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African American and African Canadian Transnationalism along the Detroit River Borderland: The Example of Madison J. Lightfoot

KAROLYN SMARDZ FROST

IN 1847 BLACK RESIDENTS of Sandwich, Upper Canada, built a log church, the first structure owned by the community as a whole. Most congregants were formerly enslaved and free African Americans who had migrated to Upper Canada in search of freedom and a place where racial discrimination, while hardly absent, at least was not enshrined in law. These intrepid people had consciously chosen what is now Ontario as their home and had in many cases endured terrifying hardships in order to come there.

The church was replaced with a fine brick building in 1851 under its first appointed minister, the Reverend Madison J. Lightfoot. Respected local traditions hold that men of the congregation made the bricks by hand at the end of each long working day, with their wives and daughters carrying bucket after bucket of water up from the Detroit River in order to mix the mortar. Today, Sandwich Baptist Church still sustains the community of Windsor, Ontario, and has been recognized as a National Historic Landmark by the Canadian government.¹

As is often the case with Detroit-based African American ministers who serve black churches in southwestern Ontario today, the Reverend Madison Lightfoot combined his ministry with other ways of earning a living. He worked as a cook, owned a grocery store, had a cab business, and was a skilled carpenter, as were his two sons, William and James.² Reverend Lightfoot had been a licentiate in Upper Canada since 1846, but in 1851, Reverend Davis of Second Baptist Church in Detroit recommended Madison J. Lightfoot “as the first pastor of First Baptist Church in Sandwich.”³ Reverend Lightfoot continued at Sandwich until 1853 and also pastored other Essex County churches. According to Nathaniel Leach, late historian of Second Baptist Church, “More and more [Reverend Lightfoot] had become involved with Canadian people and activities” although he maintained his

Detroit home throughout. His family was enumerated there for the United States Census of 1850.⁴

Madison J. Lightfoot crossed the Detroit River many times over the course of his long life in the intersecting interests of abolition and faith. He and his wife Tabitha were part of a community of interests that spanned black population centers on either side of the former Detroit frontier. They had strong ties with their co-religionists on both shores, and in their opposition to slavery and racial oppression shared with them a truly transnational worldview. This implies an experience of traveling not only from one nation to another, but from a familiar state of being to an unfamiliar one and back again. The process could be repeated over and over, as Nora Faires suggested in her groundbreaking study of transnationalism in the Great Lakes border regions.⁵

Borderlands studies, by the same token, examine communities of interest in liminal districts where overlapping economic, environmental, climatic, and other factors mean that people living on opposite sides of a boundary like the Detroit River often have more in common with each other than they do not. Despite differing political affiliations, governance, and legal systems, people in such districts share cultural, familial, business, and other ties distinct from those of their respective countrymen residing elsewhere. Families already had ties of blood and friendship on both sides of the river dating to the days of French and British colonial slavery. The complexities of these links would be enhanced over the coming years, when black Canada and black America formed a common cause to help freedom-seekers on their way from bondage to liberty. The Detroit River was at the same time, then, a border between slavery and freedom and a conduit for travel between the United States and what is now Canada. After the Civil War, these bonds were sustained by shared kinship, social, religious, and economic interests and by the need for ongoing resistance to racial discrimination. Madison J. Lightfoot lived and worked on both sides of the border, and his activities and experience provide an excellent example of transnationalism among people of African ancestry living in the Detroit River borderland.

Madison J. Lightfoot, a native of Virginia, had lived in Detroit since at least 1831, when he married his Tabitha at St. Paul's Protestant Episcopalian Church.⁶ Along with their close friends George and Caroline French, the Lightfoots devoted much of their lives to improving the lot of African Americans and African Canadians in communities on both sides of the Detroit River. This included progressively more elaborate efforts to assist

refugees from American slavery emigrating to a new life of freedom on the Canada shore. While the Lightfoots were also involved in numerous activities relating to what Booker T. Washington would one day term “racial uplift,” including fighting for public education and the franchise for Michigan blacks, this article will focus on their engagement in activities that point to their transnationalism.

Madison J. Lightfoot had in 1836 been a founding member of Detroit’s Second Baptist Church, the city’s oldest black-owned institution,⁷ and since the inception of the Amherstburg Baptist Association organization in 1841 had been its secretary. This latter group linked churches on both sides of the Detroit River in fellowship, antislavery, education, benevolence, and political activism. Lightfoot also helped establish the Detroit Vigilant Committee. This combined his religious and antislavery activities with direct political action on behalf of both African Americans living in Detroit and those who had sought relief from slavery and racial discrimination in what remained of British North America.

Madison J. and Tabitha Lightfoot played a pivotal role in the Blackburn Riots of 1833. They and the Frenches, along with the wealthy and influential lumber dealer, former Kentucky slave Benjamin Willoughby, were ringleaders in the efforts to free Kentucky fugitives Thornton and Rutha (Lucie) Blackburn.⁸ Two years after their escape, the couple had been discovered in Detroit and claimed by their Louisville owners. At their summary trial, an armed and angry African American crowd filled the courthouse balcony. As the news spread, black men and women came into the city from rural Michigan and African Canadians traveled across the Detroit River by ferry from Amherstburg and Sandwich. The threat of civil disobedience resulted in Thornton Blackburn and his wife being handed over to the sheriff for incarceration, pending their return to Kentucky.

At a secret meeting at Willoughby’s home, a daring and ambitious escape plan was devised. First, Tabitha Lightfoot and Caroline French spirited Lucie Blackburn out of the Wayne County jail, with Lucie in disguise. The next day, a crowd snatched the manacled Thornton Blackburn from the very door of the jailhouse and carried him across the river to Sandwich, Upper Canada. It was rumored that Madison had tossed Thornton a pistol during the fray, but if so he was never charged. Despite two extradition requests that accused the Blackburns of trying to kill the sheriff—he was badly injured in the fray—and inciting the very riot that freed Thornton, Upper Canada’s lieutenant governor, John Colborne, created the British colony’s first refugee reception policy to protect the Blackburns. Since

there was no crime for which an alleged criminal could be enslaved under British colonial law, it was decided that the government of Upper Canada had not the power to return the Blackburns to a jurisdiction where that might be their eventual fate.⁹ In the aftermath of the riots, martial law was declared in Detroit and many African Americans were arrested, some of whom served hard time. Violent attacks on black-owned homes and business establishments forced a significant proportion of Detroit's African American population across the border into Upper Canada, many never to return. Thornton and his wife settled temporarily at Amherstburg, Upper Canada, but in 1834 moved to Toronto.¹⁰

In 1836 Madison and Tabitha Lightfoot were central to the founding of Second Baptist Church. First Baptist Church had accepted African American congregants since 1832, but black members protested segregated seating and their exclusion from church offices.¹¹ Madison J. Lightfoot withdrew from church membership, and he and other disaffected Baptists formed their own church, with permission of the state legislature. First named the Coloured American Baptist Church and later Second Baptist Church, this important black institution serves Detroit's downtown residents to this day.¹² George French was deacon and Madison Lightfoot the first clerk.¹³ The church would serve not only as a faith center, but also as a community and social center; the nexus of political, benevolent, charitable, and fraternal organizations formed to serve African American Detroit; a lecture and music hall; and a school.¹⁴ Both the clergy and congregation were highly transnational in composition and perspective; not only did Second Baptist's African American ministers and its abolitionist congregants regularly travel to services and speaking engagements in such Canadian centers as Chatham, Toronto, and Hamilton, but fugitive slaves sometimes traveled back through Detroit on the way south to rescue relatives and friends. Thornton Blackburn himself traveled by way of Detroit to Kentucky to rescue his mother in 1837.¹⁵ Second Baptist, too, was a significant Underground Railroad station. It is believed some five thousand refugees from slavery were hidden there before being sent across the river into Canada.¹⁶

In 1841 the Reverend William C. Monroe, Second Baptist's first minister, was, along with Madison Lightfoot and George French, behind the founding of the Amherstburg Baptist Association in 1841. The association united churches on both sides of the border to permit black members the fullest expression of their faith.¹⁷ A major purpose of the church union was to organize assistance for freedom-seekers not only to help them reach Canada but also to provide for their needs when they first arrived on the opposite

shore.¹⁸ George French was the first moderator and Madison J. Lightfoot the first clerk.¹⁹

On the political front, Lightfoot chaired many meetings relevant to African Canadian issues. Blacks in Michigan met on December 28, 1837 to refute rumors that Detroit African Americans intended to join with the rebels in the Patriot War (the Mackenzie Rebellion of 1837), which was an uprising against the oligarchy of elites that dominated the Upper Canadian government.²⁰ Madison J. Lightfoot was an officer and a founding member of the Colored Vigilant Committee of Detroit established in April 1837 to protect Detroit blacks from kidnapping by slavecatchers and to assist in the passage of fugitive slaves on their way across the Detroit River.²¹ The committee sought to prevent the extradition of fugitive slaves from Canada, it being a favorite ploy of slaveholders to swear that their former slaves had committed felonies to convince Upper Canada's British colonial government to send back their absconded "property." Once on U.S. soil, the refugees would not be tried for their supposed crimes, but rather summarily returned to their erstwhile "owners."²²

The Detroit Vigilant Committee Report for 1842 in the *Signal of Liberty* (January 23, 1843) detailed a meeting held by the "Colored Citizens of Detroit" held in the basement of Second Baptist Church on December 30, 1842, with Reverend Monroe in the chair. The committee included Robert Banks, a used clothing dealer and active member of the black community; William Lambert, a relatively recent arrival from New Jersey who would come to be called the "President" of the Underground Railroad at Detroit; and Madison J. Lightfoot. Their first action had been to meet at City Hall in January 1842 to "lay our people's claims as American citizens, upon our government for protection." Demanding the franchise for blacks in Michigan was a primary objective, as was gaining an education, "the principal means by which an enslaved and degraded people can be elevated." A school had been founded "taught by a man of our color," as well as a "Young Men's Society, their Debating Club, their Reading Room and a Library of History," and "two Female Societies." Its members also encouraged fellow African Americans to cultivate a higher moral tone "[laying] aside frivolous amusements of the giddy and the gay . . . thereby bring ourselves and posterity within the benign influence of education, temperance and morality."

But the Vigilant Committee's most dramatic action was an attempt to free Nelson Hackett. Absconding with his beaver coat, a pocket watch, and a quantity of money, Hackett in 1841 had escaped to Canada riding his Arkansas master's racehorse. On behalf of the Vigilant Committee, Madison

Lightfoot crossed over the Detroit River to attend extradition hearings at the old courthouse in Sandwich, Canada West. At a subsequent meeting in Detroit chaired by Lightfoot, those present were outraged that Canada's new lieutenant governor, Sir Charles Bagot, had decided to extradite Hackett to stand trial in Arkansas. The committee sent a letter to the British Parliament protesting the extradition of a fugitive slave to the United States. When Hackett was carried across the Detroit River and lodged in the Wayne County jail, the committee under Lightfoot's lead employed an attorney to look into any possible means of saving Hackett, as reported in the February 26, 1842, edition of the *Signal of Liberty*.²³ The British government requested additional particulars in a letter received on July 26, 1842. The case received wide attention on both sides of the Atlantic. This and other such incidents influenced British opinion to the point that when the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was ratified in 1842, "crimes" usually attributed to fugitive slaves such as horse-theft were omitted from the extradition agreement.

In 1848 Lightfoot was involved in protesting "the unrighteous decision in the recent case of Giltner, Troutman & Co. of Kentucky, against Comstock, Gorham and others, of Michigan."²⁴ This was the case against abolitionists who had assisted in the flight from Marshall, Michigan, to Canada West of Adam Crosswhite and his family. The Crosswhites had resided in Michigan for some years until discovered by Kentucky slavecatchers, who captured them with the help of the local sheriff, but the court trial freed the family and fined the Kentuckians for trespass and other offenses. The Crosswhites fled to Buxton, in Canada, while the abolitionists who helped them were tried and convicted under the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1793.²⁵ The chair of the Detroit meeting was George DeBaptiste, immortalized for his activities along the Detroit riverfront in the International Underground Railroad Memorial referenced in the title of this special forum of the *Journal of American Ethnic History*. William Lambert and Henry Bibb were on the committee; Bibb, himself born into Kentucky slavery, would soon to move to Sandwich to found Canada's first African Canadian abolitionist newspaper, the *Voice of the Fugitive* (for which Madison J. Lightfoot was a Michigan agent). A petition sent to Congress demanded a repeal of the 1793 Fugitive Slave Law, which among other harshly punitive clauses empowered slaveholders to search out formerly enslaved African Americans anywhere in the United States and her territories. Local officers of the law were required to assist slaveowners and their agents in the recovery of their lost "property," and penalties for assisting escaping bondpeople were greatly increased.

Madison and Tabitha Lightfoot associated with some of the leading lights of American abolitionism. Lightfoot served as a secretary for a meeting at which Henry Highland Garnet, a noted black abolitionist minister, was supported by former Kentucky fugitive Lewis Clark, the latter then widely believed to have been the model for George Harris in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Both spoke on the subject of raising funds to purchase the slaves from the slaveholders of the United States, a highly contentious topic.²⁶ One wonders if Madison Lightfoot was present at the now-famous Detroit meeting on March 12, 1859, when fiery white abolitionist John Brown consulted with Frederick Douglass and George DeBaptiste regarding his planned raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Brown was at the time carrying to Canada several enslaved African Americans whom he had rescued from Missouri. By this time the membership in Second Baptist Church numbered about 220 people, and a large crowd came out to hear Frederick Douglass speak at City Hall on the night of March 12, 1859, at a gathering sponsored by that church.²⁷

Madison J. Lightfoot also was involved in happier events. On Tuesday, June 10, 1839, in a superb example of transnationalism, Lightfoot chaired a meeting at Second Baptist Church where it was "*Resolved*, That the colored citizens of Detroit shall hold the first of August as a day of celebration, in honor of the enfranchisement of their brethren in the West Indies."²⁸ Lightfoot continued his transnational efforts to almost the end of his life. During the Civil War, Lightfoot chaired a meeting at the Second Baptist Church promoting black enlistment in the Union forces. The Emancipation Proclamation the previous January had been proclaimed from the pulpit and Second Baptist's young men were eager to fight, but Lightfoot cast a wider net, for hundreds of African Canadians also heeded the call and enlisted in Michigan regiments. By the end of October 1863, Second Baptist presented the First Michigan Colored Infantry Regiment, later to become the 102nd U.S. Colored Troops.²⁹

Emancipation Day continued to be jointly celebrated between communities on both sides of the river through the 1870s, with Madison J. Lightfoot often at the helm. The report in the *Christian Recorder* of August 20, 1870, described an earlier, highly transnational celebration held at Detroit:

The day was fine; the sun was sending forth his rays, the air pleasant and from early morning the most casual observer would have inferred that something unusual was going on. In the city [*sic*] of Detroit and Windsor the people were dressed in their best . . . the morning trains were bringing many from Ypsilanti, Pontiac, Adrian, and Toledo, and other interior

towns. A large party of excursionists came up from Chatham, Canada, in the morning, accompanied by the Victoria Brass Band. In the grove near Windsor, there was a large number assembled where speeches were made by Elder Booth, of Detroit A.M.E. Church, and Elder Henderson, of ———. There they had a pleasant time. But the larger part of the excursionists from Chatham and the citizens of Detroit and vicinity assembled in the grove of Col. Prince, at Sandwich, where a celebration has been held annually for several years past. The excursionists from Chatham and the people from the surrounding country, marched in procession, led by the Chatham Band, down to the steamer *Hope*, which conveyed them from Windsor to Sandwich. . . . Mr. M.J. Lightfoot, of Detroit, President of the day, called the assembly to order. . . . In the evening they, the citizens of Detroit, and Windsor, had an excursion on the steamers *Union* and *Hope*, they returned home at a late hour.

Madison Lightfoot's ongoing involvement in such binational celebrations commemorating the British emancipation of thousands of people enslaved in the West Indies in the 1830s, celebrations that continued well into the twentieth century, is emblematic of the common concern for black liberation identified by African Americans and African Canadians living in the Detroit River borderlands over many decades. And again, their joint dedication to the cause of freedom that dated to the era of the fabled Underground Railroad—efforts to which the work of Madison Lightfoot and his wife, Tabitha, was central—was again celebrated in 2001 with the erection of twin statues on either side of the river, the International Underground Railroad Memorial.

In 1875 the elderly Madison J. Lightfoot of Detroit was again an assisting pastor in Essex County, Ontario, this time at the “revival in which their great zeal would not allow them to wait until spring to baptize their converts.” The Amherstburg Baptist Association joined with the Western Canadian Baptist Convention in 1876 and sadly noted the loss of its longtime secretary, Madison J. Lightfoot, in the meetings two years later, after his death in 1878. A memorial was held by the Amherstburg Baptist Association at its annual meeting in honor of his many years of service.³⁰

NOTES

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1. Canadian Register of Historic Places, at <http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=13374> (accessed May 20, 2012).

2. *Johnson's Detroit City Directory of Colored People, 1857–1858*, at <http://www.reocities.com/michdetroit/1857direct.html> (accessed March 12, 2012).

3. William J. Richardson, "The Life and Times of Samuel H. Davis: An Anti Slavery Activist," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 33, no. 1 (2009); Nathaniel Leach, *Reaching Out to Freedom, The Second Baptist Connection, Eyewitness History of Second Baptist Church*, rev. ed. (Detroit, 1988), 26. In 1857 the Canadian Anti-Slavery Association rejoined the Amherstburg Baptist Association. By 1861 there were more than twenty member churches on the two sides of the river together. See C. Peter Ripley, *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, vol. 2, *Canada 1830–1860* (Chapel Hill, NC 1986), 365n.

4. "Madison J. Lightfoot," unpub. TS, n.a., n.d., in Alvin McCurdy Collection, F2076, No. 8, File F2076–2–0–116, Archives of Ontario (Toronto), F2076, No. 8, File F2076–2–0–116; Nathaniel Leach and Mrs. Edith G. Gamble, *Eyewitness History: Second Baptist Church of Detroit, 1836–1976* (Detroit, 1976), 7.

5. Nora Faires, "'Leaving the Land of the Second Chance': Migration from Ontario to the Upper Midwest in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650–1990*, ed. John J. Bukowczyk et al. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 78–119.

6. St. Paul's Records, 475, June 21, 1831, Burton Historical Collection, cited in Norman McRae, "Blacks in Detroit, 1736–1833: The Search for Freedom and Community and Its Implications for Educators," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1982), 124, 141n. Tabitha had been born in Ohio and Madison in Virginia, according to the 1850 Census of the United States, Detroit, Michigan. It is not known how Madison came to be living in Detroit. There were numerous white slaveholding families by the name of Lightfoot, mainly descendant from British-born Lightfoot brothers Philip and John, who emigrated to Virginia about 1670. Madison was born about 1811 and may have reached Detroit by way of Kentucky, from which several branches of the white Lightfoots had migrated with their slaves in the 1790s. See Lyon G. Tyler, "Lightfoot Family," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Papers* 2, no. 3 (January 1894): 204–7; Malcolm Hart Harris, *Old Kent County: Some Account of the Planters, Plantations and Places in New Kent County* (West Point, VA, 1977), 122–24; and Claude Lindsay Yowell, *A History of Madison County, Virginia* (Strasburg, VA, 1926), 55ff.

7. According to the *History of Second Baptist Church: 1836–1940, One Hundred and Four Years* (Detroit, MI, 1940), the church was founded by "13 ex-slaves who withdrew from the First Baptist Church to form their own congregation" (1).

8. Mrs. Blackburn changed her slave name "Rutha" to "Lucie" once she reached Canada. For the Blackburn Riots and the couple's eventual fate, see Norman McRae, "Crossing the Detroit River to Find Freedom," *Michigan History* 67, no. 2 (March–April 1983), 35–39; and Karolyn Smardz Frost, *I've Got a Home in Glory Land: A Lost Tale of the Underground Railroad* (New York and Toronto, 2007).

9. In Toronto they founded the city's first taxi business and became well-to-do and respected members of the city's African Canadian community.

10. A. R. Kooker, "The Anti-Slavery Movement in Michigan, 1798–1840: A Study in Humanitarianism on the American Frontier" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1941), 64–51; Reginald Larrie, *Makin' Free: African-Americans in the Northwest Territory* (Detroit,

1981), 20. See also McRae, "Blacks in Detroit," 136–38; and Leach and Gamble, *Eyewitness History*, 4.

11. David M. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana, IL, 1975), 19ff.

12. Detroit African-American History Project, at http://www.daaahp.wayne.edu/1800_1849.html (accessed May 3, 2012).

13. James H. Wellings, *Directory for the City of and Register of Michigan for 1845* (Detroit, 1845), 54. The entry for Madison Lightfoot reads "Lightfoot, Madison J. [colored], grocery, cor. Beaubien and Fort."

14. Leach and Gamble, *Eyewitness History*, 8.

15. "The Colored People of Detroit," *Detroit Daily Post*, February 17, 1870, states that Thornton went south "in disguise" from Detroit.

16. Leach and Gamble, *Eyewitness History*, plaque illustration facing page 1. Monroe would demonstrate his own transnationalism over the next few years, first as the inspiration behind the founding of the Amherstburg Baptist Association in 1841 and then as president of the John Brown Convention at Chatham, Canada West, in 1858. James Redpath, *The Public Life of Captain John Brown* (Boston, 1850), 230ff.

17. *A History of the Amherstburg Regular Missionary Baptist Association, Its Auxiliaries and Churches* (1940), Canadian Black History Project, Box 4605, File 2PKI 17, Archives and Research Collections Centre (ARCC), the Benson Special Collections, DB Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario (London).

18. Leach and Gamble, *Eyewitness History*, 6; Leach, *Reaching Out to Freedom*, 21.

19. He served more frequently as recording secretary. Lightfoot's beautifully handwritten minutes survive in the Canadian Baptist Church Archives, McMaster University, in Hamilton, Ontario. Records of the Amherstburg Baptist Association, Minute Book 1, McMaster University School of Divinity, Hamilton, Ontario; James K. Lewis, "Religious Nature of the Early Negro Migration to Canada and the Amherstburg Baptist Association," *Ontario History* 18 (June 1966), 117–32; Dorothy Shadd Shreve et al., *Pathfinders of Liberty and Truth: A Century with the Amherstburg Regular Missionary Baptist Association* (n.p., 1940), 48, 75.

20. Lawton T. Hemans, *Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason, the Boy Governor of Michigan* (Lansing, 1920), 387.

21. This date comes from Leach and Gamble, *Eyewitness History*, 4.

22. See interview with William Lambert, "Freedom's Railway: Reminiscences . . ." *Detroit Tribune*, January 17, 1887, 2; Roy Finkenbine, "The Colored Vigilant Committee of Detroit: A Community Militant and Organized," in *A Fluid Frontier: Slavery, Freedom and the Underground Railroad in the Detroit River Borderland*, ed. Carolyn Smardz Frost and Veta Smith Tucker (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, forthcoming).

23. For this and other fugitive slave cases, see William Renwick Riddell, "The Fugitive Slave in Upper Canada," *Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 3 (July 1920): 347–54.

24. *North Star* (Rochester), December 29, 1848.

25. John C. Sherwood, "One Flame in the Inferno: The Legend of Marshall's Crosswhite Affair," *Michigan History* 73, no. 2 (March 1979): 40–47; Debian Marty, "In the Words of a Slavecatcher," *Michigan History* 92, no. 1 (January 2008): 20–29; Roy E. Finkenbine, "A Beacon of Liberty on the Great Lakes: Race, Slavery and the Law," in *The History of Michigan Law*, ed. Paul E. Finkelman and Martin J. Hershock (Athens, OH, 2006), 83–107.

26. "Meeting of Colored Citizens at City Hall," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, August 31, 1855.

27. *History of Second Baptist Church*, 2; Leach, *Reaching Out to Freedom*, 23.

28. *Colored American*, August 17, 1839. Lightfoot had volunteered to be the local subscription agent for the same newspaper, as reported in the July 7, 1838 issue.

29. The secretary of state declared the Fifteenth Amendment in force in the month of February 1870. It was on this occasion that the *Detroit Post*, February 7, 1870 published an article, "The Colored People of Detroit," that summarized the history of blacks in Detroit, including the Blackburn Riots. In 1872 the Sunday School Convention was held in Windsor, Ontario, with the Second Baptist Church's clerk, Madison J. Lightfoot, as secretary. *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, November 18, 1863, cited in Norman McRae, *The Negro in Michigan during the Civil War* (Lansing, MI, 1966), 53. See also Leach, *Reaching Out to Freedom*, 29.

30. "Madison J. Lightfoot," McCurdy Collection.