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**“On the importance of education...it is as necessary as the light—it should be as common as water, and as free as air... ”:
Perpetuating Racial Discrimination through Education in
Nineteenth Century Windsor and Sandwich**

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Cover Page Footnote

2013 Botsford Memorial Scholar Award Winner. Jessica Knapp is from Maidstone, Ontario. She completed her undergraduate degree in History and English Language and Literature in April 2013. Jessica discovered an appreciation for challenging social construction in a wide range of topics, but she also became absorbed with the local history of Windsor. Starting in September 2013 Jessica will be attending the University of Western Ontario

2013 Botsford Memorial Scholar Award Winner

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Initial community development begins with a group of people that build a church, a school, a mill, and a tavern. Intellectual growth depends on the availability of education and debate. Windsor and Sandwich were developing in this pattern in the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, in 1836, the British Commonwealth’s abolition of slavery transformed the community’s dynamics. Freedom for blacks in Canada was the main reason for emigration from slavery in the United States. Blacks travelled from across the United States to Canada using the Underground Railway until the Civil War. A plausible destination for blacks was Sandwich, among other sites including Chatham, Toronto, and Niagara Falls. The influx of escaped slaves

into the population of Sandwich and Windsor was not a surprise for Windsorites, but the integration of blacks into the Sandwich-Windsor communities was not reflective of the accepting, 'safe-haven' reputation Canada is celebrated for today. The white discrimination of blacks in Windsor and Sandwich in the nineteenth century sparked because of the quick influx of blacks into the area and the white perception that blacks were infected by the immorality of slavery. The circulating media in Sandwich and Windsor communities in the nineteenth century expressed a racial prejudice from whites, as well as a divide within the black community over plans of community integration that developed through the educational system; the Black community participated in the segregation of educational structures and practices, which sustained racial discrimination into the twentieth century.¹

The Fugitive Slave Act was passed by the United States Congress in 1850. It changed the conditions for slaves who escaped to the Windsor and Sandwich areas because slaves could be recaptured by masters claiming ownership to a judge.² However, the closeness to the border maintained the fear of being recaptured. *The Fugitive Slave Act* encouraged more slaves to escape all the way to Canada; in turn, increasing the use of the Underground Railroad (as the first stop was now in Sandwich). The enlarged amount of fugitive slaves that travelled through and settled in Windsor and Sandwich sparked racial prejudice. As the population density of blacks grew it induced a larger prejudicial response from Windsor and Sandwich residents, exacerbated by their location next to the American border.³ The proximity to the American border linked the residents of Sandwich and Windsor to American social, political, and economical events. This increased racial prejudice was felt, and in response the Black commu-

nities attempted to slow the emigration of fugitive slaves into Sandwich as well as promote the continued travel to areas like Chatham. Thus, prior to an analysis of the schools in Windsor and Sandwich in the nineteenth century, it is important to note the already existing and active Canadian negrophobia.⁴

The educational system that developed in Canada, starting in the 1840s, was initially based upon the legislation of the Common Schools Act of 1841, and in the Common Schools Act of 1850, which pertained to specifically Upper Canada. The Act established the rules and regulations of Common schools. A Common school was an educational institution that did not segregate based on religion or is what we now call a public school.⁵ The Act also laid out the regulations of separate schools. Separate schools were advocated for by Roman Catholics, which was the only religion in Canada to push for separation within the education system.⁶ The request of separation for religion was granted on the basis that enough families within the district were Catholic. The same ideology reflected the treatment of blacks in Windsor and Sandwich, but was intended to be only temporary in light of what was thought to be a coming integration. The Act stated that if there were more than five black families within the district a member of the black community could request for a coloured school to be built.⁷ The Board of Education as well as the government of Upper Canada allowed segregation of students based on race, if proper conditions were met. The limited educational opportunities for blacks in Windsor and Sandwich were clearly a result of negrophobia because the school acts were written and imposed by whites; however, it was not solely due to prejudice that the Black community struggled to integrate into the school system.

In the 1850s, the Black community developed a strong abo-

litionist mentality through the work of the Refugees' Home Society; Henry Bibb, and Mary Ann Shadd Cary. Shadd and Bibb both advocated for integration within schools and the community, but their approaches varied. Shadd advocated for interracial schools; an advertisement for Shadd's school in 1851 from her own newspaper, *The Provincial Freeman*, stated "no complexional distinctions will be made."⁸ Bibb expressed his opinions, which supported the Refugees' Home Society through his own newspaper, *The Voice of the Fugitive*.⁹ Bibb advocated, like Shadd, for interracial schools, which would assist in developing an integrated community. The difference between Shadd and Bibb were their approaches to an integrated community. Bibb and the Refugees' Home Society requested funds from the government to develop schools, churches, and other institutions necessary to develop the community.¹⁰ Bibb advocated for developing an independent black community prior to integration, but failed when he and the Refugees' Home Society used government funding. Shadd disagreed with assistance from the white Canadian government to develop the black community because she believed that to develop a black community it had to be done without the support of the already established whites.¹¹ Shadd advocated that the way to defuse racial segregation was to be self-reliant; Bibb did not approach the situation in the same way. The contrast in approaches delayed school integration in Windsor and Sandwich.

Both Shadd and Bibb controlled media outlets, *The Provincial Freeman* and *the Voice of the Fugitive*, respectively, which allowed them to express their opinions throughout Windsor and Sandwich. Bibb established the *Voice* in 1851, the same time Shadd had started a common school in Windsor. The *Voice* published an article which expressed concerns over the presence of an integrated school in

Windsor with a comparison to Chatham, Dawn, London, and Buxton. Bibb commented on the single school house run by Shadd as “...a colored school—a mark of prejudice uncalled for by the Government under which we live and which has a tendency to perpetuate that prejudice against color...”¹² Bibb continued to attack Shadd by inaccurately reporting the payment she received from students, the support received from the American Missionary Association, in addition to her character.¹³ Bibb successfully manipulated the black community’s perception of Shadd. Consequently, Shadd initially refuted Bibb’s claims by publishing a pamphlet and holding a public meeting, and in 1853 beginning her own newspaper, *The Provincial Freeman*.¹⁴ Shadd was the first black woman who wrote and published a newspaper in Canada.¹⁵ The angst and divided approaches between Shadd and Bibb hurt the development of black communities in Windsor and Sandwich and was a significant reason for the divided educational support.

These newspapers circulated Windsor and Sandwich in the nineteenth century: *The Provincial Freeman* (1853-1857), *The Voice of the Fugitive* (1851-1852), *The Western Herald* (1838-1842), and *The Windsor Evening Record* (1893-1918). Of the four central papers, they were split between two wide predominate audiences: settled whites and newly arrived fugitive slaves, which were narrowed by the level of literacy in Windsor and Sandwich. Shadd acted with agency as she stepped out of the women’s private sphere, publicly advocated for integration, and clearly expressed her abolitionist mindset.¹⁶ The important difference was that Shadd was aware the black community needed to be self-reliant and self-developed before a full integration could happen; black community leaders became aware of the importance of an initial self-sufficient community later into the nineteenth century.¹⁷

While she supported interracial schooling, she believed that blacks needed to be seen as equals by the existing residents of Windsor and Sandwich—who were middle-class whites—in order to integrate fully into the community.

The two papers, *The Voice of the Fugitive* and *The Provincial Freeman* were written and edited by former slaves that emigrated to Windsor and Sandwich; they were abolitionist papers. The other two, *The Western Herald* and *The Windsor Evening Record*, do not have records of writers or editors, but expressed their target audience as whites through an overtly prejudiced approach and use of language towards the black community. The abolitionist papers discussed the progress and opportunities for blacks within predominantly white towns, while the others discussed the limitations, promoted the segregation, and negatively portrayed blacks: “...questioning the relationship of the black man and the ape or the gorilla, seeing that the race of monkeys seems to be singularly free from anything like cannibalism.”¹⁸ Shadd and Bibb advocated for a stronger black community within Sandwich and Windsor; however, their different approaches divided their support.

The Voice of the Fugitive (1851-1852) was developed and maintained by Henry Bibb, and his wife, Mary Bibb. Henry Bibb was an escaped fugitive slave. He first wrote an autobiography, “Narrative of the Life and adventures of Henry Bibb,” and a year later began *The Voice of the Fugitive*, the first black owned paper in Canada.¹⁹ *The Voice of the Fugitive* highlighted the situation of the newly emigrated blacks into the Sandwich-Windsor communities. In an article, “Colored Schools, &c., in Canada” from February 26th 1852, Bibb responded to letter written to the *Voice* which asked whether or not the Refugees’ Home Society was encouraging “...colored settlements, schools and

churches among [Blacks] in Canada...” and whether or not there was a real need for separate schools.²⁰ Bibb responded on behalf of the Society that they encouraged Black settlement in Canada and would use the money granted from the government to develop separate schools for children.²¹ Bibb agreed with the Society when he wrote: “This, we, think in the view of the destitute condition of the newly arrived fugitives from slavery, is the most permanent temporal blessing that the friends of humanity can bestow upon them...”²² Bibb equated the Society’s choices with the work of humanity. Bibb explained that the work the Society did in order to settle Blacks in Windsor and Sandwich was to create an easier passage and arrival into Canada for escaping slaves. He said “it is an easy method of introduction to a new country and does not necessarily prohibit friendly intercourse with older inhabitants.”²³ Bibb and the Society, in this case, were misled. The large and growing black population led to a growing prejudice against blacks in Sandwich and Windsor.

The Provincial Freeman (1853-1857) started publication in Windsor and later moved to Toronto and Chatham with the original and main editor Mary Ann Shadd Cary. Shadd strongly expressed her views of self-reliance for the development of Black communities to be able to integrate with the White Windsorites. The audience was a very limited group: “poverty-stricken, unlettered fugitives [who] could not read the paper, and of those Negroes in Canada who could, many were alienated” by the structure of the paper itself.²⁴ The article, “The Free People’s Hate of the Enslaved People,” from *The Provincial Freeman*, was a defense of Blacks that settled in Canada amongst the Whites. The Whites were asked to consider the definition of a ‘fugitive slave’ and to consider the bond between men, instead of colour.²⁵ This article initially seemed to be an explanation

addressed to the white communities of Windsor and Sandwich, but further it stated: “Brethren, it is *criminal* for us to *imitate* the example, of that class of white people, who are controlled by a spirit so fearfully wicked.”²⁶ This article was also intended for the black readership, as a way to develop self-worth and to raise morale within the community. Moreover, this article mentions that the whites were controlled by a wicked spirit; this idea contributed to Shadd’s understanding of racism in Canada. She argued that racism was not an original part of the Canadian identity and that Canadians were influenced by the way of the United States: “Prejudice is an intruder on earth, having come up from hell by WAY OF THE UNITED STATES. It is not indigenous to the soil, nor of native Canadian growth.”²⁷ Shadd believed the root of racism was the United States, and therefore slavery contaminated blacks both freed and enslaved. Shadd through *The Provincial Freeman* suggested that communities without prejudice were possible if the blacks developed as an independent community and then approached integration as equals, with the focus on social stability.

Western Herald (1838-1842) does not have any records as to who published it, except that was published alongside a Farmers Magazine. An article from the *Western Herald* is from July 28th, 1841, that advertised a travel agent that supported the emigration of the Black community to Jamaica to improve their physical and social situation. In fact the article outright states that the Black community in Windsor would be better off to travel to another country to develop a community.²⁸ It follows that if the newspaper was publishing racial segregation commentary, the feeling towards blacks in Windsor was not welcoming. *Western Herald* too, gives notice of The Emigration Act of the Island of Jamaica that offered free passages to Jamaica

for members of the colored population. Effectively, Windsorites advocated and publicized for the removal of blacks in the nineteenth century.

The *Windsor Evening Record* (1893-1918) was bought out by Archibald McNee in 1888 and changed it from a weekly to a daily paper.²⁹ McNee sold the paper in halves to John A. McKay, first in 1890 and the rest in 1906.³⁰ McKay was the sole owner until 1918 when the paper was bought by W.F. Herman, who rebranded the paper as the *Border Cities Star*.³¹ Articles pertaining to educational support in the *Windsor Evening Record* were minimal, but they showed a strong segregation of race within the community. In a ‘Wanted’ ad in the *Windsor Evening Record*, a man was searching for a position as a coach driver; within the ad he described himself: “38 years old, no family, good reference. Colored.”³² This self-description showed that Blacks acknowledged the divided lines of race within the Windsor community. In another ‘Wanted’ ad from the *Evening Record* a Black woman self-identified: “Wanted—BY COLORED WOMAN, for Thursday and Friday, washing, ironing or cleaning; good worker...”³³ The language of the *Windsor Evening Record* suggests that identification by colour was still strong in the Windsor community, and many descriptions used ‘colored’ with a name to identify a black person, rather than simply a name as was traditional for a white person.

The four newspapers expressed the presence of segregation within Windsor and Sandwich. The struggles between Shadd and Bibb were an interesting element to the acquisition of integration in Windsor and Sandwich because they worked for the same end result—a united community, but they carried and stood by their different approaches. Unfortunately, segregation in schools and racism within the newspapers continued. Various schools developed in

Windsor and Sandwich and the main divisions were religion, colour, and language. The divide of religion was enforced because different beliefs were respected, and congregated separately out of respect and pride. Division based on colour was influenced by two forces; the refusal of blacks by whites in common schools based on the fear that black children would morally corrupt the others.³⁴ The other force was the black community that settled for separate schools in response to being barred from white common schools, not realizing that it enforced segregation and racial prejudice for both whites and blacks. The black enforced segregation further inflicted a sense of inferiority to the White community. Newly settled blacks had no choice but to develop a self-reliant community as Shadd had suggested, and therefore, individuals like Shadd opened up schools to provide for that community. The difference between the white community and the black community in Sandwich and Windsor was that while the whites forbade mixed education on the premise that blacks would morally corrupt the white youth because of their recent escape from slavery, the blacks opened schools to the community for those interested in the development of knowledge.³⁵

Shadd and Bibb were prominent figures in Windsor in the nineteenth century since both advocated for integration through education; however, another important figure was Laura Haviland. She was active as a conductor on the Underground Railroad when she delivered a group of escaped slaves in Windsor in 1852.³⁶ She stayed in Windsor specifically to develop educational support for the Black community in Windsor, as she had done in earlier in Toledo, Ohio.³⁷ Haviland's efforts as a teacher were requested by the educational committee of the Refugees' Home Society, namely, Henry Bibb, Horace Hallock, and Reverend Charles C. Foote.³⁸ Haviland

“...gave notice...there would be a Sabbath school for parents and children... [and that] ...it was for every body of any age who desired to come...”³⁹ She argued that it was possible to develop a school on the premise of providing education rather than providing a school that taught how to exclude others in the community. Haviland’s equal approach to the education system for Windsor in the 1850s was ideal compared to schools established by Whites, but also Shadd and Bibb’s approaches. Haviland provided individual support for personal development when requested, not in an attempt to integrate or to show independence of the Black community, but to honestly assist those who asked for help. One example was her work individually teaching English to a Black man and his partner who was a Native American woman.⁴⁰ Haviland made no judgement on the woman; “[The Native woman] had taken great pains to talk and understand the English language, and was an interesting woman.”⁴¹ Haviland expressed through her work that she intended to provide knowledge to all people who wanted to learn.

The significance of Haviland in Windsor was not only through her support as a teacher, but through her social aid. Haviland acted as a go-between by reading and responding letters from mainly blacks received by blacks in Windsor, but also between whites and blacks in Windsor. As an assistant for the black community she

wrote:

One man brought me a note, as the employer could not pay him for his work in money. He said it was a note for groceries; but the grocer refused to take it, and said it was not good. I told him there was neither date nor name to it. I wrote the man a letter, asking him to rectify the mistake, which he did; but he gave his employee credit for the days he had worked.⁴²

While Haviland could not defend each individual member

of the Black community, she provided a protectorate role for those that could acknowledge they were being taken advantage of, but did not have the means to react. Haviland was a form of agency for the members of the Black community in Windsor; they found strength in her efforts. Haviland's efforts led to a stronger Black community without the integration intentions like Shadd and Bibb. Haviland's efforts differed from Shadd and Bibb, mainly because she did not advocate through media for a change in treatment for Blacks, instead she focused her support for the people to change their individual positions in society.

The quality of the school was based on the teacher and their efforts in correlation to the needs of the students, not the name of the school. This concept was understood by Windsorites, "we have a school here, I cannot tell whether it is good or not, as it has just commenced under a new teacher. The former one did well."⁴³ Another spur in the strive for education support for the Black community was the thought that education was unnecessary, and that attention should be given to skills in agriculture, and other industry jobs.⁴⁴ The Refugees' Homes Society recognized this sentiment from leaders in the Black community as well as others in the community: "Others felt that Negroes should be prepared for an agricultural life or for lower jobs in light industries... If most of the Negroes had half-decent jobs they felt there would be no problem..."⁴⁵ This sentiment could be justified as a view from Whites in Windsor and Sandwich. It was this perception from Blacks of Blacks that seriously affected the development of equality in education. Mary Bibb expressed in an article from *The Voice of the Fugitive*, that attendance to her school lowered, which caused her to question her ability to dedicate her time for minimal students. She explained that the attendance was affected by the

changed weather: “many have hired out to farmers for the season.”⁴⁶ It was reasonable for school attendance to be limited during harvest as many children were a part of farming families. It was that immediate money from farming outweighed the option of constant education which could provide long lasting skills for alternate professions. Again, the short-sighted choices due to poor social conditions of the Blacks in Windsor and Sandwich ultimately maintained the racism from the White community.

The Refugees’ Home Society recognized that the Black community opted for the immediate need for money, rather than the lasting effects of education, thus the Society threatened to “... remove all parents from the Home who did not send their children to school.”⁴⁷ The threat worked because the Refugees’ Home Society opted to cover the costs for children to attend school. The focus on youth education was strong and important to the Society, but the same ideals did not exist for many individual families because children were an important asset to family labour and welfare. Further inspection of the Refugees’ Home Society suggested that they were still reliant on the government to fund separate schools for the Black community in 1859: “the Society’s schools were receiving one half of the teachers’ salaries from the government.”⁴⁸ The consistent reliance on the government to support the Black separate schools was what Shadd had disagreed with all along. It was the realization by the Society that ““there is a growing feeling on the part of the coloured people that they made a mistake in asking for separate schools, and a strong disposition is manifested to give them up...”⁴⁹ The productive experience of Whites and Blacks working side by side in the fields suggested to the Refugees’ Home Society to reconsider education segregation in Windsor and Sandwich. Whites and Blacks were seen

as equals within the constructs of agricultural work and therefore the Society expressed that an equal relationship in the education system was possible. Within the 1860s the Black communities in Windsor and Sandwich were again advocating for interracial schools.

When there were educational opportunities available for Blacks in Windsor they were in unfavourable conditions: in 1858, “in Windsor...a coop, sixteen feet by twenty-four feet, was used for thirty-five Negro pupils, while the white school remained unfilled.”⁵⁰ The racial discrimination in Windsor and Sandwich was stronger than the religious sectarianism. Religious, as well as gender spheres, were secondary to racial prejudice. The divide between the White and Black communities in Windsor overrode any other connections. The separate school system encouraged and developed through the Schools Act which strongly opposed by Bibb.⁵¹ In 1864 a founder of the Teachers’ Association of Canada West attacked discrimination in school systems because he said he “...had found Negro children equal in intelligence to whites...”⁵² But it was not until 1869 that integrated schools were accepted in locations that were previously segregated.⁵³ In the School Act, separate schools were originally instated as a temporary option until “...local prejudices and ignorance were overcome...”⁵⁴ In 1884 a Negro parent, Clayborn Harris was denied his application that requested his child admission to a public school in Windsor.⁵⁵ Harris’ child was refused admission by the superintendent, who was also a doctor because “...the school ...was full and that to admit the Negro would be unsanitary.”⁵⁶ The request was not denied solely because of colour, which, even though the superintendent’s reasoning was explicitly racist, the additional reasoning was a loophole for Whites to keep Blacks out of the public schools. In support of Black restriction in public schools stipulations ruled that

“...prior consent from the administrator of any school was necessary before a pupil might be transferred from one building to another.”⁵⁷ Harris expressed the sentiments of the black community when he “acquiesce[d] and [his child] attend[ed] a separate primary school in exchange for the assurance that...children would have access to public higher education.”⁵⁸ In schools, individual members of the Black community were being ousted by the Whites for any reason, “and in 1875 there still were unofficial separate schools in ...Sandwich...”⁵⁹ Blacks advocated for their attendance in public schools, but the existence and usage of separate schools maintain a racial prejudice that encouraged the White refusal of Blacks in the public schools.

The Black community in Sandwich were provided with a single segregated school: “Only one school for blacks existed in the Sandwich area during the 1840’s and, in 1846, the black residents complained about this in a petition sent to the Sandwich Municipal Council. The situation, however, was not rectified.”⁶⁰ The production of schools in Windsor and Sandwich continued in 1854 when the Windsor community “...constructed three new public schools one ‘for Protestant, Catholic and coloured pupils respectively.’”⁶¹ By 1862 another separate schoolhouse was completed in Windsor for black children.⁶² However, the Black communities of Windsor and Sandwich faced yet another problem in terms of education. After requesting separate schools for black children, the buildings were established, but skilled teachers were few and far between, which forced the schools to close.⁶³ The School Acts discussed the types of schools, common and separate, but also addressed the teacher, their abilities, and suggestions on how to work in and maintain a classroom.⁶⁴

Despite the trouble the Black communities had with receiving educational opportunities for the youth, “...Negro leaders remained

faithful to their belief that education was the most important weapon in the battle against discrimination” and continued to work and fight with the educational systems that were put in place by the White government.⁶⁵ “White Canadians controlled the educational system, and in most cases they tacitly assumed that separation embodied the only course acceptable to both races.”⁶⁶ But a division between the education provided for Whites would continue to be superior to that of Blacks and would prevent the equality of the two races.⁶⁷ It was warned that “unless separate schools are abolished...the progress of the coloured people in education will be very much retarded in the greater part of the province.”⁶⁸ It was not until 1952 that a minister from United Church of Canada advocated for the abolishment of separate schools for Blacks.⁶⁹ But even at this request some Black communities requested to keep the separate schools because “...their children were not prepared to compete with whites.”⁷⁰ The request from the United Church in 1952 failed, and they requested again in 1959, which also failed.⁷¹ It was in 1964, when Leonard A. Braithwaite, the first Black member to be elected into a provincial legislature in Canada, discussed separate schools in his maiden speech provoked change.⁷² At this point the Minister of Education “announced that all references to separate schools for Negroes would be removed from the statutes.”⁷³

The racial discrimination blacks faced through education in Windsor and Sandwich in the nineteenth century was exactly the treatment they intended to escape by travelling to Canada.⁷⁴ The segregated treatment in schools for Blacks was an expression of the racism that existed in Windsor and Sandwich. Clayborn Harris understood and questioned the cause and effects of racial discrimination in schools: “...But for a few of us to yield to a prejudice in towns at

the destruction of the rights of our people around us would not be doing to others what we would have them do to us...The question that we wish settled, is, Shall the Trustees use the government money to support a prejudice of one class of Her Majesty's Subjects against another?"⁷⁵ Egerton Ryerson, the leading figure in nineteenth century education and politics in Ontario, expressed his dissatisfaction with the 'monster' of prejudice that continued in Windsor and Sandwich: "...the white officials could legally prevent the black children from attending the Protestant common school as long as other facilities existed."⁷⁶ Segregated schools had continued enrollment until at least 1901.⁷⁷ "In 1862, St. George School, also known as the 'Negro School,' was finally built for the Black students...[and] in 1864, there were 150 pupils..."⁷⁸ Windsor "in 1883, ...still had only one Roman Catholic Separate School and two public schools, the Central Public School and the Coloured School, both relatively close to one another..."⁷⁹ Mercer Street School opened in 1891 and it was integrated, "...White students standing on the left and all Black students on the right"⁸⁰ Mercer Street School was one of the first official integrated schools since the introduction of separate schools in Windsor and Sandwich. It was thought that Windsor schools were desegregated by 1888, but this was not the case.⁸¹ Foundation records from what is now the Hotel-Dieu Grace Hospital showed its founder, Dean Wagner, came to Windsor in 1887 initially to build a black Catholic orphanage and a Black school.⁸² This was the first school in Windsor to be built for blacks of the Roman Catholic faith. That being said, Roman Catholicism was not the only denomination within the black community; therefore, yet again, there was a continuation of segregation based on race and religion.

Wagner had ulterior motives for providing a school for black children in Windsor, "...he wanted to convert them to the Catholic faith."⁸³ There were more records for the school and orphanage built by Wagner than the other school that were built in the nineteenth century in Windsor or Sandwich. In the two years and nine months the school remained as a black Roman Catholic School it admitted fifty children; the first three, Cecilia, Sarah, and Elizabeth Strodder were photographed in 1890.⁸⁴ The records included registers, images, attendance records, supply and cost lists, as well as correspondences between Dean Wagner, the Religious Hospitallers of St. Josephs, among other Catholic authorities. The orphanage and school were considered a failure in 1901 because of the numerous amounts of White people who had donated money to the building of the hospital that had a 'great repugnance' for blacks in Windsor.⁸⁵ In 1901, it was established as school for all Catholic children.⁸⁶ In 1907, the Sisters of the Religious Hospitallers of St. Joseph closed the Roman Catholic School and orphanage because of low enrollment, which suggested the integration of racial into common schools in Windsor and Sandwich. Integration, however, did not also signify acceptance or the absence of racial prejudice of blacks by the whites in Windsor and Sandwich, but it did signify the bridging of two communities into one through education.

The development of the educational system in Upper Canada presented various divisions in schools, mainly common and separate schools. Separate schools were divided by religion, colour, and gender. The population in Windsor and Sandwich increased because of the large numbers of fugitive slaves that found refuge in Upper Canada using the Underground Railroad after *The Fugitive Slave Act* was passed in 1850. The quick increase in black population led to stronger

sense of negrophobia among whites, which negatively influence the educational support for both blacks. Education for blacks in Windsor and Sandwich was segregated by the Common Schools Act of 1850, which employed the use of separate schools.

Within Windsor and Sandwich, Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Henry Bibb proved opposing forces in the attempt to develop a self-sufficient black community. Mary Shadd argued against and ridiculed members of the Black population in Windsor and Sandwich for silently accepting the separate schools "...and for actively perpetuating 'prejudices originating in slavery and as strong and objectionable in their manifestations as those entertained by whites toward them,'" which maintained segregation.⁸⁷ Henry Bibb and the Refugees' Home Society sought out aid from the government to support the black community and therefore defeated the objective of remaining self-reliant. The opposing views on the development of the black community significantly altered the rate at which racial prejudice would be lessened.

The circulating newspapers in Windsor and Sandwich in the nineteenth century were racially divided and the writers, both black and white, did not hesitate to address racial concerns. The black community was divided in understanding the effects of segregated black schools, and those who accepted their use in the struggle to supply the black youth with education, supported the racial segregation and discrimination in Windsor and Sandwich. The continuation of racial segregated schools maintained the ideology that blacks were inferior to whites, and reminded the community of the blacks' morally contagious illness of slavery. The distraction of immediate monetary profit was too desirable for the black community to maintain their commitment to education, which furthered the racial inequality. However,

the camaraderie between whites and blacks that worked in agriculture proved to the Refugees' Home Society that integration on equal terms was beneficial and the institution of separate schools should have been refused from the beginning.

The failure of Dean Wagner's Roman Catholic Black School and Orphanage in 1901 exposed the intense disgust whites felt toward the black community. School integration had begun at Mercer Street School in 1891, prior to its closure. Separate schools were in use throughout Canada and in legislature until at least 1964, when the Minister of Education, Leonard A. Braithwaite, eliminated them from statutes. Egerton Ryerson sponsored the idea that equal education lead to an integrated community: "[Education as the]...instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects...for their appropriate duties and employments of life... as persons of business, and also as member of the civil community in which they live."⁸⁸ Windsor and Sandwich developed a true sense of community by the twentieth century because of the bridging of blacks and whites within a universal educational system.

Notes

1. Quotation from title, Harold J. Putnam, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 71.
2. Carole Jenson, "History of the Negro Community in Essex County 1850-1860" (master's thesis, University of Windsor, 1966), 14.
3. Jason H. Silverman and Donna J. Gillie, "The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties": Education and the Fugitive Slave in Canada," Ontario Historical Society, LXXIV no. 2 (1982): 106.
4. Ibid., 107.
5. Canada. Dept. of Education. The Common Schools Act. Pamphlet no. 24, 1850. Upper Canada: Dept. of Education, 1850.
6. Harold J. Putnam, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 173.
7. The Common Schools Act. Pamphlet no. 24, 1850. Archives of Ontario.
8. Shirley J. Yee, "Finding a Place: Mary Ann Shadd Cary and the Dilemmas of Black Migration to Canada, 1850-1870." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 18 No. 3 (1997): 7.
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