

Canadian Baptists and Native Ministry in the Nineteenth Century

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Some Baptists have claimed that William Carey (1761-1834) launched the modern Protestant missionary movement.¹ This overlooks the earlier missionary work of Moravians and German pietists sent out from the University of Halle who influenced Anglican and Methodist missionaries before Carey. Baptist missionaries, however, did achieve fame in India, Burma and Bolivia as they worked with aboriginal peoples.² Even earlier American Baptists, starting with Roger Williams (c.1603-1683), established and maintained missionary work among American natives.³ But Baptist work among Canadian native peoples has been less than satisfactory. Baptist missionaries did not have the same success or influence in this country as have missionaries of other denominations. One thinks of the Jesuits Jean de Brebeuf (1593-1649) and Jerome Lalemant (1593-1673), the Oblates Bishop Alexandre-Antonin Tache (1823-1894) and Father Lacombe (1827-1916), the Methodists James Evans (1801-1846), Robert Rundle (1811-1896), and George Millward McDougall (b.1821) and his son John Chantler McDougall (1842-1917), the Presbyterian James Robertson (1839-1902), and the Anglican William Duncan (1832-1918) who established the native model community of Metlakatla, BC.

This paper assesses the successes and failures of Canadian Baptist missionary work among first nations peoples of Canada during the nineteenth century.⁴ Three theatres or arenas of missionary activity are probed: the Maritimes, Ontario and western Canada.

The Maritimes

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Baptist presence in the Maritimes dates from before the American War of Independence but Baptists do not appear to have been interested in evangelization of the aboriginal residents. It was not until the 1830s that New Brunswick Baptists considered them a mission field, but George Levy reports that “the venture did not progress beyond the stage of committees and resolutions.”⁵ While Baptist historiography claims Silas Tertius Rand (1810-1889) as its pioneer missionary among native Canadians,⁶ the story of Silas Rand is that of a visionary who received more interference than assistance from his denomination.

Rand was a Nova Scotian stone mason with an exceptional gift for languages. He was ordained into the Baptist ministry in 1834 and served Baptist churches in West Brook, Liverpool and Windsor. His interest in native missionary work began in 1839 when he met a native during his travels and he became fascinated with the Micmac language and native culture.⁷ Being very liberal in his attitudes, he sought equality for natives and blacks.⁸

In 1845 Rand and Professor Isaac Chipman (1817-1852) of Horton Academy (later Acadia College) were appointed to collect historical information for the denomination. During that time Chipman advised Rand that he should use his linguistic skills to learn the Micmac language.⁹

Rand was inducted in 1846 as the minister of the Baptist church in Charlottetown, PEI, which belonged to the Nova Scotia Association of Baptist Churches. He began his study of Micmac and attempted to evangelize the mainly Roman Catholic Micmacs. There was a growing interest in that direction among Nova Scotian Baptists who felt that they needed to “be delivered from the thralldom of popery and from the bondage of Satan.”¹⁰

At the 1847 Nova Scotia Baptist Association meeting, Rand’s mentor, Professor Chipman, emphasized the need for native missions and complained that so much had been said about it but so little had been done. Rand was granted permission to devote half of his time to native ministry.¹¹

Rand hoped that he might be able to house a Micmac native at Acadia College to work with him while preparing a Micmac dictionary and grammar, but even the liberal Chipman found that too revolutionary.¹² Accordingly, Rand was left to his own devices; he learned the language and prepared tracts and portions of the gospel in Micmac.

Most of Rand’s funding came from evangelical Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists. Because the Baptist churches were unable to

provide him with the necessary support, prominent Baptists suggested that a Baptist-directed mission be established which would seek funds from the wider Christian community. Rand, however, insisted that the work be interdenominational.¹³ In November 1849 the Micmac Mission Society was created,¹⁴ allowing Rand to devote himself completely to that work.

The Micmac Mission Society intended to prepare a Micmac Bible and it was decided by the interdenominational society that before the final translation was prepared, it would have to be approved by the participating denominations. It was here that problems arose. The Baptists tried to control the process even though they were only minor contributors to the cause. They insisted that Rand translate “baptize” as “immerse” as William Carey had done in India. Rand refused to do so because that went outside of the Society’s guidelines. It was also an impossible task for there was no Micmac equivalent to “immerse;” the closest Micmac words meant “to float,” “to sink,” or “to drown,”¹⁵ and they were not theologically appropriate.

When Rand chose to transliterate “baptize” rather than translate it with a particular theological spin, a storm of controversy blew around him for several years. Baptists accused him of selling out to the paedo-baptists. An “Indian War” ensued in the pages of the press, harming the interdenominational cooperation and the funding of the mission.

Rand remained deeply committed to his mission among the Micmacs. His work was recognized by the government and in 1851 he was made Indian Commissioner in Prince Edward Island. He also helped the Micmacs prepare a petition to the Queen because their treaty rights had been violated.

Rand was an unrepentant advocate of native rights, speaking out against the injustices they had experienced:

Shame on us! We have seized upon the lands which the Creator gave them. We have deceived, defrauded, and neglected them. We have taken no pains to aid them; or our efforts have been feeble and ill-directed. We have practically pronounced them incapable of improvement, or unworthy of the trouble; and have coolly doomed the whole race to destruction. But dare we treat them thus, made as they are in the image of God like ourselves?¹⁶

In 1853 Rand left Charlottetown and settled in Hantsport, Nova Scotia where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1855 the Micmac Missionary Society purchased 450 acres of land in order for destitute

Micmacs to settle and operate a model farm and cottage industries, selling their products locally.¹⁷

In the 1860s Rand became increasingly dissatisfied with the poor support that Baptists were giving to his ministry among the Micmac and also the Maliseets of New Brunswick. He tried to influence the denomination to include his work under the auspices of foreign missions, but to no avail.¹⁸ He was tired of begging for funds and was drawn to the “faith mission” principle advocated by George Mueller, who was famous for his orphanages in Britain. The constitution of the Micmac Mission Society was amended in 1865 to adopt “faith” principles; no longer would funds be solicited but Rand would depend upon God for his support and tell people that he was doing so. In effect, it was a backhanded way of begging.¹⁹

Through the influence of Mueller, Rand became exposed to the teachings of the Plymouth Brethren, the sect to which Mueller belonged. He attended their conference at Guelph, Ontario.²⁰ Gradually Rand became an advocate of Brethren views and in 1872 launched a broadside attack on Baptist policies and practices. He was soon excommunicated by the Hantsport Baptist Church after being accused of teaching heresy.²¹ He readily joined the Plymouth Brethren and remained with them until 1885. This move lost him support from other religious constituencies who regarded the Brethren as a heretical movement. But when Rand resisted the increasing exclusivity of the Brethren in 1885, they shunned him and he was received back into fellowship by the Hantsport Baptist Church.

While Rand’s work showed very few native converts, his efforts at bringing the Bible to them in their own language may have had a wider positive impact upon those who remained within the Roman Catholic fold.²² He had become so dissatisfied with the “caste-bound” Protestant churches that he did not advocate Indians converts leaving the Roman Catholic church, even to join Baptist congregations.²³

Rand’s Micmac Bible was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in various instalments beginning in 1853. His linguistic and ethnological work among the Maritime aboriginals was honoured by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, which collected his writings. In 1886 he was awarded honorary degrees by Queen’s University in Kingston and Acadia College. In 1889 the Anglican King’s College at Windsor also honoured him with a doctorate.

While Rand had a great respect for Micmac language and culture, he believed that the assimilation of native people into white Christian

culture was inevitable and preferred. A year before his death he wrote in his diary:

Micmacs] have equal access to the free schools with all others, and are extensively taking advantage of the privilege. Let them mingle with their white brothers, learn the arts of civilization as they are doing, and become useful citizens. Let the white civilization abandon their abominable and unreasonable ideas of caste. Let the ministers, everywhere, each look upon the Indians in his neighbourhood as part of his charge like all other poor sinners – then there will be no need of a separate Mission and a separate establishment for them.²⁴

Maritime Baptists never caught Silas Rand's vision for native peoples. When he died in 1889 no one took over his ministry among them. In 1907 the Micmac property at Hantsport was turned over to the federal government and became an Indian reservation.

Upper Canada

Baptist missionary work among natives in Upper Canada was originally initiated by American Baptists and was continued by native converts before Canadian Baptists became involved. Elkanah Holmes (1743-1832), a former American military chaplain who had served in the Revolutionary War, had preached among the Iroquois in western New York and was instrumental in founding the New York Missionary Society – a joint Baptist-Presbyterian venture because the Baptists could not support it on their own.²⁵ In 1800 Holmes was sent out by that society to the Tuscaroras between Fort Niagara and Buffalo Creek on the southern banks of the Niagara River. His work soon took him to the Canadian side of the Great Lakes

Holmes developed a strong rapport with Chief Joseph Brant (c.1742-1807), the leader of Mohawks who lived along the Grand River. Brant, who had been educated in Connecticut and had a deep interest in the conversion of his people,²⁶ was impressed by Holmes' character and asked the New York Missionary Society for assistance in educating native youth.²⁷ Brant himself was a member of the Church of England and had translated the Gospel of Mark into Mohawk.²⁸ Holmes' establishment of native schools at Lewiston and Buffalo may have been in response to Brant's request. Holmes' educational efforts there would later have a direct impact upon the Six Nations Reserve in Upper Canada.

Some of the other American Baptist missionaries to Upper Canada were Peter Roots, Caleb Blood (1754-1814), Lemuel Covell (d.1806), and David Irish, who travelled between Kingston and Long Point on Lake Erie. They were sponsored by the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society. In their reports to that society all of these men mentioned visiting Holmes and appeared to regard him as the senior missionary among native Canadians.

These men reported preaching to the natives, but with limited success.²⁹ Only Covell seems to have taken up the work of native missions. A 1803 sermon/speech, delivered by Covell and recorded by Holmes, shows that Covell was extremely paternalistic towards the chiefs and warriors, addressing them as children.³⁰

In 1807 Holmes left the New York Missionary Society and joined the New York Baptist Missionary Society, which had been created because of polity differences between the Presbyterians and Baptists over baptism and communion. This move reflected the increasing sectarianism among Baptists who insisted on converts being immersed before participation in communion.

The New York Baptist Missionary Society then directed Holmes to devote his attention to natives on the Canadian side of the border.³¹ He established a Baptist church at Queenston where he remained until the War of 1812.

When the war broke out Holmes sided with his fellow Americans and gave them active support. He was arrested by the British forces, then rescued by the Americans, and was taken south by the retreating American invaders;³² this brought an end to his work in Canada.

The War of 1812 thus had an adverse effect upon Baptist missionary work among the natives because it had been American Baptists who had provided the driving force behind native missions in Upper Canada. Native missions were not resumed for several decades until American Baptists felt free to re-enter Canada after the passions of the war had subsided. Even when Baptist missionary work was resumed, our knowledge of it is somewhat murky and published accounts are conflicting. The account that appears here is based on a careful study of the primary and secondary sources; it is by no means definitive.

Baptist missionary work among natives in Ontario was mainly centred around the Six Nations Reserve, the largest reserve in the province. Located near the city of Brantford, it was granted to the Iroquois in 1784 for their loyalty to British cause during the Revolutionary War.

The Six Nations Reserve housed natives of the Iroquois Confederacy that included Mohawk, Cayuga, Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida and Tuscaroras. Baptist activity on the Six Nations Reserve seems to have begun again in 1835 when a Baptist missionary from New York State, John Miner, worked among the native people there.³³ The extent of his missionary activity is somewhat unclear from 1835 to 1840. Records show him having some connection with the Baptist church in Dundas, because during 1837 and 1838 he attended association meetings as a delegate from the First Beverley Church in Dundas.³⁴

At first the services on the reserve were held in the homes of native converts. The work there was given a further boost when a group of Baptist natives who had moved from Lewiston, New York.³⁵ No doubt they had been the fruit of Elkanah Holmes' earlier ministry at Lewiston.

One of these natives may have been Nicholas Smith. His name appears in the oral and written records as having conducted services on the reserve at that time.³⁶

Through the efforts of those Baptist natives other Indians on the Six Nations Reserve were converted and their numbers grew to the point that their "house churches" were inadequate. When they approached the Anglican priest for permission to hold services in the Anglican church on the reserve they were refused. At that point they are said to have turned to Canadian Baptists for assistance.

It has been claimed that a delegation of Indian Baptists trekked to Jerseyville to seek help from that church.³⁷ Not finding the minister home, they left, but someone later came to preach for them. It is unclear who that was; it might have been Miner. We know that Miner officially joined the Jerseyville Baptist Church in April 1841.³⁸

From 1841 to 1843 Miner appears to have devoted himself only part-time to the reserve because he reported in 1842 that a full-time missionary was needed.³⁹ Through his efforts a church was established in 1842. The minutes of First Baptist Church, Brantford mention that on 6 March 1842 it sent delegates to the council that organized the Tuscarora Baptist Church on the reserve.⁴⁰ A log church was built and the congregation soon had over one hundred members.

Because of their success, the Baptist natives experienced persecution from the Anglicans who considered themselves the established church. The Baptist chiefs had been deposed of their offices and converts feared that they might lose their treaty and property rights. In May 1842 they petitioned the Governor General to guarantee their religious liberty.

Nicholas Smith was one of the petitioners.⁴¹

Even before Miner left the Six Nations Reserve in 1843, he had been supervised and assisted by John Landon, the agent of the Upper Canada Eastern Baptist Association. After Miner left, Landon devoted himself to the Six Nations Reserve until 1846, when health problems caused him to return to his former pastorate at Woodstock.

The efforts of Landon on the reserve were primarily financed by a grant from the London Baptist Missionary Society. He was also assisted by a British missionary Benjamin Carryer who joined him in 1843. After Landon returned to Woodstock in 1846, Carryer maintained the work until 1846.

During this period there were efforts made to create an indigenous ministry. Nicholas Smith was listed in the Grand River Association minutes as a deacon in 1844.⁴² Sometime later he returned to New York State where he became an ordained minister. Another native minister was James N. Cusick who took over the pastorate of the Tuscarora Baptist Church in 1849.⁴³ Cusick served the church until his death in 1861. Nicholas Smith was then sent by the Niagara (New York) Baptist Association to be the minister on the Six Nations Reserve.⁴⁴ How long he stayed is unclear. A native minister, Joseph Longfish, one of the first converts baptized by the Tuscarora Baptist Church,⁴⁵ eventually became the pastor of that church. Another native minister was Seth Claus. Through the efforts of these native ministers the Tuscarora Baptist Church established branch churches in various villages of the reserve and also among the Oneida Indians near London.

The Home Missions Board of the Canadian Baptists was rather late in actively supporting native missions; American and British Baptists and the natives themselves had established Indian churches on the Six Nations Reserve. After Confederation, Canadian Baptists took a more active role by financing the efforts of Longfish, Claus and a white missionary, the Rev. J. Burke who worked on the reserve.⁴⁶ Another white missionary, the Rev. Alexander Stewart, the senior missionary of the Convention, joined him on the reserve. In 1874 he complained, "I am afraid that the Baptists of Ontario have been somewhat indifferent in the past to the work which God requires them to do among the Indians. If we do what is required God will give to us His blessing. If we do not, God will raise up others who will do the work and reward them according to His promise."⁴⁷ The *Baptist Year Book* also reported that Stewart's support had to be raised in Great Britain.⁴⁸

Stewart's comment about Baptist indifference appeared to be prophetic. By 1877 Stewart reported that there were 214 members of the Baptist churches on the reservation, "of whom, 120 have been baptized during the last six years."⁴⁹ However, he announced that he would be leaving that ministry due to health problems.

The Baptist churches on the reserves quickly fell into decline after Stewart's resignation. Some Baptist natives were drawn away into other groups; others fell victim to alcoholism. The 1881 *Year Book* reported that when Benjamin C. Needham began working there some months before "hardly a vestige of a christian church could be found . . ."⁵⁰ In 1883 Needham was only missionary of the Convention working among natives and he was leaving the work.⁵¹

By 1886 the Convention had almost abandoned the field of native missions. Dr. Castle (1830-1890) of Jarvis St. Baptist Church in Toronto raised the matter and ". . . thought we would have the solution of the difficulty if someone should give his life to this work, as others do to Foreign fields . . . A Committee was appointed to take the work into consideration and to devise the best methods for its prosecution."⁵²

Alexander Stewart, whose health had somewhat recovered was again called by the Tuscarora Baptist Church to give them assistance. He reported some progress and stated, "I do hope the Convention will decide to sustain a good man on the field or give it up altogether."⁵³

Baptist work on the Six Nations Reserve has continued into the twentieth century but with less than enthusiastic support from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. Much of their attention was directed towards home missions in the Canadian West and even that was hardly adequate.

In 1940 the Ohsweken Baptist Church, formally the Tuscarora Baptist Church, celebrated its centenary⁵⁴ and in 1963 the Baptist Federation of Canada chose for its Triennial project the building a new sanctuary at Ohsweken according to white standards.⁵⁵

Western Canada

In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company, which had controlled the territory west of Ontario since 1670, was prepared to sell it to the British government. Ontario expansionists were anxious to annex the west for themselves and acquire its resources and use it as a hinterland.⁵⁶ Ontario Baptists exhibited the same mentality.

In April 1869 the Baptist Missionary Convention of Ontario commissioned two of its ministers, the Rev. Thomas Davidson (1825-1883) of Alymer and the Rev. Thomas Baldwin (b.1832) of St. Thomas to visit the west and “spy out the land.” They brought back a report containing information on the geography, climate, resources, and religious state of the west.

During their visit they had been hosted by Presbyterian and Methodist ministers in Red River and had spoken in their churches. They had also received hospitality from Anglican clergy. In their report they spoke about the “monster influence” which the Roman Catholic Church had over at least a third of the residents of the west.⁵⁷ These residents, though unidentified, would have been Indians and Metis.

Davidson and Baldwin did not find any Baptists in the west and did not recommend sending a missionary there, unless a colony of Baptists moved there as a group. Their sectarian views governed this assessment.

Baptists have had no encouragement to go and make their homes in the land. They know if they did, they would leave the means of grace which they so highly prize for themselves and their children behind them; and parents should be slow to remove with their children into a country where there are none of the means of grace such as their views of truth could approve.⁵⁸

The only purpose of sending a missionary there now was not “for the sake of the present inhabitants,” but to acquire land for the building of future Baptist churches when the population increased.⁵⁹

Thus it was obvious that Davidson and Baldwin did not consider the native peoples as a potential ministry. They had little positive to say about the natives, but warned that the Canadian government would have to make treaties with them if they wanted to avert bloodshed. In a letter to the *Canadian Baptist* Davidson regarded the natives as a nuisance. They did not respect the “space” of the white folks because they “invited themselves into their homes”; the Canadian government needed to place them on reserves “so that peace may be maintained, and the white settlers freed from their presence.”⁶⁰ Out of sight; out of mind!

Baptist work in the west was slow coming. The Baptists were the last major denomination to enter the field. There was little interest; promised contributions for Davidson and Baldwin’s “spy mission” did not come in and the Convention was over \$300 in debt.⁶¹ Soon afterwards the first Riel Rebellion occurred. Even after Alexander (Pioneer) McDonald

(1837-1911) went to the west in 1873 promised funding from Ontario for the Baptist missionaries was sporadic and usually inadequate. Pleas for financial assistance from Ontario Baptists went unheeded because there was no denominational structure to provide them.⁶² The financial situation was so severe that McDonald quit the field in 1883 and took a church in North Dakota under the American Baptist Home Mission Society.⁶³

Although Alexander McDonald had been the pioneer Baptist missionary in the west, he appears to have done nothing to evangelize the natives.⁶⁴ Much of the thrust towards native missions developed out of a Sunday School class in Portage la Prairie when they addressed a letter to the Board of the Women's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Society of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. In 1889 the Board appointed Miss Phoebe Parsons, a nurse, to work the reserve doing medical and missionary work. She continued for a year, but found the work too difficult and the mission was closed down by the Board until a man could be found to do it.⁶⁵

That man came from the natives themselves. William Henry Prince was the son of a Manitoba Indian chief who was educated in Anglican and Catholic schools. From 1870 to 1890 he was a teacher in the Anglican-run residential school. He also planned to enter the Anglican ministry and served as a lay missionary among his own people for four years before he experienced a personal conversion. For some time he was involved with the Plymouth Brethren, was baptized as a believer, and continued to work as a missionary. Eventually, he sought out Alexander Grant (1854-1897), the minister of First Baptist Church in Winnipeg.⁶⁶

Grant, a friend and defender of native people, labelled the reservation system as a racist act.⁶⁷ He enrolled Prince and some of his converts as members of First Baptist Church. Grant actively supported Prince's missionary activities and eventually a Baptist church was built on the St. Peter's reserve. Prince was recognized and supported as the Manitoba Baptist Convention's missionary "to the Indians."⁶⁸

After Grant drowned in a boating accident in 1897, ministry among the natives declined. His successor H.G. Mellick worked among them, but his ministry was tainted by nativistic attitudes. In his book he noted, "had they been treated better they would be White Indians today, or at least measure well up to the standard of good Christian citizens."⁶⁹

Prince and some of his native converts, who worked as native evangelists, carried on as best they could with occasional help from Baptist Convention missionaries, but when the Rev. A.W. Mayse left the

St. Peter's Reserve in 1914, he was not replaced.⁷⁰ By the end of World War One Baptist work among the natives in Manitoba had all but ceased.⁷¹

There were sporadic attempts at missionary work by Baptists in other parts of the prairies, but in British Columbia there were no known attempts ever made by the Baptists to evangelize the natives.⁷² In her history of the Baptist Union of Western Canada Margaret Thompson concluded that "Baptists seem to have been quite content to leave Indian Mission work to the Anglican, Roman Catholic and United Churches."⁷³

Conclusion

Why has the Canadian Baptist denomination had such a poor showing in native missions? The answers seem to lie in a lack of a philosophy of missions, problems in polity and ecclesiology, middle-class values, and racism.

Even when Canadian Baptists attempted missionary work among the natives they did so without a philosophy of missions. They had nothing like the "Venn formula" of the Anglican Church Missionary Society.⁷⁴ From the reports in the Baptist *Year Books*, Canadian Baptists appear to have operated without reference to what had been learned from American Baptist work among the natives or the celebrated work of Carey in India or Burpee in Burma.

Many of the failures in Indian missions resulted from Baptist polity. Canadian Baptists lacked a denomination structure which could make executive decisions and guarantee funds for native missions. Refusing state subsidies, mission work among natives depended upon visionaries and was based completely on voluntary contributions. Stewart on the Six Nations Reserve, Rand among the Micmacs and McDonald in Manitoba found their work hampered by lack of adequate support from their denominations.

Without the financial backing of wealthy philanthropists such as William McMaster (1811-1887), who heavily funded Jarvis St. Baptist Church, Woodstock College, Toronto Baptist College and (later McMaster University), the *Canadian Baptist*, and the Home Missions Board, the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec might never have even existed. Baptists were hampered in their mission to natives by lack of vision, lack of will, and lack of resources.

The failure of Baptists to support native missions was part of the larger failure of Baptists to do pioneer missionary work even among

whites. Davidson and Baldwin lamented that Baptists were usually the last denomination to get established in the new villages, towns and cities.⁷⁵ This was reiterated at the 1907 meeting of the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest. “We have a dream of a day when Baptists will no longer be the last of all religious forces to enter a community – coming in to find the field pre-empted and welcome forfeited.”⁷⁶

Such conflicts resulted from the exclusive ecclesiology of the Baptists who saw other denominations as possessing less of the gospel or lacking it entirely.⁷⁷ In 1855, during the pastorate of Thomas Davidson, someone who had been baptized by immersion as a believer by a Methodist minister sought to join First Baptist Church in Brantford, but his/her baptism was not considered valid unless performed by a Baptist minister.⁷⁸

Baptist growth was achieved mainly by “sheep stealing.” Several points illustrate this. When Alexander McDonald arrived in Red River in 1873 he was questioned by the resident clergy, who hosted him, about why he had come since there was only one Baptist in the area. He replied that he had “come to make Baptists.”⁷⁹ During a discussion of building more attractive churches the Rev. Joshua Denovan of the Home Mission Board in Ontario made a rather telling observation: “people would not be easily induced to leave a comfortable Methodist, Presbyterian or Episcopal church, and come to worship in an old school house or dirty town hall. The building of a neat and inexpensive house of worship is one of the best ways to give stability to any Mission.”⁸⁰

The Grande Linge Mission in Quebec saw its task as converting Catholics into Protestants, Protestants into Christians, and Christians into Baptists.⁸¹ Rather than doing pioneer evangelization of the unchurched, Baptists tried to build on the work of others. Ministry among natives was difficult for any denomination and most Baptists ignored it.

From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards Baptists in Nova Scotia and Ontario became increasingly dominated by middle-class values and upward social mobility. Prominent Baptist politicians served as members of legislatures, provincial premiers (Tupper of Nova Scotia, Rutherford of Alberta), prime ministers (Alexander Mackenzie [in office 1873-78], and Tupper [in office 1896]), senators (McMaster), and Lieutenant Governors (Bulyea of Alberta). Most of them fell in with the national policy which saw the west to be annexed as a hinterland for Ontario industries. Indians and Metis were in the way of railways and white settlement. Mackenzie’s government made treaties with the prairie

aboriginals, placing them on reservations and changed the Manitoba Act to acquire 80% of the land claimed by the Metis.⁸² Tupper, as the Conservative minister of railways (1879-84), was equally guilty of breaking faith with native peoples.

In a report on the west by the Rev. G.W. Huntely in 1885, on the eve of the Northwest or Second Riel Rebellion, he spoke of the 225,000 white settlers and the Baptist presence there. Nothing was said about natives or Metis.⁸³ Some of these attitudes towards Canada's native peoples resulted from ignorance. However, Silas Rand and Alexander Grant observed the outright racism prevalent in white society and their own denomination.

Besides racism, Baptist polity, which advocated the autonomy of local congregations, had hindered organized Baptist missionary activity among Canada's native peoples. The other Baptist distinctive of separation of church and state also prevented it from becoming involved in native residential schools. That may have been a blessing in disguise, as some of those churches that ran residential schools are now facing possible bankruptcy.

Today, there remains a Baptist presence on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford and among the Oneidas west of London. The Canadian Baptist Federation between 1976-79 sponsored a mission at Inuvik.⁸⁴ The November 1988 issue of the *Link and Visitor*, the official organ of the Baptist Women's Missionary Society of Ontario and Quebec (BWMS), was devoted to the question of native ministry. This was in anticipation of a symposium on native Christianity to be held in January 1989. There stimulating papers were presented by representatives of many different Christian denominations. The consensus of opinion was that natives should minister to natives.⁸⁵ Later the BWMS made wide-ranging recommendations to the Baptist denomination regarding native ministry,⁸⁶ but nothing concrete appears to have come from those recommendations, other than ongoing support for the work of the native-directed Arrowhead Ministries.

Endnotes

1. *Baptist Year Book*, 1877, 80.
2. For the role of Canadian Baptists in Bolivia see *Bridging Cultures and Hemispheres: The Legacy of Archibald Reekie and Canadian Baptists in Bolivia*, ed. William H. Brackney (Macon: Smyth and Helwys, 1997).

3. Frank H. Woyke, "Other Ethnic Baptists," in *Baptists and the American Experience*, ed. James E. Wood, Jr. (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1976), 325-327.
4. I am indebted to William H. Brackney and the staff of the Canadian Baptist Archives for their assistance in obtaining some rare sources.
5. George Edward Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946* (Saint John: Barnes-Hopkins, Limited, 1946), 128.
6. Harry A. Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada* (Mississauga: Baptist Federation of Canada, 1988), 149.
7. Dorothy May Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1992), 25-26. "Micmac" is the European name for that group and their language. Since the rise of the native rights movement, one often finds it spelled "Mi'Kmaq. To avoid anachronism I have chosen to retain the European spelling.
8. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 33-34.
9. Jeremiah S. Clark, *Rand and the Micmacs* (Charlottetown: n.p., 1899), 5.
10. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 41.
11. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 41-42.
12. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 39.
13. Silas T. Rand, *A Short Account of The Lord's Work among The Micmac Indians with some Reasons for His Seceding from the Baptist Denomination* (Halifax: William MacNab, 1873), 9.
14. Renfree incorrectly dated this as 1850 (*Heritage and Horizon*, 150). See S.T. Rand, *A Short Statement of Facts Relating to the History, Manners, Customs, Language, and Literature of the Micmac Tribe of Indians in Nova Scotia and E. Island* (Halifax: James Bowes and Son, 1850).
15. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 92.
16. Rand, *Short Statement of Facts*, 27.
17. Lovesay, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 114.
18. Lovesay, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 162.
19. Lovesay, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 156. Note some of the criticisms of this method of fund raising.

20. Rand, *A Short Account*, 26.
21. Rand, *A Short Account*, 14-15.
22. Catholic historians had mixed feelings about Rand (see Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 2-3).
23. Rand, *A Short Account*, 8-9.
24. Rand diary, 26 May 1888; cited in Clark, *Rand and the Micmacs*, 23.
25. Stuart Ivison and Fred Rosser, *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada before 1820* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), 13, 137-142.
26. Robert S. Allen, "Joseph Brant," *Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1985), 1:214-215.
27. Brant's letter of 9 February 1801; cited in Ivison and Rosser, *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada*, 139.
28. *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 1, No. 5 (September 1805): 153.
29. *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 1, No. 2 (May 1804): 44-49 (C. Blood); 1, No. 5 (September 1805): 152-155 (Roots); 1, No. 7 (May 1806): 199-206 (L. Covell); 1, No. 9 (February 1807): 258-265 (D. Irish).
30. *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 1, No. 4 (May 1805): 116-121.
31. Rev. N. Kendrick, "On the State of Religion in Upper Canada," *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 2, No. 6 (May 1809): 174-176.
32. Ivison and Rosser, *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada*, 141.
33. Julia L. Jamieson, "The Story of Indian Churches and Missions," in *From Sea to Sea: A Study Book of Home Missions* (The Women's Baptist Home Mission Board of Ontario West, 1940), 169. Jamieson, a native whose maternal grandfather was one of the early Indian converts on the Six Nations Reserve, appears to have based her account on oral history. Some of her details are incorrect, causing her version of events to be questioned by J. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries to Upper Canada Tuscaroras," *Canadian Baptist Home Missions Digest* VI (1963-1964): 273-282. Jamieson has misspelled Miner's name. Pryse denies Miner's American origin (273, 275) but has not proved his case. He appeared to be motivated more by nationalism than historical veracity.
34. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 275.

35. J.H. Farmer, "The Baptists of the Dominion of Canada," in *A Century of Baptist Achievement*, ed. A.H. Newman (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publications Society, 1901), 141-142. Farmer has the Baptist Indians moving from Lewiston in 1842. Other sources suggest that it happened several years earlier.
36. Jamieson, "The Story of Indian Churches and Missions," 169-170. Pryse also tried to discount Nicholas Smith's American ancestry and early role in ministry on the Six Nations Reserve. Pryse's efforts to reduce Smith's role are not convincing (Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 273, 280-281).
37. Both Jamieson ("The Story of Indian Churches and Missions"), and Pryse ("Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 277) report the story of the "Macedonian Call" from the Indians, but their accounts differ and both appear to be romanticized.
38. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 273-275.
39. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 276.
40. T.S. Shenston, *Jubilee Review of First Baptist Church, Brantford, 1833-1884* (Toronto: Bingham and Webber, 1890), 16.
41. Their petition has been quoted by Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 281-282.
42. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 280.
43. Minutes of First Baptist Church, Brantford, 29 April 1849; cited in Shenston, *Jubilee Review of First Baptist Church, Brantford, 1833-1884*, 21.
44. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 280.
45. Jamieson, "The Story of Indian Churches and Missions," 170.
46. *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1869, 45-47.
47. *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1875, 28.
48. *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1875, 28.
49. *Baptist Year Book*, 1877, 28.
50. *Baptist Year Book*, 1881, 46.
51. *Baptist Year Book*, 1883, 27.
52. *Baptist Year Book*, 1886, 37-38.
53. *Baptist Year Book*, 1886, 48.

54. Jamieson, "The Story of Indian Churches and Missions," 173.
55. D.A. Burns, "Ohsweken Needs A Church," *Canadian Baptist Home Missions Digest*, VI (1963-1964), 120-123; and Shirley Bentall, *From Sea to Sea: The Canadian Baptist Federation, 1944-1994* (Mississauga: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1994), 173.
56. See Doug Owsram, *The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).
57. Thos. L. Davidson and Thos. Baldwin, "Report of the Deputation to the North West Territories," *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1870, 49.
58. Davidson and Baldwin, "Report of the Deputation to the North West Territories," 49.
59. Davidson and Baldwin, "Report of the Deputation to the North West Territories," 50-51.
60. Thomas Davidson to the editor, *Canadian Baptist*, 16 September 1869, 2.
61. Margaret Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada* (Calgary: The Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1974), 15-16.
62. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 83-90.
63. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 99.
64. See Theo. T. Gibson, *Beyond the Granite Curtain: The Story of Alexander McDonald* (Ancaster: By the author, [c. 1975]).
65. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 379-380.
66. Prince's life story was told in H.G. Mellick, *The Indians and Our Indian Missions* (Winnipeg: H.C. Stovel and Co., 1909), 85ff. A fuller account is contained in Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 380-405.
67. See Donald Goertz, "Alexander Grant: Pastor, Evangelist, Visionary," in *Costly Vision: The Baptist Pilgrimage in Canada*, ed., Jarold K. Zeman (Burlington: Welch, 1988), 16, 21-22.
68. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1892.
69. Mellick, *The Indians and Our Indian Missions*, 5.
70. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 389.
71. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 404.

72. Neither Thompson nor J.E. Harris, *The Baptist Union of Western Canada: A Centennial History, 1873-1973* (Saint John: Lingley Printing Co., Ltd., 1976) mention any work among British Columbia Baptists.
73. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 405.
74. See Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines: the Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society," *Social History* 7 (April 1971): 28-52.
75. Davidson and Baldwin, "Report of the Deputation to the North West Territories," 51.
76. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 118.
77. Note Rand's observation in Lovesey: "There are plenty – I hope not very plenty – of Baptists, who will hardly admit that anybody but a Baptist can go to heaven" (*To Be a Pilgrim*, 136).
78. Shenston, *Jubilee Review of First Baptist Church, Brantford, 1833-1884*, 31-32.
79. Gibson, *Beyond the Granite Curtain: The Story of Alexander McDonald*, 62.
80. *Baptist Year Book*, 1877, 52.
81. *Baptist Year Book*, 1882, 123.
82. J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History*, 2nd ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1984), 216, 220, 234.
83. *Baptist Year Book*, 1885, 76.
84. Bentall, *From Sea to Sea*, 173.
85. "Canada's Native People Need Native Churches," *Link and Visitor*, March 1989, 14.
86. BWMS notes, 21 April 1989, supplied to the author by Mrs. Audrey Morikawa, 21 January 1998.

