slaves at Large," investigates the blurred lines of emancipation, political rights, liberties, and immunities in the American North.

[3] Ontario was called Upper Canada from 1791 to 1841. It was later labelled Canada West between 1841 and 1867 before taking on its current name of Ontario. Throughout this article each of these names will be used interchangeably.

[4] Benjamin Drew, *The Refugee: Or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada* (New York, NY: John P. Jewett and Company, 1856). A Boston journalist and abolitionist, Drew's book was a reply to

Abstract

Though born a free man, John W. Lindsay at the age of seven was abducted by slave catchers and enslaved in Washington D.C. He eventually landed in Western Tennessee where he made a declaration that he intended to emancipate himself no matter the cost. In order to receive the rights, liberties, and immunities granted to natural-born white men in the United States constitution, Lindsay had to flee to the border town of St. Catharines, Ontario. This article will reconstruct the principally unknown life of Lindsay as he negotiated nations, helped to build a Black community in Canada out of American refugees, and resolved to live in citizenship and equality with his contemporaries.

Résumé: *Né libre, John W. Lindsay a été enlevé par des chasseurs d'esclaves à l'âge de sept ans et réduit à l'esclavage à Washington, D.C. Il a fini par aboutir dans l'ouest du Tennessee où il a déclaré qu'il s'émanciperait peu importe le coût. Afin d'obtenir les droits et libertés accordés aux blancs par la Constitution des États-Unis, Lindsay a dû fuir jusqu'à St. Catharines, en Ontario. Dans cet article, nous proposons de reconstruire la vie de Lindsay, sa fuite des États-Unis, sa contribution dans la création des communautés noires au Canada, et sa résolution à vivre dans l'égalité avec ses concitoyens.*

wealth of newspaper articles, this article will reconstruct the largely unknown life of Lindsay as he initially negotiated nations, helped to build a Black community in Canada out of American refugees, and resolved to live in citizenship and equality with his contemporaries. Paradoxically, for John W. Lindsay and thousands

A South-Side View of Slavery (London: Forgotten Books, 2012, reprinted from 1854) by Reverend Nehemiah Adams. An early anti-slavery preacher, Adams denounced the institution from the pulpit and even undertook a petition campaign to outlaw the movement of slavery in the United States territories. However, following a tour of the American South, he questioned the evils of Black bondage and the need to abolish slavery. Adams recast slaveholders as "the guardians, educators, and saviors of the African race." In an effort to show the ills of the "peculiar institution," Drew travelled to Canada West in 1855 and conducted more than a hundred interviews of former slaves (twenty-three in St. Catharines) to aid his message (ix-xviii). The interviews are as diverse as the individuals themselves. The Black interviewees came from diverse backgrounds—agricultural and domestic work experiences, brutal and mild slaveholders, cotton, rice and sugar production, and from southern border and gulf states.

[5] The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interviews are in John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge, LO: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), hereafter cited as 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview. Boston-born and Brown University educated, Samuel G. Howe was a medical doctor who earned fame as an educator for the blind and the disabled. Working with the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission (AFIC), he interviewed twenty-eight former slaves in Canada West on two trips in September and early November 1863. Howe did these interviews to help prepare America for its newly emancipated Blacks and in part to counter Benjamin Drew's study. He

of other runaways and refugees, Canada was what the United States was to white men: "the land of the free, and the home of the brave."[6] The life of Lindsay pointed out the contrast between the boastful promises of the United States and their fuller realization in Canada.

In the early 1800s Washington, D.C., home to the federal government and focal point of the national democratic process, was incongruously a hub for slavery and slave-traders as well.[7] This made it an extremely dangerous place for the local free Black population, including individuals like John W. Lindsay.[8] After being stolen, his parents tried to reclaim their beloved son by posting advertisements in the newspapers, but to no avail.[9] "A great many colored people" Lindsay asserted, "who were free born have been kidnapped."[10] He was first taken to South Carolina and Georgia, before being sold to Alabama and later landing on the frontier of Tennessee. Lindsay explained that he was treated "pretty well" as an enslaved person and that he did not endure "any barbarity."[11] He added: "Wherever I wanted to go, I went, and found no dif-

believed his endeavor was more scientific in approach, made fewer "verbal alterations," than Drew, and claimed to record the interviews "word for word." The AFIC's final report was submitted to the Secretary of War in May 1864 and published in June. Howe's supplemental report was independently published later that same year. His interviews were presented in three different formats: some as questions and answers, others retold in the third person, and a score in a first person summary or narrative. Lindsay's was written in a narrative form. The AFIC had thirteen prepared questions to ask, but the interviewers did not always adhere to them [Matthew Furrow, "Samuel Gridley Howe, the Black Population of Canada West, and the Racial Ideology of the 'Blueprint for Radical Reconstruction'," *Journal of American History* 97:2 (September 2010), 344-70.]

[6] Lyrics taken from Francis Scott Key's "The Star-Spangled Banner" written at the 1814 Battle of Fort McHenry in Baltimore, Maryland, during the War of 1812 fought between the United States and the British Empire, Edward S. Delaphaine, *Francis Scott Key: Life and Times* (Stuarts Draft, VA: American Foundation Publications, 1998).

[7] Often called "Washington City" at the time. By way of 1790 Congressional legislation, the city was carved out of Maryland and Virginia. See Fergus Bordewich. *Washington: The Making of the American Capital* (Augusta, KS: Amistad, 2008) and Don E. Fehrenbacher and Ward M. McAfee, eds. *Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002), 205-230.

[8] The free Black population in Washington, D.C. in 1800 was 783. In 1810 it increased to 2,549 and ten years later it reached 4,048. (1800, 1810 and 1820, U.S. Census).

[9] See Paul Jennings, *A Colored Man's Reminiscences of James Madison* (Brooklyn: G.C. Beadle, 1865); Elizabeth Dowling Taylor, *A Slave in the White House: Paul Jennings and the Madisons* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) and Clarence Lusane, *The Black History of the White House* (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Publishers, 2011). Jennings was enslaved to President James Madison as a body servant. During Madison's presidency, between 1809 and 1817, Jennings toiled in the White House. It was during this same period that Lindsay was abducted from the capital.

[10] American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 403.

[11] In regards to interviews conducted for mini-narratives collected by Benjamin Drew, Samuel Howe, William Still, as well as the Works Progress Administration (WPA), Blacks demonstrated apprehension about being entirely forthright, especially when questioned by whites or persons "untrustworthy." Nonetheless, all things considered, their stories reveal the hidden pattern of stating that slavery was not that bad, while telling a entirely different story.

ficulty in going."[12]Lindsay worked as a skilled blacksmith in the South, which at times granted him greater privileges than common field hands. However, the embellishment of a *nice* owner was a common complementary form of lip-service used by former slaves that was simply debunked after their full narrative was told. Lindsay was no exception.

When John W. Lindsay was abducted in the early 1800s the Chesapeake region was experiencing great changes. The area had grown famous for cultivating tobacco, a labour-intensive crop, but it was replaced by grain, which needed less maintenance and therefore left slaveholders with an excess of undesirable human property. The Upper South's new economy also demanded more skilled labourers such as boatmen, blacksmiths, carpenters, and coopers. In conjunction, the U.S. Congress in 1808 outlawed the importation of slaves from Africa. This increased the price of slaves domestically and gave way to the "Second Middle Passage;" a vast transcontinental movement of enslaved people from the Upper to Lower South and to the western wildernesses of Kentucky and Tennessee.[13] As Black bondage via the Atlantic Slave Trade slowed, but still existed illegally, the Lower South cotton plantations looked to tobacco slave states to meet their mounting needs, which led to the mass land migration that Lindsay was swept into where at least one million slaves between 1790 and 1860 were moved from the Upper to Lower South. At least two-thirds of those were removed not by owners, but by slave traders. The terminal of Washington, D.C., from where Lindsay was sold, fed into places like Vicksburg, Natchez, and New Orleans.[14]

Lindsay survived the large transfer of Blacks out of the Upper South, but not unscathed. He flashbacked on horrible scenes of slavery in Louisville, Kentucky[15] when interviewed by the Freedmen's Bureau: "I have seen eight to ten men all chained... waiting to be sent South," "a young girl would come, looking like she might be 16 or 17... with a bundle [a child], and the tears streaming," he expounded. Blacks kept coming, until some three hundred people were gathered. He called this event the worst he ever saw with "such sighing, such groaning, such lamentation! Well, they groaned with

[12] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 397.

[13] See Ira Berlin, *The Making of African America: The Four Great Migrations* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2010) and Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[14] Mary Kay Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl: The Heroic Bid for Freedom on the Underground Railroad* (New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2007), 4; and Berlin explained: "Free people of color found themselves swept into the transcontinental dragnet. Kidnaping increased sharply and remained an omnipresent danger to free Black men and women. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the practice had become so pervasive that it gained a name: 'blackbirding'" (Berlin, *The Making of African America,* 102).

[15] See Marion Lucas. *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891. Vol. 2* (University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 84-101 and Hanford D. Stafford. "Slavery in a Border City: Louisville, 1790-1860" (Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Kentucky, 1987).

groanings that cannot be uttered."[16] Happenings like this, along with his years of enslavement, drove Lindsay to request the help of Stephen Gray, a Postmaster General in Nashville, to help restore his freedom, which he emphasized was "wrongfully" and "unlawfully" taken.[17] The Postmaster asked him of his owners: "Don't they treat you pretty well?"[18] He then advised the approximately twenty-five-year-old man to: "Go home and be a good boy." Understanding that he would not receive assistance, Lindsey explained that if "justice was refused me, I resolved to free myself."[19] Around 1835, Lindsay made the life-changing decision to take flight to the American North.[20] "I made up my mind," he explained, "that I would not live and die a slave."[21] He left the frontier of Tennessee where the majority of Blacks worked as field hands toiling to clear land for new tobacco plantations.[22]

As an escapee, Lindsay had several advantages. To begin with, he was a blacksmith, which meant that his dress,[23] skill-set, and comfort level with whites made him less conspicuous. In many situations on his way North, he appeared to be a freedman simply going about his business. He did not speak with the deep Black vernacular closely associated with the enslaved. In fact, Lindsay recounted, he spoke so well to one gentleman on his way to Canada that, "he did not dare ask me if I were a slave." Another factor that served him well was his light-skin complexion. Perhaps Lindsay could have been "mulatto." Unlike darker Blacks, his skin tone allowed him to "pass" as a white man at times. Once among field workers he overheard them asking: "Do you think that is a white man?" As a runaway, his social status and skin tone were aids; they are the reason why he "walked by day and rested at night," employing the opposite strategy of most fugitives. "Whether I was pursued or not," Lindsay explained, "I am unable to say."[24]

Nonetheless, on his journey Lindsay faced obstacles and vital decisions.

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[16] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 403-404.

[17] Drew, *The Refugee*, 53.

[18] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 369-444.

[19] Drew, *The Refugee*, 53.

[20] Ripley, C. Peter, Paul A. Cimbala, Michael F. Hembree, Mary Alice Herrle, and Debra Susie, eds. *The Black Abolitionist Papers, Vol. 2. Canada, 1830-1865* (Chapel Hill: NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

[21] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 397.

[22] See the classic work of Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1932); Chase C. Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957) and Lester Lamon, *Blacks in Tennessee 1790-1970* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1981). Also review the works of Robert Corlew, Philip Hamer, and Cabb Perry Paterson on this subject.

[23] See Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture, From Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999) and Monica L. Miller, *Slaves to Fashion: Black Dandyism and the Styling of Black Diasporic Identity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

[24] Drew, *The Refugee*, 53.

At moments, he "prayed to the Lord for deliverance." In other instances he was outright bold. For example, when asked in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, by a Black cook on board a steamboat if he was free, Lindsey replied slyly that he "had heard of a man in Maryland who got rich by minding his own business."[25] While in Pittsburgh, Lindsay expressed a desire to return to Washington, D.C. to reunite with his family and he actually "started back."[26] Those Blacks in the nation's capital who were not removed by the "Second Middle Passage" worked as hired-hands in the service and building trades or on the outskirts of the metropolis on small farms. In the 1830s, they were still facing the frightening possibility of being sold in the ongoing Upper-Lower South slave trade and very few abolitionists, Underground Railroad conductors, or sympathizers could be found in this southern city among the artisans, educated, common folks, or politicians.[27]

Heeding the counsel that Blacks continued to be oppressed, sold, and even abducted in Washington, D.C., John W. Lindsay decided, "it was no use to go back"[28] and thus aimed to reach Canada. Blacks in America possessed favourable ideas of the British Empire, because the English fought the United States and freed slaves in bondage during the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.[29] Also, the British had recently granted freedom to Blacks in the Empire via the Imperial Act of 1833, which was finalized by the British Parliament on 1 August 1834.[30] Lindsay's newfound friend, the Black escapee and shoemaker "Lawreatore,"[31] had proposed the idea of reaching British soil and the two men set out for the Canadian border. "It was no use for me to bow down to the yoke of slavery," Lindsay explained, "when I could throw it off... and I did so."[32] Hav-

[25] *Ibid*.

[26] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 396.

[27] Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl*, 4 and Hilary Russell, "Underground Railroad Activists in Washington D.C." *Washington History*, 13:2 (Fall/Winter, 2001/2002), 28-49; Stanley Harrold, *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana States University Press, 2003); Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967); Alfred Garrett Harris, "Slavery and Emancipation in the District of Columbia, 1801-1865." (PhD Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1946), and Melvin Roscoe Williams, "Blacks in Washington, D.C., 1860-1870." (PhD Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1975).

[28] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 396.

[29] Gerald Horne, *Negro Comrades of the Crown: African Americans and the British Empire Fight the U.S. Before Emancipation* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2012). Also refer to the works of Arnett G. Lindsay, Sylvia Frey, and Gary B. Nash. Gene Allen Smith, *The Slaves' Gamble: Choosing Sides in the War of 1812* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[30] See Van Gosse, "As a Nation, the English Are Our Friends": The Emergence of African American Politics in the British Atlantic World, 1772-1861," *American Historical Review* (October 2008), 1003-1028.

[31] It is unclear if "Lawreatore" was the first or last name of the man whom Lindsay ran away with. He only stated that Lawreatore was a native of New Orleans and that he died in Toronto.

[32] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 397-98.

ing endured and witnessed bondage in the deep South as well as in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland and, of all places, Washington, D.C., he remarked, "If a man says slavery is a good institution, he might as well say there is no God—only a devil. Slavery is like the bottomless pit."[33]

Lindsay's decision to go to Canada instead of Washington, D.C., was timely because the Snow Riot of August 1835 stunned the local Black community of the Capital. Proprietor Beverly Snow, a freeman of colour, operated the Epicurean Eating House on Sixth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, a popular restaurant in the growing community. After an alleged assault on Mrs. Anna Maria Brodeau Thornton, widow of William Thornton, the architect of the U.S. Capitol Building,[34] by her eighteen-year-old slave Arthur Bowen, Snow's eatery became the target of rioters due to "disparaging remarks" made by Snow. Bowen was arrested and a white mob formed outside the jail ready to lynch him, but U.S. Marines assigned to the prison prevented it from being overtaken. Unable to apprehend Bowen, the angry crowd went on to attack Black homes, schoolhouses, churches, and other businesses. Snow, with the help of white patrons, was forced to leave the city for Canada. In the wake of this disturbance a new city ordinance, though not strictly enforced and duly circumvented, was instituted that technically forbade Blacks from owning businesses.[35] The Snow Riot would have likely been Lindsay's re-introduction back to the Capital.

A year after the devastating Riot, Beverly Snow decided to return to Washington, D.C. apparently to handle some unfinished business and pay off his debts. The fact that he came back, journalist John O'Sullivan explained in the *Metropolitan*, was "foolishness."[36] On 12 August 1836, while walking on "America's Main Street,"[37] Pennsylvania Avenue, four white men recognized Snow and gave chase. He was caught and, thanks to a constable, was jailed before perhaps he was lynched. Again Beverly's local white friends organized to defend him and articles like one reprinted in the *Liberator* explained: "We hope that the Districters will let him off."[38] Snow's capture is the very reason why John W. Lindsay elected not to return to Washington. He figured if he was captured once, surely it could happen again. Fortunately for Snow, resident Justice of the Peace Clement Coote

[33] Drew, *The Refugee*, 53-54.

[34] See Gordon Brown, *Incidental Architect: William Thornton and the Cultural Elite of Early Washington, D.C., 1794-1828* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009).

[35] Jefferson Morley, *Snow-Storm in August: Washington City, Francis Scott Key, and the Forgotten Race Riot of 1835* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2012), 237-45. Also see "The 'Snow Riot,'" Jefferson Morley, *Washington Post*, 6 February 2005, p. W14.

[36] *Metropolitan*, 13 August 1836, reprinted in the *National Intelligencer*, 18 August 1836.

[37] Carol M. Highsmith and Ted Landphair, *Pennsylvania Avenue: America's Main Street* (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press, 1996).

[38] *Liberator*, 24 September 1836, reprinted from the *Richmond Whig*.

had no criminal charges to hold him on. Shortly after his release he wisely left the city for good. Settling in Toronto, Canada West, Snow opened several restaurants including one named the "Epicurean Recess," worked as a personal chef, and made "a small fortune"[39] with his first-class recipes. Roughly a year earlier Lindsay had made his decision to leave Washington, D.C. behind.

Overall, Lindsay emphasized that he had "little difficulty reaching the American-Canadian frontier and crossing the line" into the British colony. He was part of a modest number of Black Washingtonians able to reach Canada prior to the Civil War[40] and he was pleased to find that it was not 9,000 miles away, as he had been told in Tennessee. It really was approximately 900 miles to the Northern international border.[41] In Canada, Lindsay set out to redefine himself by acts like altering his name and adopting the middle name of Washington, which honored his birthplace and held bravado among former American slaves because it mirrored the surname of the first president, George Washington. Also by 1835, Lindsay had settled in the borderland community of St. Catharines, Canada West, with other American-born Blacks. There, he became the wealthiest Black in town, applied for British citizenship in 1842,[42] which he officially obtained on 10 June 1844.[43] Although it is proper terminology to call Lindsay a "Brit-

[39] Morley, *Snow-Storm*, 244. Also see *British Colonist*, 26 April 1843; *British Colonist*, 24 January 1845; *Toronto Globe*, 5 June 1847 and *Toronto Globe*, 22 October 1856. The 1847 posting states: "To be served up this day... Splendid Green Turtle, weighing 125 lbs., together with every other luxury of this season. The Turtle will be served up in all the various modes of English and French cookery. The Subscriber having a large stock of Luxuries on hand, the feasting of good things will continue for several days."

[40] The 1861 Canadian Census for Canada West only listed 9 Black males and 11 Black females from Washington, D.C. Of course there could have been more. See Michael Wayne. "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,* 28:56 (Nov. 1995), 475.

[41] Dann J. Broyld, "Fannin' Flies and Tellin' Lies: Black Runaways and American Tales of Life in British Canada Before the Civil War," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 44:2 (April 2014), 169-86.

[42] Name in full—"John Washington Linzy"/ Residence on the 10th February 1841 —"Saint Catharines." Present Residence —"Saint Catharines"/ Addition degree or occupation —"blacksmith (a colored man)"/ Date of the expiration of the seven years residence —"July 1, 1841"/ Whether the Party was or was not under 16 years of age at the date carried in the next preceding column, and if he was then the date at which he attained that age:—"was over 16 years of age"/ Signature —"J. W. Linzy"/ Date of Registry —"11th June 1842"/ Whether the party made oath or affirmed and if he affirmed as what —"(made oath)"

[43] "I do swear/or solemnly affirm as the case may be/ that I was actually resident within the province of Canada on the tenth day of February in the year of Our Lord One thousand and eight hundred and forty one, at the place named in the declaration to which I have set my name in this Register; that I was continually resident in the said Province for a term of seven years in which this said day was included; that all the other particulars in the said declaration are true to the best of my knowledge and belief and that I do trully believe myself entitled to be admitted to all the privileges of British birth within the said Province under the provisions of an Act of the Legislature thereof passed

ish subject," he chiefly self-defined and referred to himself as a "Citizen."[44] His adopted hometown of St. Catharines was just twelve miles (nineteen kilometers) from the international border. It was an emerging town set along the Welland Canal that underwent shifting patterns of migration, and most Blacks used it as an antidote to freedoms withheld in the United States.[45] The majority of Black refugees who came to St. Catharines prior to the Civil War did not intend to stay long-term, nor did they desire to swear allegiance to the Crown.

In order for Blacks to qualify for naturalization they had to reside in Canada for at least seven years. However, citizenship was not entirely necessary. Blacks simply wanted to enjoy many of the precious civil liberties granted to British subjects, which were outright denied to them in America, such as freedom from bondage and slave catchers. In the 1830s, British citizenship might have lessened the chances of extradition to the United States, but Canadian authorities rarely allowed that to happen. In 1837, when a Niagara judge ordered runaway Solomon Moseby to be lawfully extradited, a crowd and "court of public opinion" freed him.[46] In the 1840s, the provincial Canadian legislation provided greater legal safety for fugitives by means of the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which

in the fifth year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Entitled 'An Act to secure to and confer upon certain Inhabitants of this Province the Civil and Political rights of natural born British subjects' and I do further swear/or solemnly affirm as the case may be/ that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of this Province dependent thereon - so help me God." *Naturalization Records 1842-1849 for the Counties of Lincoln and Welland* (The Ontario Genealogical Society, Niagara Peninsula Branch, St. Catharines, March 1993), 2.

[44] Please note that this article will use the words "Citizen" and "Subject" interchangeably. Although it is proper terminology to call Lindsay a "British Subject," he chiefly self-defined and referred to himself as a "Citizen." Perhaps the usage of "Citizen" was a carryover from the United States as the term was befitting in America.

[45] Jane Rhodes, "The Contestation over National Identity: Nineteenth-Century Black Americans in Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review of American Studies*, 30:2 (2000), 174-86. Samuel R. Ward explained: "The freedom of my adopted country works as an antidote to the moral poisons of slavery and the prejudice of my native country" [Samuel Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, and England* (London: John Snow, 1855, 54.)]

[46] Micheal Power and Nancy Butler, *Slavery and Freedom in Niagara* (Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON: Niagara Historical Society, 1993), 49-53. A three-week protest in late August into September of 1837 was established around the Niagara jail and a petition was circulated to lobby for Mosley's release. The *Niagara Reporter* asserted, only murder, arson, or the rape of a white woman were grounds for returning Blacks to bondage and the *St. Catharines Journal* was concerned about the eroding of "the very foundation of social order" and Black "mobocracy." By the time Mosley was to be transferred back to America under the supervision of a deputy sheriff and military guard, a multiracial, mixed-gendered crowd led by mulatto pastor and teacher Herbert Holmes incited a riot that provided the means for Mosley to escape (*Niagara Reporter*, 21 September 1837; *St. Catharines Journal, 21* September 1837; and 28 September 1837. Also see Janet Carnochan. "Slave Rescue in Niagara Sixty Years Ago." *Niagara Historical Society* 2 (1897), 8-18; and Karolyn Smardz Frost, *I've*

resolved American-Canadian border disputes over extradition[47] by declaring Black runaway slaves virtually safe.[48] The treaty defined seven crimes subject to extradition in Article 10 including: "Murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper."[49] With foundational public policy in place, fugitives had sound reasons to cross the border and the word spread.

Only two other Blacks, John Thomas, a 30-year-old yeoman farmer, and John Bird, a 30-year-old yeoman plasterer, were formally documented with Lindsay as new citizens in St. Catharines on the naturalization paperwork that exist.[50] Other esteemed members of the Black community such as teamsters Thomas Douglas and barbers Aaron Young and Thomas P. Casey are not acknowledged via historical records as having sought this designation in St. Catharines at the time, though they had comparable social status and wealth.[51] Further distinguishing himself, Lindsay actually signed with

Got A Home In Glory Land: A Lost Tale of the Underground Railroad (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 239-46; David Murray, "Hands Across the Border: The Abortive Extradition of Solomon Moesby," *The Canadian Historical Review of American Studies*, 30 (2000) 186-209; Roman J. Zorn, "Criminal Extradition Menaces the Canadian Haven for Fugitive Slaves," *Canadian Historical Review* 38 (December 1957), 284-94.

[47] Gary Botting, *Extradition Between Canada and The United States* (Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers, Inc., 2005), 49-78. Slaveholders' claims for return of escaped slaves, to a large extent, had been denied since 1819 both by way of diplomatic efforts and judicial decisions. In the aftermath of the Imperial Act, which gave vast leeway to the courts and governor to decide whether a fugitive should be returned back to the United States, Southerners tested the British law between 1833 and 1842. See the cases of: Solomon Mosely (or Moseby), Jesse Happy, Nelson Hackett and John Anderson. Murray, "Hands Across the Border," 186-209; Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 168-77, reprinted from 1971; and Fred Landon, "The Anderson Fugitive Case," Journal of Negro History, 7 (1923), 233-42.

[48] Walker, *Race on Trial*, 34; Smardz Frost, *I've Got A Home In Glory Land*, 246-52; Botting, *Extradition*, 78.

[49] See Webster-Ashburton Treaty, Article 10. See Howard Jones, *To the Webster-Ashburton Treaty: A Study in Anglo-American Relations, 1783-1843* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1977) and Francis M. Carroll, *A Good and Wise Measure: The Search for the Canadian-American Boundary, 1783-1842* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

[50] *Naturalization Records 1842-1849 for the Counties of Lincoln and Welland* (The Ontario Genealogical Society, Niagara Peninsula Branch, St. Catharines, March 1993), 3-8.

[51] T.P. Casey ran ads between: *St. Catharines Journal*, 25 November 1847 and *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 25 September 1865. Aaron Young ran ads between: *St. Catharines Journal*, 22 October 1857 and *Daily Times* (St. Catharines), 9 June 1875. Please note: The *St. Catharines Journal* aided liberal measures and took a moderate stance on all issues, while the *St. Catharines Constitutional* was staunchly conservative and maintained a wider circulation. The two early editors of the *Journal*, Hiram Leavenworth (1826-1843) and Thorpe Holmes (1843-1857) maintained a fairly progressive approach, but in 1857 the tone of the paper changed after William Grant (1857-1864) took over. Under the leadership of Grant the coverage of Blacks became more racially prejudiced. (Joanne M. Corbett, *St. Catharines Newspapers History* (unpublished), St. Catharines Public Library Special Collections, 1-13). Please note newspaper accounts are useful sources but they can reflect public opinion or the opinion of a specific editor and, like any resource, can be misleading.

his first two initials and a rendition of his last name "J.W. Linzy" on his naturalization paperwork, demonstrating a degree of literacy, while Thomas and Bird, as well as many whites, could only mark with an "X."[52] He could have learned to read and write in Tennessee in the shadows of captivity. Still, former slaves who could write were a novelty. By the age of 35, Lindsay had overcome much. He went from being a criminal in the United States to a British Canadian citizen with prospects of solid social mobility. Lindsay accomplished this years before African-Americans won citizenship in the United States.[53]

After only a short time on Canadian soil, Lindsay had learned to articulate his loyalty to the Crown in front of a crowd. In 1835, at the original August First celebration in St. Catharines to honor the emancipation of Blacks throughout the British Empire, he offered a toast before a formal dinner party explaining: "Our present gracious King, William the Fourth—May we all join with our brethren in the West India islands, in thanking him for his encouragement towards the abolition of slavery throughout his dominions."[54] Under the reign of William IV, emancipation was declared for approximately 800,000 enslaved persons throughout the British Empire via the Imperial Act of 1833 (Slavery Abolition Act 1833), which was finalized by the British Parliament and became law in Canada on 1 August 1834.[55] In jubilees' wake, many Blacks used the loyalty-card to the monarch as a political tool, while maintaining a transnational disposition, but Lindsay was taking to the *new* country in a more concrete manner. By the end of the decade, he was a highly visible and important member of St. Catharines' Black community.

In the 1840s, while Blacks in Lindsay's *native* Washington, D.C. struggled, he was thriving above the 49th Parallel. The enslaved population in the greater Capital District continued to be "Sold South" and free Blacks were repressed and

[52] *Naturalization Records 1842-1849*, (The Ontario Genealogical Society, Niagara Peninsula Branch, St. Catharines, March 1993), 3. Please note: that the Naturalization records are not complete, by any means, and just because a specific person could not be found in a specific register does not mean that they did not apply for naturalization.

[53] Adopted on 9 July 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granted citizenship to Blacks in America. See Michael Kent Curtis, *No State Shall Abridge: The Fourteenth Amendment and the Bill of Rights* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 26-91.

[54] *St. Catharines Journal,* 12 November 1835, p. 3, col. 1, 2, 3. Also see J.R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Rites of August First: Emancipation in the Black Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007); Natasha L. Henry, *Emancipation Day: Celebrating Freedom In Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010) and John R. McKivigan and John H. Silverman, "Monarchical Liberty and Republican Slavery: West Indies Emancipation Celebrations in Upstate New York and Canada West." *Afro-Americans in New York Life History* 10 (January), 7-18. William IV (1765-1837) reigned over the United Kingdom of Great Britain from June 1830 to his death on 20 June 1837. Known as the "Sailor King" due to his time in the British Navy, which allowed him to travel to North America and the Caribbean, he sat on the Throne when slavery was abolished in the British Empire. William's successor was Queen Victoria (Philip Ziegler, *King William IV* New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1973).

[55] Power and Butler, *Slavery and Freedom*, 31.

closely watched. Solomon Northup, a free farmer and skilled violinist from Saratoga Springs, New York, was convinced by two whites to accompany them to Washington, D.C. to play in a traveling circus. Like Lindsay, he was wrongly enslaved, though a "freeman." Northup highlighted in 1841, "Strange as it may seem" that he was held in "a slave pen within the very shadow of the Capitol!" He was struck by the sheer irony and explained: "The voices of patriotic representatives boasting of freedom and equality, and the rattling of the poor slave's chains, almost commingled."[56]From Washington, Northup was pipelined to Louisiana on a well-developed interstate slave trade route that thrived until the end of the decade.[57] Enduring nearly twelve years in bondage, it was a Canadian carpenter, Mr. Bass, who helped jumpstart the process for Northup to regain his freedom and to reunite with his family in New York.[58]

In the early 1840s, Thomas Smallwood, who was enslaved in Prince Georges County, Maryland, until the age of thirty, began to assist freedom seekers to the American North from Washington D.C. In just an eight-month period in 1842, he claimed to have helped 150 escapees northward.[59] Nonetheless, his success yielded suspicion, and a year later Smallwood and his family fled to Toronto for safety. "I had to leave the metropolis [Washington] of the United States, to seek freedom," Smallwood explained, "from whose legislative halls freedom is proclaimed to all the world, except to the African race, I would seek it in no part of that inconsistent nation, because I was aware that there was no freedom for a coloured person within its limits."[60] Smallwood became an advocate of Black exodus. He was disappointed and annoyed that American abolitionists advised fugitives to stay in the Northern states, when Canada offered greater civil liberties. He explained that possibly thousands of fugitives were induced to stay in the North at the word of abolitionists;

[56] Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Citizen of New-York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and Rescued in 1853* (Auburn, New York: Derby and Miller, 1853), 42-44.

[57] The Compromise of 1850, passed in September by the U.S. Congress, was a package of five bills meant to diffuse the growing tension between the American North and South on the status of the territories gained as a result of the Mexican-American War. It was drafted and chiefly brokered by Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky alongside Stephen Douglas of Illinois. The compromise prohibited slave-trading in the District of Columbia. See Holman Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict: The Crisis and Compromise of 1850* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005).

[58] Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave*, 263-79. Northup professed to Bass: "I know where Canada is...I have been there myself" (269-70). Also see David A. Fiske, Clifford W. Brown and Rachel Seligman, *Solomon Northup The Complete Story of the Author of Twelve Years a Slave* (New York, NY: Praeger, 2013), chapters "The Journey South" and "Rescue."

[59] Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl*, 35. Also see Hilary Russell, "Underground Railroad Activists in Washington, D.C." *Washington History*, 13:2 (Fall/Winter, 2001/2002), pp. 28-49.

[60] Thomas Smallwood. *A Narrative of Thomas Smallwood, (Coloured Man:) Giving an Account of His Birth—The Period He Was Held in Slavery—His Release—and Removal to Canada, etc. Together With an Account of the Underground Railroad* (Toronto: Smallwood; James Stephens, 1851), 36.

"whereas, if they had been encouraged, or even let alone, they would have gone to Canada at first, and be now secure in their persons and property as British subjects."[61] Smallwood disliked the blind hope that many placed in America to act on behalf of fugitives. Like Beverly Snow, he returned to Washington, D.C. shortly after arriving in Toronto. Four men he had previously helped out of the Capital, who wanted to get their wives and children to British soil, solicited him. From the outset the trip was riddled with problems, and Smallwood was fortunate to return to Canada again.[62]

While Washington D.C. was a "City of Magnificent Intentions" as English writer Charles Dickens declared, slavery was a pervasive national reality.[63] This is why Lindsay disregarded a possible homecoming, for he understood that the hampering of his aspirations and endeavours was the likely outcome in the American Capital. To this end, Lindsay arrived in St. Catharines "penniless," yet by way of hard work over some four decades "he hammered out quite a fortune."[64] Arriving in town as 'self-stolen property' gradually Lindsay increased his land holdings and property. In 1852, he owned land on Welland Avenue, Geneva Street, Wellington Street, and Centre Street.[65] By 1862, he had several holdings with multiple houses and over the next decade his

[61] *Ibid*., 45.

[62] *Ibid*., 36-44. It is important to note that in April 1848, over seventy slaves attempted to escape from Washington D.C. to the American North via *The Pearl* with the help of Captain Daniel A. Drayton. The schooner was captured before it got out of the Chesapeake region and upon its return to the Capital a pro-slavery riot broke out to silence the supporters of those that attempted to flee (See: *Daily Union*, Washington, D.C., 19 April 1848; Josephine F. Pacheco, *The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005; and Mary Kay Ricks, "Escape on The Pearl," *Washington Post*, 12 August 1998, H1, H4-5.)

[63] Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (New York, NY: Penguin, 2001, reprinted from 1842). Dickens travelled in North America between January and June 1842 stopping in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Richmond, St. Louis, as well as to Niagara Falls and Montreal, Canada. A critical observer, Dickens noted the striking parallels between the neighbouring nations.

[64] Letter, the Rev . Hiram Wilson, St. Catharines , C.W. 11 January 1854, to William Lloyd Garrison, published in the *Liberator,* 10 February 1854, pp. 22-23.

[65] The Assessment Roll records for St. Catharines before 1854 have been lost; consequently, I have used the Marcus Smith map of the city to identify that Lindsay had property on Welland Ave, Wellington St., and Centre St. by 1852 with multiple edifices. Marcus Smith (1815-1904) was born in Berwick-on-Tweed, England and was trained as a civil engineer. Employed in the survey and construction of the early English railways, he eventually came to America in 1849. There, Smith made maps for a number of cities and towns and even crossed the Canadian border to survey settlements in Canada West (W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 4th Edition* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978), 781). Smith's map of St. Catharines shows three properties owned by J.W. Lindsay / Linolsay. On this map St. Catharines / Grantham Township is what today is Welland Avenue and on the map called "Road between 5th and 6th Concessions Grantham" and shows properties on the south side, west to east. On the south side of this road (in St. Catharines) Lindsay owned Lots 43 and 44 on the south east corner of Geneva Street. Existing buildings are shown on both lots. He is shown on the west side of Wellington Street owning two

taxable property value more than doubled.[66] He emerged from being American 'human property' to owning various Canadian properties inside and outside of St. Catharines' "Colored Village," a respectable section of town.[67] Overall between 1854 and 1876 Lindsay's taxable property increased from some $575 to over $6,000, making him prosperous and influential.[68]

The properties of Lindsay grossed him over $300 a month or more and he was an asset to the community as a landlord.[69] He rented to everyone from common labourers and skilled tradesmen, including a molder, carpenter, mason, sailor, and teamster, to widows.[70] Lindsay permitted two fellow blacksmiths, twenty-four-year-old Adam Anderson in 1854 and fifty-year-old Joseph Cornish in 1866, to dwell in the edifices he managed.[71] Years later, spinster Louisa Decater lived on Centre Street and at the time of Lindsay's death merchant John B. Gwinner inhabited St. Paul Street.[72] Occupation, age, and sex did not play a factor in who occupied his property. Single individuals and small families called his places home and, as a lifelong dog owner, Lindsay allowed his tenants to possess canines as well.[73] Throughout his tenure of renting, no complaints surfaced that Lindsay was a slumlord or a landlord who unrightfully evicted residents. He sought to manage and maintain his holdings properly. Although he rented the majority of his houses out to Blacks in the North Street area, on occasions he hosted white tenants in other neighbourhoods, such as Mary Hogle, a tenant on Duke Street. Hogle, "a hardened old sinner," in the mid-1850s was brought before the mayor for keeping a house of "ill-fame." The *Constitutional*

lots about half way between Duke and Academy (now Church) streets and there are houses on both lots. On the north side of Centre Street (east of Court) he has one lot with a house. Also see Nancy Butler, "Three Black Businessman in St. Catharines," St. Catharines Historical Society, St. Catharines, Ontario. 6 February 1997, p. 9.

[66] St. Catharines Assessment Rolls, 1862.

[67] Popular streets in the "Colored Village" included: North, Geneva, St. Paul, and Concession (renamed Welland). The area was primarily called "The Colored Village" or "The Black Town." However, some referred to it in derogatory terms such as "Coontown" or simply "Africa." (William Wells Brown, quoted in Ripley et al, eds., *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, 465.; *St. Catharines Journal*, 28 January 1847. *St. Catharines Journal*, 12 December 1850; *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 2 November 1865, p. 2.)

[68] St. Catharines Assessment Rolls, 1854, 1872, and 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 398. Please note that this does not include the categories of "Real" or "Personal" property. At the height of his career, Lindsay was worth between eight and ten thousand dollars.

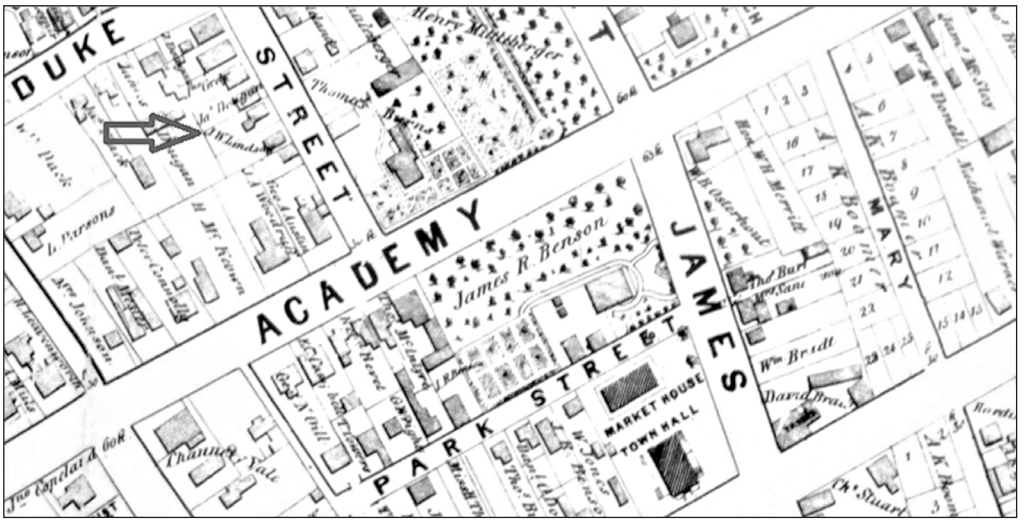
[69] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 398.

[70] See, for example, St. Catharines Assessment Rolls, 1854, 1855, 1860, 1862, 1863, 1866, 1867, 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1876.

[71] St. Catharines Assessment Rolls, 1854 and 1866.

[72] St. Catharines Assessment Rolls, 1872 and 1876.

[73] See St. Catharines Assessment Rolls, 1854, 1872 and 1876 and Bryan Prince, *My Brother's Keeper: African Canadians and the American Civil War* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2015), which highlights the 1862 dog and bitch situation in St. Catharines (225).



Lindsay arrived in St. Catharines "penniless," but, through hard work over some four decades he increased his land holdings and property. In 1852, he owned land on Welland Avenue, Geneva Street, Wellington Street, and Centre Street.

reported: "after the charge being fully established, she was mulcted in the sum of $20... which was paid at once."[74] Luckily the house of prostitution did not directly reflect badly on Lindsay, as most of his renters were considered persons of high character. While Lindsay's rental properties brought him a steady income, the burden could undoubtedly be taxing. Another one of his houses was destroyed after a big fire broke out in 1862 on the corner of Geneva and St. Paul Streets.[75]

Given Lindsay's personal wealth he could have very well lived in any section of St. Catharines he desired, but he elected to stay close to his people in the "Colored Village." There, freeholder Blacks had valuable property and could expect their land holdings to gain equity over time. The average house was worth $500 and stood on a lot that was roughly a quarter of an acre. Black families owned modest framed houses that had from three to six rooms. No Black person in the Village possessed a brick home or luxury items like a private carriage, and few of the residences were whitewashed or painted; most were wood-coloured.[76] Nonetheless, most people did have gardens and livestock such as pigs, chickens, and ducks to help subsidize their food supply.[77] Benjamin Drew, who in the mid-1850s visited the homes of Blacks, commented that they were "plain," yet

[74] "Police Office," *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 27 June 1855, p. 2, col. 6 and St. Catharines Census 1861.

[75] *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 16 September 1862.

[76] Nancy Butler, "Black History in St. Catharines—What the Numbers Say," 6 and William Wells Brown, quoted in Ripley, et al, eds., *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, 464-66.

[77] Ripley, et al, eds., *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, 465.

"neat" and "comfortable within."[78] Abolitionists Harriet Tubman, former Boston fugitive captive Anthony Burns,[79] and missionary Hiram Wilson,[80] all called the Colored Village home. Lindsay was undoubtedly well-connected in his community. He rubbed shoulders with local politicians and most likely with individuals like Frederick Douglass and Jermain W. Loguen, who lectured in town on occasion.[81] Lindsay's status rivaled that of other Black Canadian leaders such as Wilson Ruffin Abbott, Thornton Blackburn, and Mary Ann Shadd.[82] His prominence was the reason why he was one of few people to be solicited for interviews by both Drew in 1855 and Howe in 1863. And the Colored Village of St. Catharines was the place to be for Blacks regardless of their economic status, national origin, or political views. It was a carved out social space "safe" from the larger unsympathetic white mainstream.

The industrious Lindsay worked as a labourer, farmer, teacher, huckster, and blacksmith. On the 1856 assessment record, he was listed simply as a "gentleman," which signified that he was a substantial property owner. Lindsay also managed to have a few business

[78] Drew, *The Refugee*, 12. Also see Daniel J. Broyld. "Borderland Blacks: Rochester, New York and St. Catharines, Ontario, 1850-1860." PhD. Dissertation, Howard University, 2011 and the *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, which has wonderful descriptions of St. Catharines as well as insight on the life and work of Lindsay's contemporaries.

[79] Harriet Tubman lived in St. Catharines between 1851 and 1858. When she was not away on missions to free those in bondage, Tubman stayed on North Street, which Lindsay frequently visited and they could have ran into each other at the local BME church. Anthony Burns came to St. Catharines after his headline-grabbing ordeal with the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 in the United States. Beginning in early 1861, he served as pastor of the Zion Baptist Church. However, it was short-lived; Burns died on 27 July 1862 at the age of 28 from inflammation of the lungs. Burns and Lindsay traveled in the same orbit of elite local Blacks (On Tubman see the works of Jean M. Humez, Catherine Clinton, Milton C. Sernett, Beverly Lowry, Rosemary Sadlier, and, most noted, Kate Clifford Larson, *Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of An American Hero* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 2004). All of these treatments address Tubman in St. Catharines. On Burns see Albert J. Von Frank, *The Trials of Anthony Burns: Freedom and Slavery in Emerson's Boston* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) as well as *St. Catharines Evening Journal*, 9 May 1862 and *The Detroit Free Press*, 6 August 1862, p. 2, col. 3.

[80] Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease. *Bound with Them in Chains: A Biographical History of the Antislavery Movement* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1972), 21, 132. Chapter 6 in the book is titled: "The Clerical Do-Gooder: Hiram Wilson." Wilson wrote regularly to newspapers and correspondents in the abolitionist press. Starting in 1837 his letters were published in *The Liberator*, the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, and *The Emancipator* and reproduced in a variety of other newspapers.

[81] "Canada," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, 3 September 1852, p. 2., *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 17 August 1865, p. 3.; *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 24 August 1864, p. 3.

[82] See M. Dalyce Newby, *Anderson Ruffin Abbott: First Afro-Canadian Doctor* (Markham, ON: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1998) which highlights the life of his parents, Wilson Ruffin and Ellen Toyer Abbott; Jane Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998); Shirley J. Yee. "Finding a Place: Mary Ann Shadd Clay and the Dilemmas of Black Migration to Canada, 1850-1870." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies,* 18:3 (1997), 1-16 and Smardz Frost, *I've Got a Home in Glory Land*.

ventures including a long-standing dry goods grocery store and a small beer company, which stayed afloat for some thirteen years.[83] He was resourceful and underwent several different vocational changes in order to maintain his lifestyle and social status. Lindsay's store doubled as his home and his beer company sold specialty drinks such as lemon beer.[84] While St. Catharines, as the *Evening Journal* reported, was "pretty well off for Merchants, Merchants-Shops and goods of all descriptions and kinds," Lindsay retained a special niche in the marketplace as a Black businessman who targeted customers in his own community.[85] Despite the "pullbacks upon the progress of the colored people," Lindsay explained that he had done "astonishingly well, considering there was so much prejudice."[86]

As a businessman, Lindsay possessed a no-nonsense temperament and he delighted in sharing his skills with other eager Blacks. When bottles were stolen from his brewery company, he posted an ad in the local *Evening Journal* seeking information. The language he used was quite forceful. It read: "I hereby give notice that unless said bottles are returned I shall prosecute any party having them in their possession. Persons having any bottles... please return them immediately, to avoid costs and trouble." He concluded his stern warning by sincerely thanking his patronage.[87] Lindsay also promoted the growth of industry in his community by instructing others to become skilled tradesmen. "I have taught two colored boys to be blacksmiths since I have been here," he explained, "and they both turned out well. They got into shops, after they had worked with me." Lindsay advocated both vocational and liberal arts educational development. He also coveted Black self-help and the building of self-sufficient enterprises or, as he phrased it, making "business within ourselves." Intelligent and industrious, he understood that dependence equaled unemployment.[88]

In 1854, Lindsay was involved in a progressive convention to unite Blacks in British North America around industrial growth and training. It was held in St. Catharines and attracted Blacks from around the colony including Toronto, Hamilton and Amherstburg. Although Lindsay attended the gathering, his exact role is unknown. The participants overall had three main goals. First, they wanted to establish a formal coalition of Blacks in order to "better attain the object so desirable." Secondly, they aspired to create a "Mechanical Institution" so that their "sons may have the opportunity of becoming tradesmen." The committee wanted to provide the means to improve the "Minds, Morals, and Mechanical powers" of the race. Finally, the gathering of men sought to get English, American,

[83] *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 20 May 1862; 16 May 1862, p. 2, col. 1-2.
[84] *Niagara Mail*, 2 July 1851, p. 3, col. 7.
[85] *St. Catharines Journal,* 3 July 1856.
[86] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 398.
[87] *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 20 May 1862.
[88] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 404.

and internal Canadian help for refugees escaping servitude. They concluded with a firm message: "awake to this all-important object."[89] This gathering allowed Lindsay both to meet like-minded Black leaders and to pursue his interest in crafting a Black economic network for the cause of uplift.

While Lindsay was a serious businessman who put long hours into a wide range of work, he still made leisure time to take part in area cattle and agricultural shows. In the 1853 Grantham County Cattle Show, for example, his carriage horses earned him a one-pound prize for best in show.[90] He maintained three to four horses as well as some two cows and entered them into competitions if they proved exceptional. Lindsay got involved in showing animals and crops in the early 1850s and competed for roughly 20 years. In subsequent years to his first victory, he won prizes for his watermelon, orange carrots, large squash, and other agricultural products.[91] In the 1860s, he was at his height and competed regularly, dazzling crowds with his ability to produce. These exhibitions, hosted by local agricultural societies, were spirited, well-attended, and featured food vendors as well as entertainment.[92] The involvement of Lindsay in such leisure activities expressed a level of economic security and recreation not typical for Blacks at the time. He was not just surviving, but rather living.

Lindsay's wealth helped him to support a large family. He met and married his American-born wife, Harriet Hunter of Cincinnati, Ohio, in St. Catharines. Marriage was sacred to Lindsay, particularly since he could not legally engage in matrimony as an enslaved person in the United States.[93] The couple had nine children, though only seven lived beyond infancy; they included: Elizabeth, Irwin (Irvin), Harriet, Susan, John W., Perish (Paris),[94] and Alfred.[95] Mrs. Lindsay, a teacher educated at Oberlin College between 1837 and 1839, took largely to the

[89] "Awake thou that Sleepest, and Arise to Union: In this Land of Happiness and Freedom," *St. Catharines Semi-Weekly Post,* 3 January 1854, p .3, col. 3.

[90] *St. Catharines Journal*, 27 October 1853, p. 3. No "Grantham Country" existed, it should either be Grantham Township or Lincoln County.

[91] "The County Show," *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 2 October 1868, p. 2, col. 3.

[92] *St. Catharines Constitutional,* 20 October 1864; *St. Catharines Constitutional,* `9 October 1865, p. 2, col. 2-4; *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 11 October 1866, p. 3, col. 1; *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 10 October 1867, p. 2, col. 5-6; *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 8 October 1868, p. 2, col. 5-7.

[93] Marriage license list date was 4 August 1840: John W. Linry to Hariett E. Hunter (Reference: RG 5 B9, Volume 8, Library and Archives Canada). See Frances Smith Foster, *'Til Death or Distance Do Us Part: Love and Marriage in African America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009) and Wilma A. Dunaway. *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[94] Perish is a male. It appears that he got into some legal problem for "assault and battery" in 1872, but the details are unclear. Perish paid 3 dollars to get the charge dropped. ("A Family Quarrel," *Evening Journal*, February 24, 1872, p. 3, col. 2.)

[95] St. Catharines Census, 1861.

traditional role of caring for the children and tending to domestic affairs, while Lindsay toiled in the business and public spheres.[96] Arriving to Canada in 1839, Harriet must have played an important role in the business success of her husband.[97] Born on British Canadian soil, John and Harriet's children were citizens, but the border and the influx of fugitives from the United States unquestionably influenced them. They were raised Methodist and enjoyed the comforts of a middle-class lifestyle. Unfortunately, Susan died at the age of 16 of typhoid fever[98] and Irwin, a common labourer, got into legal troubles in the 1860s, which smeared the family name.[99] The other children grew into respectable adults and crisscrossed the Canadian-American border. Alfred followed in his father's footsteps and became a blacksmith. John Jr. and Paris worked as barbers, and daughter Harriet was a dressmaker.[100] Overall, abolitionist Samuel R. Ward, on an 1853 visit, stated that John W. Lindsay lived "as comfortably as any one needs to live"[101] and activist Jermain W. Loguen added simply that the Lindsays were a "happy family."[102]

Social status in St. Catharines had little effect on the type of public education available to Black children and adults. Lindsay was disappointed with the schooling his seven children and others received. From 1846 to 1871, Blacks could only obtain formal edification at the segregated and inadequate St. Paul's Colored School. In 1855, Blacks petitioned the school board to establish a separate Black school. They believed that the board was going to fund and furnish their school's needs properly. However, this never materialized and the St. Paul's Ward school lagged behind public government institutions earmarked

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[96] 1960 Oberlin College Directory, p. 23. (Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio). Also see Peggy Bristow, ed., *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up: Essays in African Canadian Women's History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). This volume argues that Black women played a central role in community building in Canada.

[97] See Carol Lasser, "Enacting Emancipation: African American Women Abolitionists at Oberlin and the Quest for Empowerment, Equality and Respectability," in Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart, eds., *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

[98] *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 13 October 1868, p. 3, col. 2.

[99] "Horrible Outrage Upon a Female!," *St. Catharines Constitutional,* 18 June 1863, p. 2, col. 7.

[100] St. Catharines Census, 1881. Alfred was 21 years old, John Jr. was 24, Paris 26 and Harriet was 30.

[101] "A Recent Tour," *Provincial Freeman*, 24 March 1853. Also see: Frederick R. Black, "Bibliographical Essay: Benjamin Drew's Refuge and the Black Family," *Journal of Negro History,* 57 (1972), 287-88 and Samuel Ringgold Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, and England* (London: John Snow, 1855).

[102] *St. Catharines Journal,* 17 November 1853. Born into slavery in Davidson County, Tennessee, Jermain Wesley Loguen escaped to St. Catharines in the 1830s, like Lindsay. He eventually returned to the United States and settled in Syracuse, New York. There he was active in helping freedom seekers reach Canada and working with abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass and Samuel R. Ward to end Black bondage. See Jermain Wesley Loguen, *The Rev. J.W. Loguen. As a Slave and as a Freeman. A Narrative of Real Life* (Syracuse, NY: J.G.K. Truair and Co., 1859).

for whites. When interviewed by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1863, Lindsay complained about the recent activities of schoolmaster Mr. James Brown who had been "an old drunken teacher for several years" before being released from his position, as the *Evening Journal* reported, for his "free use of liquor." Brown had killed time "half teaching the children" and "sometimes lying drunk in the school house" while the students played outside.[103]

Lindsay was infuriated by the deficient education Blacks received in St. Catharines. The status of the Colored School and Black education was alarming to his wife Harriet and Hiram Wilson as well. Without good education, Lindsay asked: "What are you going to do with the colored people? What will become of them? What kind of citizens will they make?" Lindsay concluded that power-holding whites "Will only make paupers and culprits of them."[104] Wilson, who had been responsible for recruiting teachers to Canada from Oberlin College since the late 1830s, had dispatched needed teachers to Amherstburg, Toronto, Chatham, the Wilberforce settlement, and St. Catharines. In fact, Harriet E. Hunter of Cincinnati was sent to St. Catharines in 1839 by Wilson.[105] The activist and teacher later married John W. Lindsay and, after having nine children, resigned herself largely to domestic affairs.[106] When Hiram Wilson moved to St. Catharines, he and his wife Mary A.H. Wilson[107] attempted to supplement the deficient St Paul's Colored School by opening their own day and evening

[103] *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 15 August 1863.

[104] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 397.

[105] See the full letter from Hiram Wilson to the editor that appeared in the *Liberator*, 6 December 1839. It explained: "I wish the friends of humanity to know, that twelve faithful teachers are now in this field, and three or four more are expected to enter soon. For the sake of their friends I here subjoin their names and locations. Eliza Pettengill of Vermont, is at Amherstburg, George Bills, of Mass and Joshua W. Jones, of Penn Yan, Yates county, N.Y. are at Colchester. Wm. P. Newman, formerly from Richmond Va, is at Chatham, on the river Thames. The above are all in the Western District. Henry L. Baltimore, an African prince, is stationed at London. Emerson Prescott, of Acton, Mass, is now on his way to the Wilberforce Settlement near London. Ari Raymond and his wife, formerly Eliza Ann Lucombe of Boston, Mass, are stationed at lake Simcoe, in the township of Oro, 70 miles north westerly from this place. Abby S. Chamberlain, of the city of New York, and Harriet E. Hunter of Cincinnati, Ohio are at St. Catharines, Niagara District. Mrs Maria a. Eells, of Oberlin Ohio, and Catharine S. M'Kenzie of Vienna, Ontario County, N.Y. are stationed at Toronto. Henry A. French of Middletown, Conn. Is about to proceed from Oberlin to a settlement in the township of Dawn, Western District. One of two more are expected from Oberlin, and one from Farmington, Trumbull county, Ohio. The number of teachers in the province among the colored people the ensuing winter will be 16 – by including myself and wife say 19."

[106] St. Catharines Census, 1861. Two of their children must have died so young that they were never listed on the census; the others included: Elizabeth, Irwin (Irvin), Harriet, Susan, John W., Perish (Paris), and Alfred. Also see Carol Lasser, "Enacting Emancipation: African American Women Abolitionists at Oberlin and the Quest for Empowerment, Equality and Respectability, in Sklar and Stewart eds., *Women's Rights*.

[107] Mary A.H. Wilson was Hiram's second wife. His first wife was Miss Hannah Maria Hubbard whom he married on 17 September 1838 at the Bethel Free Church in Troy, New York. She died at

schools to help Black adults and children get educated. Mary started a school for Black girls at the Wilson's personal residence[108] and their endeavors yielded an enrollment of more than eighty students. However, most of the Black population was not fortunate enough to receive instruction from the Wilsons, and the public school system remained an issue to be resolved.

In 1871, John W. Lindsay signed a petition to permit individuals to attend schools in their own lawful wards. "Here are our children," he explained, "that we think as much of as white people think of theirs, and want them elevated and educated; but, although I have been here thirty years, I have never seen a scholar made amongst the colored people."[109] The education of Blacks in St. Catharines had long been a source of discontent for Lindsay. Education, to him, was a direct link to social achievement and the building of a vivid transplanted immigrant culture. He was indeed a true intellectual and supported exposure to scholarship in all forms. Once when Professor William F. Johnson, a blind man who graduated from the New York Institution, came to St. Catharines well recommended to lecture, Lindsey gratefully supported the event.[110] He believed that greater knowledge for fugitives produced a more informed and engaged society. Lindsay was part of the wave of people, who pushed for the integration of the schools in St. Catharines, a victory that took time but was eventually won.[111]

Lindsay was also highly involved in Black spiritual and political affairs in St.

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the Dawn Settlement in the home of Josiah Henson, the model for "Uncle Tom" in Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel. Hiram Wilson lived in St. Catharines with Mary and his five children; Lydia M. Wilson (b.1843), Mary E. Wilson (b.1845), George S. Wilson (b.1847), John J. Wilson (b.1841). He also applied to be the guardian of former slave Alavana Dicken in 1852. ("Married," *The Colored American*, 22 September 1838, p. 2. and Bishop Daniel Alexander Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Nashville, TN: Publishing House of the AME Sunday Union, 1888).

[108] Hiram Wilson (St. Catharines, Canada West) to Hamilton Hill (Oberlin, Ohio), 13 April 1852, Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.

[109] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 397. Lindsey was speaking directly about St. Catharines; he explained that: "There are several graduates in Toronto, I know." Also see Kristin McLaren "'We had no desire to be set apart': Forced Segregation of Black Students in Canada West Public Schools and Myths of British Egalitarianism" in Barrington Walker, ed. *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2008).

[110] "Exhibition at Prof. W'm F. Johnson and Church Festival," *St. Catharines Journal,* 19 November 1857.

[111] Finally, in early 1871, labourer William Hutchinson filed a suit against the Common School for refusing to admit his son Robert. Afterward, community members signed a petition to permit individuals to attend schools in their own legitimate wards where they lived. Justice Curran Morrison ruled in *Hutchinson versus St. Catharines* that the practices of the government-run institutions were unlawful. After a deferment due to an "overcrowded" white schoolhouse, which was totally fabricated, Robert Hutchinson was admitted. William Hutchinson's lawsuit effectively desegregated the local schools in St. Catharines. See *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 3 February 1871; *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 13 April 1871, p. 2. and *Report of Cases Decided in the Court of Queen's Bench, Vol. XXXI* (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, 1872), 274-79.

Catharines. He served on the building fund committee for the Black African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and as a long-standing trustee.[112] The congregation, demonstrating its transnational orientation, fed, clothed, and sheltered fugitive and free Blacks from the United States. Lindsay was a trustee when the membership decided in 1856 to change its affiliation to the British Methodist Episcopal (BME) Church.[113] Fugitive American and Canadian-born Blacks could not even enter into the United States for AME Conference business without the threat of being captured. Although it appeared that the city's leading Black church was abolitionist and editor Mary Ann Shadd suggested leaving their "Yankee habits alone"[114] by joining a British denomination, the congregation continued their international cross-pollination and interactions. Black American clergy still took the pulpit, and the church continued to build relationships with abolitionists outside Canadian limits and provide charity to fugitive newcomers. Despite the appearance of greater British commitment the congregation, like Lindsay, maintained connections that stretched beyond the politically defined border. Before the Civil War, roughly half of the congregation was from the United States. Like most exiles they were still interested in the dealings of the *Old Country* they had left behind.

Lindsay involved himself in the community in many other ways. He was an active figure in the annual August First celebrations and had a hand in the interracial mutual relief organizations of the St. Catharines Refugee Slaves' Friend Society and the Fugitive Aid Society of St. Catharines, which helped those fleeing the United States to transition into Canadian life.[115] At the 1847 Drummondville Convention to discuss the workings of the failed Dawn Settlement, he represented the Blacks of St. Catharines. In the 1850s, Lindsay lent his help to the Dawn Investigating Committee and worked to resolve the managerial and financial debate over the failed Western Ontario Settlement.[116] In 1851, Lindsay even tried his hand in the electoral politics of the

[112] *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 17 March 1853 and 31 October 1855.

[113] The Rt. Rev. Dr. Daniel D. Rupwate, "A Historical Significance of the 'Salem Chapel' with Reference to the Underground Railroad Movement and A Tribute to Harriet Tubman" (St. Catharines, Ontario, 2006), 20-24.

[114] *Provincial Freeman*, 30 May 1857, 4 November 1854, and 25 April 1854. Also see Mary Ann Shadd, "A Plea for Emigration or Notes of Canada West in Its Moral, Social, and Political Aspect: Suggestions Respecting Mexico, W. Indies and Vancouver's Island, For the Information of Colored Emigrants" (Detroit, MI: George W. Pattison, 1852).

[115] *St. Catharines Journal*, 15 April 1852, p. 2, col. 6.; *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 21 April 1852; *St. Catharines Journal*, 22 April 1852; "Letter from Hiram Wilson," *Voice of the Fugitive*, 6 May 1852.; and *The Black Abolitionist Papers, Vol II-Canada 1830-1865*, 465. In the wake of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the St. Catharines Refugee Slaves' Friend Society was established in 1852, and the Fugitive Aid Society of St. Catharines was started in 1861 by Harriet Tubman, but it was short-lived because of the American Civil War.

[116] *Provincial Freeman,* 15 September 1855.

St. George's Ward, where he lived, but the political attempt was short-lived.[117] However, during elections Lindsay rendered public support to candidates he believed would aid the interest of Blacks. In 1865, for instance, he backed lawyer Thomas Burns who was running for mayor of St. Catharines.[118] Given Lindsay's social status, Burns was ensured the Black-voting block and he won the election, serving as mayor from 1866 to 1868. Lindsay was an active participant in public affairs, whether it be the democratic process, town council meetings, or the school board.[119] And while suffrage for American Blacks was finally being mentioned in the halls of Congress during the Reconstruction era, their counterparts in Canada had been involved in politics for decades.

While Lindsay understood and utilized the power of British Canadian law and the ballot, he was still not able to avoid social unrest and personal inequality. For example, in June 1852, the general peace that prevailed in St. Catharines was broken when at an annual "Training Day" for military and fire companies to demonstrate their skills ended in a race riot. Among the partakers in the training exposition were coloured companies. They put on an impressive display of service and loyalty. One onlooker commented that if ever Canada were in need of the Colored Corps they would "do good service in defence of the country."[120] Despite the admirable demonstrations on the parade grounds, insults were directed at the coloured companies and after a brick was thrown a melee ensued. Whites descended upon the neighbouring Black Village and left it in ruins, leaving mangled people and damaged property.[121] Lindsay had not come to Canada to face episodes reminiscent of the Snow's Riot in Washington D.C. or to be subjugated to unequal protection of the law.

The local St. Catharines press direct-

[117] *St. Catharines Journal,* 23 January 1851, p. 2, col. 4-5.

[118] *Evening Journal,* 14 December 1865, p. 2, col. 4-5. Also see *St. Catharines Journal,* p. 2, col. 4-5. Born in Stamford Township, Canada West, Thomas Burns moved to St. Catharines in 1830 and married Henrietta Margaret Mittleberger, a native of Montreal. They resided on 41 Church Street and were members of the local Church of England. Burns held several civic positions including treasurer of the General and Marine Hospital and member of the Police Board. Burns died on 24 August 1881 and is buried in Victoria Lawn Cemetery in Old Cemetery, Section P, Lot 3.

[119] For examples of public engagement see: *Daily Times* (St. Catharines), 27 January 1874, p. 2, col. 1. and *Daily Times* (St. Catharines), 3 March 1874, p. 2, col. 1.

[120] *St. Catharines Journal*, 1 July 1852, p. 2. It should be noted that the Colored Corps had been used in the past to quell the 1840s Welland Canal riots that occurred as it was being expanded to accommodate larger ships, and to fix and widen the locks. Black troops were stationed in St. Catharines to pacify Irish canal workers. Hostility between the Irish Catholics and Protestants ran high. On several occasions the Corps were called in to restore order. Their ability to suppress violence on the Welland Canal played a key role in the successful renovation of the waterway and demonstrated the level of respect and esteem Black community members at times enjoyed in the greater St. Catharines area (Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, 152-53).

[121] *St. Catharines Journal*, 1 July 1852 p. 2-3; "Fight Between Negroes and Whites," *Frederick Douglass' Paper* 16 July 1852 p. 2. Also see: *Hamilton Gazette*, 1 July 1852, p. 3, col. 1; *Hamilton Gazette*, 8 July 1852; "The St. Catharines Riot," *Toronto Globe*, 31 July 1852, p. 3, col. 2.

ed criticism at the Police Magistrate and Force for not adequately safeguarding life and property in a better manner. The public outcry fueled the Colored Village's rapid recovery. The demand was straightforward: "that mutual good feeling be restored" and "that a subscription list be opened for the purpose of restoring the property of those innocent parties who were the sufferers."[122] Just months later, on 24 August 1852, Frederick Douglass and J.W. Loguen visited St. Catharines to lecture at the city's town hall. The outspoken Douglass gave the impression that all was well and explained that, "he saw no destitution, misery" or "starvation."[123] Furthermore, the town council ultimately paid for the damages done to the Colored Village during the race riot. In 1853, a motion for payment was made by William Hamilton Merritt, Jr. and seconded. Funds were set aside to repair the damages inflicted on the coloured settlement.[124] By the time abolitionist Samuel R. Ward journeyed to St. Catharines, in the same year, he was "pleasantly surprised" at the level of comfort in which Blacks lived.[125]

Such resolve for law and order in the British colony protected not only the community at large but personal liberties as well. When James Duher, an Irish butcher living in the "Colored" section of town, called John W. Lindsay "a black son of a gun," he charged Duher with slander. In the early 1800s, honour was paramount. The grievance was settled after Duher paid a dollar fine to the gentleman Lindsay. The title of the article in which the story was told in the *St. Catharines Constitutional* was appropriately labelled: "A Dark Affair Cleared Up."[126] Lindsay was in many ways satisfied with his legal and electoral dealings in Canada, but was discontented with the way he was treated socially by white residents.

He complained about the limited mixing of the races and was disappointed that he was only invited once to a party hosted by whites in St. Catharines. The lone exception to the rule was a Conservative Party banquet held at the fashionable Stephenson House hotel to honor lawyer and then Attorney General of Canada West, John A. Macdonald, the future first Prime Minister of Canada.[127] On the morning of the event, Lindsay met with Squire Middleborough, who

[122] *St. Catharines Journal*, 8 July 1852, p. 2, Editorial Comment.

[123] "Canada," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, 3 September 1852, p. 2. Douglass announced his visited to St. Catharines in *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, 13 August 1852, p. 2.

[124] St. Catharine Municipal Council Minutes, 14 March 1853.

[125] *Provincial Freeman*, 24 March 1853.

[126] "A Dark Affair Cleared Up," *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 19 October 1859, p. 2. Also see the 1865 St. Catharines City Directory where Duher was listed as butcher, St. Catharines Market, house Queenston, near Geneva; *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 3 May 1866, p. 2, and the 1871 Canadian Census, which documents that he was born in Ireland. In 1874, Duher lived at 159 Church Street and, three years later, at 30 Niagara Street. He died in November 1881. At times he was referred to as "John."

[127] *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 6 December 1860, provided the full text of Macdonald's speech; see also *St. Catharines Evening Journal*, 6 December 1860, and "Fifty-Seven Years Ago in

gave him a ticket and insisted that he attend. Lindsay brought some twenty dollars worth of new clothes and reluctantly went to the gathering. Upon entering, he was introduced to Macdonald as a "Citizen," and the two men greeted each other with a kind handshake. Lindsay was one of the few Black people at the affair and was consequently astonished during dinner as he explained that: "Mr. McDonald hunted me up and set me down to the table... with some of the most conspicuous men of the country." Lindsay boasted that he was never treated so well. It was a pleasant surprise from the cold-treatment he had grown accustomed to.[128]

His time in St. Catharines came with waves of trouble, some more serious than others. In the late 1850s, Lindsay was injured in a carriage accident. His team of horses were frightened by "the horrible noise called music, made by the calliope" of a circus in town. Once the horses began to run in fear, he was flung-out of the wagon and suffered a broken arm and other "slight injuries." Fortunately, Lindsay recovered with rapidity.[129] Years later, he was accused of siccing his "larger vicious" dog on a group of boys, including the twelve-year-old son of Frank Beggy, after they entered his melon patch. Lindsay maintained his innocence. He claimed that the boys had unlawfully jumped his fence and entered into his field, provoking his dog.[130] They were attempting to get back over the railing fifty yards from the road when the dog attacked. "This is not the first time this season," Lindsay explained, "that I have been troubled with boys purloining my melons, onions, [and] carrots." His social standing sometimes made him a target; it seems out of line that a community leader would be guilty of willingly sending his dog after children.[131] He added that his dog never interfered with anyone in the streets, implying that the youngsters were on his land. Often Lindsay's property came up missing. Once the *Evening Journal* reported that he was mourning "the loss of a quantity of provisions, taken from his cellar."[132] Still Lindsay always rebounded sensibly from tribulations, rising above them with skill and elegance, as a "Victorian gentleman" should.[133] Overall "He is a worthy, excellent, Christian man," Hiram Wilson, a constant supporter of

This City," *St. Catharines Standard*, July 30, 1918, p. 7. Also see Ged Martin, *John A. Macdonald: Canada's First Prime Minister* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2013) and Richard J. Gwyn, *Nation Maker: Sir John A. Macdonald: His Life, Our Times* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2011).

[128] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 404. In the quote Lindsay misspelled Macdonald's name.

[129] *St. Catharines Journal,* 19 August 1858.

[130] Lindsay was a lifelong "Dog" and/or "Bitch" owner. See the St. Catharines Assessment Roll, which indicate that he owned a "dog" in 1854 and 1856, and a "bitch" in 1862, 1863, 1866, 1873, and 1876.

[131] *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 11 September 1865, p. 3, col. 2.

[132] *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 16 January 1871, p. 3, col. 2.

[133] See Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, ed., *Black Victorians, Black Victoriana* (Rutgers University Press, 2003) and Vanessa D. Dickerson, *Dark Victorians* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

Lindsay, explained, "and much respected by all who know him."[134]

Unquestionably, his wealth and influence created a paradox. Lindsay was both a valued asset to the Black community as well as a tempting target. One of his biggest tests came when the Reverend James Harper accused him of stealing $200 of the Church's money in 1857. Lindsay was surprised by the accusation. Since 1851, he had been entrusted with the Building Fund for Salem Chapel of the Black BME church and managed to keep an honourable reputation in the community and amongst the congregation. On several occasions Lindsay lent his own horses to haul lumber to the construction site of Salem and he fronted money to prevent work stoppages. In a letter to the editor of the *St. Catharines Journal*, Lindsay sought to clear his name. He explained that soon after the Reverend Harper became pastor in 1855, some suspicious dealings started to occur.[135] Harper lied about the balance remaining on the Church's mortgage, and once he found out what Lindsay was worth, he figured he would attempt to swindle him out of several hundred dollars. The BME Church was already in financial straits and Harper's dishonesty only added a layer to its existing problems. The clash between the two men became more serious after Lindsay charged Harper with threatening to take his life.[136]

The church congregation and its treasurer Jesse Bavnand came to his defense. "I take this method to inform the public," Bavnand explained, "that the report that has got out about J. W. Lindsay's using the Church money for his own proposes, is a perfect falsehood; for I was the Treasurer of the Church Funds from the commencement of the building to the end." The claims of Harper lost credibility after Bavnand affirmed that he did not witness any unlawful activity during his tenure. Moving forward, Bavnand proclaimed, "I hope the community will not look upon Mr. Lindsay with contempt under such false reports."[137] Carpenter John Jackson also confirmed that Harper was "wanting in truth." He stated that the balance on the Church was $300 when it was only half that amount. Lindsay regained his honorable name. Afterward he explained, "honesty triumphed as I now stand as fair and unspotted before the people as I did before the advent of Mr. Harper." As for Harper, he was deemed "unfit to guide or take charge of a church," and later became a carpenter.[138]

Lindsay always had a unique way of overcoming misfortune. A short time

[134] Letter, the Rev. Hiram Wilson, St. Catharines , C.W. 11 January 1854, to William Lloyd Garrison, published in the *Liberator,* 10 February 1854, pp. 22-23.

[135] *St. Catharines Journal,* 3 September 1857. "B.M.E, colored Church," *St. Catharines Journal,* 22 October 1857, p. 3.

[136] "Police Report," *St. Catharines Journal*, 9 July 1857.

[137] *St. Catharines Journal,* 3 September 1857.

[138] *Ibid*. On 21 April 1863, midway through the American Civil War, at the Coloured Wesleyan Methodist Church in Toronto, "Rev." Harper was selected as one of seven to work on a committee to draft a pro-Union address for Blacks in Canada. It was published in the *Anglo-African* (New York, NY) on 9 May 1863 as the "Address to the Colored Citizens of Canada." Thomas Smallwood of

after the Harper affair, instead of being accused of wrongdoing, he was ridding the BME Church of a real underhanded agent. In a "Notice to the Public" Lindsay stated that H. J. Young would be dismissed as an employee of the church "as he has been found dishonest." Appointed in September of 1857, Young had "refused to furnish any return, or to pay over any of the money he has collected on behalf of the Church," reported Lindsay.[139] He was a leader who took seriously the message of honesty and upward deportment taught at his house of worship and never undermined the church's mission.

Another major trial that John W. Lindsay endured concerned his son Irwin. In the summer of 1863, Irwin and two other Blacks, George Myers and Henry Starks, were accused of raping Mrs. Catherine Moore, a white woman. The *St. Catharines Constitutional* reported that the men violated "her in the most shocking and revolting manner, and then left her lying by the roadside in the rain, little caring what became of her as long as their fiendish propensities had been gratified." Mrs. Moore remained alive for a few days after the attack and managed to identify her assailants before dying. While police arrested Myers and Starks, Irwin Lindsay slipped across the international border to Buffalo, New York, in order to evade authorities. Ironically, Dr. Clark, who attended to Moore before she passed away, claimed that the injuries inflicted by the party of men were not sufficient enough to produce death. Her immediate cause of death, he concluded, was inflammation of the lungs.[140]Two weeks after the rape, Irwin was detained in Buffalo. Chief Constable Adam Montgomery[141] of St. Catharines brought him safely to the town's Great Western Railway station, planning to book him. "However," the local paper explained, "Lindsay, by a timely strategic movement outflanked his unsuspecting keeper, and retreated from his custody on the 'double quick.'" Montgomery ran after him, but "he was not speedy enough for his nimble prisoner, who, although hand-cuffed made good his escape."[142]

This affair embarrassed John W. Lindsay, who was a respected and law-abiding citizen. Irwin later was recaptured near Lockport, New York, "after a vigorous resistance" in which he "attempted to stab his captors." This time Chief Montgomery obtained an assistant and brought Irwin successfully back to St. Catharines to face his charges.[143] He stood trial at the next assizes, and Judge Lawder set his bail at 1,000 dollars. Undoubtedly the affluence of his father helped Irwin. Although the public outcry was: "Let him receive the same incarceration as his companions in

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Washington, D.C and his son, a Toronto proprietor Thomas W.F. Smallwood, sat on the committee as well.

[139] "Notice to the Public," *St. Catharines Journal,* 11 August 1859, p. 3, col. 4.

[140] "Horrible Outrage Upon a Female!," *St. Catharines Constitutional,* 18 June 1863, p. 2, col. 7.

[141] "Adam Montgomery: St. Catharines First Chief of Police," *St. Catharines Standard*, 4 September 1958.

[142] "Arrest and Escape of an Outlaw," *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 2 July 1863, p. 2, col. 7.

[143] "Lindsay Recaptured," *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 9 July 1863, p. 2, col. 7.

iniquity" and that "the crime... is too serious to admit of his being enlarged," he was released on bond anyway. The community was incensed that a person who attacked a "poor helpless female" was now roaming freely and not "out of the way of temptation."[144]

In November of 1863, Irwin and the two other Blacks involved in the case stood trial. "The manner in which the evidence was given by the witnesses," the *Evening Journal* reported, was surprising since "each one apparently having a most vivid recollection of all the particulars of casual conversations and occurrence taking place some time since."[145] The stories of the witnesses were clearly fabricated and as a result the defendants were acquitted due to lack of evidence. The accused trio, the *Constitutional* explained: "had the benefit of a defect in the law, which enables criminals to elect for separate trials instead of being tried together, by which each in turn may testify in the other's behalf." Following an hour of deliberation by the jury the three men received a "Not guilty" verdict and they narrowly escaped lengthy prison sentences.[146]

Despite dealing with his son's legal problems, Lindsay remained current on Civil War developments in the United States throughout the early 1860s. He witnessed scores of Blacks with American origins return *home*, yet he was unyielding.[147] From a business standpoint he explained that, "The war affects us badly here." Still, Lindsay was somewhat optimistic and stated: "I think that perhaps God means to bring good out of this great war." He understood that the two bordering nations were interconnected, meaning if American bondage was eradicated, Blacks in Canada would benefit as well.[148] "We feel the effects of slavery desperately in this country," he emphasized, "Slavery curses every man on the continent of America."[149] Throughout the conflict, the reverse migration claimed thousands

[144] "Out on Bail," *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 16 July 1863, p. 3, col. 1.

[145] "Rape," *Evening Journal*, 5 November 1863, p. 1.

[146] "Lincoln Assizes," *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 5 November 1863, p .2, col. 6-7. In spite of dodging a guilty verdict, Irwin managed to stay in the St. Catharines news for the wrong reasons. Years later, St. George's Ward electoral candidates appealed the vote of Irwin because he produced no property deed. The *Daily Times* reported that using the ballot without formal paperwork was "Not allowed"; *Daily Times* (St. Catharines), 6 October 1874, p. 2, col. 2-3. Also note, as Barrington Walker explained in *Race on Trial: Black Defendants in Ontario's Criminal Courts, 1858-1958* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), actual trial records can often have very little in common with what was reported in the local newspapers (149-82).

[147] Adam Arenson, "Experience Rather than Imagination: Researching the Return Migration of African North Americans during the American Civil War and Reconstruction," *Journal of American Ethnic History,* 32:2 (Winter, 2013), 73-77.

[148] See the classic work Robin Winks, *The Civil War Years: Canada and the United States* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); as well as John Boyko, *Blood and Daring: How Canada Fought the American Civil War and Forged a Nation* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2013); Richard Reid, *African Canadians in Union Blue: Volunteering for the Cause in America's Civil War* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2014) and Bryan Prince, *My Brother's Keeper: African Canadians and the American Civil War* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2015.)

[149] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 398.

and demonstrated how connected Blacks were to Britain. As a rule, Black property owners were less likely to leave Canada than those who were landless. Lindsay, a trustee of the BME Church, backed the Emancipation Proclamation celebrations and the mourning activities held at the church to honor President Lincoln after his assassination. Faced with the opportunity to go back to the United States, he decided that St. Catharines provided him with the greatest possibilities.[150]

In the post-Civil War years, Lindsay remained in Canada, but he never viewed it as a "Promised Land."[151] In fact, he explained "I find the prejudice here the same as in the States. I don't find any difference at all."[152] Although Canada offered greater legal rights, the belief in Black innate inferiority was a transcending sentiment regardless of national borders.[153] For Lindsay the reality of Canadian racism clouded notions of it as a "haven."[154] He by no means felt a true sense of belonging to a nation, despite literally being a citizen of Canada.[155] "In this country," he asserted, "they will twit us with having been in Virginia, and about having been in slavery. They take hold of it as a handle to throw their stigmas upon us." He was most disappointed that adults passed down bigotry to their children with misleading talk of "the 'niggers' do this, and the 'niggers' do that."[156] Poignantly, Lind-

[150] *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 3 January 1865; *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 17, 20 April 1865

[151] The Canadian "Promised Land" discourse overemphasizes Black freedoms enjoyed in Canada prior to the Civil War and beyond. It casts the British colony as a "Haven" and overlooks the transcending sentiment of racism that was present on both sides of the American-Canadian border. While there were legal differences that hampered bigotry in Canada, the social reality must not be taken out of context, as prejudice could be just as pervasive on the Crown's soil. The "Promised Land" historical literature treats Canada as if it was an ideal "Heavenly" place floating above19th- and 20th-century intolerance and Black degradation. See Smardz Frost, *I've Got A Home In Glory Land*; Sharon A. Roger Hepburn, "Following the North Star: Canada as a Haven for Nineteenth-Century American Blacks," *Michigan Historical Review*, 25:2 (Fall, 1999), 91-126; and Sharon A. Roger Hepburn, *Crossing the Border: A Free Black Community in Canada* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007). Also Boulou De B'Beri, Nina Reid-Maroney, and Handel K. Wright, *The Promised Land: History and Historiography of the Black Experience in Chatham-Kent's Settlements and Beyond* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014) which explained that it is trying to "move beyond the boundaries of the term [Promised Land] itself" (4).

[152] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 397.

[153] See Barrington Walker, ed., *The African Canadian Legal Odyssey: Historical Essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012) and Walker, *Race on Trial*.

[154] See, Jason H. Silverman, "The American Fugitive Slave in Canada: Myth and Realities," *Southern Studies,* 19:3 (1980), 215-27 and Jason H. Silverman, *Unwelcome Guests: Canada West's Response to American Fugitive Slaves* (Millwood, NY: Associated Faculty Press, Inc, 1985), 12. Blacks were "Unwelcome Guests" in Canada, Silverman argues, because of the social and institutional discrimination they experienced, but from a legal standpoint they benefitted significantly.

[155] See Russ Castonovo, "'As to Nation, I Belong to None': Ambivalence, Diaspora, and Frederick Douglass," *American Transcendental Quarterly,* 9 (September 1995), 245-55. This work, by way of Douglass, demonstrates the difficulty Blacks had in the nineteenth century with a national affiliation as "American," "Canadian," or otherwise. Castonovo explained that Blacks were "dislocated by a history of freedom and enslavement and estrangedly caught between the heim (home) and the unheim" (235-55).

say did make one distinction between the racial treatment of the "English" and "Canadians," stating that the British were more "moderate in their views" of Blacks. Lindsay highlighted: "They do not seem to have so much scorn of the black man, nor so much disposition to browbeat him, as the Canadians."[157] He remained critical of his adopted country stating that, "the slaveholders have not so much absolute prejudice as the people here [Canada]—not half." This reflected his dislocation, search of place, and simple desire to be counted among the "human family."[158]

Throughout John W. Lindsay's life he used his community status as an agent for change and showed great compassion for people. When 86-year-old Mrs. Hannah Stevenson lost her husband Edward and was too incapacitated to work, Lindsay and others requested aid for the elderly Black woman at a city council meeting. He wanted Stevenson, who had been jobless for more than a year, to be able to live the rest of her life peacefully in her suburban Queenston Street home.[159] Lindsay was profoundly influenced by an event he experienced while enslaved and passing through Lookout Mountain, Tennessee with a grove of hogs. There, he saw two people "in the neighborhood of eighty years old" starving and living in "dirt, poverty, and distress." He asserted: "They could not be of any service so their master had turn them loose upon the mercy of the world." Before leaving the mountains, Lindsay gave the senior couple some meat. The woman "dropped upon her knees" in gratitude, while the man so hardened by the drudgery of life could not engender any emotion. Lindsay frankly asked: "What can you expect of him?" He hated the way that elderly Blacks were casually disposed of. "The old slaves," Lindsay expounded, "are generally left to sit round in rags and dirt, and take care of the children; and when they cannot do that, they just lie round and suffer, until they die."[160] He was not going to tolerate the mistreatment of the elderly in Canada; therefore, he defended Stevenson. It should also be noted that Lindsay provided shelter for elderly widows Mary Ann Brown and Mrs. E. Dunlap in his rental properties.[161]

In his own old age, Lindsay remained strongly active and the grace he had bestowed upon others was granted to him.

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[156] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 404.

[157] Allen P. Stouffer, *The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario, 1833-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press,1992). Stouffer provides a "group profile" of the antislavery movement in Canada and argues that nearly all the leaders and followers were British immigrants, meaning that the white *native* Canadian population were not heavily involved. They acted more so with glaring paternalism and indifference as compared to their British counterparts. Stouffer's profile also specifies that Blacks were the chief actors fighting for their own liberation and equality. The claims of Stouffer are befitting of Lindsay's lived experience in Canada.

[158] 1863 American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 399.

[159] *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 8 December 1868, p. 2.

[160] 1863 American Freemen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 401. See Stacey K. Close, *Elderly Slaves of the Plantation South* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996).

[161] St. Catharines Assessment Roll 1860 and 1862. Brown lived on North Street and Dunlap on

In his late sixties, he was still leading August First celebrations as he had done when he initially arrived.[162] "The British flag proudly waved," the *Evening Journal* reported in 1873, "at the head of the procession. Mr. J. W. Lindsay and Mr. Charles Cochrane acted as Marshals of the day."[163] The parade was followed by an afternoon "picnic" and evening social gatherings in which Lindsay was not likely to retire early.[164] As a community elder, Lindsay indisputably continued to take interest in his people, neighbourhood, and naturalized nation. In 1874, nearly two years before his death, he requested that sidewalks be constructed on the well-travelled Geneva Street.[165] Lindsay was aware of the issues in St. Catharines, whether it was a matter of personal suffering, discrimination, or even a much needed public works project.

After being ill for four months and under the care of a leading local physician, entrepreneur, and future mayor, Lucius S. Oille,[166] John W. Lindsay finally died of hypertrophy on 31 January 1876, at the age of 71. He was interred at Victoria Lawn Cemetery in St. Catharines after the ground defrosted enough on 2 February 1876.[167] In his last will and testament, written one month before his death, Lindsay left his wife Harriet, companion of more than thirty-five years, a substantial estate, which included the revenue from his store on St. Paul Street and two buildings on Centre Street. If the proceeds were insufficient, she could also obtain rent from his other properties.[168] The executors of his will were Irish businessmen and long time residents of St. Catharines, butcher Richard Peterson[169] and food merchant Thomas McCa-

Geneva Street.

[162] *St. Catharines Journal,* 12 November 1835, p. 3, col. 1 ,2, 3.

[163] "The Procession," *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 1 August 1873. See the *St. Catharines Daily Times,* 4 June 1870, p. 3. In 1870, Charles Cochrane was charged with stealing 80 cents from Madden's Barber Shop and was sentenced to one month in a Hamilton jail.

[164] "First of August," *Evening Journal* (St. Catharines), 1 August 1873

[165] *Daily Times (St. Catharines)* 3 March 1874.

[166] Dr. Lucius Sterne Oille (October 1830-15 August 1903) graduated in 1859 as a Gold Medalist physician from the University of Toronto. He was the only "Gold Medalist" doctor in St. Catharines. He lived on fashionable Queen Street, between King and St. Paul, and in 1878 served as city mayor. Oille was of German ancestry and the grandson of New Jersey Loyalists who, after arriving in Canada, received land in Pelham Township where Dr. Oille was born. The *St. Catharines Standard* explained: "His professional skill attracted a faithful clientele which once established, remained loyal. His devotion to civic interests has left a record of accomplishment that has not been surpassed down through subsequent years." He also installed the first x-ray machine in Ontario (*The Daily Standard*, 15 August 1903, the quote is from the *St. Catharines Standard*, 14 March 1946).

[167] The Lindsay burial plot at Victoria Lawn; Old Cemetery, Section A, Division 3, E½ of Lot 2 contains the remains of: Grave 1 - A. Sophia Lindsay, 12 years of age, died 8 February 1858; Grave 2 – John W. Lindsay, 71 years of age, died 31 January 1876; born in the U.S., married; Grave 3 – Harriet Lindsay, 65 years of age, died 28 March 1881; born in the U.S., widowed; Grave 4 – Amanda Lindsay, 47 years of age, died 28 January 1890; married.

[168] The estate files of John W. Lindsay was probated in Lincoln Surrogate Court, Archives of Ontario, Microfilm GS1, Reel 657, Number #627, 1875.

[169] "R. Peterson Passes Away," *St. Catharines Journal*, 30 July 1918, p. 7, col. 3. The article has Pe-

rthy.[170] It is curious that Lindsay named two non-relatives as executors, and did not use any of his sons or sons-in-law.

Nonetheless, the Peterson-McCarthy duo was quite up to the task. McCarthy was an elected member of the town council that ran St. Catharines with the mayor.[171] And Peterson, who was "held in the highest esteem by all who knew him," was active in the local Black community, and a member of the Independent Order of Oddfellows (I.O.O.F), which had a funeral aid society that helped families handle the loss of their loved ones.[172] Lindsay had worked closely with Peterson and McCarthy for years in the local food and grocery industry. He confided in them, and trusted them with his estate. Lindsay's will established that his daughter Harriet could benefit from the estate on condition that she remained single.[173] It appears that Lindsay was simply seeking to protect his family's assets and not engaging in coded "patriarchy from beyond the grave."[174] He signed his will "JW Lindsay," rather than the "J.W. Linzy" he inscribed his 1842 naturalization form, showing an evolution in his own education. As for his widow, who was the key in shaping his appreciation of education, she continued to live on Geneva Street until her death of paralysis on 28 March 1881 at the age of 65.[175] According to Lindsay's will, his estate was to be sold and divided between his children following Harriet's death.

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terson's obituary. Peterson was also at the 1860 gathering where Lindsay met John A. Macdonald. *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 6 December 1860 and *St. Catharines Evening Journal*, 6 December 1860.

[170] Thomas McCarthy was born 1 February 1829 in Niagara On-The-Lake and was raised a Methodist. As an adult he worked as a meat merchant and was described in the city directories variously as a "hide dealer" and a "pork packer." Between 1881 through 1886 he was a councillor on St. Catharines council. On 17 September 1891, he died in St. Catharines at age of 62 (See 1861 Grantham Township Census, 1871, 1881, and 1891 St. Catharines City Directories 1874 and 1879 and the Ontario Death Registration). On the 1901 St. Catharines Census his wife Catharine McCarthy was listed as a widow.

[171] *Daily Times* (St. Catharines), 5 February 1873, p. 2; *Daily Times* (St. Catharines), 3 March 1874, p. 3; *Daily Times* (St. Catharines), 2 April 1874, p. 3; and *Daily Times* (St. Catharines), 8 June 1875, p. 3.

[172] "R. Peterson Passes Away," *St. Catharines Journal*, 30 July 1918, p. 7, col. 3; *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 9 January 1862, p. 2 and *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 6 February 1862, p. 2. For Oddfellows information: John N. Jackson and Sheila M. Wilson. *St. Catharines Canada's Canal City* (The St. Catharines Standard Limited: St. Catharines, ON, 1992), 191-92. Also see J. Powley, *Concise History of Odd Fellowship* (The Grand Lodge of Ontario, I.O.O.F., 1943) and articles chronicling the St. Catharines I.O.O.F. by Dennis Gannon "Yesterday and Today," *St. Catharines Standard*, April 26, 1999, p. A6; and Gail Benjafield, "36 James Street: Nicholson-Macbeth Building is Home To I.O.O.F. Union Lodge 16," *The Downtowner* (St. Catharines) 12:5 (November/December, 1996), 16-19.

[173] Butler, "Three Black Businessman in St. Catharines," 9.

[174] See Bettina Bradbury, *Wife to Widow: Lives, Laws and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Montreal* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011).

[175] Harriet E. Lindsay is buried in Old Cemetery, Section A, Division 3, East Part of Lot 2. Also no obituary exists for John W. or Harriet; all of the newspapers from St. Catharines between 1 January 1876 and 1 January 1891 have been destroyed.

In all, John W. Lindsay was a complex figure. Born "free," but really "a slave without a master" in Washington D.C., he was kidnapped into bondage "like thousands of others."[176] A Tennessee runoff, he transformed from an offender of United States law to a wealthy, respected subject of British Canada. Lindsay obtained naturalization in Canada and was made a citizen in 1844, something by way of birth or process he could not have achieved in the U.S. until 1868. He was a BME church trustee, the owner of a beer company, the richest Black in St. Catharines, and an agricultural showman, all the while compassionate about lowly fugitives from America. He was a legal husband to his accomplished and highly educated wife Harriet and the Canadian government officially recognized their marriage. Still the executors of his will and testament were two Irishmen. Lindsay was a forthcoming and law-abiding civilian with a troubled son, Irwin and a tenant, Mary Hogle, who ran a house of prostitution out of one his rentals. He was known in American and Canadian abolitionist circles, had most of his political needs met, and made his social desires known. Living in the borderland town of St. Catharines provided Lindsay with political alternatives, but he undoubtedly showed more allegiance to Canada though he was critical of both North American nations and many times felt nationless.[177] Lindsay remained prominent in St. Catharines for forty years and intimately engrossed himself in church, education, business, and political affairs. He met Canada's first Prime Minister and bore the name of the first U.S. President.

However, the most remarkable thing about Lindsay's story is that it should have never happened at all. He was born "free" in of all places Washington D.C., but in order to receive the rights and privileges enumerated in the Declaration of Independence and granted by the United States Constitution, he had to flee to Canada. Lindsay's contemporary, Henry Bibb, in a song entitled "The Fugitive's Triumph" penned it best to American newcomers to Canada: "we bid you welcome to all the privileges and immunities of a citizen of Canada, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."[178]

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[176] 1863 American Freemen's Inquiry Commission Interview, 396. See Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*; and Hahn, *The Political Worlds*. The first chapter of the book "Slaves at Large" again investigates the blurred lines of emancipation, political rights, liberties, and immunities in the American North.

[177] Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review*, 104:3 (June, 1999); Jane Rhodes, "The Contestation over National Identity: Nineteenth-Century Black Americans in Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review of American Studies*, 30:2 (2000), 174-86; Kim D. Butler, "Abolition and the Politics of Identity in the Afro-Atlantic Diaspora Toward a Comparative Approach." in Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline A. McLeod, eds., *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora*.(Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), 121-33.

[178] *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (Salem, Ohio), 24 April 1846. Also see *Provincial Freeman*, 22 August 1857.