

The Black Population of Canada West on the Eve of the American Civil War: A Reassessment Based on the Manuscript Census of 1861

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Enumerators' schedules from the 1861 census for Canada West provide evidence that contradicts the popular view of the fugitive slave as the central figure of nineteenth-century black history in the province. The census suggests that historians have exaggerated the size of the black population, significantly overstated the proportion who were fugitives from slavery, underestimated the degree to which blacks were dispersed throughout the province, and misrepresented the extent of return migration. By 1861 blacks had made their way to all corners of Canada West and had become an integral part of the provincial economy. More than half were from the United States, but contrary to popular opinion they were mainly free blacks, not runaway slaves. While they experienced persistent discrimination in Canada, most chose to remain when the Civil War ended.

Les listes nominatives du recensement du Haut-Canada de 1861 contredisent la croyance populaire selon laquelle l'esclave noir en fuite aurait été le personnage central de l'histoire des Noirs de la province au XIX^e siècle. Le recensement donne à penser que les historiens ont exagéré la taille de la population noire, surestimé considérablement la proportion des esclaves en fuite, sous-estimé le degré de dispersion des Noirs dans la province et tracé un bilan erroné de la migration à rebours. En 1861, les Noirs avaient gagné les quatre coins du Haut-Canada et contribuaient à part entière à la vie économique provinciale. Plus de la moitié d'entre eux venaient des États-Unis, mais contrairement à l'opinion populaire, il s'agissait principalement de Noirs libres, pas d'esclaves en fuite. Malgré la discrimination perpétuelle dont ils étaient victimes au Canada, la plupart décidèrent d'y rester après la fin de la guerre de Sécession.

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THERE IS A TOUR you can take through southwestern Ontario that stops at a number of historical sites associated with runaway slaves, including the home of Josiah Henson, once thought to be the model for Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom. This tour, known as "The Road to Freedom", provides a good illustration of the extent to which fugitive slaves dominate popular perceptions of the history of blacks in nineteenth-century Ontario. So do the books that schoolchildren read about the exploits of the men and women of the Underground Railroad. So too do the stories that appear in newspapers each year during Black History Month recounting the trials and triumphs of slaves who made their way to Canada.

Scholars have raised doubts about the more extravagant claims made for the Underground Railroad and have brought an appropriately critical eye to the reminiscences of individual runaways.¹ Otherwise, however, they have presented a picture of the past that is largely in accord with the popular view. Indeed, it is the interpretation historians have offered of the demography of the period that provides the principal justification for placing the fugitive slave at the centre of nineteenth-century black history. That interpretation is built on four separate but related arguments: there were approximately 40,000 blacks in Canada West in 1860; an overwhelming majority of these 40,000 were runaway slaves and their children; the black population concentrated itself narrowly in a small number of communities along the western edge of Lake Ontario and in southwestern Ontario; and the great majority of blacks returned to the United States after the Civil War.²

It comes as a surprise, then, to discover that this interpretation is apparently wrong in all its particulars. The enumerators' schedules from the 1861 census for Canada West, hardly flawless but substantially more reliable than any other available source, suggest that historians have exaggerated the size of the black population in general, significantly overstated the proportion of that population who were fugitives from slavery, underestimated the degree to which blacks were dispersed throughout the province, and misrepresented the extent of return migration.

We can begin with the question of the number of blacks in the province before the war. The opinion of commentators varied at the time, with

1 See, for example, Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (Lexington, Ky.: D. C. Heath, 1967); Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 180-195, 240-244.

2 The most influential study is Winks, *The Blacks in Canada* (see especially pp. 233-240, Appendix). Other important works include C. Peter Ripley et al., eds., *The Black Abolitionist Papers: Volume II, Canada 1830-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, *Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America* (Madison, Wis.: State Historical Society, 1963); Jason Silverman, *Unwelcome Guests: American Fugitive Slaves in Canada, 1830-60* (Millwood, N.Y.: 1985). Two useful dissertations are Donald George Simpson, "Negroes in Ontario from Early Times to 1870" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1971); and Jonathan William Walton, "Blacks in Buxton and Chatham, Ontario, 1830-1890: Did the 49th Parallel Make a Difference?" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1979).

estimates ranging between 15,000 and 75,000. The historian who has done the most thorough survey of contemporary views, Robin Winks, argues that the most frequently quoted figure, 40,000, is probably reasonably accurate. As Winks acknowledges, however, it is difficult to know how seriously to take the impressionistic evidence. Most commentators had little upon which to base their estimates beyond personal observation, hearsay, and infrequent reports about blacks in local newspapers.³ Furthermore, abolitionists, because they were determined to bring the horrors of slavery to the forefront of public consciousness, had reason to exaggerate the number of fugitives; so did the many white Canadians who were opposed to black immigration.

Because the census of 1861 provided for the collection of data on colour, in theory at least historians have always had the means to go beyond the speculation of contemporaries.⁴ Until now, however, it has been assumed that the enumeration was so flawed as to make the data collected worthless.⁵ The final report published by the Census Department indicated that there were only 11,223 blacks in Canada West.⁶ Since that figure was almost 4,000 below even the lowest estimates made at the time, it seemed evident to historians that enumerators had neglected to record a significant proportion of the black population.

Examination of the original manuscript schedules, however, suggests that it was the clerks who transcribed the data who were at fault, not the enumerators. The census rolls include entries on 17,053 blacks, not the 11,000 quoted in the published report. The former figure falls within the low range of estimates made at the time. For example, Samuel Gridley

3 Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, pp. 233–240.

4 The instructions directed enumerators to “mark a figure (1) after every *Colored* person’s name, i.e. Negro or Negress.... If Mulatto, marked [*sic*] M after his or her name — thus, (1) M; and if Indian, mark ‘Ind.’ ” For the purposes of this article I have treated both “Negroes” and “Mulattoes” as part of the black population since that is how they were viewed at the time. National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), RG31, “Instructions to Enumerators”, Census Returns, Algoma District, 1861. For discussion of the problems involved in retrieving data on blacks from the census and in assessing the distinction drawn by enumerators between “Negroes” and “Mulattoes”, see Michael Wayne, “Blacks in the Canada West Census of 1861”, paper delivered at the Conference on the Use of Census Manuscripts for Historical Research, Guelph, Ontario, March 5, 1993.

5 Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, p. 492. Even contemporaries raised doubts about the enumeration. See, for example, John Langton, “The Census of 1861”, *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, New Series, Part 2 (1864), pp. 105–124. Langton suggested that in certain instances the “figures were cooked”. His investigation was confined to Lower Canada, however. Recently Bruce Curtis has demonstrated that the enumeration was carried out in a most careless and haphazard manner. Bruce Curtis, “The Local Construction of Statistical Knowledge, or Mistaking the 1861 Census”, paper delivered at the Conference on the Use of Census Manuscripts for Historical Research, Guelph, Ontario, March 4, 1993.

6 *Census of the Canadas. 1860–1861. Personal Census. Vol. I* (Quebec, 1863), pp. 78–79. Curiously, the census of 1871, which included a recapitulation of previous census findings, reported the number of blacks in 1861 as 13,566. *Censuses of Canada. 1665 to 1871. Statistics of Canada. Vol. IV* (Ottawa, 1876), p. 266.

Howe of the American Freedman's Inquiry Commission, described by Winks as "on the whole a careful man", claimed in 1863 that there were 15,000 to 20,000 blacks in the province.⁷ There are also other more convincing reasons for accepting the results of the manuscript census. Instructions to enumerators regarding column 13 of the schedules, in which information on colour was to be recorded, stated: "In this column mark a figure (1) after every *Colored* person's name, i.e. Negro or Negress. This was much neglected last Census and the number of colored persons was not ascertained."⁸ In other words, enumerators were under express orders to secure an accurate count of blacks. Not that we should assume that they were invariably diligent in carrying out all their assigned duties. The Prescott County representative wrote his superiors asking how much information on blacks they wanted him to gather: "It would be difficult in most cases to ascertain their Names Religion birth Place ages or any thing else..."⁹ Negligence in recording data on religion, age, or even names is not the same as leaving individuals off the rolls entirely, however, and there is little evidence to suggest that enumerators failed to take seriously their responsibility to provide Bureau officials with an accurate count.

The most compelling corroborating evidence is based on statistics. In 1854 the abolitionist Benjamin Drew came to Canada West to interview fugitive slaves. He accepted uncritically the claim by the Anti-Slavery Society that there were almost 30,000 blacks in Canada in 1852.¹⁰ At the same time, in each community he visited he was able to ascertain through conversation with residents what was presumably a reasonably accurate figure on the size of the local black population. The figures he recorded for individual communities can be compared with the figures derived from the 1861 manuscript schedules. As Table 1 clearly indicates, the numbers that Drew reported — they total more than 1,000 fewer individuals than enumerators recorded seven years later — are far too low to support the estimate made by the Anti-Slavery Society. On the contrary, taking into account population growth over the last half of the decade through natural

7 National Archives (United States), RG94, Letters Received by the Adjutant General's Office, 1861–70, microcopy 619, roll 199, "The Self-Freedmen of Canada West. Supplemental Report (A) of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission", pp. 26–27; Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, p. 489. The Commission was set up by Abraham Lincoln to help him formulate a set of policies for dealing with the emancipated slaves.

8 NAC, RG31, "Instructions to Enumerators".

9 NAC, RG17, vol. 2419, Charles Waters, Prescott County, February 2, 1861. I am indebted to Bruce Curtis for this reference.

10 Everyone recognized that the vast majority of these 30,000 lived in Canada West. Benjamin Drew, *A North-Side View of Slavery. The Refugee: Or the Narrative of Fugitive Slaves in Canada. Related by Themselves, With an Account of the History and Condition of the Colored Population of Upper Canada* (1856; New York: 1968), p. v. On the anti-slavery movement in Canada West, see Allen P. Stouffer, *The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario 1833–1877* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

Table 1 The Black Population of Designated Communities in Canada West as Recorded by Benjamin Drew in 1854 and in the Manuscript Census Schedules of 1861

	Drew	Census
St. Catharines	800	609
Toronto	1,000	987
Hamilton	274	476
Galt	40	31
London	350	370
Chatham	800	1,252
Windsor	250	533
Sandwich	100	95
Amherstburg	400–500	373
Colchester	450	937
Gosfield	78	101
Total	4,642	5,764

Sources: Canada West Manuscript Census Schedules, 1861, for Essex County, Kent County, Lincoln County, Waterloo County, City of Hamilton, City of London, City of Toronto; Drew, *A North-Side View of Slavery*, pp. 17–18, 94, 118, 136, 147, 234, 321, 341, 348, 367, 378.

increase and especially immigration, they lend substantial support to the argument that the enumeration of 1861 should be regarded as reliable.

Further support comes from statistics collected by Samuel Gridley Howe during his investigation of the black population in 1863. As already indicated, Howe concluded that no more than 15,000 to 20,000 blacks were living in the province at that time, although he was aware that most contemporaries thought the true figure was much higher. In his report he cited presumably reliable estimates for the number of blacks in St. Catharines, Hamilton, Chatham, Toronto (provided by George Barber, Secretary of the Board of School Trustees), and Windsor (provided by Reverend A. R. Green, a black minister from the community). As Table 2 demonstrates, his estimates correspond closely to the figures based on the 1861 manuscript census.

All this does not mean that the number 17,053 should be taken as definitive. Numerous studies have indicated that there were substantial undercounts in the nineteenth-century American censuses — as much as 20 per cent in certain communities.¹¹ Canadian schedules are unlikely to be more

11 This problem is discussed in Richard Reid, "A Preliminary Report on Black Underenumeration and the 1870 Census", paper delivered at the Conference on the Use of Census Manuscripts for Historical Research, Guelph, Ontario, March 5, 1993. See also Richard H. Steckel, "The Quality of Census Data for Historical Inquiry: A Research Agenda", *Social Science History*, vol. 15 (1991), pp. 579–599; John B. Sharples and Ray M. Shortridge, "Biased Underenumeration in Census Manuscripts: Methodological Implications", *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 1 (1975), pp. 409–439; Peter R. Knights, "Potholes in the Road of Improvement? Estimating Underenumeration by Longitudinal

Table 2 The Black Population of Designated Communities in Canada West as Recorded by Samuel Gridley Howe in 1863 and in the Manuscript Census Schedules of 1861

	Howe	Census
St. Catharines	700	609
Hamilton	500+	476
Chatham	1,300	1,252
Toronto	934	987
Windsor	500	533
Total	3,934	3,857

Sources: Canada West Manuscript Census Schedules, 1861, for Essex County, Kent County, Lincoln County, City of Hamilton, City of Toronto; Howe, "The Self-Freedmen of Canada West", pp. 25, 101, 125.

reliable in this regard. Even if we assume that enumerators did miss fully one-fifth of the black population in Canada West, however, that would still leave a total of only about 20,500. Add another 2,000 or so for individuals passing as white — a phenomenon apparently fairly common in Toronto, although less so elsewhere — and we end up with a figure of maybe 22,500 or 23,000.¹² The conclusion seems inescapable: historians have significantly overestimated the black population of Canada West in 1860, probably by 75 per cent or more.

Once the figure for the black population is corrected downward, a second part of the standard interpretation has to be discarded: there was no mass migration of blacks back to the United States at the end of the Civil War. The claim that such a migration took place has always been based less on testimony by contemporaries than on statistical inference. The published census of 1871, considered a far more reliable source than the report produced a decade earlier, indicated that there were approximately 13,500 blacks in Canada West at that time.¹³ If the correct figure for 1861 was 40,000, then fully two-thirds of the black population had left the province by the end of the decade, presumably emigrating, or returning, to the United

Tracing: U.S. Censuses, 1850–1880", *Social Science History*, vol. 15 (1991), pp. 517–526; Peter R. Knights, *Yankee Destinies: The Lives of Ordinary Bostonians* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 176–178. On the political implications of the enumeration of slaves and free blacks in the United States, see Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 58–82.

12 William Wells Brown may have come up with the most accurate assessment. He wrote in the fall of 1861: "The colored population of the Canadas have been largely over-rated. There are probably not more than 25,000 in both Provinces, and by far the greater number of these are in Canada West...." Ripley, *et al.*, eds., *Black Abolitionist Papers: Volume II*, pp. 461, 463, 466.

13 Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, pp. 233–234; *Censuses of Canada. 1608 to 1876. Statistics of Canada. Vol. V* (Ottawa, 1878), p. 20.

States. Since in reality enumerators found about 17,000 blacks in 1861, it follows that only a minority left Canada West in the aftermath of the Civil War. If we assume that the 1871 census was no more or less likely to suffer from an undercount than the census a decade earlier, and if we conclude that the proportion of individuals passing as white remained roughly constant, then the black population of Canada West decreased by about 20 per cent during the period of 1861 to 1871. While this represents a substantial decline, it hardly amounts to an exodus. Apparently an overwhelming majority of blacks chose to remain in the province after the Civil War.

Although contemporaries differed widely over the size of the black population, there was unanimous agreement on another point: the great majority of blacks were fugitive slaves. The *First Report of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada* noted in 1852 that "nearly all the adults and many of the children have been fugitive slaves from the United States."¹⁴ In his autobiography, published in 1854, the fugitive Samuel Ringgold Ward observed, "I do not believe that with the exception of the children born in Canada, there are 3,000 free-born coloured persons in the whole colony."¹⁵ When he travelled through Canada West seven years later the American abolitionist William Wells Brown was struck by the size of the fugitive population at each locality he visited. Of St. Catharines, he noted: "Out of the eight hundred in St. Catharines, about seven hundred of them are fugitive slaves." Of Chatham: "The population here is made up entirely from the Slave States, with but a few exceptions." Of Buxton: "There are now nearly 600 persons in this settlement Most of these people were slaves in the South." Of Windsor: "a place of 2,500 inhabitants, 600 of whom are colored, and most of the latter class are fugitives from slavery."¹⁶

Historians have always recognized that such estimates cannot be taken at face value. As already noted, it was in the interests of abolitionists to exaggerate the number of fugitives. As well, the prejudices of the times led most white Canadians to assume that any black person they encountered was a runaway slave.¹⁷ But the main objection to contemporary estimates is simply that they are inconsistent with what we know about the incidence of successful flight by American blacks from slavery. No more than 1,000 or so slaves escaped during any given year, and of these the vast majority settled in the free states.¹⁸ It is no doubt true that, following the passage of the restrictive Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, when life became much less secure for runaways in the North, the numbers continuing to Canada in-

14 Quoted in Howe, "The Self-Freedmen of Canada West", pp. 26-27.

15 Samuel Ringgold Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, and England* (London, 1855), p. 154.

16 Ripley et al., eds., *Black Abolitionist Papers: Volume II*, pp. 465, 470, 475, 477.

17 Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, p. 234.

18 Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 648; Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, p. 235.

creased,¹⁹ but it is unreasonable to assume that more than a small fraction took up residence outside the United States. Still, well aware of the problems with contemporary estimates, historians have without exception embraced the view that a significant majority of the blacks in Canada West before the Civil War were fugitive slaves and their children. Winks, for example, puts the figure at approximately 75 per cent.²⁰

The manuscript census tells a different story. By 1861, of the total enumerated black population of over 17,000, approximately 9,800, or only about 57 per cent, were originally from the United States. Over 6,900, more than 40 per cent, were native-born Canadians (see Table 3). While most American blacks listed their birthplace in the schedules as "United States", a sizable number, 744, indicated the particular state in which they had been born. As Table 4 shows, the results confirm the popular impression that the great majority of blacks who came from the United States were natives of the slave states — over 70 per cent, in fact. Not all blacks from the South were fugitive slaves, however. Most had been born in either Maryland, Virginia, or Kentucky.²¹ Over 150,000 free blacks lived in these three states in 1860. Free blacks represented 49.5 per cent of the black population in Maryland, 10.6 per cent in Virginia, and 4.5 per cent in Kentucky.²² It was obviously far easier for a free person to get to Canada than it was for a slave, and conditions for free blacks were deteriorating rapidly in the 1850s. By the eve of the Civil War nearly every Southern state was considering legislation to relegate some or all of its free black population to slavery.²³ Even without any other evidence, it would be reasonable to assume that a significant proportion of the Southern blacks who came to Canada were free immigrants, not fugitive slaves.

19 Fred Landon, "The Negro Migration to Canada After the Passing of the Fugitive Slave Act", *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 5 (1920), pp. 22–36. On the origins and consequences of the law itself, see Stanley W. Campbell, *The Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850–1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968). Under the act life became much less secure for free blacks as well.

20 Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, p. 240.

21 This reflects in part the fact that it was easier for slaves in border states to escape than it was for slaves living in more distant regions. Early in the century the centre of the slave population lay much farther north and east than it did at the time of the Civil War, however. An undetermined proportion of the fugitive slaves who made their way to Canada West had been born in Maryland and Virginia but would have been taken or sold to the Deep South and presumably escaped from there. Kenneth Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), p. 118; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, p. 648.

22 Jos. C. G. Kennedy, *Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1862), pp. 261, 263, 286–289. For insight into the unique situation in Maryland, where slaves and free blacks were about equal in number, see Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

23 Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 343–380; Michael Johnson and James Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York: Norton, 1984), pp. 153–287.

Table 3 Distribution of the Black Population of Canada West by Birthplace and Age, 1861

	Age			Total	%
	Unknown	Under 20	20 and over		
Africa	1	1	18	20	0.1
West Indies	—	1	43	44	0.3
British Isles	—	15	50	65	0.4
Maritime Provinces	—	2	8	10	0.0
Canada East	—	30	48	78	0.5
Canada West	21	5,765	1,120	6,906	40.5
United States	28	2,739	7,039	9,806	57.5
Other	—	0	7	7	0.0
Unknown	—	69	48	117	0.7
Total	50	8,622	8,381	17,053	100.0

Source: Canada West Manuscript Census Schedules, 1861.

Table 4 Distribution of the Black Population of American Origin by State of Birth, 1861

Slave states	No.	Free states ^a	No.
D.C.	20	Massachusetts	4
Delaware	17	Vermont	8
Maryland	162	Connecticut	6
Virginia	169	“New England”	1
Kentucky	101	New York	75
Missouri	6	New Jersey	11
North Carolina	8	Pennsylvania	53
Tennessee	4	Ohio	28
South Carolina	7	Michigan	27
Georgia	7	Indiana	1
Alabama	2	Illinois	5
Louisiana	4	Kansas	1
“South States”	14	New Mexico	2
		Wisconsin	1
Total	521	Total	223
Proportion	70.0%	Proportion	30.0%

a) Kansas and New Mexico were territories, not states, at the time of the Canadian census. Under the terms of the doctrine of popular sovereignty applied to Kansas by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and to New Mexico by the Compromise of 1850, it was up to the residents of the individual territories to decide for themselves whether they wanted to allow slavery. The issue was still unresolved in both jurisdictions at the outbreak of the Civil War. I have arbitrarily grouped both territories with the free states. The two individuals born in New Mexico and the one in Kansas were children of a tailor named George Washington and his wife, Frances, both of whom listed their birthplace as “United States”. The family almost certainly was free.

Source: Canada West Manuscript Census Schedules, 1861.

As it happens, however, additional evidence is available. We can use the data on sex in the census schedules to make credible inferences about the percentage of the black population from the slave states that was free. As the statistics on blacks born in the Northern states make clear, it can be assumed that free men and women were more or less equally likely to relocate to Canada.²⁴ Historians agree that males made up a disproportionate number of the fugitives from slavery.²⁵ Men were more likely than women to have opportunities to travel beyond the plantation and to learn to read and write. Furthermore, women were less likely to be sold away from their children and as a result arguably had stronger emotional ties to family. The best estimates suggest that somewhere around 75 to 80 per cent of runaways were men. As Table 5 indicates, out of a total of 521 blacks in Canada West who indicated in the census schedules that they had been born in the slave states, 197 (or 38 per cent) were women and 324 (or 62 per cent) were men. If we assume that males would have made up 75 per cent of the fugitives from slavery, then simple algebra establishes that only 49 per cent of blacks from the Southern states were runaway slaves while 51 per cent were free.²⁶ This means that out of the total of approximately 9,800 blacks born in the United States, only 34 per cent were fugitives. Since American-born blacks represented only 57.5 per cent of all blacks in Canada West, slightly under 20 per cent of all the blacks in the province were fugitives.²⁷

24 The fact that roughly equal numbers of men and women reported being born in the free states suggests that virtually no fugitive slaves saw an advantage in claiming birth in the North. On the life of blacks in the free states before the Civil War, see James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993); Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of the Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

25 Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: Norton, 1985), pp. 70-74; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, p. 648; Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 40.

26 Let x equal the number of females from the South who were fugitive slaves and y the number of females who were free. Then $x + y = 197$ (the total number of women indicating they had been born in the slave states). Similarly, $3x + y = 324$ (the total number of males born in the slave states), since it is assumed that males represented three out of every four runaways and that free men and women came to Canada West in more or less equal numbers. Solving for x and y allows us to determine the percentage of all blacks from the slave states who were fugitives.

27 If 80% of the fugitives were men, this figure drops to around 16%. The objection might be raised that perhaps the 744 who indicated their state of birth were not representative. But men made up a slightly lower proportion of those who registered "United States" as their birthplace than of those who indicated a specific state (56% as compared to 58%), suggesting that the estimate of 20% fugitives is, if anything, marginally too high. It is worth noting that likely a small number of elderly blacks from the North had fled to Canada as slaves before emancipation was carried out in their individual states, and no doubt at least a few of the blacks from the West Indies were also fugitives.

Table 5 Distribution of the American-Born Black Population by Sex, According to State of Birth, 1861

	Male	Female	Total
<i>Slave states</i>			
D.C.	9	11	20
Delaware	6	11	17
Maryland	98	64	162
Virginia	116	53	169
Kentucky	61	40	101
Missouri	4	2	6
North Carolina	5	3	8
Tennessee	3	1	4
South Carolina	4	3	7
Georgia	5	2	7
Alabama	1	1	2
Louisiana	3	1	4
“South States”	9	5	14
Total	324	197	521
Percentage	62.2%	37.8%	100.0%
<i>Free states</i>			
Massachusetts	1	3	4
Vermont	5	3	8
Connecticut	2	4	6
“New England”	1	0	1
New York	36	39	75
New Jersey	4	7	11
Pennsylvania	24	29	53
Ohio	16	12	28
Michigan	13	14	27
Indiana	1	0	1
Illinois	5	0	5
Kansas	0	1	1
New Mexico	2	0	2
Wisconsin	1	0	1
Total	111	112	223
Percentage	49.8%	50.2%	100.0%

Source: Canada West Manuscript Census Schedules, 1861.

Of course, children made up a large proportion of the black population. As Table 3 indicates, a little over half the individuals recorded in the census were under 20 years of age. More to the point, at the time of the enumeration a substantial number of Canadian-born blacks, more than 4,500, were living with at least one parent who had either fled or migrated to the province from the United States.²⁸ How many of these American parents of

28 In fact, the census does not specify family relationships. However, they can be inferred with what appears to be a reasonable degree of accuracy from the data recorded on individuals and households.

Canadian-born children had escaped from slavery is impossible to say, but there can be little reason to accept Robin Winks's claim that fugitives and their sons and daughters represented 75 per cent of the black population. Somewhere between 30 and 40 per cent would seem to be a much more reasonable estimate.

In the fall of 1861 William Wells Brown came to Canada West to promote the cause of Haitian emigration among blacks. He began his journey in Toronto, stopped for a time at Hamilton and St. Catharines, turned west to London, and finally made his way to Chatham, Dresden, Windsor, Amherstburg, Colchester, and the all-black Elgin settlement at Buxton. His itinerary was much like the one the abolitionist Benjamin Drew had followed in 1854 when he came to the province to interview fugitive slaves. Two years after Brown, Samuel Gridley Howe took a similar route when he travelled through the province gathering information for the Freedmen's Inquiry Commission.²⁹

Brown, Drew, and Howe thought that they could take the measure of the black population by going to a limited number of centres where blacks had located in large numbers. Historians have, if anything, carried this reasoning even further by focusing on the handful of all-black communities that were established in the province. Winks reserves almost an entire chapter of his authoritative *The Blacks in Canada* for discussion of such communities. The Elgin settlement alone has been the subject of a book, several articles, and at least one doctoral dissertation.³⁰ Under the circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that many people appear to be under the impression that the great majority of blacks lived in separate enclaves in and around the Chatham area.

As the 1861 manuscript census reveals, however, the black population of Canada West was much more widely dispersed than anyone has ever imagined. Blacks appear in a total of 312 townships and city wards in the schedules, representing every county and city of the province and the Algoma district (see Appendix). Of course, they were much more heavily concentrat-

For a discussion of the methodology involved, see Wayne, "Blacks in the Canada West Census of 1861". The schedules allow us to identify 2,851 children born in Canada living with both mother and father who were American and another 1,652 living with one parent from the United States. However, the need to use the person listed first in each household as the reference point for determining family relationships precludes the possibility of easily identifying sons and daughters of any individual who was not the household head — for example, a widow from Maryland who had moved with her children into the home of a married brother or sister.

29 Ripley *et al.*, eds., *Black Abolitionist Papers: Volume II*, pp. 461–498; Drew, *A North-Side View of Slavery*; Howe, "The Self-Freedmen of Canada West".

30 Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, pp. 156–162, 178–218; Pease and Pease, *Black Utopia*; Victor Ullman, *Look to the North Star: A Life of William King* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); Walton, "Blacks in Buxton and Chatham"; Howard Law, " 'Self-Reliance is the True Road to Independence': Ideology and the Ex-Slaves in Buxton and Chatham", *Ontario History*, vol. 77 (1985), pp. 107–121.

ed in some localities than others. By 1861 there were over 1,250 blacks in Chatham and over 1,300 in Raleigh township, where Elgin was located. Many whites in such communities claimed that they were being inundated by fugitive slaves, but it is important to go beyond the perspective of Canadian whites. Imagine, for instance, how things must have looked to an immigrant from Virginia. In his or her native state, 57 per cent of all blacks lived in counties in which blacks were in the majority. By contrast, the heaviest concentration of blacks in Canada West was in Raleigh township, where they represented only about one-third of the total population. In Virginia less than one per cent of all blacks lived in counties in which they constituted under 3 per cent of the population. In Canada almost 30 per cent of blacks lived in townships or city wards in which this was the case; over 12 per cent lived in communities where blacks were less than one per cent of the population.³¹ As well, the concentration of blacks was substantially greater in Deep South states than it was in Virginia. To a fugitive slave who had escaped from Georgia or a free black who had emigrated from South Carolina, the contrast between his or her present and former surroundings must have been all that much more striking.

There are serious objections to treating the all-black settlements as windows into the black experience as a whole. Their fraction of the total black population was never significant. Furthermore, with the exception of Elgin, they were notoriously unsuccessful. No more than 150 to 200 individuals ever resided at Oro on Lake Simcoe or Wilberforce, the two earliest settlements, or at the Refugee Home Society, established in the 1850s outside Windsor. The population of Dawn near Dresden rose as high as 500 for a brief time in the early 1850s, but was never stable.³² As for Elgin, William Wells Brown found about 600 people there in 1861.³³ That represented less than 3 per cent of the total black population of the province on the eve of the Civil War.

In sum, it appears that historians have overstated the importance of the all-black settlements and given far too little attention to the apparent willingness of blacks to settle in communities where they were outnumbered, often vastly so. A comparison is suggestive. The only immigrant group in the middle of the nineteenth century that was roughly comparable in size to the black population was the Germans.³⁴ About 35 per cent of German settlers took up residence in a single county, Waterloo. Under 28 per cent of all blacks lived in Kent, the county of heaviest black concentration.³⁵

31 A county in Virginia was on average somewhat larger than a township, but considerably smaller than a county, in Canada West.

32 Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, pp. 147, 156, 180, 205.

33 Ripley *et al.*, eds., *Black Abolitionist Papers: Volume II*, p. 475.

34 Keep in mind, though, that approximately 40% of all blacks were native-born.

35 The census reported a total of 22,906 individuals born in "Prussia, German States, and Holland". *Census of the Canadas. 1860-1861. Personal Census. Vol. I*, pp. 78-79. This assumes that the data on birthplace in the published report are more reliable than the data on colour. Such an assumption

The pattern of settlement and the free origins of the majority of American immigrants suggest new directions for historical research into the black experience in Canada West. Before looking at what those directions may be, however, it would be useful to spend a moment considering some sources of bias in the existing impressionistic evidence. The issue of slavery dominated public debate in the United States during the 1850s, dividing the nation. There was no accompanying difference of opinion over race, however. With few exceptions whites from both sections subscribed to what George Fredrickson has called “*herrenvolk* egalitarianism”: a belief that black subservience was a precondition for white equality.³⁶ Almost all Northern states imposed substantial legal disabilities on blacks, which is why in the famous Dred Scott case Chief Justice Roger Taney felt justified in arguing that blacks had always been treated as if “they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect”, and why several thousand blacks from the free states decided to emigrate.³⁷ This state of affairs — conflict over slavery but consensus over race — clearly influenced what was written at the time about blacks in Canada. There was great interest in runaway slaves — in the conditions they faced under slavery, the means by which they escaped, their adjustment to life in a free land.³⁸ By contrast, there was comparatively little attention paid to the background or experiences of free blacks. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, many whites seem to have assumed that any black they encountered was a runaway slave. Under the circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that fugitive slaves have come to play a disproportionately large role in both scholarly and popular histories of the period.

A second source of bias is directly related to the pattern of settlement. Where blacks concentrated in large numbers — and especially in areas where racial tensions were high — separate institutions emerged. The records of institutions can be a rich resource for historians. They are much more likely than the private papers of ordinary families to end up in ar-

is not necessarily invalid. Entries on colour were made in a separate column of the schedules with some but not all enumerators including totals at the bottom of the page. It seems that likely one of the reasons clerks understated the number of blacks in particular communities is that they made their tabulations on the basis of the listed totals. Where no total was listed, the clerk may have assumed no blacks had been found. The entries on birthplace, often varying from household to household and sometimes from person to person, allowed for no totals at the bottom of the page, and presumably clerks had no choice but to check individual entries in compiling the data.

36 George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1971), pp. 58–96. David Roediger has recently made a compelling case for use of the term “*herrenvolk* republicanism” to describe the political ideology of American working men. See David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 59–60.

37 Quoted in James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), p. 100.

38 Needless to say, we know next to nothing about the relatively small number of blacks who came from outside North America.

chives and libraries, they frequently are clearly written and organized, and more often than not they contain a wealth of valuable information. There is a danger, however, that a scholar who relies heavily on such records may be inclined to exaggerate the extent to which members of a given institution are representative of other individuals of the same race, class, sex, or ethnicity. Historians of Ontario, like historians of the Northern states, have drawn extensively on documents from black churches, schools, and charitable organizations, along with surviving issues of black newspapers, to gain insight into nineteenth-century black life. Similarly, they have produced interpretations of the black experience that devote considerable attention to the development of separate institutions and take as their central theme the formation of a black "community".³⁹ But as the historical record makes quite clear, even in localities where blacks were heavily concentrated, many people decided against attending separate churches, objected in principle to separate schools, and chose not to subscribe to black newspapers (as the editors frequently complained). Those men and women who did make the decision to settle in towns such as Bowmanville or Sidney, where the number of black families was small, could hardly have done so in the expectation that they would be part of a separate black community or that their children and grandchildren — or they themselves, if they were single — would find black marriage partners. It is noteworthy that 385 black men listed in the census had white wives, mainly immigrant women from Europe or the British Isles. This represented approximately one out of every seven black married men, or almost one in five if we exclude those individuals from the United States who we can infer from the census were already married when they arrived in Canada.⁴⁰

It is time, then, that historians gave serious attention to the men and

39 James Oliver Horton writes in reference to the United States: "Today almost all scholars accept the historical existence of a highly structured and dynamic community among antebellum free African Americans." Horton, however, shares a mistaken impression with other scholars that, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, blacks "clustered in small urban communities in sizable cities". Horton, *Free People of Color*, pp. 13, 2. As Kenneth Kusmer has observed, "It is seldom realized that throughout most of the nineteenth century most blacks — like most whites — lived in rural areas or small towns." Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 24fn. The same was true of Canadian blacks. For a recent example of a Canadian study that makes community formation central to its analysis, see Patricia J. Yee, "Gender Ideology and Black Women as Community-Builders in Ontario, 1850–70", *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 75 (March 1994), pp. 53–73.

40 I have assumed that a husband and wife were married prior to their arrival in Canada if they were both recorded in the census as having American birthplaces and if their oldest child was also born in the United States. Of course, some of the married couples who came to Canada from the United States did not have children until after they settled in the province — some did not have children at all — while others had American-born children who were not living with them at the time of the enumeration. Hence, the figure "almost one in five" is clearly understated, probably substantially so.

women who chose to settle in localities where the black population was too small to sustain separate institutions or a separate culture. Obviously the lives of such people would have differed dramatically from the lives of blacks in, say, Chatham or St. Catharines. Perhaps so, too, did their assumptions about the meaning and significance of race. In addition, we need to know more about the free blacks who came to Canada West and about the blacks who were born in the province. The literature is not silent on these individuals, but at the moment we only have a slight understanding of how their experiences compared and contrasted to those of runaway slaves. Finally and most importantly, we need to know much more about how the different elements of the black population related to each other. A traveller passing through the townships or city wards where blacks resided in 1861 was liable to come across field hands escaped from cotton or tobacco plantations, artisans and clergymen from the Northern states, native-born farmers, labourers, and professionals, perhaps even one or two free blacks from the South who had themselves owned slaves.⁴¹ At this point we really know very little about how men and women of such divergent backgrounds and, perhaps, material interests viewed each other. The truth is, we cannot even say with certainty that most blacks shared the assumption of both nineteenth-century whites and present-day historians that race mattered more than class, gender, religious affiliation, or nationality in defining who they were or in determining their place in Canadian society.

Whatever the direction of future research, it must take as its starting point an accurate picture of the demography of the period. Perhaps the most unfortunate consequence of the prevailing view is that it tends to perpetuate the nineteenth-century perception of blacks as outsiders. If most blacks were fugitives, if they lived by themselves in a limited number of communities near the border, and if the overwhelming majority returned to the United States after the Civil War, then clearly they were not truly part of the Canadian immigrant experience. Certainly one can find instances of American blacks who held what might be described as an "exile mentality".⁴² They spoke with passion of their love for the United States and their dreams of returning home once the blight of slavery had been eliminated. More compelling, however, is the testimony of the many individuals, both slave and free, who saw Canada as a land of new possibilities. Listen to Alexander Hemsley, for example. Born a slave in Maryland, he escaped to Canada

41 Charles J. Johnson, who settled in Toronto, was the son of a prominent free black tailor from Charleston who had owned six slaves. South Carolina's free black elite is discussed in Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*. Correspondence involving the Johnson family can be found in Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, eds., *No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984). Patricia J. Yee has recently drawn attention to distinctions between the experiences of black men and women in "Gender Ideology and Black Women".

42 Ripley *et al.*, eds., *Black Abolitionist Papers: Volume II*, p. 39.

when he was in his thirties. After spending a short time in Toronto he moved to the St. Catharines area where, with another man, he acquired five acres of cleared land and started farming:

We were then making both ends meet. I then made up my mind that salt and potatoes in Canada were better than pound-cake and chickens in a state of suspense and anxiety in the United States. Now I am a regular Britisher. My American blood has been scourged out of me....⁴³

Finally, there is the testimony of the census itself. By 1861 blacks had made their way to all corners of Canada West and had become an integral part of the provincial economy. A great many — more than half — were from the United States. Contrary to popular opinion, however, they were mainly free blacks, not runaway slaves — immigrants not fugitives. In many respects Canada was unkind to both groups of Americans. Although entitled to equality before the law, they experienced persistent discrimination. Whites called them “nigger” to their faces, and worse. Still, when the Civil War ended most chose to remain. Canada was not all they had hoped for, perhaps, but, despite what their white neighbours may have believed, it had become home. For the 40 per cent of the black population who had been born in the province, it had never been anything else.

43 Drew, *A North-Side View of Slavery*, p. 39.

APPENDIX A
Distribution of the Black Population of Canada West
by Place of Residence, 1861

ALGOMA DISTRICT	12	ESSEX (continued)	
BRANT COUNTY (465)		Town of Sandwich	95
Brantford	58	West Sandwich	47
Town of Brantford	284	Windsor	533
Burford	73	FRONTENAC COUNTY (169)	
Onondaga	3	Bedford	2
Paris	18	Hinchinbrooke	2
South Dumfries	15	Kingston	21
Tuscarora	14	Penitentiary	78
BRUCE COUNTY (10)		Pittsburgh	14
Arran	2	Portland	9
Brant	2	Portsmouth	10
Kincardine	1	Storrington	9
Village of Kincardine	5	Wolfe Island	24
CARLETON COUNTY (3)		GLENGARRY COUNTY (43)	
Fitzroy	1	Charlottenburg	13
March	1	Lancaster	30
Nepean	1	GRENVILLE COUNTY (18)	
DUNDAS COUNTY (20)		Edwardsburg	5
Matilda	1	Kemptville	1
Morrisburgh	6	Prescott	12
Williamsburgh	12	GREY COUNTY (379)	
Winchester	1	Artemesia	105
DURHAM COUNTY (48)		Bentinck	31
Bowmanville	10	Collingwood	2
Cavan	2	Derby	1
Clarke	6	Egremont	4
Hope	4	Euphrasia	13
Newcastle	7	Glenelg	35
Port Hope	19	Holland	16
ELGIN COUNTY (85)		Melancthon	7
Bayham	8	Normanby	45
Malahide	23	Osprey	7
Southwold	11	Owen Sound	86
St. Thomas	40	St. Vincent	6
Yarmouth	3	Sullivan	16
ESSEX COUNTY (3,508)		Sydenham	5
Amherstburg	373	HALDIMAND COUNTY (253)	
Anderdon	456	Canboro	6
Colchester	937	Dunn	5
East Sandwich	442	Dunnville	62
Gosfield	101	Mouton	10
Maidstone	234	North Cayuga	118
Malden	275	Oneida	23
Malden Asylum	9	Seneca	27
Rochester	6	Walpole	2

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HALTON COUNTY (233)

Esquesing	11
Georgetown	3
Nassagaweya	51
Nelson	22
Oakville	37
Trafalgar	109

HASTINGS COUNTY (87)

Belleville	33
Hastings Road	5
Huntingdon	4
Madoc	1
Marmora	1
Rawdon	7
Sidney	13
Thurlow	4
Trenton	8
Tyendinaga	11

HURON COUNTY (92)

Ashfield	6
Biddulph	59
Colborne	1
Grey	12
Howick	1
Hullet	1
McGillivray	1
McKillop	1
Stephen	8
Usborne	1
Wawanosh	1

KENT COUNTY (4,736)

Camden and Gore	669
Chatham	1,252
Chatham and Gore	737
Dover	209
East Tilbury	43
Harwich	457
Howard	51
Orford	8
Raleigh	1,310

LAMBTON COUNTY (133)

Brooke	2
Dawn	55
Euphemia	15
Moore	4
Plympton	3
Sarnia	4
Town of Sarnia	45
Warwick	5

LANARK COUNTY (12)

Burgess	6
Perth	4
Ramsey	2

LEEDS COUNTY (64)

Bastard	20
Brockville	9
Elizabethtown	27
Leeds	8

LENNOX COUNTY (29)

Adolphustown	1
Camden	4
Ernestown	8
Fredericksburgh	2
Napanee	6
Richmond	7
Sheffield	1

LINCOLN COUNTY (911)

Caistor	8
Gainsborough	1
Grantham	96
Grimsby	33
Louth	17
Niagara	60
Town of Niagara	87
St. Catharines	609

MIDDLESEX COUNTY (319)

Caradoc	7
Delaware	6
East Williams	6
Ekfrid	15
Lobo	13
London	192
Metcalfe	8
Mosa	29
North Dorchester	24
Strathroy	8
West Nissouri	11

NORFOLK COUNTY (149)

Charlotteville	6
Town of Simcoe	48
Townsend	8
Walsingham	3
Windham	31
Woodhouse	53

NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY (129)

Alnwick	1
Village of Brighton	4
Cobourg	61

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NORTHUMBERLAND (continued)

Colborne	3
Cramahe	3
Haldimand	23
Hamilton	24
Murray	9
Seymour	1

ONTARIO COUNTY (42)

East Whitby	8
Mara	1
Oshawa	8
Pickering	12
Reach	1
Scott	2
West Whitby	2
Town of Whitby	8

OXFORD COUNTY (552)

Blandford	7
Blenheim	19
Dereham	51
East Nissouri	1
East Oxford	20
East Zorra	25
Ingersoll	149
North Norwich	17
North Oxford	17
South Norwich	148
West Oxford	31
West Zorra	11
Woodstock	56

PEEL COUNTY (73)

Albion	1
Brampton	12
Caledon	6
Chinguacousy	17
Toronto	37

PERTH COUNTY (105)

Blanchard	11
Downie	1
Easthope	3
Ellice	6
Elma	7
Hibbert	2
Logan	1
Mitchell	3
Mornington	13
South Easthope	5
St. Mary's	14
Stratford	38
Wallace	1

PETERBOROUGH COUNTY (67)

Ashburnham	7
Asphodel	1
Ennismore	4
Minden	8
Monaghan	10
Otonabee	3
Peterborough	23
Smith	11

PRESCOTT COUNTY (2)

Longueuil	1
South Plantagenet	1

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY (12)

Ameliasburgh	5
Hallowell	3
Pictou	3
Sophiasburgh	1

RENFREW COUNTY (3)

Westneath	3
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RUSSELL COUNTY (9)

Clarence	9
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SIMCOE COUNTY (300)

Adjala	2
Barrie	54
Bradford	1
Collingwood	70
Essa	2
Flos	15
Innisfil	7
Mono	9
Mulmur	1
Nottawasaga	2
Orillia	9
Oro	97
Reformatory	7
Sunnidale	14
Tecumseth	2
Vespra	1
West Gwillimbury	7

STORMONT COUNTY (35)

Cornwall	17
Town of Cornwall	14
Osnabruck	4

VICTORIA COUNTY (3)

Lutterworth	1
Mariposa	2

WATERLOO COUNTY (123)

Berlin	9
Galt	31
North Dumfries	7

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WATERLOO (continued)		YORK COUNTY (482)	
Preston	2	East Gwillimbury	40
South Waterloo	5	Etobicoke	83
Waterloo	1	Holland Landing	5
Wellesley	41	King	41
Wilmot	7	Markham	10
Woolwich	20	North Gwillimbury	5
WELLAND COUNTY (535)		Scarborough	5
Bertie	78	Vaughan	30
Chippawa	32	Whitchurch	1
Clifton	26	York	224
Crowland	1	Yorkville	38
Fort Erie	35	CITY OF HAMILTON (476)	
Humberstone	18	St. Andrew Ward	111
Jail	4	St. George's Ward	86
Pelham	13	St. Lawrence Ward	171
Stamford	190	St. Mary's Ward	53
Thorold	61	St. Patrick's Ward	55
Village of Thorold	39	CITY OF KINGSTON (162)	
Wainfleet	7	Catarqui Ward	23
Willoughby	31	Frontenac Ward	18
WELLINGTON COUNTY (410)		General Hospital	1
Amaranth	4	Ontario Ward	11
Arthur	1	Rideau Ward	32
Elora	9	St. Lawrence Ward	25
Eramosa	8	Sydenham Ward	12
Garafraxa	7	Victoria Ward	40
Guelph	7	CITY OF LONDON (370)	
Town of Guelph	39	Ward 1*	370
Maryborough	14	CITY OF OTTAWA (34)	
Minto	1	By Ward	19
Nichol	3	Victoria Ward	2
Peel	296	Wellington Ward	13
Pilkington	14	CITY OF TORONTO (987)	
Puslinch	7	St. Andrew's Ward	116
WENTWORTH COUNTY (364)		St. David's Ward	22
Ancaster	51	St. George's Ward	21
Barton	140	St. James' Ward	86
Beverly	13	St. John's Ward	539
Binbrook	4	St. Lawrence Ward	48
Dundas	19	St. Patrick's Ward	155
East Flamboro	31		
Glanford	16		
Saltfleet	27		
West Flamboro	63		

- a) The blacks of London were actually dispersed throughout the seven wards of the city, but confusion in the way in which the enumerators entered the data makes it appear as if they all lived in a single ward.

Source: Canada West Manuscript Census Schedules, 1861.