



Hamilton

CITIZEN COMMITTEE REPORT

HAMILTON HISTORICAL BOARD JOINT PLAQUING SUB-COMMITTEE

To:	Chair and Members Emergency & Community Services Committee
From:	Robert Hamilton, Chair _____ Hamilton Historical Board Signature of Chair
Date:	January 16 2012
Re:	Early Black Community on Hamilton Mountain – formerly titled “Little Africa” Commemorative Plaque wording (Report 06-003(a)(HHB)) (Ward 7)

Recommendation:

That the revised wording for the Early Black Community on Hamilton Mountain commemorative plaque (formerly titled “Little Africa”), hereto attached and marked as Appendix A to Report 06-003(a)(HHB), be approved.

Council Direction:

On October 11, 2006, Council directed that Item 2 of the Community Services Committee Report 06-009 (Hamilton Historical Board Report 06-003-Little Africa Plaque (Item 5.2)) be referred back to the Hamilton Historical Board’s Joint Plaquing Sub-committee to allow for further consultation with the Black History Committee, the African Workers’ Project Committee and other Historians of African decent respecting the Little Africa plaque, and report back to the Community Services Committee.

Background:

On September 14, 2005, Council approved the Priority List for City of Hamilton commemorative plaques. The *Early Black Community on Hamilton Mountain* commemorative plaque was included on this list, but was listed under the title *Little Africa*.

The subject matter for the “Little Africa” plaque was researched and authored by a citizen member of the Joint Plaquing Sub-committee. The wording was approved in 2006 by the Ontario Heritage Trust, the Joint Plaquing Sub-committee, the Hamilton Historical Board and the Municipal Heritage Committee – Hamilton LACAC (now Hamilton Municipal Heritage Committee/HMHC), respectively.

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In the fall of 2006, a reviewer's package was prepared for the consultation groups recommended by Council. The reviewers were Ms. Evelyn Myrie, Co-Chair of the Hamilton Black History Committee, Ms. Adrienne Shadd, Curator of the "And Still I Rise" exhibit of the African Workers' Project at the Workers Arts and Heritage Centre, Ms. Rosemary Sadlier, President of the Ontario Black History Society and Ms. Evie Auchinvole of Stewart Memorial Church.

Each statement contained in the plaque was supported by documented research. A positive and open discussion resulted which ultimately led to a revision of the original plaque wording. Even though most of the reviewers agreed with the new wording, full consensus was not reached. Staff and the consultation group agreed that additional research was needed and the revised wording should not be brought forward for approval.

In December of 2008, Ms. Adrienne Shadd, a distinguished black history researcher and author, was hired to study the early black community on the mountain. Ms. Shadd set aside the revised text, and conducted new research using only original documentation (including census data and land transfer papers). Ms. Shadd produced the most comprehensive study of this society to date, and set aside long held, inaccurate beliefs about the community.

During the time of Ms. Shadd's research, a revised consultation team was formed. The purpose of this team was to discuss the new research, develop next steps for the project, and ensure the intent and theme of the plaque was maintained. Members included Ms. Shadd, Ms. Myrie, Ms. Sadlier, as well as Ms. Tracy Warren, M.A. History from McMaster University, Dr. Gary Warner, Associate Professor (Retired), McMaster University, Dr. Bonny Ibhawoh, Associate Professor for the Department of History at McMaster University and Mr. Vince Morgan, Chair of the Stewart Memorial Church Board of Trustees.

In March 2010, Ms. Shadd's final report (attached as Appendix B to Report 06-003(a)(HHB)), including research notes, was submitted to the consultation team for review. The team was in consensus that the report provided clear and concrete evidence that outlined the history of the early black community on the Hamilton Mountain. As a result, the team requested that Ms. Shadd begin preparing the final wording for the newly title *Early Black Community on Hamilton Mountain* commemorative plaque.

The wording prepared by Ms. Shadd was submitted to the consultation team in July 2010. Minor revisions were suggested by Ms. Sadlier, which were incorporated into the final draft. The fully revised and final draft of the plaque wording was distributed to the consultation team via email (at their request). The consultation team provided unanimous approval in favour of the wording of the *Early Black Community on Hamilton Mountain* commemorative plaque on October 1, 2010 (attached as Appendix A to Report 06-003(a)(HHB)).

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The attached commemorative plaque text (Appendix A to Report 06-003(a)(HHB)) has since been approved by the Joint Plaquing Sub-committee and the Hamilton Historical Board.

Financial Implications:

The funds for the manufacture and installation of the Early Black Community on Hamilton Mountain commemorative plaque are drawn from the Museums & Heritage Presentation operating budget allocation.

Analysis/Rationale:

It is the mandate of the City of Hamilton Joint Plaquing Sub-committee to recognize Hamilton sites of architectural, prehistoric and/or historical importance with commemorative plaques. Plaques may be awarded for the following reasons.

Architectural Reasons which may include age, style and/or location.

The building is noted for one or more of the following characteristics:

- an outstanding example of an architectural style
- an exceptionally early building
- an unusual building, type, structure, or composition
- the first or last of a kind
- an important visual landmark
- a special relationship between building and site
- the work of a major architect
- a group of buildings which form an important streetscape
- an exemplary restoration or adaptive re-use project

Historical/Prehistoric Importance

- close association with a noteworthy person (to recognize his/her lasting importance; selected because of his/her association with the place)
- close association with a noteworthy event
- effectively illustrates a significant, broad pattern of cultural, social, political military, economic or industrial history or pre-history

Staff Consultation:

Yes X No

Director, Culture Division, Community Services
Manager of Museums & Heritage Presentation, Community Services
Heritage Presentation Coordinator, Community Services

Black Community on Hamilton Mountain

Beginning in the 1840s, people of African descent purchased plots of land on the Hamilton Mountain brow along today's Concession Street between Upper Wellington and Upper Sherman Streets. William Bridge Green was a key provider of land to Black settlers, who came from a variety of backgrounds. Most originated in the United States, although Pompey Lewis was African-born and John and Rosanna Spellman were from Santo Domingo. Some were freeborn. Many had been enslaved, and had migrated to free American states before moving north. Others had escaped directly from bondage via the Underground Railroad. They worked as farmers, carters, labourers, skilled trades people and entrepreneurs. Some of these Black landowners divided up their property and sold or rented smaller lots to other Blacks. In 1854, Reverend Joseph P. Williams established an African Methodist Episcopal Church capable of seating 100 people on his property at the top of the future Jolley Cut. Julia Washington Berry operated the tollgate at the top of James Street. William Nelson was caretaker for the Mission Church on Concession Street. Other families included several Johnson households, the Calamese family, the Carters, Connaways, Mallorys, Mortons and Santees. Black barber and leader Josiah Cochrane also bought land here. Although the community later dubbed "Little Africa" persisted for several decades, the vast majority of inhabitants sold their property and purchased homes below the Mountain or moved to other Ontario locales, where some descendants continued to live into the twenty-first century.

Hamilton Historical Board

2011

(242 words)

**« LITTLE AFRICA » REVISITED:
TRACING HAMILTON MOUNTAIN'S BLACK COMMUNITY**

REPORT to:
Ian Kerr-Wilson
Manager, Museums & Heritage Preservation
Culture Division, Community Services Department
City of Hamilton
March 3, 2010

From:
Adrienne Shadd
Adrienne L. Shadd Consulting
90 Spencer Avenue, Ste 7
Toronto, ON M6K 2J6

Introduction

This research report is intended to trace the movements and holdings of the African Canadian inhabitants of Hamilton Mountain in what has been termed “Little Africa.” The objective of the current research is to resolve continuing questions about what happened to these residents over time, and to find out when and why the community eventually disappeared. In the previous report entitled “Little Africa: Where Do We Go From Here?” the preliminary evidence pointed to major inconsistencies in the story of Little Africa that had been put forward by Mabel Burkholder over many years. Burkholder’s main contention was that a community of Blacks was established on Hamilton Mountain through the generosity of William Bridge Green, who donated land free of charge to destitute fugitive slaves who had no where to go and who had recently escaped from slavery in the American South. She claimed that the community was known as “Little Africa,” and that ultimately, the community disappeared because the winters proved to be too cold for these “children of the South.”

Part of the 2009 report entitled “Little Africa: Where Do We Go From Here?” included general information about the Blacks who were living in Canada West in the 1850s-1860s, their backgrounds and what compelled them to leave the United States (the origin of the vast majority), in addition to their condition and activities in their adopted home. This information pointed to the diversity of stories and backgrounds of Blacks living in Barton Township and the city of Hamilton. Some had not come directly from slavery, but had been living in freedom for some years prior to their arrival in Canada. Others were educated freeborn individuals. In looking specifically at Blacks living on the mountain in those years, evidence unearthed by the Culture Division, City of Hamilton

revealed that numerous Black families purchased plots of land in Concession 4 on the mountain. Often they would then sell part of their property or rent out to other Blacks. William Bridge Green was still the key landowner who sold land to people of African descent, but the main point was that he was not giving land to them free of charge, but rather selling it to them at the going rate, just like everyone else. This evidence was a significant departure, to say the least, from Burkholder's story.

From the available information, the report could not answer the question of what became of the community. Moreover, little was known of the inhabitants of "Little Africa" beyond their names, ages, occupations and family members. The current report, therefore, will try to fill in these gaps wherever possible, and to provide a clearer portrait of the people and their community on the mountain. In so doing, another point of investigation of the current research was to look further at a second location of Black residence on the mountain: Lot 12 Concession 4.

Lot 12 Concession 4

This 100 acre tract of land was originally granted to Philip Crips on August 10, 1801 by the Crown. James Durand, an important figure in Hamilton affairs and provincial politics, purchased the tract from Crips in 1808, and George Hamilton, founder of the Town of Hamilton, purchased it from Durand in 1815. This was in addition to 257 acres which Hamilton purchased from Durand which he surveyed into town lots for purchase and which became the site of Hamilton proper below the mountain.¹

On the mountain, Hamilton split up the Concession 4 property by selling smaller lots to a number of different people, and upon his death in 1836, his son Robert Jarvis

Hamilton inherited the land and continued where his father left off. The latter sold a parcel of land to William Kirkendall in 1844.² Two years later, Kirkendall sold 5 acres in Park Lot #1, part of Lot 12 Concession 4, to Joseph P. Williams and his wife Violet Williams, both transplanted African Americans, for £65.12.6. The mortgage on the property was held by Kirkendall and discharged by him in November 1848. Williams then sold 1 acre in the southeast corner of Park Lot 1 to John and Rosanna Spellman (or Spellman) for £25 in June 1849. In 1852, he sold ½ acre adjoining the Spellman property to the African-born Pompey Lewis for £12.10.³

Joseph P. Williams was listed as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal faith according to the 1851 census. In 1854, he sold 816 square feet in Park Lot #1 to the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church for £6.5. The individuals who signed the Indenture of Sale were William Calamies (Calamese), John Spellman and Henry Johnson, described as the “Trustees of the African and Methodist Episcopal Society of the Township of Barton.”⁴ This property bordered on that of Pompey Lewis and John and Rosanna Spellman. A Methodist Church described as a “Wn Meth frame church capable of accommodating 100 persons” was enumerated next to Pompey Lewis’ property in the 1861 census.⁵ This is one strong indication that a vibrant Black community was being forged on the mountain. Of the trustees, William Calamese and Henry Johnson were living on Lot 9 Concession 4 and John Spellman, as seen above, lived on Lot 12. This showed that members of the church resided in different locations in Concession 4 and belonged to the same church, another suggestion of the formation of a Black community on the mountain.

In 1859, the remaining member of the original three trustees, William Calamese, took out a mortgage on the property with Joseph Williams for \$125. The property was reclaimed by Williams in 1863 for nonpayment of the mortgage.⁶ It is not known why Calamese took out the mortgage, nor why he did not repay the loan, and apparently, there was \$155.84 owing, more than what the property was worth at the time. What became of the AME Church at this juncture is unclear. Mabel Burkholder herself wrote that the Blacks of “Little Africa” had their own little church that stood where the old Jolley homestead was located at the top of the Jolley Cut.⁷ This, in fact, was quite true, for James Jolley ended up buying the land on which the church was built, as well as that of the Williams and Pompey Lewis and in 1864 built a home called ‘Bellemont’ at what is today the corner of Concession and East Fifteenth streets. A Scotsman who owned a successful shop selling saddles and harnesses in downtown Hamilton, he also bought a number of other lots in Lot 12 from various other families. In 1869, Jolley received permission from city council to construct what became known as the ‘Jolley Cut,’ a free road from the mountain to the city, because he did not wish to use the toll routes. This road was donated to the city in 1873.⁸

The other religious sanctuary which African Canadians were said to attend was the Mission Church, built in 1860. The whereabouts of the Mission Church records are not known. However, an article in the *Hamilton Spectator* of October 24, 1941 recounted the history of the Mission Church from interviews of old timers and minute books that still existed at that time.

According to the article, Frederick and Margaret Bray deeded the property 50 feet frontage by 80 feet in depth on 570 Concession Street so that a church or mission meeting

house could be erected “for the use of all denominations of Christians professing the Protestant faith.”⁹ Subscriptions were collected to pay for the building either in donations of money or labour or the use of a team of horses for hauling materials and the like. A public meeting held December 7, 1860 appointed “George Kirkendall,” treasurer, “John H. Green” to hold the communion set for the new church and “William Nelson (coloured)” was hired at \$15 a year to be the caretaker, opening the building, providing light and fuel, and cleaning it. Mrs. Kirkendall also donated a bible. The very first service was held Christmas morning 1860.¹⁰ Over the years, many different Protestant bodies utilized the building. The Mission Church probably took over from the AME Church as a primary house of worship of the African population on the mountain after the latter was no longer in operation. In 1867, it was also used to house a school, designated S. S. #3 Barton. Many African Canadians on the mountain, young and old, were said to attend this school, many of the adult students learning to read and write there for the first time.¹¹

Overall, Reverend Joseph P. Williams was the catalyst for the purchase of land by Blacks in Lot 12 Concession 4. It was Williams who first bought five acres of land from William Kirkendall in 1846, and it was Williams who, beginning in 1849, sold smaller plots to John and Rosanna Spellman, Pompey Lewis and the AME Church, thereby attracting these families to the location. It would not be unusual for a minister to take such a leadership role in the community, and it was certainly evident that that is what happened in this case.

What became of the families in Lot 12? John Spellman passed away in 1857, leaving his real estate and personal possessions to his wife, Rosanna. She sold the property to butcher Charles William Lemon (spelled Lemin in the documents) in 1861

and moved to Hamilton proper. A 57-year-old *Susannah* Spelman was listed in the 1861 census in St. Mary's Ward working as a huckster. After 1861, Spellman disappeared from Hamilton archival records.¹²

Joseph and Violet Williams' land dealings are more confusing, but ultimately, of their remaining land, they ended up selling 2 1/10 acres to Hamilton grocer James Smith in a series of transactions, and 1 33/100 acres to James Jolley for \$350 in 1863, thus ending the extent of their holdings in Lot 12 Concession 4. A Joseph P. William (sic) was listed as a tenant in Lot 9 Concession 4 Barton Township in the 1867-68 directory of Hamilton and Wentworth County published that year. After this record, the tracks of Reverend Joseph P. and Violet Williams are lost. Why they sold out is not known. One possibility is that their land was not very productive. They were an older couple, but could have rented their land out to sharecroppers. They may have died, although provincial death records beginning in 1869 do not yield either a Joseph or a Violet Williams having died in the Hamilton area. Nevertheless, they left an imprint, selling land, one can speculate, to assist other Blacks in acquiring land in the Hamilton area, and causing a church, the most important institution in the Black community, to be built and enjoyed by its congregants on the mountain.¹³

The final remaining African Canadian living on Lot 12, Concession 4, Pompey Lewis, stayed on the mountain for over 20 years as well. Lewis paid for his half acre outright in 1852 but took out a mortgage with William L. Simpson of Buffalo, New York on May 21, 1858 for £10.7.6. Simpson discharged the mortgage on June 10, 1869. In 1874, Lewis, who was now a carter living in Hamilton, sold his property to James Jolley

of Hamilton for \$310. Lewis did not leave the area, but rather lived in Hamilton for the remainder of his life, passing on in 1877.¹⁴

Lot 9, Concession 4

The land transactions that took place in Lot 9 Concession 4 were far more numerous, because many more African Canadians purchased plots in this section than in Lot 12. Based on the Wentworth County Land Registry records in Hamilton, the following known African Canadians/African Americans bought land in this lot during a span of thirty years between 1848-1880: Daniel Johnson, William and Sarah Calamese, Henry and Martha Johnson, Marianne Connaway, William and Mary Nelson, Lewis Miles and Anna Johnson, Charles J. Carter, Edward and Anney Caroline (or Hannah) Johnson, George Santee, George and Elizabeth Morton, John and Rachel Johnson, Josiah and Amelia Cochrane, and William and Ann Elizabeth Mallory. Most owned one or two-acre plots, although the family headed by William and Mary Nelson, owned 3 ½ acres, and Marianne Connaway owned just ½ acre. A number of other individuals and families lived with these families or lived on their plots, and include some the people listed in the 'Barton Township Inhabitants of African descent, 1851-1881' inventory of names prepared in 2009.

Although most of these families lived on the mountain on the land they owned, some did not. There is no evidence, for example, that Josiah and Amelia Cochrane, William and Ann Elizabeth Mallory or Charles J. and Ann Eliza Carter ever lived there. They were all living in Hamilton prior to their land purchases, and were there afterwards. George and Elizabeth Morton lived in Hamilton, moved to the mountain for a few years,

and were back living in Hamilton in time for the next census inventory. And George Santee actually lived in Port Clinton, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania.

William Bridge Green provided the main impetus for land ownership by Black families on the mountain, as well as those living in the city and even the United States. Had it not been for Green, there might never have been a community that came to be known as 'Little Africa.' The first few land deals were provided at 0% interest on mortgages, but in the early 1850s, Green began charging interest and with a clear cut time frame for repayment of the mortgage. However, as we have seen, Green was not the only white person to sell land to Blacks, although he sold by far the *most* land to Blacks of any landowner on the mountain. Isaac Davis, mason, and his wife Elizabeth of Barton Township sold 2 acres to George Santee, also a mason, of Port Clinton, Pennsylvania. In addition, widow Ann Rosewarn of Barton Township, resold the one acre she purchased from William and Mary Nelson in 1862 to John Johnson in 1869.

Once Blacks gained a foothold on the mountain through William Bridge Green and others, the door was now opened for additional Black families to buy into the area, just as happened in Lot 12, Concession 4. Charles J. Carter, a dyer turned clergyman living in Hamilton, was one person who purchased an acre from Lewis Miles and Anna Johnson on the mountain, and another acre from Henry and Martha Johnson two years later. Carter, in turn, sold his 2 acres to Josiah and Amelia Cochrane twelve years later. Moreover, several Black individuals also provided mortgages to Black landowners and made money from these transactions. They were Henry Criel, a former escaped slave and mariner in Hamilton, Charles J. Carter, and William L. Simpson of Buffalo New York, whose racial origin is not known but who might very well have been Black.¹⁵

One of the interesting findings in looking more closely at the land transactions on the Lot 9 tract of land is the fact that George Santee, a mason in Port Clinton, Pennsylvania purchased 2 acres in Lot 9, but it was his relative (possibly his son) Ephraim K. Santee, Ephraim's wife Mary Jane, and their six children who actually lived there. This would not be the first time that African Americans purchased land in Canada and their relatives lived on the property. William Whipper, a wealthy African American businessman and banker in Columbia, Pennsylvania, and his business partner Stephen Smith bought numerous lots in Dresden, Ontario prior to the Civil War. Although these men ended up remaining in the United States, some of their relations did settle in Dresden and vicinity and managed businesses including several shops, two mills, a lumber yard and a warehouse, set up by Whipper and Smith there.¹⁶

What became of the community? For some families, it is not clear what happened to them. The very first purchase of a plot of 2 acres from William Bridge Green was made by Daniel Johnson in 1848. This property was assigned to Lewis Miles Johnson and what appears to be his second wife Elizabeth, whom the assignment document described as the second daughter of Henry Johnson. This took place in 1856 after Lewis Miles and Elizabeth made a payment of £37.10, which was the original amount agreed upon between Daniel Johnson and William Bridge Green. Daniel Johnson, who was almost certainly related to Henry Johnson if not all the Johnsons on the mountain, may have passed away without heirs and a will.¹⁷

Another early family on the mountain was William Calamese and his wife Sarah. They bought two acres from William Bridge Green in 1848, and the mortgage was discharged by Green in 1851. There were no further land transactions recorded for them.

However, they were still on the property as late as 1865-66, for they were listed in the county directory for Barton Township in that year in Lot 9 Concession 4. By 1871, Sarah Callamese, aged 45, was living in St. Andrew's Ward with Ephraim and Susanna Reddick and clergyman Robert Jones. She likely sold the property after the death of her husband, although there is no record of the transaction in the land registry abstract index books for those years. Her marital status was left blank in the 1871 census record, so it is not altogether certain whether she was widowed or not. Had her husband left to fight in the Civil War and was he still absent at that point? This was the last record found under the name Calamese. A search of the death records for either William or Sarah did not yield any results.¹⁸

Henry and Martha Johnson purchased one acre from William Bridge Green in 1850 and sold that land to Charles J. Carter, a Hamilton clergyman, in 1857. However, Henry Johnson is recorded in the county directory as late as 1884-85 as a freeholder.¹⁹ He may not have been a freeholder, but he was evidently still living on Lot 9, Concession 4 as of that date 35 years later.²⁰

Marianne Connaway purchased ½ acre from William Bridge Green in 1851, and conveyed the property to John Johnson for \$1.00 in 1880 so long as he agreed to support her for the rest of her natural life. She died in 1884 in Barton Township on Lot 9 Concession 4 on the original property she purchased from Green. It is quite possible that Rachel Johnson was widow Connaway's daughter and John Johnson her son-in-law. In any case, Connaway died on the land she purchased on the mountain.

William Nelson purchased 2 ½ acres of land from William Bridge Green in 1852 for £62.10 One year later, he purchased another acre from Green for £25. In 1862,

William and Mary Nelson sold one acre to Ann Rosewarn, widow, of the city of Hamilton for \$80. This is the last land transaction that was recorded for William and Mary Nelson. They continued to live on the mountain on their plot of land and were still there in 1875. They obviously had passed away by the time the next census was taken in 1881.²¹

Charles J. Carter, dyer and clothier turned clergyman, of Hamilton bought one acre from Lewis Miles and Anna Johnson for £50 in 1855 and added another acre purchased from Henry and Martha Johnson in 1857. Carter sold his 2 acres to Josiah and Amelia Cochrane for \$400 in 1869. The Carters had already moved to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, however. Ultimately, he was part of that wave of Blacks who moved back to the United States at the end of the Civil War.²²

Edward and Anney Caroline Johnson purchased one acre from William Bridge Green for £18.15 in 1852. They took out a second mortgage with William L. Simpson of Buffalo, New York in 1858 for £10.7.6. The county directory of 1865-66 showed Edward Johnson living as a freeholder on Lot 9 Concession 4. However, by 1871, his wife, whose first name was recorded in the census as Hannah, aged 60, was enumerated as owner of the property and head of the household. She was now a widow living with her two adult daughters, Elizabeth and Delsee, ages 20 and 18 respectively. The directories of 1875 and 1884-85 did not record Hannah Johnson (which was sometimes the case in the county directories when it came to women head of households). The last record we have for Hannah was an 1881 census entry of a Hannah Johnson aged, again aged 60 – some people apparently never age! – living with the Allan family in Ward 6 in Hamilton.²³

George and Elizabeth Morton of the City of Hamilton bought two acres from William Bridge Green in 1862. They took out a mortgage for \$80 with Henry Criel in 1867 and George Morton appeared in the county directory as a freeholder on Lot 9 Concession 4 for the year 1867-68. However, they would not remain on the mountain for very much longer. They sold their two acres in 1873 to Thomas Morrison and his son Alexander for \$325. They were back in Hamilton with their nine children in St. Patrick's Ward by 1871 and were enumerated in Ward 3 in 1881 with four of their children still in the household. The Morton family lived on in Hamilton through their descendants. George Morton Jr., for example, became the leader of a movement to form a Black fire brigade in 1889 and died in Hamilton in 1927, having been a respected member of the community and a mail carrier for 36 years.²⁴

The Santee family arrived on Hamilton Mountain thanks to George Santee, who purchased 2 acres, 1 rood²⁵ and 9 perches²⁶ from Isaac Davis in 1861 and, as trustee, placed his family Ephraim K., Mary Jane Santee and their six children on the property. Twenty years later, in 1881, Ephraim K. Santee and his children and their spouses, all of whom were living in Hamilton, jointly decided to sell the property after the death of George Santee in 1875. The property was purchased by widow Rebecca Fox of Barton Township, thus ending the Santees' tenure on the mountain.²⁷

In 1869, John Johnson, farmer, of Barton Township purchased one acre from Ann Roseworn for \$180. This was the plot of land once owned by William and Mary Nelson, Black residents on the Green tract on Hamilton Mountain. As mentioned earlier, Marianne Connaway conveyed her ½ acre to Johnson for \$1 in 1880 on the condition that he support her for the rest of her life. Two years after Connaway's death in 1884, John and

Rachel Johnson sold their 1 ½ acres to Thomas Martin of Barton Township for \$400.

They bought a house and property on Emerald Street in Hamilton and upon John

Johnson's death in 1892, his wife became the sole owner.²⁸

Josiah and Amelia Cochrane bought two acres from Charles J. Carter in 1869 and there are no further records of the Cochranes being involved in land transactions after that. Josiah Cochrane died in the City of Brantford at the age of "80 or 90" in April 1906, indicating that the family remained in the area for the rest of their lives.²⁹

William and Ann Elizabeth Mallory also purchased two acres from William Bridge Green's descendants in 1875 for \$200 and took out a \$150 mortgage on the property to be repaid in two years with the executors of the estate of James Gage, one of the first directors and stockholders of the Gore Bank in Hamilton. They sold that property to Frank Russell Waddell, a lawyer and prominent local politician. There is no evidence to indicate they ever lived on the mountain, and in 1901, William Mallory and a niece were renting a house at 193 John St. South. William's occupation at that time was recorded as "book agent," as he had published his narrative and was obviously trying to make a living from the sale of copies of the book. William Mallory died in Hamilton in 1907 at the age of 99 years.³⁰

Property Owners and Residents of Hamilton Mountain

An alphabetical list of the profiles of Hamilton Mountain residents have been compiled below.

Julia and Henry Berry³¹

Julia and Henry Berry were living in Barton Township, Division 2 in 1881. There are no records of them having purchased land in either Lot 9 or 12, Concession 4 in the abstract index books. Henry was listed in the census as a labourer, and Julia was listed as the tollkeeper. According to their granddaughter, Viola Berry Aylestock, Julia operated the tollgate at the top of James Street, taking the money of the farmers who travelled back and forth to the city with their produce. They had three young daughters, Mary, Rachael and Julia, ages 5, 3 and 1 year. It has not been determined exactly where on the mountain the family lived, or whether they owned property there. Henry Berry was born in Virginia in 1845 and based on family records of Berry descendants, he was born in slavery and escaped to Canada via the Underground Railroad through St. Catharines. He settled in Hamilton and married Julia Washington, the daughter of George B. and Rachel Washington. The Washington family came to Canada in 1832, according to their descendants, and in 1871, was living in St. Patrick's Ward in Hamilton. Julia was 15 years old at that time, and she had a brother, Isaac, aged six.

Julia and Henry Berry were married by the mid-1870s, and went on to have a total of ten children, nine surviving into adulthood. In 1912, the family was living in Hamilton at 193 Catharine Street and the property was worth \$900.00. Berry was a polisher by trade. Interviews with Berry descendants reveal that the Berrys were staunch members of St. Paul's AME Church (later renamed Stewart Memorial), in which Henry Berry was a deacon. In 1912, Henry Berry passed away, survived by his wife Julia and their nine children: Mary Lucinda, Rachael Matilda, Julia Charlotte, William Henry, Emma Berry Harrigan, Elizabeth Clayse, Hiram Nelson and Alberta Irene Berry. Julia, the matriarch, lived well into her nineties, and was taken care of in her later years by her daughter Doll

(believed to be Mary Lucinda Berry), who never married. At that time, they lived at 90 Oxford Street in a two-storey brick house with a verandah.

Julia Berry's son, William Berry, the father of Viola Berry Aylestock, got a job on the railroad, and they moved to Toronto. Other children left for greener pastures in the United States. However, Doll and Hiram remained in Hamilton and their descendants continue to reside there well into the twenty-first century. They have contributed in a variety of professions, including singing and the entertainment fields, the correctional services, banking, the military, and many other endeavours. Viola Aylstock's daughter Joan Waite studied at Sarah Lawrence College and L'Ecole Des Sciences Politiques in Paris and became a professor at Sarah Lawrence College. She was also Director of Education at the African Art Museum of the S. M. A (Society of Missions in Africa) Fathers in Tenafly, New Jersey.³² Many Berry descendants have also made vital contributions to the community and in the area of civil rights both Canada and the United States.

William and Sarah Calamese³³

The Calamese family was one of the earliest on the mountain. William was a labourer and trustee of the AME Church in Lot 12, Concession 4, and they lived on the mountain in Lot 9 for at least seventeen years. By 1871, Sarah Calamese had moved to the city and it appeared her husband had passed away. She must have sold the property, although there is no record of it in the abstract index.

Charles J. Carter and Ann Elizabeth Carter³⁴

Charles Carter was variably described as a dyer, a clothier, and then a clergyman of the City of Hamilton. Although he never appeared in the Hamilton census records, he was found in the 1840 US census for West Brunswick, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania in the section for 'Free persons of colour.' At that time he was living with an adult woman – obviously his wife – two boys and two girls. Carter was in Hamilton at least by mid-century and was listed in the 1856 and 1858 Hamilton directories as a clothier at the corner of King and Park. The Carters purchased one acre in Lot 9 Concession 4 for £50 from Lewis Miles Johnson in 1855 and held the mortgage of Henry and Martha's acre beginning in 1856 for £18.5. They bought that acre in 1857 for £75. The Carters then took out a mortgage for £45 with Josias Bray to be repaid in one year. Twelve years later, they sold their two acres to Josiah and Amelia Cochrane. At that time, the Carters had moved back to Pennsylvania in the city of Harrisburg. An indication of the status of Reverend Carter was that the final indenture of sale of the property was signed by the Mayor of Harrisburg and another city official.

Josiah and Amelia Cochrane³⁵

Josiah Cochrane was a well-known barber and important Black community leader of the 1850s-1860s. In 1861, at the age of thirty, Cochrane lived in St. George's Ward, Hamilton with his wife, Amelia, and two children. The entire family had been born in the United States, and would have come to Hamilton in the 1850s, judging from the ages of their children (12 and 10 years). They lived in a two-storey brick house. Cochrane was Vice-President of the Provincial Union, a Black political and social organization with branches in several centres of African Canadian settlement in the province. He was also a

central figure in the Prince Hall Masons of Ontario, having been elected Grand Secretary of the Widow's Son Grand Lodge and then District Deputy Grand Master of the Eastern District in a united Grand Lodge in 1872. The Cochrane family purchased two acres in Lot 9 Concession 4 for \$400 from Charles J. Carter. This was in August 1869. Cochrane died on April 30, 1906. At the time of his death he was living at 117 Drummond in Brantford.

Marianne Connaway or Conway³⁶

Marianne Connaway (also spelled Conway in some documents) is believed to be the widow of Solomon Connaway. Solomon Connaway and Marianne Connaway were born in the United States. They may have been part of a migration of free Blacks from Ohio that settled in Upper Canada in the late 1820s –early 1830s because of oppressive Black Codes or legislation that was enacted against the free Black population at that time.³⁷ One law, for example, required that Blacks post a \$500 bond signed by two white men guaranteeing good behaviour. They first settled in Colbornesburg, Upper Canada in the early 1830s. This was a community of people of African descent in Woolwich Township in northern Waterloo County. This settlement began auspiciously, but disbanded only a few years later. Some of the settlers moved to the Queen's Bush, others to Hamilton.³⁸ Solomon Connaway moved with his family to Hamilton. In 1837, he was one of the signatories of a petition to have Jesse Happy, a fugitive slave who Kentucky authorities were attempting to have extradited for the theft of his master's horse, released on the grounds that Happy had arranged for the return of the horse. Happy was eventually freed, thanks in part to the efforts of the community on his behalf.³⁹

In 1851, Solomon's widow Marianne purchased ½ acre on the mountain in Lot 9 Concession 4 for £12.10 from William Bridge Green. In that year, a Mary Conway was listed with six children ranging in age from seven to fourteen years of age. Over the decades, most of her children moved away and she lived alone on her property, although for a time, her son, Moses, lived next door. In 1880, Connaway conveyed her property to John and Rachael Johnson for \$1. The document revealed that the Johnsons had “supported and maintained [her] for some time past and [have] agreed to further support and maintain her (in the same manner as heretofore) during her natural life.” It is quite possible that Marianne was the mother of Rachael Johnson. She remained on this tract of land until her death at the age of 88 in 1884.

Henry Criel⁴⁰

Henry Criel was an interesting character. He was born a slave in West Virginia in approximately 1817. He escaped to Upper Canada with his brother and two other men in 1837 and arrived in Hamilton in the mid- to late 1840s. As a slave, his labour had been rented out, which enabled him to save money little by little. As a result, he was able to bring \$80 with him to his new home. With this money, he purchased a lot at 229 McNab N. This location remained his principal residence for the rest of his life.

Criel worked in a variety of occupations over the years. He was a cook on the boats that plied the Great Lakes for a number of years. He also worked for Sir Allan MacNab at Dundurn Castle, and was a waiter at the Hotel Royal in Hamilton. In the 1881 census, he reported that he was earning a living as a market gardener. Criel never received a formal education, but was nonetheless good at figures. He speculated in real

estate and purchased a number of lots of land over the years. In 1864, Criel provided a mortgage on a 2-acre lot owned by George and Elizabeth Morton in Lot 9 Concession 4. Toward the end of his life he was living comfortably off the income from his rental properties. He was even described as a “gentleman” in some of the and documents, a term used to refer to men whose living was based on rental income.

Criel died in 1904 at the age of 87 at his home on MacNab Street after residing in Hamilton for over 60 years. At the time of his death, he owned four properties, two on the west side of MacNab between Colborne and Barton Streets, which included his two-storey brick home at 229 MacNab, plus a garden and a frame cottage on Barton Street. He also owned a vacant lot at the corner of MacNab and Barton Streets. The combined value of these properties was \$4500. He was survived by his third wife, Mary, and adopted son Henry. He adopted Henry during the marriage to his second wife, Barbara.

Edward and Anney Caroline Johnson⁴¹

Edward Johnson was a labourer who purchased one acre in Lot 9 Concession 4 for £25 in 1852 and took on a mortgage of £18.15 with William Bridge Green at 6% interest to be repaid in three equal annual installments. In 1858, Edward Johnson took out a mortgage with William L. Simpson of Buffalo, New York for £10.7.6. These are the only transactions involving this couple that were recorded in the abstract index books. The family, which included seven children, appeared in the 1861 census and this time the name ‘Anney Caroline’ made way for the name ‘Hannah.’ They were living on two acres in a one-storey frame house and their agricultural output consisted of 50 bushels of Indian corn, 100 bushels of potatoes, and 200 bushels of turnips. In the 1871 census, Edward

had passed away, leaving his wife and two children living on the property. By 1881, a 60 year-old Hannah Johnson, as has been shown, was living in Ward 6 in Hamilton with the Allan family. It is not known exactly what happened regarding their mountain property.

Henry and Martha Johnson⁴²

Henry Johnson was a farmer or labourer in Barton Township in Lot 9 Concession 4, and he and his wife Martha bought one acre from William Bridge Green in 1850 for £25 and took out a mortgage with Green for £18.15 to be repaid in equal annual installments until September 1, 1859. In 1857, they sold their plot to Charles J. Carter for £75. Although they sold their plot, they remained on the land. Mabel Burkholder mentioned Henry Johnson as one of the gravediggers for the Burkholder cemetery on the mountain.

Tragedy struck the family in 1882, however. A local item in the *Hamilton Spectator* of January 9, 1882, reported that in the early hours of the previous Saturday, “Henry Johnson, a colored man living on the mountain, was awakened by fire in his house. He barely had time to escape in his night dress. The house and all its contents were entirely consumed, and Johnson is in a destitute condition.” A US-born Henry Johnston (spelled with a ‘t’) died in 1887 in Hamilton.

John and Rachael Johnson⁴³

In 1869 John Johnson bought one acre of land outright from Ann Rosewarn of the city of Hamilton for \$180. This was the plot Rosewarn had originally purchased from William and Mary Nelson in 1862. This couple first appeared in the 1881 census in Barton Township Division 1, and the 1884-1885 directory of Wentworth County living in Lot 9

Concession 4 as freeholders. They had three girls in 1881, Mary Jane, Mariah L. and Ann E. ages eleven, nine and five. John Johnson was listed as a carter by trade. In 1880, the family acquired the ½ acre owned by Marianne Connaway for \$1. She lived beside the Johnsons, and entered into an agreement with them to support her for the rest of her life. As noted above, Mrs. Connaway died in 1884 at the age of 88.

Two years later, the couple sold their 1 ½ acres to Thomas Martin of Barton Township for \$400 and jointly bought a house and lot at 317 Emerald Street North Hamilton for \$1150. As of 1892 when John Johnson died, the house and lot were unoccupied and their value had decreased to \$1000 with a \$450 mortgage on the property. Apart from personal effects valued at \$50 and a horse worth \$30, the house and lot were apparently the only property that they owned at the time of his death according to the letters of administration applied for by his wife in order to take control of his estate.

Lewis Miles and Elizabeth Johnson⁴⁴

In 1861, this Johnson family lived on the mountain on Lot 9 Concession 4 in a one-storey frame house with an additional log house on their two-acre property. They also owned a horse worth \$20 and two carriages for hire valued at \$20. Lewis Miles Johnson was a labourer aged 40. His wife Elizabeth was reported to be 24, and they had four children, Joseph, age 21, a labourer, Harriet A., age 5, Susan, age 4, and John, age 2 years. They first purchased one acre from William Bridge Green in 1852, paying £25 and taking out a mortgage for another £18.15 with Green. In 1855, they sold this acre to Charles J. Carter for £50. The following year, they were assigned two acres that belonged to Daniel

Johnson after paying £37.10, the original purchase price of the land. In that deed of sale, William Bridge Green described Elizabeth as the second daughter of Henry Johnson. This is the only reference to a familial relationship in these documents, but it raises even more questions than it answers regarding Lewis Miles Johnson's relationship to the other Johnsons, particularly Elizabeth Johnson. Lewis Johnson was a witness for a number of land transactions on the mountain, perhaps because he was able to write and sign his name. In any case, the Lewis and Elizabeth disappear from the archival record after 1861 and no further land transactions involving them appear in the abstract index.

Pompey Lewis⁴⁵

The only African-born resident of the community, Pompey Lewis, was a 45 year-old carter living on the mountain on ½ acre on Lot 12 Concession 4 in 1851. He was living with Rachel, his American-born wife. Peter Carey, another well-known mountain resident, was a 39 year-old labourer living in the household. As noted above, he purchased the lot in 1852 from Reverend Joseph Williams for £12.10. In 1861, Pompey Lewis was living alone in a one-storey frame house on the same property. He had a horse and a pig valued at \$50 and two carriages for hire worth \$50. In 1871, however, he was recorded as a widower and had moved to St. Lawrence Ward, his wife having passed away. At that time, he boarded with two washerwomen, a widow named Matilda Young and Louisa Diggs, the latter of whom was married to Civil War veteran William Diggs, absent. By 1874, he sold his land on the mountain for \$310 to James Jolley, the man who built the Jolley cut. At the time of his death in 1877 at the age of 81 years, Pompey Lewis owned a parcel of land in Lot 15 fronting on Rebecca, King William, John and Catharine

Streets in Hamilton. The proceeds of the sale of his house and lot were bequeathed to the “Methodist Episcopal Church” of Hamilton of which he was a member (probably St. Paul’s AME, now Stewart Memorial Church). His personal property and cash were bequeathed to friends, not having an heir to whom he could pass down his assets.

William and Ann Elizabeth Mallory⁴⁶

William Mallory was born a slave in North Carolina in 1826. At the age of seven, he was sold to a Louisiana planter named Susten Allen. He escaped about 1860 and after a harrowing journey of many months on the Underground Railroad, found his way to Hamilton. Mallory penned his narrative in *Old Plantation Days* (Hamilton, ON: 1902). He wrote that after joining the Union Army during the Civil War, he returned to Hamilton, purchased a lot on John Street and engaged in a business in hay, straw and wood. William and Anne E. Mallory were listed in the 1871 census in St. Patrick’s Ward, and his occupation was wood dealer. In 1881, the Mallorys were living in Ward 2 in Hamilton, and their family had increased to five, including Caroline, aged six, Alice, aged one, and Mary, aged 17. William was reported to be a broker. Finally, in 1901, William was living in Ward 2, Subdivision 4 at 193 John Street in a rented 6-room dwelling. At this time, he was living only with a niece, Renna Caficy (sic), who was widowed. Mallory himself had lost his wife in the previous decade. He became a naturalized Canadian citizen in 1875.

In his autobiography, William Mallory stated that he was a missionary of the BME Church, and was a well known man about town. For example, he wrote that he met and was appointed marshall during the visits of both the Prince of Wales and Princess

Louise. When the Duke of York came to the city, he was selected to represent the Black community on the reception committee. He was reportedly also known for saving the young daughter of another Hamiltonian, John White, from being crushed by a team of runaway horses. As stated above, he and his wife bought two acres of land on the mountain, but never lived there, judging from the censuses and county directories of those years. He died in Hamilton on April 18, 1907.

George and Elizabeth Morton⁴⁷

George Morton and his wife Elizabeth were another Hamilton family who purchased land on Hamilton Mountain. George Morton was born in 1809 in Missouri, most likely into slavery. He is thought to be the brother of Thomas Morton, the well-to-do cabman of Hamilton who was a leader in the Black community, although there is no evidence to date which supports this supposition. George Morton worked as a whitewasher and labourer and he and Elizabeth had nine children, one of whom, George Jr., would go on to be a leader of *his* community as well. In 1861, George Sr. and his wife, Elizabeth, purchased two acres in Lot 9 Concession 4 from William Bridge Green. They sold those two acres to Thomas and Alex Morrison in 1873. However, they had already moved back to Hamilton, as witnessed by the 1871 census records, showing them in St. Patrick's Ward.

George Morton Jr., as noted above, led the move to establish an all-Black fire brigade in 1889 in Hamilton, citing the lack of job opportunities for Black Hamiltonians in city employment. During World War I, he was among a number of people from across the country who wrote to the Minister of Militia and Defence of the federal government

complaining that Black men in Hamilton who had attempted to enlist in the army were being turned away solely on the grounds of race. Eventually, because of the protest, the Canadian army set up the No. 2 Construction Battalion, an all-Black brigade that was sent overseas during that epic war. When George Morton Jr. died in 1927, his obituary read that he was survived by a sister and a brother, indicating that the Mortons were residents of Hamilton well into the twentieth century.

William and Mary Nelson⁴⁸

The Nelsons owned one of the largest plots of land of any family on the mountain at 3 ½ acres in Lot 9 Concession 4. In 1861, the census reported that they had a one-storey frame house, one horse and two pigs valued at \$50, two carriages for hire worth \$50, and that they had produced 50 bushels of wheat, 70 bushels of peas and one ton of hay on their farm. In 1862, they sold one acre to Ann Roseworn. William Nelson, as was mentioned earlier, was hired as the caretaker of the Mission Church in 1860, and Mabel Burkholder stated that he was a gravedigger for the Burkholder cemetery for many years prior to Henry Johnson's stint in that capacity. The 1875 directory is the last record that exists of William Nelson. He and his wife were elderly by this time, and must have died between 1875 and 1881, although no death record was found for them. Their son George Nelson, who lived on the mountain next to his parents up until at least 1867-68, was discovered in Hamilton's Ward 2 in 1871. He was a waiter and had a wife, Margret (sic), who was a dressmaker, and two teenage children. Interestingly, his 17-year-old daughter, Livinia, worked as a dressmaker like her mother, and his 15-year-old son, John, told the

census taker that he was a barber. They clearly found city life more to their liking than did their parents.

The Santees⁴⁹

In 1861, the Santee family made their debut on the mountain in Lot 9 Concession 4, thanks to the purchase of two acres by their relative George Santee of Port Clinton, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. Prior to this, however, they resided in downtown Hamilton. In fact, Ephraim Santee was in business with clothier turned minister Charles J. Carter on King Street in the 1858 directory. Once they had moved to the property on the mountain, they remained there for twenty years. As mentioned, the family jointly decided to sell their two acres. It is an interesting deed and includes the names of Ephraim's and Mary Jane's children and their spouses. Among the occupations of the sons and sons-in-law were two plasterers, a tinsmith and a tobacconist. However, the 1881 census revealed something interesting. Because we know the first names of the children and their spouses, one can conclude that either the family changed their surname to Keys, or the census enumerator mistakenly wrote this name down. The Santee name, either by design or by error, had become Keys. After 1881, neither Santees nor Keys were found in the 1901 census, so it is not known what became of them.

John and Rosanna Spellman⁵⁰

According to the 1851 census, this couple was born in the West Indies and their daughter, 10-year-old Mary J., was born in Canada West, meaning that they had been in Canada

since at least 1841. They purchased 1 acre in Lot 12 Concession 4 Barton Township from Reverend Joseph Williams in 1849. It was in Park Lot #1 in Kirkendall's survey of Lot 12 Concession 4. In 1857, John died and Rosanna became the head of household. She sold the property in 1861 and moved to Hamilton. As mentioned earlier, she was living in St. Mary's Ward and working as a huckster or seller of wares or fruit and vegetables in that year. She was also living with Harriet Johnson, possibly the daughter of Edward and Anney Caroline Johnson, who was said to be attending school at the age of 17 years. It would appear Harriet was attending school in the city and living with Rosanna Spellman. Interestingly, the census also recorded her country of origin as Santo Domingo, the present-day island of Hispaniola where Haiti and the Dominican Republic are located.

Reverend Joseph and Mrs. Violet Williams⁵¹

The Williams purchased five acres in Lot 12 Concession 4 roughly in the area on the mountain where the Jolley Cut begins. They were the earliest to buy property on the mountain in Concession 4 in 1846, and, as mentioned above, they were the catalysts for the settlement of other families on that five-acre plot in addition to the building of the AME Church there. Reverend Williams would have been the preacher in that church, as well as being instrumental in providing the land on which it was built. The 1851 census reported that they lived in a one-storey frame house and owned one horse valued at \$40, two carriages worth \$50 and a garden valued at \$5.

In 1863, after seventeen years on this property, they sold their last remaining 1 1/3 acres to James Jolley. However, they remained on the mountain and rented from a family in the Lot 9 tract, as confirmed by the county directory of 1867-68. They were in their

seventies at this point, and perhaps needed the income from the sale of their property to live on. They had been leaders in the Black community on the mountain and had remained on the mountain for over twenty years. However, what became of them after that date is not certain, except to say that they probably died on the mountain among the people with whom they had no doubt become very close. No record of their deaths was found in the provincial death registry.

General Conclusions

Judging from the evidence collected on Black property owners on Hamilton Mountain, a number of conclusions are unmistakable. Once again it has to be reiterated that the notion of who these Black residents were is far more complex than the facile stereotypes that have held currency for so long. The research points to the diversity and heterogeneity of backgrounds and conditions in which Black immigrants to Hamilton and the mountain found themselves. We know that some, like Marianne Connaway, Charles J. Carter and Ephraim and Mary Jane Santee had come from free states – Connaway most likely from Ohio and Carter and the Santees from Pennsylvania. Therefore, they were not running away from slavery, but were escaping Black Codes in Ohio and other states, and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which effectively threatened the freedom of any African American living in the free states. Because of the Fugitive Slave law, thousands opted to move to Canada, and this accounts for the large increase in population between 1851 and 1861. For most of the Hamilton Mountain residents, however, their exact origins are not known apart from the fact that they were American-born.

Another distinction to be made is between those who could sign their names on the land deeds and, one can reasonably conclude, had received a formal education, and those who signed their names with an 'x' and therefore, had not received an education. Of those whose names appear as signatures on documents, nine apparently signed their own names, including Lewis Miles Johnson, Charles J. Carter, Josiah and Amelia Cochrane, Anna Mallory, Rachael Johnson, Ephraim Santee and Rosannah Spellman. Fourteen others marked an 'x' for their signatures.

In terms of occupational breakdown, many of the men were described as labourers in the land deeds. A couple of them were described as farmers or yeomen. Based on other information that we have, Pompey Lewis and John Johnson were carters, George Morton was a whitewasher, William Mallory was a wood dealer turned book agent, and the well-known Josiah Cochrane had mastered the barbering trade. There were also two clergymen: Reverend Joseph P. Williams and Charles Carter, the latter of whom was previously identified as a dyer and clothier, before becoming a minister. The occupations of the women were, for the most part, not recorded. The practice of omitting women's occupations, particularly when the husband was present in the home, effectively masked those women who, in addition to their work in the home, were engaged in waged work. The case of Rosanna Spellman (written *Susannah* Spellman in the 1861 census) working as a huckster provides an interesting portrait of one woman and the work in which she was engaged.

The issue of the names of Blacks on the mountain was addressed in last year's report, "Little Africa: Where Do We Go From Here?" In response to Burkholder's statement that Black residents used aliases to avoid tracking and recapture by

slaveowners, it was argued that, in fact, this was a great overgeneralization. In her writings Burkholder seemed puzzled that so many families would choose the name Johnson, but a more obvious explanation is that several Johnson brothers purchased land together in William Bridge Green's survey. However, this could not be proven from the available evidence.

The question about whether this enclave of Blacks on the mountain could really be considered a community was also raised during the course of the recent resurgence of interest in "Little Africa." The finding of an African Methodist Episcopal Church in Lot 12 Concession 4 goes a long way toward laying that issue to rest. As the most important institution in the Black community, even to this day, the existence of the church helped to organize the community, provide leadership and a location from which other self-help, political and social organizing took place.

Finally, the Black residents on the mountain did not, for the most part, "take a return trip on the Underground Railroad," as some have termed it. Rather, they remained in the area. There is evidence to show that some sold their properties on the mountain and purchased houses and lots in downtown Hamilton, and passed their property down to their rightful heirs. This was the case for John and Rachael Johnson and Pompey Lewis, although having no heirs, the proceeds of the sale of Lewis' property were bequeathed to the church. Marianne Connaway died in 1884 on the land that she purchased in 1851. The Nelsons appear to have done the same, although their son, George, moved to Hamilton and established himself there by 1871. The Santee family, both the parents and their adult children, also moved back to Hamilton, and so did Anney Caroline or Hannah Johnson, after the death of her husband Edward, and Sarah Calamese, after the death of William

Calamese. Charles J. Carter is the only Hamilton Mountain resident that we know moved back to the United States, specifically Pennsylvania, in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Although, the research refutes most of the statements about the nature of the Black community on the mountain and its constituents, there is one statement made by Mabel Burkholder that cannot be contested. In her *Hamilton Spectator* article of November 15, 1947 about “Little Africa,” she ended with the following observation: “A very high percentage of them made excellent citizens.” Of this, we wholeheartedly agree.

¹ *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography*, (hereafter *DHB*) Volume I, Thomas Melville Bailey, ed., Hamilton: W. L. Griffin, 91; Bill Freeman, *Hamilton: A People's History*, Toronto: James Lorimer, 2001, 27; Wentworth County Land Registry Office Records, (hereafter WCLRO) Abstract Index Books, Barton Township, Vol. 1-2, ca. 1800-1900, Lot No. 12, 4th Concession.

² I could not determine how much land Kirkendall purchased from Hamilton because the original deeds of the land transaction records between 1830-1846 are missing from the Archives of Ontario. They should be available at the Hamilton Land Registry Office on King Street, however.

³ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. A119, A173, C895 for 1848, 1849 and 1852.

⁴ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed No. B498, in 1854.

⁵ 1861 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 38.

⁶ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. C632, D348, 1859 and 1863.

⁷ "Former Coloured Colony on Mount Dubbed Little Africa," *Hamilton Spectator*, July 15, 1936.

⁸ *DHB* Vol. I, 110.

⁹ "Is Mountain Mission Hall About to Change Hands?" *Hamilton Spectator*, October 24 1941, from Mountain Mission Scrapbooks, Vol. 1, Hamilton Public Library Special Collections.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* George Kirkendall may have been a reference to William Kirkendall or perhaps his son. John H. Green was probably a reference to John A. Green, the grandson of William Bridge Green.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² A search of the death records (beginning in 1869), the census, township and city directories did not yield any further information about Rosanna Spellman after 1861. The sale of the Spellman property can be found in WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed D 117 in 1861.

¹³ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deeds B 844, C 287, C 579, C 580, D 426, 1846-1863; *Sutherland's City of Hamilton and County of Wentworth Directory for 1867-1868*, Ottawa, ON: 1867, 65.

¹⁴ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deeds Nos. C 895, C 490, 1514, 1815 for the years 1852-1874; Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), Schedule C, Death Registration for the year 1877, #17148, Wentworth County, City of Hamilton.

¹⁵ I checked ancestry.com but was not able to determine Simpson's racial origin from that source. Simpson signed his name with an 'x,' however, which some of the people of African origin were forced to do because of their lack of education. Obviously, this is not a definite indicator and merely suggests the possibility of African origin. Almost all of the deeds signed by whites that I have looked at were actual signatures while this cannot be said for many of the Blacks.

¹⁶ Marie and Jeffrey Carter, *Stepping Back in Time: Along the Trillium Trail in Dresden*, Dresden, ON: Catherine McVean Chapter IODE, 2003, 50-54; Richard P. McCormick, "William Whipper: Moral Reformer," *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (January, 1976): 23-46; Julie Winch, *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988, 68-69. Although most sources state that Whipper remained in the United States, Marie and Jeffrey Carter's research indicate that he lived in Dresden for about two years, between 1858-1860.

¹⁷ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. A174, 1176, 1848 and 1856.

¹⁸ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deeds Nos. A 215, A 396, for the years 1848-1851; 1851 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 31; *Mitchell and Co.'s County of Wentworth and Hamilton City Directory for 1865-66*, Toronto: 1864, 382; 1871 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Andrew's Ward, Div. 1, 22.

¹⁹ *Mitchell and Co.'s County of Wentworth and Hamilton City Directory for 1865-66*, 384; *The Union Publishing Co.'s farmers and business directory for the counties of Brant, Halton, Waterloo and Wentworth, 1884-85*, Ingersoll, ON: 1884, 178.

²⁰ A Henry Johnston (spelled with a t), born in the USA, died in Hamilton on January 1887 at the age of 65. This may well be the last record of Henry Johnson that exists. Schedule C, 1887, Death registration #18875, County of Wentworth, City of Hamilton. WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. A299, B77, C738 for 1850 and 1857.

²¹ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deeds Nos. B 110, 194, 195; *McAlpine's Hamilton City and County of Wentworth Directory, 1875, Containing an Alphabetical Directory of Hamilton, Dundas, Waterdown, Ancaster, Lynden, Copetown, East and West Flamborough, Bullock's Corners, Aldershot and Greensville with a Street & Business Directory of Hamilton City*, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, London, Ottawa, Halifax, N.S. and St. John, N.B.: McAlpine, Everet & Co, 1875, 414.

²² WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. B 780, C 58, C 259, C 738, 623, 624, 1176, for the years 1855-1869.

²³ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. B132, C491, for 1852 and 1858; *Mitchell and Co.'s Directory for 1865-66*, Toronto: 1864, 384; 1871 Census of Canada, Wentworth County, Barton Township Division 2, 16; 1881 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, Ward 6, Div. 1, 79.

²⁴ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. D516, D600, 292, 1369 for the years 1862-1873; *Sutherland's City of Hamilton and County of Wentworth Directory for 1867-68*, Ottawa, ON: 1967; 1861 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. George's Ward, District 1, 144; 1871 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Patrick's Ward, 118; 1881 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, Ward 3, Div. 1, 31; "G. Morton Dead. He Was Letter carrier and on Local Staff for 36 Years," *Hamilton Herald*, August 20, 1927.

²⁵ 1 rood = ¼ acre

²⁶ 1 perch = 1 rod or 5.5 yards

²⁷ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. D 67, 3169, for the years 1861 and 1881.

²⁸ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. 512, 2836, 4626, for the years 1869-1886.

²⁹ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. 623 and 624, in 1869; Death Registration for the year 1906, #5715, County of Brant, City of Brantford.

³⁰ WCLRO, Deed Nos. 2670, 3217, 6476, for the years 1875-1890; *DHB*, 77-78, 207; 1871 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Patrick's Ward, Div. 1, 8; 1881 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, Ward 2, Div. 1, 61; 1901 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, Ward 2, Subdiv. 4, 3; AO, Death Registration #32738 for the year 1907, County of Wentworth, City of Hamilton.

³¹ 1871 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Patrick's Ward, 8; 1881 Census of Canada, Barton Township, Division 2, 54-55; AO, Schedule C, Death Registration #34028, County of Wentworth, City of Hamilton; Letters of Administration of Property of Henry Franklin Berry, RG Interviews, Robert Foster Jr., August 24, 2009, Judith Morgan, August 29, 2009; "Viola Berry Aylestock. 1910," in *No Burden to Carry: Narratives of Black Working Women in Ontario, 1920s to 1950s*, Dionne Brand, ed., Toronto: Women's Press, 1991: 89; Ann H Marcus, "A personal search that became a life's work," *The Teaneck Suburbanite*, July 11, 1984, 3, 7 and other information obtained from Viola Berry Aylestock.

³² "Viola Berry Aylestock. 1910," *No Burden to Carry*, 89; Ann H Marcus, "A personal search that became a life's work," *The Teaneck Suburbanite*, July 11, 1984, 3, 7 and other information obtained from Viola Berry Aylestock.

³³ See endnote 18 above.

³⁴ See ancestry.com for the name Charles J. Carter. *The City of Hamilton Directory containing a full and complete List of Householders, Together with Statistical and Other Information and Advertisements of the Principal Business Houses*, Hamilton, ON: William A. Shepard, 1856, 89; *City of Hamilton Directory Containing a Full and Complete List of Householders, A Classified List of Trades and Professions, Together With Statistical and Other Information, Local and Provincial, and Advertisements of the Principal Business Houses*, Hamilton, ON: William A. Shepard, 1858, 160; See also endnote 22 above.

³⁵ 1861 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. George's Ward, District 2, 339; Schedule C, Death Registration #5715, City of Brantford, County of Brant, Ontario; Arlie Robbins, *Prince Hall Masonry in Ontario, 1852-1933*, 1980, 28, 46; *Provincial Freeman*, August 19, 1854. See also endnote 29 above.

³⁶ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. D321 and 2836, for 1863 and 1880; Assessment Rolls, District of Gore, Township of Woolwich, 1831, 1832, and 1833. 1851 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1; 1861 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 44; 1871 Census of Canada, Barton Township, Division 2, 21; 1881 Census of Canada, Barton Township, Division 2, 55. Connaway's son Moses is listed in her stead in the county directories of 1865-66 and 1867-68, and thereafter the Conway or Connaway name disappears from subsequent directories for Barton Township.

³⁷ See, for example, the discussion of Black codes and the decision to establish the Wilberforce colony near present-day Lucan (near Goderich). William and Jane Pease, *Black Utopia : Negro Communal Experiments in America*, Madison, Wi : State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963,

Chapter 3 ; Marilyn Bailey, "From Cincinnati, Ohio to Wilberforce, Canada: A Note on Antebellum Colonization," *Journal of Negro History*, 53 (October 1973).

³⁸ Linda Brown-Kubisch, *The Queen's Bush Settlement: Black Pioneers, 1830-1865*, Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2004, 25-7. Brown-Kubisch believed that the Connaways must have moved to the Queen's Bush because Solomon Connaway signed the 1843 petition of the inhabitants of the Queen's Bush. However, the evidence reveals that the family was actually living in the Hamilton area.

³⁹ 'Jesse Happy,' Clipping File, Hamilton Public Library Special Collections, in an article by Erroll Boyd, "Fight for Freedom," *Hamilton Spectator*, August 17, 1963.

⁴⁰ "Escaped from Slavery: Interesting Incident in the Life History of a Man Who Still Resides in Hamilton," *Hamilton Herald*, August 23, 1902, in Hamilton Public Library Special Collections, Tinsley Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 145-7; "Henry Criel Dead: Well-Known Citizen Passes Peacefully to the Great Beyond," *Hamilton Spectator*, October 17, 1904; 1851 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Lawrence Ward, 196; 1861 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Mary's Ward, 70; 1871 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Mary's Ward, Div. 1, 52; 1881 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, Ward 5, Div. 2, 73; WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. 292, 1724, years 1867 and 1874.

⁴¹ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. B 132, B 254, C491, in the years 1852-1858; 1861 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 41; 1871 Census of Canada, Barton Township, Div. 2, 16; 1881 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, Ward 6, Div. 1, 79.

⁴² WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. A299, B77, C58, C738, for 1850-1857; 1851 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 27; 1871 Census of Canada, Barton Township, Div. 2, 16; "Fire on the Mountain, *Hamilton Spectator*, January 9, 1882; Schedule C, Death Registration for the year 1887, #18875, Wentworth County, City of Hamilton. See also endnotes [19] and [20].

⁴³ 1881 Census of Canada, Barton Township, Division 2, 55; *The Union Publishing Co's farmers and business directory for the counties of Brant, Halton, Waterloo and Wentworth, 1884-5*, Ingersoll, ON: 1884, 178; Wentworth County Estate Files, Archives of Ontario, RG 22-205, Letters of Administration #3436. See also Footnote ____.

⁴⁴ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. B111, B118, B780, C118, 1176, 1852-1872; 1861 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 41; 1861 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 41.

⁴⁵ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. C895, 1514, 1852-1874; 1851 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 29; 1861 Census of Canada, District 1, 38; 1871 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Lawrence Ward, Div. 1, 9; Wentworth County Surrogate Court Index to the Estate Files, RG 22-204, 1877, p. 435-6. See also endnote 14 above.

⁴⁶ William Mallory, *Old Plantation Days*, Hamilton, ON : 1902, 3, 5, 14-16, 16-19, 35-38. The text can be found on the "Documenting the American South" website at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/mallory/mallory.html> ; Schedule C, Death Registration #32738, Division of Hamilton, County of Wentworth; 1871 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Patrick's Ward, Div. 1, 10; 1881 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, Ward 2, Div. 1, 61; 1901 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, Ward 2, Subdivision 4, 3. Mallory also mentioned that he

was a colonel in the Union army, but the evidence does not support his claim. See also endnote 30 above.

⁴⁷ “Market, Fire, Police: The Colored Citizens Present Their Rightful Claims,” *Hamilton Herald*, December 25, 1889; “The Colored Fire Brigade. A Corps of Sixteen Men Suggested for the Job,” *Hamilton Herald*, December 27, 1889; “Justice Is Not Blind: The Color Line Drawn Even at the Sacred Altar,” *Hamilton Herald*, December 27, 1889; George Morton to Sir Sam Hughes, 7 September 1915, Records of the Department of National Defence, cited in Calvin Ruck, *The Black Battalion, 1916-1920 : Canada’s Best Kept Military Secret*, Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1987, 6. See also endnote 24 above.

⁴⁸ 1861 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 41 ; 1871 Census of Canada, Barton Township, Div.2, 16; 1881 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, Ward 2, Div. 2, 31. *Hamilton Spectator*, November 15, 1947; *Sutherland’s Directory*, 64.

⁴⁹ *City of Hamilton Directory, 1858*, 241; *Mitchell’s Directory for 1865-66*, 386; *Sutherland’s Directory for 1867-68*, 65; *McAlpine’s Directory, 1875*, 414. Santee is misspelled Santel in this last directory.

⁵⁰ WCLRO, Barton Township, Deed Nos. A173, C851, C905, Will D26, 1849-1861; 1851 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 29; 1861 Census of Canada, City of Hamilton, St. Mary’s Ward, 125.

⁵¹ 1851 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 29 ; 1861 Census of Canada, Barton Township, District 1, 40. See also endnote 13 above.