The Creation and Expansion of the African Canadian Church

DUDLEY BROWN
McMaster University

Before the arrival of the Norse (around AD1000) and Europeans in the late sixteenth century, to what would eventually be called the Dominion of Canada, the lands' original occupants – the First Peoples – had tribes that each possessed a distinctive language, history, culture, mores, and traditions. This would change with the early colonization efforts of the French – with whom the First Peoples made their initial and most extensive contacts – and later with the English. By initially making allies of the First Peoples, these two empires slowly imposed a new order and reality upon the region.[1]

To implement this new order, they brought with them their pioneering spirit, religion, and African slaves who would become African Canadians.[2] How would the latter two (religion and African slaves) relate to each other insofar as the building of the African Canadian church? Pursuant to that, this paper will attempt to assess the creation and expansion of the African Canadian church in Canada; did it grow organically, like its southern counterpart, or was it an African American transplant? To assist in answering these questions, we must first gain an understanding of the extent of the African slave trade and ascertain the various conduits that supplied African slaves and free blacks to the country – paying particular attention to the religion they brought with them. We will endeavour to answer these questions by providing a brief overview of the origins of the Dominion starting with its First Peoples – as they may figure significantly in the African Canadian story.

The Dawn of the Dominion and Canada's First Nations

The cultures of the First Peoples were "based upon regular patterns that had evolved over thousands of years" and developed among these different cultures or tribes. These patterns grew out of an intimate knowledge of resources and the best way of using them. Anthropologist Robin Ridington has made the point that their technology consisted of knowledge rather than tools. That is, it was by employing their expert knowledge of the ecosystems and their ingenuity in using it to their advantage that the First Peoples were able to survive as well as they did with comparatively simple technology. Because of Canada's extended coastline and the great variety of geographical regions, there were many variations on one fundamental way of life for the First Peoples, that is, they were pre-state egalitarian societies of mostly hunter-gatherers. The estimates of the First Peoples' population ranged from 500,000 to nearly two million – principally concentrated in the Northwest, and Southern regions of the country.[3] Then the Europeans arrived.

First, there was the Norseman Leif Ericson (in AD 1000) who ventured to what is now Newfoundland.[4] Almost five centuries later, the Italian Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) travelled to the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador in 1497. In 1534, Jacques Cartier followed Caboto by journeying down the St. Lawrence River to Stadecona (now Quebec City) and Hochelaga (now Montreal) where he, and Jean-Francois de la Roque de Roberval, would establish colonies – though both were failed endeavours.[5] On his second voyage back to France, Cartier abducted Chief Donnacona, the leader of the Stadecona village, his two sons, and seven other Iroquois; all ten died before Cartier's last trip to North America – an ominous portent for the eventual fate of the First Peoples. Colonization of what would become Canada would find success under the auspices of Samuel de Champlain (in 1603) when he established a settlement at Ile d'Orleans near Stadecona on behalf France.[6] Travelling with Champlain, as a member of his expedition team, was an African interpreter Matthew Decosta.[7]

Black Slavery in Canada: New France

Blacks have lived in Canada, or at least New France, for more than 400 years. The history of slavery in this part of the world dates back to 1632 and extends until 1834. It began with interpreter Matthew Decosta,

the first known black person to arrive in New France, and Oliver Lejeune, a six-year-old slave boy who became the first black resident of New France in 1628.[8] The New France black slavery experience was both similar to and different from that of the Caribbean and the American colonies. In all three regions, the elements of subjugation of one race by another, the exploitation of human labour, and the maximization of profits were present. Massive slave labour worked the sugar plantations of the Caribbean and the cotton plantations of the American colonies – the backbone of those economies. By contrast, in New France, slavery existed within a more diverse economy and on a smaller scale.[9]

Black slavery in New France became more significant toward the end of the seventeenth century when active labour shortages prompted the importation of blacks in larger numbers. At times, New France bought African slaves from the American colonies and the Caribbean for special projects. Although some slaves were used for agricultural, mining, and shipbuilding, the vast majority performed domestic duties for the elite (governors, doctors, prelates, and the merchant class).[10] The women performed a wide range of duties, including child-rearing, doing laundry, cleaning floors, and preparing meals, while the men worked outdoors gardening, caring for animals, and carrying water and firewood.[11]

By 1750, of the 120,000 African slaves that were sent to North America, only a small proportion, 1,400 people, came to New France. From 1681 to 1818, there were approximately 4,100 slaves in French Canada. Within the boundaries of present-day Quebec, there were 2,092 slaves from 1681 to 1759.[12] In the colony of Canada (Quebec, Montreal, and Trois-Rivieres), the majority of slaves (almost 2,700 or 65 per cent) were First Peoples (*Panis*), a stark contrast to that of the Maritimes (Ile Royal specifically) where 90 percent of the slaves were black.[13] Social status often dictated the race of one's slaves in New France, the elite typically acquiring black slaves while members of the working class owned *panis*.[14]

Official French policy towards slavery was established in 1685 through the *Code Noir* (Black Code) for the West Indies. This *Code* regulated the status of slaves even though slavery had been abolished in France.[15] Although loosely defined, slavery was given full legal backing in New France by 1709.[16] Reissued in New France in 1724, the *Code,* though never officially proclaimed in the colonies, was used as customary law. Comprising some 60 articles, it protected slave owners from slave revolt, theft, and escape but it also extended some protections and

privileges to the enslaved. Each slave was to be instructed, baptised, and ministered to as a Christian. Families were to be recognized, and freed slaves were to receive the rights of common citizens. Thus, at least in theory, the African could aspire to become a Frenchman. There was, however, a wide gap between theory and practise.[17]

In the colonies of Canada and Acadie (the Maritimes), the *Code Noir* was observed to the extent that slaves were baptised and were not to work on Sundays and Holy days. Ultimately, the *Code* was ignored in most French colonies. Some scholars, among them Gwendolyn Midlo Hall and Donald Meinig, maintain that French racial attitudes were not as harsh as that of the British or Dutch – citing as evidence miscegenation, acculturation, and manumission.[18] Donald Meinig argued that a burgeoning Afro-Catholicism, numerous mulattoes, the widespread acceptance of differing degrees of skin colours, and the example of the free black plantation owners with their own black slaves reflected the open, intimate, and vibrant nature of Creole society. This view is questioned by many scholars, notably Kenneth Donovan, Daniel H. Usner, and Joseph Mensah, on the ground that this picture reflects life in the French West Indies and that there is no evidence to suggest that these practices extended into Canada and the Maritimes. Similarly, there is also no evidence to show that slave society was less repressive in New France than it was in New England.[19]

The first black slaves to arrive in considerable numbers did so in the Maritimes in 1755 when former New England residents, French Acadians, settled in what would later be called Nova Scotia after their expulsion in the wake of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. In Nova Scotia – which at the time included New Brunswick – the slaves were tasked with building out the settlement at Halifax not knowing it would become a leading centre for the public auction of their fellow blacks. After the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the number of slaves grew significantly. By the time of the American Revolution, there were some 500 black slaves living in Nova Scotia.[20] After the conclusion of the Revolution, of course, these regions would also become home to thousands of refugees as part of the Loyalist migration north.[21]

Black Slavery in Canada: The British Loyalist and Slavery

At the conclusion of the Seven Years War,[22] France ceded all its North American territories east of the Mississippi (now known as Quebec

later to be the provinces of Ontario and Quebec) to the English under the terms of the Treaty of Paris.[23] The signing of that Treaty also had the effect of legally strengthening slavery in Canada by superceding the definitions outlined in the *Code Noir*.[24] On three separate occasions the British government explicitly guaranteed English slave owners that their property would be respected while at the same time adding the legal superstructure of English criminal and civil law to the informally observed *Code Noir* – effectively depriving slaves in Canada of the few protections that the *Code* had afforded them. The most important significant legal protection afforded to slaveholders by the British government, however, was contained in The Imperial Act of 1790 – an Act that encouraged the immigration of British subjects to British North America by permitting the free importation of all "Negroes, furniture, utensils of husbandry, clothing" into the colonies.[25]

Loyal subjects of the British Crown, black and white, would come to British North America most notably after the War of Independence and later the War of 1812.[26] The Loyalist's migration had a number of significant effects on the slave population: first, it increased the number of slaves in Canada significantly – causing black slaves to surpass the number of *panis* slaves for the first time; second, a number of well-informed advocates for the defense of slavery emerged; lastly, the variety of work done by slaves increased and, for the first time, free Negro Loyalists worked alongside black slaves – an example that black skin did not automatically mean servitude. Furthermore, many Loyalists found they could not afford to maintain large numbers of slaves (as they did in the south) for several reasons, not the least of which was its impracticality due to the climate and the absence of a need for field workers year-round. The harsh laws formerly used to govern slaves were softened as many slaves were baptized, some educated, and families allowed to stay together. A growing number of white Loyalists, moreover, began leaning towards anti-slavery positions as slavery became associated with the new Republic they had great cause to hate.[27]

Although white Loyalists initially increased the number slaves in what was to become Canada, within two decades those same Loyalists had all but ended the practice.[28] Even as slavery was on the decline, attempts were made to stabilize the system from within as many would-be Canadians fought to protect their right to have slaves even when the institution had proven unprofitable.[29] Approximately 3,000 free Negros went to British North America as a result of the Revolutionary War – the

majority to Nova Scotia. Most of the Negroes in Quebec were slaves of Loyalists who had fled the rebel colonies.[30] These Loyalists, mostly white settlers from the British Isles and Britain's American colonies, formed the basis of the dominant culture that took root in what would become the Dominion of Canada.[31]

In 1791, William Wilberforce introduced a bill in the British Parliament to stop the importation of slaves to the British colonies. That same year Colonel John Graves Simcoe became the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada (later Ontario). After becoming acquainted with the brutality of slavery still present in Upper Canada, he began working for its abolition. Within two years, Simcoe and the slave-holding Chief Justice Osgoode reached a compromise and passed "The Act to Prevent the Further Introduction of Slaves and to Limit the Terms of Enforced Servitude Within the Province." This provided for the freedom of the children of slaves after they reached the age of 25 and it prevented new settlers from bringing slaves into the province.[32] The Act resulted in a slow trickle of fugitive slaves from the southern United States crossing the border into Upper Canada, a trend that continued until the War of 1812.

After the War of 1812, the British government once again offered freedom to every American owned slave who would join the British.[33] By 1834 – and the abolition of slavery in the British Empire – Upper Canada's attorney general ruled that by virtue of being residents of Canada, black people were deemed free.[34] Fugitive slaves began trickling into Canada through escape vehicles like the Underground Railway. The American Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 making escape more dangerous and expensive. However, even with the spectre of the Slave Act looming, there was a dramatic increase in the free black population of Upper Canada – about 30,000 entered the colony between 1800 and 1860.[35]

Thus the African Canadian population grew from four sources: the blacks who entered New France via the Atlantic slave trade; fugitives slaves crossing into Canada by either the Underground Railway or other means; free or enslaved Loyalists through the Revolutionary War; and black refugees after the War of 1812.[36] What we have yet to ascertain is whether, prior to the American Revolutionary War, the African Canadian slaves developed an autonomous church like that of the slaves of the United States. Let us first take a brief look at the African American slave's religious story.

Slave Theology and the African-American Church of the United States

In the plantation system of the southern United States, the great mass of slaves would build for themselves the structure of an invisible society founded on a spirituality that put meaning into their existence.[37] The "secret service" arose when slaves were expressly forbidden from attending religious services. In response, secret religious meetings were held in hovels, arbors, and pits.[38] The slaves would discuss the events of the day and gain new strength from the communal reality of slavery.[39] These religious meetings emphasized and tightened the social bonds among slaves.[40] They would celebrate the maintenance of life in the midst of adversity and determine the communal strategies and tactics for continued survival, protest, and resistance.[41] Slave theology was formed by the confluence of reinterpreted white Christianity with the remains of African religion – specifically the Old Testament emphasis on spiritual and physical freedom.[42] Often called the "invisible institution," these secret meetings were the origin of what would become the modern African American church.[43]

The northern states were home to escaped slaves, slaves that were given their freedom for services rendered, and African Americans born to freed slaves.[44] These northern African Americans would build their institutional version of the "secret meeting" for many of the same reasons as their southern counterparts.[45] In 1787, pastors Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and William White withdrew from the white St. George's Church in Philadelphia. They withdrew due in no small part to the white congregation becoming increasingly disturbed by the growing number of African Americans attending the church services.[46] This act led Allen to establish the Free African Society and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in 1816.[47] The free Negro found status in the African American church as it shielded them from the contempt and discrimination of white society.[48] The founding of these historic churches was the first African American freedom movement and would become pivotal in the battle against injustice in the United States.[49] Did this dynamic repeat itself in Canada or were there components to the Canadian story that would cause a divergence from its southern counterpart?

Was there a Nascent Black Church established in New France?

Though the Roman Catholic colony of New France had a significant

slave population in the 1600s, no indigenous black Catholic tradition would arise in Canada.[50] This was due to factors including the fact that the Catholic Church was less involved with humanitarian concerns, such as the plight of the Negro slaves and what they deemed their "temporary servile status," than with their souls;[51] that the church was directly implicated in the slave trade – religious orders of men, women, and diocesan priests were slave owners; the Catholic Church's aggressive political disfranchisement of emancipated black people, its contributions to the racializing of black people – relegating them to second-class status; and finally, though rich in ceremony, rituals, music, and incantations like African religions, the formalism of Roman Catholicism was daunting and constraining for the American/Canadian slave.[52] These and other factors made the Catholic faith less appealing to African Canadians in New France.[53]

There is evidence that slaves in New France, particularly in the Maritimes, would have known each other, and there is evidence they gathered together on occasions such as slave baptisms and weddings (slaves were entitled to the sacraments by the *Code Noir*).[54] However, there is no evidence to suggest that Canadian black slaves developed a distinct religion like their southern counterparts (an "invisible institution").[55] For example, if we use the sacrament of baptism as a catalyst from which a potential slave proto-religious culture might develop, we must also consider the fact that in New France the family members of slaves were rarely permitted to gather and observe the ritual.[56] Indeed, baptism was often perceived a demeaning ritual for the slave that was only performed at the behest or whim of the master.[57]

The lack of a distinct black Canadian religious culture may have been the result of various factors: first, the small number of black slaves per master compared to the American south meant that black slaves would simply accompany their master to church if the master was so inclined (the problem of too many blacks did not occur); secondly, though they served side-by-side with *panis* slaves, there may have been antagonisms between the two groups (at the very least there is no evidence to suggests solidarities might have evolved into a unified form of opposition to their oppressors); lastly, the majority of slaves were domestic rather than field labourers, giving them a more palatable existence relative to most slaves in the American south. Perhaps this had the effect of muting the spirit of rebellion? These, as well as other factors, may have contributed to the fact that a separate African Canadian church did not emerge in New France.

What then precipitated the creation and expansion of the African Canadian church?

The Black Church in Nova Scotia

On their arrival in Nova Scotia in 1783, black Loyalists, who were predominantly Anglicans, Methodists, and Baptists, found themselves relegated to second-class status in the church despite their belief that baptism in the Anglican Church would make them "one and equal with whites." Indeed, John Breynton, the rector of St. Paul's, Halifax, baptized hundreds of black people. And yet, although they could attend services and receive communion, blacks were segregated from white parishioners by being forced into galleries reserved for them as well as the poor and soldiers. By 1815, black worshippers of all denominations were kept behind a partition.[58] As the white membership increased, some black parishioners were advised to gather for worship in their homes. Nova Scotian blacks turned to their lay preachers and teachers in the segregated communities to meet their spiritual needs.[59]

The Black Church in Upper Canada

Having abolished slavery formally in 1834, British North American lands that would later become Canada provided a refuge for escaped slaves. In the 1850s and 1860s, Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) achieved new popularity among American blacks. By 1850, blacks born in, but who fled the, United States settled in and around the communities of Amherstburg, Sandwich (present-day Windsor), Colchester, and Wilberforce. Apart from those established settlements, whole immigrant frontier towns were founded.[60] Among these were Josiah Henson's British-American Institute in Dawn (later Dresden) north of Chatham, as well as the Elgin and Buxton settlements south of Chatham.[61]

Once the fugitive slaves reached freedom in Upper Canada, they immediately assembled for worship. Like their Nova Scotian counterparts, however, they found that as their numbers increased the white members of their churches grew increasingly uncomfortable. In *The African Canadian Church: A Stabilizer*, Dorothy Shadd Shreve writes, "Before 1840, individual blacks mingled with whites at church services. With the large influx of fugitive slaves in the 1840s and 1850s, it was obvious that white tolerance of social intercourse with their coloured neighbours, even

in the presence of God, was strained to the limit."[62]

At this juncture it would seem that the arrival of significant numbers of African Americans to Upper Canada and Nova Scotia put a strain on racial relations in the church. How did this affect the creation and expansion of the African Canadian church? We will see it is a situation that would ultimately lead to the formation of black churches in Upper Canada and Nova Scotia.

The Black Canadian Church: Segregation, Expulsion, and Transplantation

The church became an important institution in the black Canadian community, providing spiritual care, education, and the social and economic organization necessary for building new communities. Daniel G. Hill, in his book *The Freedom Seekers*, asserts: "The earliest and most important institutions in all black Upper Canadian communities were the churches."[63] We can see that the establishment of the black autonomous churches in Canada followed a pattern similar to the development of black churches in the United States – that is, it was given impetus by the exclusion of the black congregants from the white churches. The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church founded in Philadelphia in 1816 by Absalom Jones and Richard Allen (after their departure/expulsion from the white St. George's Methodist Church) was transplanted to Upper Canada where it eventually separated from the parent body in the United States to create the British Methodist Episcopal (BME) church.[64] The first of these was Salem Chapel in St. Catharines in 1820. A BME church member explained the relevance of the church to the black community:

> Our association was organized in 1841. We were organized because of prejudice, and we decided to move away. As long as racism is alive and well in our communities, we are better able to support each other in our communities because we have a unique understanding of things. When I was a kid, everyone went to AME/BME [church] if you were black and that was the centre of our society. We did everything in our church.[65]

During the late 1830s, Jesse Coleman, a fugitive slave from Baltimore, founded the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church.[66] 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 fled to Upper Canada in search of freedom and a place where racial discrimination, while hardly absent, was at least 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 arrive there. Today, Sandwich Baptist church still sustains the black community of Windsor and has been recognized as a National Historic Landmark by the Canadian government.[67]

The First Baptist Church is Toronto's oldest black church – a haven for Toronto's nineteenth-century black community. Founded in 1826 by twelve former slaves who got together (informally) to worship after they found they were not welcome in white churches, its transnational roots are evident in the church's earliest fundraising history: Washington Christian, a former Virginia slave, was the principal financial agent behind the construction of the original building.[68] One of the oldest AME churches in North America is Grant African Methodist Episcopal Church (1833) in Toronto – founded just 17 years after Richard Allen had established the denomination in Philadelphia. Originally located on Richmond Street in the city's downtown core, the church moved to several different locations – staying 63 years on Soho Street – and finally ending at Gerrard Street where it stands today.[69] During the nineteenth century, both Grant AME and First Baptist Churches were mostly made up of African Americans who had fled slavery in the United States and their Canadian born descendants.

In Upper Canada, Canadian Christian missionary organizations became involved in outreach ministries by funding and encouraging the development of black congregations. While most of these organizations were Methodist and Baptist, Presbyterians and Congregationalists also supported the work among fugitive blacks. William King organized one church initiative near Chatham in 1849. Managed by the Elgin Association, the Buxton Mission provided fugitive slaves with land, education, and Christian education. The Presbyterian church also supported this mission and was responsible for strategic economic initiatives such as the construction of a brick factory and a sawmill.[70] In the province of Nova Scotia, the transplantation theme continued in the African United Baptist church. Another black congregation in Owen Sound was founded in 1854 by Richard Preston and Septimis Clarke on behalf of the British Methodist Episcopal church. The congregations of all of these historic black churches continue to thrive to this day.[71]

Conclusion

The legend of the Underground Railroad and the image of Canada as a promised land of freedom and equality for African American slaves remain pervasive in the Canadian imagination. This reinforces a sense of superiority among Canadians (especially when juxtaposed with their American counterparts). Yet this popular myth always fails to consider the actual experiences of fugitive slaves once they arrived in Canada – specifically, the discrimination they faced in their daily lives and their exclusion from social institutions such as schools and churches.[72]

The black church in Canada emerged as a central institution in the development of black cultural life in Canada. The socio-historical context of legalized racial segregation and the resulting political and economic hegemony based on whiteness influenced the development of the black church as a religious and social institution.[73] In Canada, the black church was committed to meeting the multiple and diverse needs of a population that was often dehumanized, excluded, and marginalized by the broader community. The African Canadian church provided members with resiliency against these wider inequalities.[74]

Historically, whenever the black church is described in a Canadian context, it is often (and not without cause) presented as a historical phenomenon brought to Canada by formerly enslaved black people who, under the harsh conditions of a racially segregated Canada, fell back on the religion created by the "invisible institution" of the antebellum south and that of the northern AME.[75] There is great evidence to suggest this was the case.

And yet precisely the same circumstances that led to the development of the AME in the United States did not exist in Canada. The aforementioned elements that occurred under a northern sun (not the least of which is the number of slaves) left no evidence of a separate African Canadian religion. However, what these two contexts did have in common was the fact that, as the black population grew, it was first segregated and then declared unwelcome in the white church. This was the impetus for the formation of black churches both north and south of the border. The transnational link between Canada and the United States has greatly aided the African Canadian community when it came to the establishment of the black church as an engine of black community formation and social change.[76] The African American church in the United States has a rich legacy of community uplift and social justice and the transnational nature

of the relationship between the two countries has greatly sustained and expanded the African Canadian church and community.

Endnotes

1. Barrington Walker, ed., *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2008), 15.

2. Discussing slavery, segregation, and discrimination in North America inevitably brings up issues of race and the terms used to describe each phenotype. To add clarity to my paper and eschew offense, I have opted to use black Canadian and African Canadian interchangeably to denote the group of people that belong to the Negro race; and white or European Canadian interchangeably for those belonging to the Caucasian race. However, every term is problematic, these included. In the Canadian context "black" and African Canadian, and "white" and European Canadian are widely used by advocacy groups, governments, and scholars. In this particular case using African Canadian as opposed to African American shows the distinction between two different cultural groups of the same Negro race – where only using the term "black" would promote confusion. Although its usage does nothing to avoid the debate between those Canadians who stress their African origin versus those who stress their Caribbean origin, the scope of this paper does not encompass the period after Canada's new immigration laws that saw a marked increase in immigrants from the Caribbean.

3. Olive Patricia Dickason, "Canada When Europeans Arrived," in *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2008), 17-18.

4. Roger E. Riendeau, *A Brief History of Canada* (New York: InfoBase, 2007), 18; and Walker, ed. *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada*,15.

5. Riendeau, *Canada*, 22-29; Cartier and Roberval would establish colonies near Stadecona and Cap Rouge respectively.

6. Conrad Black, *The History of Canada* (New York: McClelland and Stewart, 2017), 26-34; and R. Douglas Francis *et. al.*, *Journey: A History of Canada* (Toronto: Nelson, 2009), 51. New France was composed of five territories: Canada, the biggest and most developed (which included Quebec, Trois-Rivieres, and Montreal); Hudson's Bay; Acadie (Acadia); Plaisance; and Louisiane (Louisiana).

7. Harvey Amani Whitefield, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North American, 1815-1860* (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Press, 2006), 11-12.

8. Robin W Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, 2nd ed. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 1; Carol B. Duncan, "'Out of the Bitter Sea': The Black Church and Migration in North American," in *The Black Church Studies Reader*, ed. Alton B. Pollard, Carol B. Duncan (England: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 239; and Denise Gillard, "The History of the Black Church in Canada," *The Presbyterian Record*, 123 (1999): 16-18.

9. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

10. Joseph Mensah, *Black Canadian: History, Experience, Social Conditions* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2002), 46; and Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

11. Kenneth Donovan, "Slaves and their Owners in Ile Royale, 1713-1760," *Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region*, 25 (1995): 3.

12. Donovan, "Slaves," 5; Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *Slavery in America: From Colonial Times to the Civil War* (New York: Facts on File, 2000), 53; in contrast, the United States had an estimated 140,000 African slaves labouring in the plantation economy of the southern states in the same time frame – there was a total of 559,800 slaves in the American colonies at that time.

13. Donovan, "Slaves," 5; this most likely reflects the colony's close trade links with the French West Indies.

14. Donovan, "Slaves," 13.

15. Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 45; Robin W. Winks, "Slavery, the Loyalist, and English Canada 1760-1801," in *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2008), 28; Donovan, "Slaves," 5, 13; Royal Decrees of 1716 and 1738 stated that all slaves that set foot on French soil were free. Yet slavery had official recognition in the French colonies.

16. Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 45; Donovan, "Slaves," 5; Kevin Brushett, review of "Marcel Trudel Canada's Forgotten Slaves: Two Hundred Years of Bondage," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28 (2015): 264; scholars, like Trudel, maintain that the *Code Noir* had no official standing in New France.

17. Donovan, "Slaves," 5.

18. Donovan, "Slaves," 5-6; and Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 45.

19. Donovan, "Slaves," 5-6; and Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 45. The fact that slaves lived short lives, *panis* just 19 years and blacks 25 years, is evidence of the rigors of the slave system.

20. Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 46.

21. Black, *Canada*, 4.

22. Black, *Canada*, 2. The French and Indian War was the North American theatre of The Seven Years War.

23. Winks, "Slavery," 28.

24. Winks, "Slavery," 28. By 1791 Quebec was divided into two provinces, Lower Canada and Upper Canada – they would become Quebec and Ontario respectively.

25. Winks, "Slavery," 28-29. The juxtaposition of Negro people and inanimate items like furniture and utensils gives some insight into the ideology of the time.

26. Walker, ed., *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada,* 14-17.

27. Winks, "Slavery," 30.

28. Winks, "Slavery," 30.

29. Maureen Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits: Black Woman and Slavery in Early Canada and Jamaica* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 3.

30. Donald. H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community* (Toronto: McCleland & Stewart Limited, 1974), 32; and Winks, "Slavery," 33.

31. Walker, ed., *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, 15.

32. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

33. Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 33.

34. Walker, ed., *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada,* 15.

35. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

36. Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 3; and Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

37. H. Beecher Hicks Jr., *Images of The Black Preacher: The Man Nobody Knows* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1977), 27-28. The United States was a unique slave society; the slave population reproduced naturally, soon outnumbering African imports, whereas elsewhere in the New World deaths exceeded births and planters depended on continual imports from Africa to sustain their labour force and profits.

38. Andrew M. Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 75-76; and Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 27-28.

39. N.D. Glenn, "Negro Religion and Negro Status in the United States," in *Religion, Culture and Society: A Reader in the Society of Religion,* ed. Louis Schneider (New York: John Wiley, 1964), 629.

40. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (New York: Schocken, 1964), 24-25.

41. George P. Rawick, "From Sun Up to Sun Down: The Making of the Black Community," in *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography Vol 1.*, ed. George P. Rawick, et al. (Westport, CN: Greenwood, 1972), 37.

42. Nathan I. Huggins, *Black Odyssey: The Ordeal of Slavery in America* (London, EN: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), 73.

43. Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 29.

44. Frazier, *Negro Church,* 35.

45. Leonard Gadzekpo, "The Black Church, The Civil Rights Movement, and The Future," *Journal of Religious Thought* 211 (1997): 97.

46. Cornelius L. Bynum, *A. Philip Randolph and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 25.

47. Bruce L. Fields, *Introducing Black Theology: 3 Crucial Questions for the Evangelical Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 17.

48. Frazier, *Negro Church*, 50.

49. Gadzekpo, "Black Church," 100.

50. Brushett, Review of *Forgotten Slaves*, 264; and Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 67.

51. Nicole Von Germeten, "A Century of Promoting Saint Peter Claver and Catholicism to African Americans: Claverian Historiography from 1868-1965," *American Catholic Studies*, 116 (2005): 30; and Brushett, Review of *Forgotten Slaves*, 264.

52. Huggins, *Black Odyssey*, 68-70.

53. R.L. Green, "The Politics of Prayer: White American Catholicism and "Negro" Sainthood," *Black Theology*, 15 (2017): 245; Cyprian Davis, "Black Catholic Theology: A Historical Perspective," *Theological Studies*, 61 (2000): 660.

54. Marcel Trudel, *Canada's Forgotten Slave: Two Hundred Years of Bondage*, Translated by George Tombs (Montreal: Vehicule, 2013), 149-53.

55. Present scholarship on the topic of black Canadian slave religious experience is woefully inadequate or virtually non–existent.

56. Donovan, "Slaves," 4; slaves were prohibited from enjoying each other's company at weddings or other gatherings because they might have included slaves from different owners – a situation to be eschewed.

57. Donovan, "Slaves," 6; Trudel, *Slaves*, 149-53.

58. The second wave of Blacks (Refugees) would primarily settle in Nova Scotia after the War of 1812.

59. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18; and Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 33. As a consequence of this treatment, some blacks lost hope in Canada's ability to secure safe and viable communities for them; some emigrated to Sierra Leone (1793), a colony established by Britain for freed slaves, and later (1800) Trinidad, causing the loss of outstanding preachers and community leaders.

60. Paul Heike, "Out of Chatham: Abolitionism on the Canadian Frontier," *Atlantic Studies*, 8 (2011): 175-77; Sharon A. Roger Hepburn, *Crossing the Border: A Free Black Community in Canada* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 1-3. Other communities included Beech, Roberts, and Brooklyn.

61. Heike, "Chatham," 186-87; it is interesting to note that, in regards to the abolitionist movement, names like Mary Ann Shadd, Martin Delany, William King, John Brown, as well as Osborne Anderson and Samuel Ringgold Ward were among those whose paths crossed in Chatham in the 1850s; their interconnectedness allowed them to develop and discuss their ideas while engaged in abolitionist activism – each with a distinct view of the future of blacks in the Americas. Taken together, they present a complex and multifaceted image of black culture in Chatham.

62. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

63. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

64. Karen Carole Flynn, *Moving Beyond Borders: A History of Black Canadian and Caribbean Women in the Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 61. Dorothy Shadd Shreve attributes this decision to political tension between Canada and the United States and the former fugitive slaves wanting to demonstrate their loyalty to the British institution that protected them from slavery.

65. Flynn, *Black Canadian*, 61.

66. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

67. Karolyn S. Frost, "African American and African Canadian Trans- nationalism along the Detroit River Borderland: the Example of Madison J. Lightfoot," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 32 (2013): 78.

68. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 241; City News Home Page. "First Black Baptist Church in Canada Celebrates Incredible Milestone." https://toronto.citynews.ca/2006/11/13/first-black-baptist-church-in-canada-celebrates-incredible-milestone/ (accessed 2019-02-15). Washington Christian was born in 1776, ordained in the Abyssinia Baptist Church of New York in 1822.

69. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 241; and City News, "Black Baptist," para. 1.

70. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18; and Roger Hepburn, *Border*, 1-3.

71. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 241; and Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 67-68.

72. Kristin McLaren, ""We had No Desire to be Set Apart": Forced Segregation of Black Students in Canada West Public Schools and Myths of British Egalitarianism," in *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2008), 69-70; and Rinaldo Walcott, *Black like Who: Writing Black Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Insomniac, 2003), 35-36.

73. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 240.

74. Flynn, *Black Canadian*, 60.

75. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 238.

76. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 239-40.