

From Missionary to Linguist: An Account of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889

by

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to both of my grandmothers, whom I have lost in the past few months. Loretta Graham (nee Young), and Dianne St. Pierre Spencer (nee May) both shaped the individual that I have become more than they will ever know. From Loretta I have gained curiosity, patience, and kindness, while from Dianne I have gained strength, perseverance, and determination. Both women worked tirelessly to raise their children and always put family first. To be the first in my family to graduate from university is an honour, something I will always cherish. I knew how proud both of my grandmothers were that I had decided to pursue my graduate degree and without their support it would not have been possible. So to them, I dedicate my graduate thesis, my most substantive piece of academic work to date.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	v
Abstract.....	vi
List of Abbreviations Used.....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	viii
CHAPTER 1 Introduction.....	1
Relevant Historiographies.....	2
Understanding Rand Through His Diaries.....	6
CHAPTER 2 Rand’s Early Years: Childhood and Spiritual Awakening, 1810-1853.....	15
Introduction.....	15
Rand’s Youth, Introduction to and Adoption of the Baptist Faith, 1810-1832... 16	
Rand’s Early Career as a Minister and Subscription Agent with <i>The Christian Messenger</i> , 1833-1845	21
Interest in the Mi’kmaw Language and Culture, 1846-1853.....	31
CHAPTER 3 Rand’s Tumultuous Years: Adoption of Müller’s Principles, 1854-1872. 45	
Introduction.....	45
Week of Prayer, 1864.....	47
Sixteenth Session of the Eastern Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, 1866.....	58
Curiosity towards the Plymouth Brethren, 1870.....	69
CHAPTER 4 Rand’s Later Years: Changes Over Time, 1873-1889.....	81
Introduction.....	81
Irreconcilable Issues with the Plymouth Brethren, 1884-1885.....	83
Reliance on Colportage and Prayer, 1884-1885.....	92

Understanding the Individual that Rand Has Become, 1889-present	111
CHAPTER 5 Conclusion.....	119
Bibliography.....	125
Appendix: Figures	132

List of Figures

Figure 1 Photograph of Silas Tertius Rand	132
Figure 2 Photograph of Portrait of Silas Tertius Rand	132
Figure 3 Map: Land of the Mi'Kmaq-Mi'kma'ki.....	132

Abstract

Silas Tertius Rand was a nineteenth-century Nova Scotian Baptist linguist and missionary, although he struggled with the latter. The Mi'kmaq had little interest in converting to the Baptist faith; many of them had joined the Roman Catholic church when the French first settled in the region. Rand's interest in the Mi'kmaw language inspired him to collect legends and to create a dictionary that were fundamental in establishing a written language for the Mi'kmaw people. This thesis examines Rand's personal diaries written at various points in his career, in order to explore Rand's roles as both a missionary and a linguist. Due to his spiritual direction and outspoken nature, Rand was unlike most Protestant missionaries of his time. This thesis argues that, between 1810 and 1889, Rand's work developed through three phases. In tracing the changes within Rand's life and work, this thesis offers a narrative framework for reinterpreting his legacy.

List of Abbreviations Used

MMS
DCB

Micmac Missionary Society
Dictionary of Canadian Biography

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I would like to thank my parents for always being there to support and discuss my project and to my family and friends, thank you for your patience and understanding. To Aaron, thank you for keeping me inspired and for gifting me a copy of *The Stone Canoe: Two Lost Mi'kmaq Texts*; it unknowingly led me to Rand.

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CHAPTER 1 Introduction

Silas Tertius Rand was a nineteenth century Baptist missionary in the Atlantic region, the area formally known as Mi'kma'ki. Rand was born in 1810 and grew up in Cornwallis with his father after the death of his mother.¹ Although mischievous as a child, Rand was mentored by religious figures such as Edward Manning. Manning instilled in Rand an interest in religion while his early educational experiences inspired his love of languages.² As an adult Rand travelled the region as a minister, missionary, and subscription agent for *The Christian Messenger*, a religious publication widely read in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia. Early in Rand's career he acquired a keen interest in the Mi'kmaw language and befriended Jake Brooks, a Mi'kmaw speaker. Rand ensured that the Indigenous language was not lost by collecting legends and words to be written in a form of Roman orthography. While struggling as a missionary, Rand flourished as a linguist. The Mi'kmaw were uninterested in adopting the Baptist faith since many of them were already devoted Catholics, having adopted Christianity a century earlier.³ Rand translated the Bible into Mi'kmaq to ensure that the Indigenous population had religious texts in their own language.

From there Rand founded the Micmac Missionary Society (MMS) but after initially

¹ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

² Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 15; Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

³ Leslie F. S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979), 153-170.

begging for money from supporters Rand decided to abandon the use of colportage. This led to the dissolution of the society as well as a shift towards the Plymouth Brethren. After being excommunicated by the Baptist Church Rand formally joined the Brethren, inspired by George Müller, a famous British philanthropist. Rand continued to uphold his ministerial and religious duties but began to identify issues within the Plymouth Brethren as well. Rand returned to the Baptist Church after openly disagreeing with the public position taken by the group. He then wholly preoccupied himself with his Mi'kmaq dictionary and spent his remaining years trying to raise the funds needed for its publication by returning to his initial tactic of begging for donations in person and through correspondence.⁴

Relevant Historiographies

There exists a considerable body of research and literature contributing to the historiography of Silas Tertius Rand. While some of the pertinent literature was written in the twentieth century by academics of settler-colonial descent, more recently authors of Indigenous descent have also been discussing Rand. The contributions of Indigenous academics have allowed for a more inclusive and critical study of Rand.

It is impossible to study Rand's life without consulting Judith Fingard's *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB)* entry, an objective look at his contribution to the Baptist Church and Nova Scotian history as a whole. Fingard is critical of Rand but appears to sympathize with the work that he undertook. Religion was one of Fingard's research

⁴ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

interests and she is able to situate Rand within Canadian and Nova Scotian social history.⁵

Dorothy May Lovesey wrote an entire book about Rand entitled *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889: Nineteenth Century Protestant Missionary to the Micmac*. This volume was published with contributions from Acadia Divinity College and The Baptist Historical Committee and provides readers with a wealth of information about Rand, but since it was published with support from a number of religious institutions, its biases have not been overlooked.⁶

Leslie F.S. Upton critically analyzed Rand's life in *Micmac and Colonists* by discussing his failures in contrast to the successes of the Catholic Church. Upton praised Rand for his success in translating and publishing the Bible into Mi'kmaq, an initiative that prompted the Catholic Church to do the same.⁷ Although his analysis is condensed, the volume has provided historical context and allowed Rand to be compared to others in the field of ministry in Nova Scotia.

Much of the literature published by Ruth Holmes Whitehead is directly related to Rand and his contributions to the preservation of Mi'kmaw legends. The selected texts by Holmes Whitehead were published at the end of the twentieth and into the early twenty-first century. This work is focused on Mi'kmaw legends and history, much of which originated in its written form with Rand. Holmes Whitehead acknowledges Rand's contributions to the Mi'kmaw language but has endeavored to return the legends to their

⁵ "Finding Aid., 1968-2014." Accession No. MS-2-713.2014-031.

⁶ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992).

⁷ Leslie F. S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979), 167-169.

original state.⁸

While Daniel Paul is widely recognized in the field of Mi'kmaw history, his analysis of Rand is limited. *We Were Not the Savages: Collision between European and Native American Civilizations* has been studied in great detail to understand the origins of Mi'kmaw language and culture and is useful in situating Rand within it.⁹ The last and most recent text discussing Rand is *The Stone Canoe: Two Lost Mi'kmaq Texts* published in 2007. Paul, Sanger, and Syliboy have provided context for texts collected by Rand from Barss and Stevens while examining Rand's role in a critical manner.¹⁰ Rand's work is examined alongside that of Paul and Sanger, both Mi'kmaq speakers.

When studying a subject like Rand, an understanding of the relevant literature published on domestic and foreign Protestant missionary work from both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must be attempted. Although Rand was located in the Atlantic region, it has been helpful both to consult both literature which is regionally focused but also to examine what has been published on Protestant missionary work elsewhere in Canada, North America and beyond. Some sources pertaining to Catholic missionary work in Mi'kmaw communities have been consulted as well.

⁸ Ruth Holmes Whitehead. *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History 1500-1950*. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1991); Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *Six Mi'kmaq Stories* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum/Nimbus Publishing, 2010), 5-6; Ruth Holmes Whitehead. *Stories from the Six Worlds: Mi'kmaw Legends*. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2013), 234-239.

⁹ Daniel Paul, *We Were Not the Savages: Collision between European and Native American Civilizations* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2006), 4; Daniel Paul, *We Were Not the Savages: Collision between European and Native American Civilizations* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2006), 67.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Paul, Peter Sanger, and Alan Syliboy, *The Stone Canoe: Two Lost Mi'kmaq Texts* (Kentville: Gaspereau Press, 2007).

David W. Bebbington's *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* has provided significant historical context into the evangelical movement. The book is well researched and provides context for the Protestant Church on a global scale. The chapter entitled "The Practice of Faith" was particularly compelling and allowed for a more in-depth understanding of Rand in order to situate him amongst other Protestant missionaries.¹¹

Jay Riley Case's *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812-1920* contains an interesting account of Protestant missionaries among Indigenous populations. On multiple occasions Case compared the missions in Burma to those in Indigenous communities in America.¹² This type of literature has helped to situate Rand amongst men who laboured with individuals of varying heritages. This volume also contains information about translation of biblical texts into Indigenous languages, an element which so fundamentally shaped Rand's career.

Arthur M. Smith's "'Curios' from a Strange Land: The Oceania Collections of the Reverend Joseph Annand" has provided an interesting case study and opportunity to contrast Joseph Annand's personal characteristics with Rand's. Although both men originated from Nova Scotia they led very different lives and had opposing views on how to deal with individuals of Indigenous descent.¹³ Smith's article is featured in the

¹¹ David H. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2005) 82-116.

¹² Jay Riley Case, *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812-1920*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) 48-73.

¹³ Arthur M. Smith, "'Curios' from a Strange Land: The Oceania Collections of the Reverend Joseph Annand." In *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, edited by Alvyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, 262-278. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

publication *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad* and has been the most relevant of those included in that collection.

Finally, the newly published *Mixed Blessing: Indigenous Encounters with Christianity in Canada* contains Timothy Pearson's article "Reading Ritual: Performance and Religious Encounter in Early Colonial Northeastern North America". Pearson described early encounters between the Mi'kmaq and representatives of the Catholic Church and elaborated on the lack of understanding between the two groups.¹⁴ Although not directly related to Protestant missionary work, an understanding of the Catholic religious dominance among the Mi'kmaq is fundamental to this project.

Understanding Rand Through His Diaries

This thesis follows the narrative structure of Rand's life and demonstrates that Rand began his career as a missionary but really immersed himself in the Mi'kmaw language and became a much more successful linguist. Rand's struggle to convert the Mi'kmaq is at the core of this project and it represents both his biggest failure and triumph. Since he was unable to convert the Mi'kmaq due to their intimate ties to the Catholic Church he focused on the keen interest he had developed for the Mi'kmaw language. This led Rand to an experiment in translation of both biblical passages and Indigenous legends.

From there Rand continued his study by fostering multiple relationships with Mi'kmaw speakers such as Jacob Brooks and Ben Christmas. From them he learned about the culture of the Mi'kmaq in their own language and wrote down what he observed and

¹⁴ Timothy Pearson, "Reading Rituals: Performance and Religious Encounter in Early Colonial Northeastern North America," In *Mixed Blessings: Indigenous Encounters with Christianity in Canada*, edited by Tolly Bradford and Chelsea Horton, 21-37, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016) 23.

discussed. This led to the creation of written records in Mi'kmaq where so few had existed before, and none existed using Roman orthography. Few missionaries were as invested in language as Rand and that is the reason that he was successful in his pursuits. His persistence and dedication made him trustworthy as a translator. As a missionary he was meant to instill religious knowledge into the Mi'kmaq, but as a linguist he participated in a true exchange of knowledge and ideas.

Rand's legacy continues to be relevant in Atlantic Canada particularly in regards to Mi'kmaw language initiatives, of which there are many. The Mi'kmaw Digital Place Names Digital Atlas allows for an interaction between the researcher and the map and historical documents. The Indigenous and European place names are provided followed by a translation of the location's name, its county and a recording of the word being said. Since Rand contributed so heavily to the collection of these place names, his name often appears in the provenance.¹⁵ Although most are unaware of Rand's contributions, his work is woven into a number of such initiatives. In 2012, Trudy Sable and Bernie Francis published *The Language of This Land, Mi'kma'ki* in order to highlight the work being done to conserve the Mi'kmaw language.¹⁶ Since language continues to be of the utmost importance to the Mi'kmaq it is unsurprising that Rand would also be featured in this work. Unima'ki College at Cape Breton University also supports a number of initiatives regarding Mi'kmaw language and culture. In the first week of the course *Learning from Knowledge Keepers of Mi'kma'ki*, the Hereditary Chief Stephen Augustine discussed

¹⁵ Unknown (Unknown). *Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek: Mi'kmaw Place Names*. Retrieved from <http://mikmawplacenames.ca/>.

¹⁶ Trudy Sable & Bernard Francis,(2012), *The Language of This Land, Mi'kma'ki*, Sydney: Cape Breton University Press.

Rand's role in regards to conservation of the Mi'kmaw creation story.¹⁷ Augustine recognized Rand's continued significance, and highlighted his continued and lasting legacy.

This thesis explores Rand's role within the Protestant Church and his missionary activities. It examines developments over time and considers how Rand fits into broader patterns of religious and missionary work in Nova Scotia. In conducting a biographical analysis, this thesis studies Rand's successes and failures as a missionary and linguist.

This project has made use of five of Rand's diaries in order to create a better sense of his career in missions. The five diaries selected are all primarily written in English, although some Mi'kmaq and French is interspersed. All of the diaries are housed in Rand's fonds at the Esther Clark Wright Archives, Vaughan Memorial Library at Acadia University but they have also been made available through their digital collection. Luckily typed transcriptions of each of these five diaries exist and have been consulted as an alternative to Rand's own handwriting. The diaries span the entirety of Rand's career beginning in 1846, and continuing in 1864, 1866, 1870, and finishing in 1884, just five years before his death. The diaries are comparable although there is some variety in length and content.

Since Rand's biblical references were a crucial element in each of his diaries they have all been tracked and studied extensively. This component of the study allowed for a deeper understanding of Rand since he so often expressed himself by using biblical references. Since Rand preached often and passionately it was common for him to track

¹⁷ Stephen Augustine, "The Mi'kmaq Creation Story: A Philosophy of Life" (lecture, Learning from Knowledge Keepers of Mi'kma'ki, Sydney, NS, January 11, 2016).

the passages that he discussed. Some verses were more meaningful to Rand than others, while some, such as John 3.16, were amongst the first to be translated into Mi'kmaq.

The diaries have been used in conjunction with other primary and secondary sources written by and about Rand. The diaries were critical to understanding Rand and his role in nineteenth-century Nova Scotian missionary work. They also allow for an understanding of Rand's daily life and his opinion on religious matters. Some other primary source material has also been consulted but the diaries are Rand's most personal and intimate form of writing and it is for that reason that they are at the centre of this project.

Chapter Two introduces Rand in the early period of his life from 1810-1853. It reveals the loss of his mother and discusses his religious upbringing in rural Nova Scotia during the early nineteenth century.¹⁸ By explaining Rand's spiritual pilgrimage, it allows for an understanding of his choices as a young adult.¹⁹ Having been exposed to mentors such as Edward Manning, Rand was fundamentally shaped by religion as a young man.²⁰ He differentiated himself from others in his community by pursuing higher education, an option that was not accessible to most residents of rural Nova Scotia in that period. His passion for languages was apparent and he further differentiated himself from others by becoming fluent in Latin, Greek, French, Italian, German, Spanish, modern Greek, Mi'kmaq, Malecite and Mohawk.²¹

¹⁸ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

¹⁹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 13-17.

²⁰ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

²¹ *Ibid.*

Instead of continuing to work in bricklaying, the profession pursued by most of the males in his family, Rand began teaching and finally pursued a career in ministry. Rand spent the early part of his career in the Baptist Church and found meaning in the work that he conducted. Rand collected funds for the Church and *The Christian Messenger* and contributed to its publication as a writer as well.²² Rand's work required him to be away from his family for long periods of time and created emotional and financial stress for he and his wife.

In 1846 Rand began to study the Mi'kmaw language after making the acquaintance of Jacob Brooks. Brooks laboured alongside Rand for a number of years as a teacher as well as a translator.²³ Through a familial connection of Brooks', Rand met Susan Barss and collected a number of Mi'kmaw legends from her.²⁴ Rand and his family moved to Prince Edward Island but he continued to visit other communities as part of his role as a missionary. Rand realized that although the Mi'kmaq had adopted the Catholic faith they remained without written religious texts in their language and this prompted Rand to act. In providing these texts Rand expected some of the Mi'kmaq to adopt the Baptist faith but this did not happen.

In garnering support for the initiatives that he pursued Rand founded the MMS in 1849.²⁵ This society was meant to support initiatives spearheaded by Rand which he

²² Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 44.

²⁵ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

could identify as having value for individuals of Mi'kmaw descent. Rand sympathized with the Mi'kmaq and treated them with respect. His sympathy and understanding inspired him and members of the Protestant community largely supported him at first.

Many of these aspects of Rand's life explored in Chapter Two become points of reference later on in this project. Elements of Rand's character have been documented and any deviation or change has been noted. Rand's tumultuous career has led to a contested legacy leaving critics and supporters divided. Most think of Rand simply as a failed missionary and although this can be argued, he became so much more than that.

Chapter Three opens with Rand's move back to Nova Scotia in 1854 and focuses on his career until 1872. Within this chapter Rand's behavioural and spiritual changes are observed in great detail. Upon his move to Hantsport Rand's concern for the Mi'kmaq was increasingly weighing on him. He assisted a number of Mi'kmaw chiefs with a petition by translating the document into English, a situation explained in detail by Upton.²⁶ In the years after returning to Nova Scotia Rand purchased a plot of land and intended to model it after Christian Missionary settlements in the United States.²⁷ This land was meant to support Mi'kmaw initiatives with resources and funding.

Rand's Week of Prayer from 1864 is discussed in great detail since his diary from early 1864 was left as a written record of the occurrence. Rand's participation in this religious celebration allowed him to devote himself to individual and group reflection. Rand questioned the work that he was pursuing but continued to find meaning in it. By spending so much time in personal reflection he felt a renewed sense of passion for

²⁶ Leslie F. S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979), 135.

²⁷ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 114-115.

ministry and studied the lives of others invested in this sort of work including David Brainerd and John Chase.²⁸ Later on that same year Rand was inspired by George Müller and decided to no longer beg for money to support his mission, and he chose instead to invest himself in prayer.²⁹ This alternative led to a number of changes within the MMS and he was questioned by a number of supporters but Rand continued on.

Rand's diary from 1866 is then discussed in conjunction with his participation in the Sixteenth Session of the Eastern Baptist Association of Nova Scotia. Most of the diary is spent exploring Rand's visits to a number of communities. Rand was largely dissatisfied with decisions made in the Baptist Church and he began to express himself more openly about his discontent. Rand's relationships with other missionaries such as Hannah Norris are explained since Rand figured prominently in Norris' early career as a missionary. Always eager to discuss his passion for religion Rand continued to preach and continued to make connections in Mi'kmaw communities. Rand contemplated connecting with Müller in person but a trip to Europe was never realized.³⁰

Finally, Chapter Three focuses on Rand's interest in the Plymouth Brethren. Rand had been interested in Müller for a number of years and began to study the group as he experienced a decline of interest in the Baptist Church. Rand was being interrogated and judged by members of his own denomination and this, too, led to his discontent. Rand found himself at the centre of controversy and knew not how to avoid it. Rand continued his translations and immersed himself further in his study of the Mi'kmaw language.

²⁸ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 1-24, 1864.

²⁹ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

³⁰ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, July 14-September 8, 1866.

Rand's commitment to the Baptist Church was challenged in the years leading up to 1872 and it was at this point that he was excommunicated. Although Rand had aligned himself more closely with the Plymouth Brethren his wife struggled with the change for she too was excommunicated as a result of Rand's actions. After refusing to beg for money Rand's life changed and he received increasing pressure from his own denomination. This created tension and led to increased conflict between Rand and the Baptist Church. Rand had no choice but to leave and his life changed significantly as a result.³¹

Finally, Chapter Four is a study of Rand's life as an aging man and focuses on his career after his departure from the Baptist Church. Rand's life from 1873 to 1889 was spent at the centre of controversy once again. Although initially welcomed to the Plymouth Brethren, Rand spoke his mind and was judged harshly by his new religious community. His excommunication by this group led to his return to the Baptist Church just five years before his death.³² Rand's life was spent in conflict with the religious communities with which he aligned himself and this created a lot of internal struggles for Rand. He was rarely at peace but continued to uphold his passion for religion until his death.

He continued to preach when not preoccupied with having his Mi'kmaw dictionary published. Rand's diary from 1884 is littered with references to his dictionary

³¹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 24-October 11, 1870 ; Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

³² Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

and his desire to have it published. Rand returned to his use of colportage since he had little luck procuring funds without begging. This struggle resulted in the dissolution of the MMS in 1870 and increased financial constraints in Rand's personal life. In deciding to beg for money Rand collected the financial and emotional support that he needed and was recognized for the work that he was completing.³³ He continued to pray for support and appears to have struck a balance between the two methods of seeking support.

This chapter concludes with an examination of the secondary literature published about Rand by leading scholars in the field. Each perceive him critically but none examine Rand in the way attempted in this thesis. Rand struggled as a missionary but as a linguist he flourished. He fostered meaningful relationships with individuals of Mi'kmaw descent and assisted in the conservation of Mi'kmaq as a written language. Although his life was tumultuous and full of change Rand continued to express himself and pursue his interests in language until his death. Rand was a figure unlike most and for that he remains an outlier in Nova Scotian history.

³³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, March 19, 1884-February 21, 1885.

CHAPTER 2

Rand's Early Years: Childhood and Spiritual Awakening, 1810-1853

Introduction

Silas Tertius Rand was born in 1810, and raised in rural Nova Scotia.¹ At the time individuals and families from Europe were being encouraged to settle in the Atlantic Provinces in order to populate and establish an agricultural industry in the region. The land that these emigrants received was originally part of Turtle Island-the region now commonly referred to by its colonial name of Canada -and was home to various groups of Indigenous peoples, including the Mi'kmaq, the Maliseet and the Passamaquoddy. Once European colonists began to establish relationships with the Indigenous peoples they began to occupy the land and commodify its resources in a variety of ways. They also brought their religion with them; and the Catholic and Protestant Churches flourished in Nova Scotia. Rand was born into a period of intense change in the pre-Confederation era.

This chapter explores Rand's early life and ministerial career, a period which explains his actions later in life. It is only by understanding the context in which Rand was raised that one is able to understand the decisions that shaped his career. With Rand's passion for education and languages it is no surprise that he quickly became fascinated with the Mi'kmaq and strived to preserve their language. As a missionary Rand is largely regarded as a failure for having converted only a small percentage of the Mi'kmaw population to the Baptist Church. Much of this stems from twentieth century academics such as Leslie Upton and Judith Fingard, who have both written about Rand extensively.

¹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 7.

However, the term failure is problematic when applied to Rand because as this thesis argues, it is within his translating and linguistic work that his real success remains.

Rand's Youth, Introduction to and Adoption of the Baptist Faith, 1810-1832

Silas Tertius Rand was born on May 18, 1810 in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia. Rand's father-also named Silas-had twenty-two children and three wives over the course of his life. Rand's mother, Deborah Tupper, died in his infancy. Rand attributed much of his creative nature and love of learning to his mother and adopted her Baptist faith.²

Rand's relatives emigrated to Nova Scotia and settled once land became available after the expulsion of the Acadians.³ Nova Scotia was still sparsely populated and most of its colonial population continued to depend on subsistence farming. Rand's family was no different, although the men also gained employment from their familial craft: bricklaying.⁴ After the death of his mother Rand and his siblings were relocated among family for a number of months.⁵ It is likely that situation contributed very negatively to Rand's childhood and he never established a good relationship with his father's third wife. This may also have led to a large number of behavioral issues that Rand had as a child; throughout his life Rand was quite candid about his hostility towards his stepmother, Eunice Schofield.⁶

² Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 7-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed September 11, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

⁵ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 7-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

In the early nineteenth century, little was established in the way of formal education for children across Nova Scotia, as much of the population lived in rural communities.⁷ When education was offered to children, it was during periods when they were not needed on the farm and when a qualified teacher could be found. Neither of Rand's parents received much formal education, but wished better for their children and allowed them to be educated when the opportunity arose. Rand learned to spell and read throughout the summers, while in winter he and the other children would spend their time learning writing, arithmetic, and reading.⁸ Rand spent four winters learning under various teachers and masters, and although few had received much formal education themselves they did their best to educate their students.⁹ Although not overly fond of formal education as a child, Rand would later find joy in learning.

Rand possessed a skill for memorization, and after mastering a subject it is not surprising that Rand himself became a hired tutor.¹⁰ At the age of twenty-three Rand spent a month at Horton Academy to study Latin. Jeremiah S. Clark discusses this period of Rand's life in *Rand and the Micmacs*, published in 1899.¹¹ Based on Rand's diaries, Clark was able to write a biographical sketch of Rand's time at Horton. According to Clark, Rand was quoted as having said:

[M]y first lesson in Latin was taken the first night of the four weeks I spent in Horton Academy. I heard a fellow-student, the late Wellington Jackson, repeat over and over again: 'The words opus and usus signifying 'need', require the ablative, as, Est opus pecunia, 'There is need of money.' That rule,

⁷ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹¹ Jeremiah Clark, *Rand and the Micmacs*, (Charlottetown: The Examiner Office, 1899), 4.

and the truth it contained, was so impressed upon my memory, and was such a perfect illustration of my own circumstances that I never forgot it.¹²

Lovesey verifies Rand's statement and says, "[I]n a very real sense it was to be the leit motif of all his activities throughout his life."¹³ Rand's time at Horton was short; he continued to work at bricklaying to make a decent living.¹⁴ He used the money that he earned to purchase appropriate attire to wear while teaching.¹⁵ This was a transitional period in Rand's life and he was exposed to new experiences and people far different from those he had known in Cornwallis. Rand wrote of himself as being an individual of "insufferable awkwardness," and it was his hope to outgrow this tendency and achieve more for himself.¹⁶

During childhood Rand was exposed to religion in a number of ways. Rand's mother was a practicing Baptist and Rand knew this.¹⁷ Her parents were also Baptists and upon their daughter's death they briefly cared for their grandson.¹⁸ Rand learned to pray, and became immersed in their religious teachings. Rand's own spiritual pilgrimage took place over the span of a decade and can be divided into three specific stages or occurrences. Rand's interest in religion peaked at a young age and divided his pilgrimage

¹² Jeremiah Clark, *Rand and the Micmacs*, (Charlottetown: The Examiner Office, 1899), 4.

¹³ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 11.

¹⁴ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003—, accessed September 11, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

¹⁵ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 11-12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8, 15.

into time spent with his grandparents, the occurrence of a very vivid dream, and the attendance at prayer meetings with the Baptist Church.

At the age of ten Rand spent the summer with his maternal grandparents and they often spent time in prayer. They commonly discussed elements of the Baptist religion with him, and, even at a young age, Rand had already begun to construct his own ideas and dogma regarding sin and hell. Over the course of the summer Rand underwent the first stage of his pilgrimage as his grandmother urged him to change his mischievous ways and fully adopt the Baptist faith. He felt assured of his own salvation, but at times still worried about the wellbeing of others.¹⁹ Upon returning home Rand fell into behavior unbecoming of a Christian. At times this behaviour was targeted towards his stepmother, but Lovesey argues that “[t]oday he might be described as emotionally disturbed.”²⁰ Rand enjoyed wrestling, playing the flute, singing popular songs and making up acrostics for the entertainment of others; however, this sort of behaviour was judged as immoral in the beginning of the nineteenth century by staunch practicing Baptists.²¹

At the age of fourteen Rand underwent the second stage of his spiritual pilgrimage. This incident took the form of a dream, which Rand never forgot, and which left a lasting impact on him. In the vision Rand and a few friends assemble by his family home. As the home is close to the Cornwallis River, the young comrades realize that they will have to traverse it, but are discouraged from doing so by an enticer disguised as an imp. They are told that if they were to embark on this pilgrimage, it “would mean the end

¹⁹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 14-15.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

of all play and frolic and lead to a life of melancholy and gloom.”²² After some deliberation, Rand is the only one to continue on the pilgrimage. As he embarks on his journey, the path is foreign and he is left to fend off Satan as he enters a barn. As Rand crosses a stream, Satan strikes and pierces his skull. A spirit removes the nail piercing Rand’s skull and Satan no longer disturbs him. Upon entering a building Rand wonders which hall or door he is to enter and remains uncertain. Rand is told “go and clean out your stables.”²³ Rand interpreted two meanings from this: the first was a need to organize his life and straighten himself out; and the second was a reminder of having cleaned the stables when he cared for cattle as a child. Rand’s employer, Henry Marchant, then attempted to awake him from his dream, but Rand fell asleep at once. Rand recalled that upon falling back asleep he went through the door in his dream with no obstacle. When he was awoken for the second time, he felt as though he knew that he was to become a Christian, and as God had intended.²⁴ Rand then started listening to others preach, attending Baptist Association meetings, and reading additional religious texts.

The third period of Rand’s pilgrimage was a decade later, when he began attending prayer meetings after working with other men interested in the Baptist faith. Soon after Rand’s baptism, he felt as though it was his duty to preach to others. A figure featured prominently in Rand’s childhood was Edward Manning, a renowned Baptist minister in Nova Scotia.²⁵ Manning’s family was originally of Irish Roman Catholic ancestry, but upon their arrival in Nova Scotia they converted to the Protestant faith.

²² Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 13,.

²³ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

Popular Protestant preachers Henry Alline and John Payzant influenced Manning as a young man. Manning joined Payzant's New Light Congregational Church at the end of the eighteenth century and spent the rest of his life preaching to others in the Maritimes.²⁶ Manning was not without controversies and was even arrested at one point for preaching without a license in New Brunswick. As pastor of the Cornwallis New Light Congregational Church, Manning had a parish of Baptist and Congregationalists followers. Having a mixed congregation lead to issues, and in 1807 Manning left to form his own Baptist congregation.²⁷ For almost half a century Manning remained the pastor of the First Cornwallis Baptist Church, and it is here that he made the acquaintance of Rand's family. When Rand became interested in the Baptist faith, Manning was the first man he heard preach. ²⁸ Lovesey claimed that "it was [he] who looked after Rand as a 'wayward youth', baptized him, laid hands on him in ordination to the ministry of the Christian Church, treated him in every respect like a son and loved him as a child."²⁹ Rand was baptized and joined the Billtown Baptist Church, in December 1832.³⁰

Rand's Early Career as a Minister and Subscription Agent with *The Christian Messenger*, 1833-1854

Preaching was a craft, and as with any other skill it required patience and determination in order to succeed. Early in his career Rand did not always feel confident in his abilities as an orator, and often documented his failures and triumphs in his

²⁶ Barry M. Moody, "MANNING, EDWARD," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed September 15, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/manning_edward_8E.html.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

diaries.³¹ When he was twenty-four Rand began to preach with the Baptist church in Westbrook, just two years after being baptized into the Baptist Church. In his first few years of preaching Rand felt inadequate although he attempted as best he could to meet the needs of his congregation.³² Rand reflected on his time in Westbrook by saying “[T]he little Baptist church has struggled thro’ many difficulties and must I think sunk, unless they have a pastor. It is a large field for labor, but it is a missionary field. I am not sure as I did right to leave them.”³³ Before leaving the church Rand suggested that the Baptist Missionary Fund establish a permanent mission to Westbrook- he was of the opinion that small communities such as this were in need of a full time minister in order to flourish.³⁴

Throughout the majority of Rand’s career, he was very closely linked with *The Christian Messenger and Repository of Religious, Literary and General Intelligence for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick*, more commonly known as *The Christian Messenger*. Rand’s relationship with the publication was unusual as he acted not only as a subscriber to *The Christian Messenger*, but he was also an avid contributor and subscription agent for the volume. *The Christian Messenger* was in circulation from 1837 until 1885, when it was amalgamated with *The Christian Visitor*.³⁵ Rand wrote often and passionately for the publication, and at times letters written for his wife, or in-laws would appear within its pages. Within his diary he discussed his thoughts about the publication. On September 5,

³¹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 17-18.

³² *Ibid.*, 18-19.

³³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 10, 1846.

³⁴ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 20.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

1846 Rand wrote “[R]ead the Messenger while there containing my last opin. They altered an abridged it so much that I was ashamed and determined not to write any more.”³⁶ Although Rand was unimpressed with this specific situation, he continued to contribute in the *Christian Messenger* for years after.

In 1838, after spending some time at Horton Academy, Rand arrived in Liverpool as the new pastor for the local Baptist Church. Here he met the woman who would become his wife and the mother of his children, Jane Elizabeth McNutt.³⁷ Little is known about Jane, but she seemed to be strong willed simply because she was often left to care for her family while Rand travelled considerable distances, leaving the mother of twelve at home for months at a time. Rand often thought about his wife and wrote about her in his diaries. On September 5, 1846 Rand wrote: “I would have given anything to have just gone into my own neat little cottage, and told all my troubles to one who would have sympathized with me, and cheered me with her smiles.”³⁸ Although Jane did not always agree with her husband’s decisions, she stood with him regardless and even influenced some of his decisions.

At one point Rand considered relocating his family to Burma for a missionary position but he ultimately declined the offer since Jane was opposed.³⁹ Jane believed that the work that Rand was doing among the Mi’kmaw people was of the utmost importance

³⁶ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 5, 1846.

³⁷ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 23.

³⁸ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 5, 1846

³⁹ Judith Fingard, “RAND, SILAS TERTIUS,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed September 16, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

and he alludes to that in a letter written to William Chipman in 1848. In the letter Rand states,

I thank you for your remarks respecting the agitated proposal of my going to Burmah. I may as well say at once that I have given up all idea of it. Mrs. Rand firmly refuses to go, and unless her heart were to in the work and mine also, it would be idle to think of it. I suppose probably that were I more constantly engaged in the work of the Lord, and hopeful of a truly Missionary Spirit, she would be so too, but if I may draw my own conclusion respecting the interest she would feel in the poor, degraded, savage, ignorant Karens and Burmese from her affection for the negroes and Indians I would only expect her cordial carnifice in a Mission among them upon the consideration that I would never attempt to learn their language and never permit one of them to come near the house; not take up a lodgment where there would be the slightest danger of coming in contact with them.⁴⁰

For the time being they remained in Liverpool, as Rand's work with the Mi'kmaq would not commence for another decade. Rand spent his time preaching to his congregation and instructing children at the local Sunday school while also setting off on "begging excursions" across the province.⁴¹ It was his duty to collect subscribers for *The Christian Messenger* and this meant that he had to visit communities throughout the province in order to obtain their information and-more importantly-their money. Rand's diary from 1846 is focused primarily on these collecting initiatives as he attempted to collect subscribers in each community that he visited. According to his diaries, it appears that he had luck collecting subscribers particularly among fellow clergymen and the people with whom Rand typically boarded. On September 18, 1846, Rand wrote: "Mr. Campbell agreed to take the Messenger. He told his wife very pleasantly, who came in just as he was paying in advance that he was taking a paper on purpose for her."⁴² Later that day he

⁴⁰ Silas Tertius Rand, Letter to William Chipman, 1848, 1.

⁴¹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 25.

⁴² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 18, 1846.

mentions having collected a total of 67 subscribers since the beginning of his trip on the fifth of September.⁴³

A religious revival was taking place in Liverpool at the end of Rand's tenure there and it was ultimately up to him whether he would remain pastor.⁴⁴ He decided to relocate his family to Windsor, but agreed to participate in a missionary trip before settling into his new position. It was at this time that Rand lost his first-born son, Edmund Crawley Rand. His wife and his two other children were also sick, but they did not perish.⁴⁵ Rand's work continued but he suffered emotionally from the trauma of losing his son. Before long Rand and his family established themselves in Windsor and were soon accepted as members of the Windsor Baptist Church. Rand's contract stipulated that his time was to be spent preaching within the community, but that a quarter of the year was to be spent on missionary trips throughout the province. He was to continue gathering support for both *The Christian Messenger* and the Education Society, the latter to finance the education of young pupils in Nova Scotia.⁴⁶

The excursions he was undertaking were beginning to take a toll on Rand's morale:

I am comforting myself with the hope of seeing home in about a week. I have not heard from my wife since I left Windsor, and have not written for some time. I fear she is very uneasy about me. My mind is very dark. Alas I take no comfort in secret prayer. I do not omit it, but I do not know what I shall do. This agency business is bad for the mind. I am mainly of the opinion that a minister should never be thus employed.⁴⁷

⁴³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 18, 1846.

⁴⁴ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 31.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 18, 1846.

The Baptist Church had very high expectations for Rand and he did his best to meet their goals, although they only grew with his success. His diary from 1846 is largely spent expressing anguish over being far from his wife and children. He often devoted time to thinking about them: “I am fearful my wife and family will want for food and especially for wood.”⁴⁸ Although Rand was challenged by the nature and quantity of work that he was being expected to complete, he thought his work was noteworthy and that is in part why he decided to record it in his diary. There are two instances when Rand claims to be writing for the benefit of others. The first occurrence of this can be found on September 5, 1846, when Rand states: “I have since thought it might be beneficial to myself to keep a particular journal, and may also serve to amuse my dear companion at some future day when I am absent.”⁴⁹ The second instance was on September 18th 1846, when Rand claimed: “[B]usiness has prevented me from writing in my journal for some days. I now resume with the hope that the eyes of one besides myself will at some future day be gratified with looking over what I write.”⁵⁰ It may seem as though the first of the two quotes may be targeted towards his wife, mentioned here as his dear companion, although one could easily argue that Rand may also have anticipated that future clergymen and academics might perhaps have seen worth in his career at a later date.

Lovesey argued that,

[T]he diary, or journal that he wrote was, he said, for the delectation of “his dear companion” who was far from him. As such he introduces items into it that perhaps he considered more palatable for a female reader- as

⁴⁸ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 6, 1846.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, September 5, 1846.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, September 18, 1846.

did Bunyan in Christiana's pilgrimage-and in so doing discloses a side of his nature usually hidden.⁵¹

Lovesey knew, like all who study Rand, that John Bunyan influenced him, and perhaps she is correct in claiming that Rand wrote similarly to Bunyan. Bunyan was a Baptist preacher from seventeenth-century England, as well as a prolific writer, having published a great deal-including the volume *The Pilgrim's Progress*.⁵² Lovesey calls Rand "a nineteenth century counterpart of "the Immortal Dreamer".⁵³ This publication featured largely in Rand's childhood and would most likely have been one of the only sources of reading material available to the young boy besides the King James Version of the Bible.⁵⁴ It was typical of Rand to highlight specific biblical verses in his diaries; he was able to express himself with the aid of these quotes, and he often made parallels with what was happening in his life. While some of his later diaries had dozens of these biblical references, this specific diary from 1846 has only three. On September 18, 1846, Rand stated: "I had an interesting season in preaching to them from my favorite text. I have waited for thy Salvation O Lord. Gen 49: 1 vs. In the afternoon I preached it again."⁵⁵ According to the King James Version of the Bible Genesis 49 verse 1 is as follows: "And Jacob called unto his sons, and said. Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you *that* which shall befall you in the last days."⁵⁶ In the diaries consulted this biblical verse is never again mentioned; this is peculiar since Rand stated that it was his favourite.

⁵¹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 26-27.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁵⁵ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 18, 1846.

⁵⁶ Gen. 49: 1 King James Version

Rand's preoccupation with sleep and dreams began in childhood, and continued through every period of his life; his early ministerial career was no exception. As an adult he often documented his dreams in his diaries, including that of 1846. On September 18, 1846, Rand hypothesizes about his dreams. He states: "I was much disturbed by dream however, which I suppose arose from my going to bed with a full stomach."⁵⁷ Rand's sleep patterns were typical of many clergymen in the nineteenth century. Sleep was often fractured and segmented by prayer or meditation.⁵⁸ Because Rand typically travelled by himself, much of this time would have been spent in solitude, while others would have prayed in groups. A. Roger Ekirch discusses this pattern of sleep and meditation in "Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-industrial Slumber in the British Isles", a study of patterns in the British Empire based on historical documents, like diaries such as Rand's.

These types of documents are also key to uncovering information about the social and economic context of nineteenth century Nova Scotia. Rand often discussed the communities that he visited and their economic, and religious habits. The most detailed example of this in Rand's 1846 diary would have been from September 11, 1846 when he spent a great deal of time explaining River Philip, the community. Rand visited this community to obtain subscribers for *The Christian Messenger*, but fills the pages of his diary with a full description of the community. He begins the passage by explaining the location of the village and comments on the excellent quality of its harbour. He then mentions an abundance of forest, fishing and coal resources, as well as the quality of the land in this region, and finishes his analysis by saying: "[G]reat improvements have been

⁵⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 18, 1846.

⁵⁸ A. Roger Ekirch, "Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-industrial Slumber in the British Isles," *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 2 (2001), 344.

made within 6 years. The place is thriving wonderfully. Houses are being erected, ships are building, and an appearance of industry presents itself on every side.”⁵⁹ Another example of this kind of commentary can be observed on September 5, 1846, as Rand mentioned visiting Scotch Bay, and wrote in his diary: “I learned that the moral condition of the inhabitants is truly deplorable. They have no preaching, the Sabbath day is spent in idle gossiping except in fishing season, when they fish on Sunday the same as any other day.”⁶⁰ This behaviour was unacceptable in Rand’s opinion and could easily be rectified if the community had a stronger religious presence. Later on in the same day Rand recounts having visited Cape Blomidon and states: “[A] great change has taken place among the young. The church is in a low condition. They have no Pastor, and some difficulties have arisen among them.”⁶¹ Later on in the passage he questions: “[C]ould I be supported here, (but of this there is no prospect).”⁶² Rand felt it was his duty to convert as many people as he could to the Baptist faith; he thought that this could resolve the majority of the community’s issues.

As a preacher, Rand would not have been expected to maintain a regular daily schedule, which in the nineteenth century would largely have been dependent on crops and other agriculture. He would have travelled to various communities to preach and collect subscribers for *The Christian Messenger*. Throughout his 1846 diary it would seem as though Rand often fulfilled additional roles within communities throughout Nova Scotia. On September 10, 1846, Rand was in River Philip at the home of W. H. Mills. In his diary Rand recounts: “[H]ere I had an opportunity of relieving pain and thus

⁵⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 11, 1846.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, September 5, 1846.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

of contributing some thing to the happiness of mankind. For whoever removes any thing from the heap of misery or contributes anything to the little heap of happiness, has, done so much towards the general good.”⁶³ Rand removed three teeth from the mouth of a very large man, and decided to measure the bust of the man: 4 feet 10 inches.⁶⁴ So it would seem that Rand at times acted as a dentist but this diary reveals instances where he also acted as a doctor for the community in which he found himself. On September 21, 1846, Rand attempted to find lodging after a long day of travel. Initially he was turned away because there was a sick woman in the house, but after some discussion he was allowed to care for her: “I felt her pulse & found it very strong & regular, so concluding she taken a sudden cold, I recommended a dose of peppermint which I furnished, and then recommended bathing her feet, in warm water.”⁶⁵ In caring for this woman, Rand was able to secure lodging for himself and his horse at no cost. Rand would most likely have thought it his duty to assist the woman in her time of need, but would have been overjoyed that his services were being rewarded. Rand was never secure financially, and these sorts of gifts would have meant a great deal to him, as they would have alleviated some of his financial burdens. Both of these occurrences are also evidence of the fact that Rand was respected within the communities that he visited; he was educated, and the people for whom he cared trusted him. In many ways, this responsibility and obligation is what would be expected of Rand for the next four decades of his career throughout the Atlantic region.

⁶³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 10, 1846.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, September 21, 1846.

Interest in the Mi'kmaw Language and Culture, 1846-1853

Rand's interest in the Mi'kmaw language was the most consistent element in his life. Although he kept a diary from September 5 to 21, 1846, he does not once mention any interaction with anyone of Mi'kmaw descent. This is quite unusual when compared to his later diaries which are full of remarks about the Mi'kmaq. He and his family settled in Prince Edward Island the previous year, but Rand has not yet become fully occupied by his study of the Mi'kmaw language. According to Lovesey, Rand thought of Mi'kmaq as "the language he loved best."⁶⁶ In the past Rand had been both fascinated and interested in the Mi'kmaw language, and culture. In the beginning this was primarily because Rand thought that all men were equal under God. Rand believed that it was a travesty that colonialists took both territory and resources from the Indigenous peoples upon their arrival to what is now commonly known as Canada. He recognized that the Indigenous Peoples had occupied that land for generations and that it was unjustly taken from them.

According to Lovesey it would seem as though Rand met a Mi'kmaw man during one of his missionary trips in 1839 and took it upon himself to learn the proper terminology for certain words in his language.⁶⁷ Rand is quoted as having written the following about the exchange: "I parted with him with an earnest wish that we might dwell together in that bright world, where all the little distinctions which exist among fellow worms will be laid aside, and the Indian, the African and the white man... will

⁶⁶ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 55.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 25.

unite for ever in praising and adoring His name.”⁶⁸ Rand struggled with the indifference that most people demonstrated towards the Indigenous peoples of the region.⁶⁹

Six years later, while in Amherst at the Meeting of the Baptist Association, Rand was asked to assist Professor Isaac Chipman collect archival material pertaining to the Baptists, the Mi’kmaq and the Acadians.⁷⁰ Sadly, most of what they collected for this project was lost in a subsequent fire.⁷¹ It was apparent that Rand had a keen interest in languages, and it is at this point that Chipman encouraged him to begin his study of the Mi’kmaw language. Chipman had other interests as a professor of mathematics and natural science, therefore he tasked Rand with the study of language and culture.⁷² Rand began with learning the basics of the language by interacting with Mi’kmaw speakers while continuing to travel on missionary trips around the region.

In 1846 Rand was sent to Charlottetown by the Baptist Church in order to serve as minister for the Baptist Church. The Home Mission Board covered half of the cost and the other was supplied by the special missionary fund.⁷³ Once in Prince Edward Island Rand did his best to acquire any sort of written material he could locate about the Mi’kmaw language-with little success. The Roman Catholic Church had been converting the Mi’kmaq for a number of years, and they had texts written in Mi’kmaw. These texts were written in a form of hieroglyphs, which Lovesey compares to Chinese characters.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 26.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 35-36.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

Rand therefore took it upon himself to begin assembling a dictionary, a project that he continued to build upon for decades.

Rand's primary goal was to offer the Mi'kmaw people biblical texts in their own language, despite struggling with the basic tenants of the language. It was at this point that Rand met Joe Brooks, the man that propelled his study of the Mi'kmaw language forward.⁷⁵ Brooks was of French descent, he chose not to go by his father's surname which was Ruisseaux. Brooks spoke French, English and Mi'kmaq with ease and had married a second Mi'kmaw woman, after his first Mi'kmaw wife had passed away.⁷⁶ Rand became Brooks' pupil, and he received compensation for the work that he completed. Captain John Orlebar, an Episcopalian, supplied this compensation because he saw value in the work that Rand was pursuing with Brooks.⁷⁷ Brooks was known to Rand as "my first Indian teacher", and the two men remained very close and sometimes even Brooks' son Tom helped Rand with his work.⁷⁸ According to Paul, Sanger, and Syliboy in *The Stone Canoe*, Brooks went by Patrick at first; however, he decided later on to go by Joseph instead. They provide a great deal more information about Brooks, and go on to say that Brooks' father was a sailor of French descent who married a German woman after being taken as a prisoner of war during the American Revolution. Brooks was born in Clements, and was taught to read as a child, though he never learned to write. Brooks' father was employed as a potter, while Brooks' himself was to be a

⁷⁵ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed September 20, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

⁷⁶ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 39.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 39.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 199, 40.

blacksmith. He grew tired of the work quickly and chose instead to run away for a number of years. Upon his return he settled within a Mi'kmaw community and got married, not once but twice. He, his second wife and children moved to Prince Edward Island where he met and developed his working relationship with Rand.⁷⁹

The two men worked tirelessly to achieve any measure of success with their translation, and the first biblical text to be translated was John 3.16. According to the King James Version of the Bible the verse is as follows: "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."⁸⁰ When Rand began his study of the Mi'kmaw language he observed similarities with Hebrew, and when he was establishing the letters of the alphabet he settled on twenty, the same number used in Hebrew.⁸¹

His linguistic pursuits occupied the majority of his time at this point in his career, and although it was exhausting work, Rand felt inspired by it:

[I]t cannot be expected that everybody will know how to appreciate an undertaking of this kind, much less that they can understand what satisfaction there can be in sitting hour by hour by the side of a poor Indian, until one's head and hand and heart ache – catching from his lips and transmitting to paper, utterances of such unmanageable length and sound, as some of the words present.⁸²

Although the language that Rand is using is problematic, he is clearly passionate about his work. He is correct that the majority of people in the Maritime Provinces in the

⁷⁹ Elizabeth Paul, Peter Sanger, and Alan Syliboy, *The Stone Canoe: Two Lost Mi'kmaq Texts* (Kentville: Gaspereau Press, 2007), 19-21.

⁸⁰ John 3:16 King James Version.

⁸¹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 40.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 40.

nineteenth century would not see any value in his translation work, but he continued to do so anyway.

As the Mi'kmaq traditionally depended on oral tradition to pass along knowledge and information between generations, Rand's work was in a sense revolutionary and this is where his success continues to lie. In the summer of 1847 Brooks and Rand met with a woman, Susan Barss, who told them stories that Rand translated and transcribed, "the earliest piece of indigenous Canadian literature recorded in its original language" according to *The Stone Canoe*.⁸³ Barss told Rand the story of Glooscap, and he was the first person to put this story to paper. Lovesey spent very little time recounting this event in her book, but the authors of *The Stone Canoe* have devoted a large portion of their book to it.

Case writes about the difference between missionary translation in Indigenous communities in the United States and that done in overseas missions. In domestic missionary work translation was less encouraged compared to the sort of work being done in Burma for example. Few missionaries translated the Bible into Indigenous languages within the United States but many did translating work in Burma.⁸⁴ Rand can therefore be noted as an outlier in the Protestant Church. Rand took the time to learn the Mi'kmaw language in order to communicate with the Indigenous population.

Rand had a number of supporters, individuals who financially contributed to the MMS. This group of likeminded individuals though they were of different faiths, were instrumental in Rand's eventual pursuit of and attempt at evangelism among the

⁸³ Elizabeth Paul, Peter Sanger, and Alan Syliboy, *The Stone Canoe: Two Lost Mi'kmaq Texts* (Kentville: Gaspereau Press, 2007), 17.

⁸⁴ Jay Riley Case, *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812-1920*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) 34.

Mi'kmaq. All Protestant, Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian and Baptist, they pushed for a mission among the Mi'kmaq.⁸⁵ Rand saw this as an opportunity to strengthen bonds between denominations. This finally became a pressing issue to the Baptist Board of Home Mission in Nova Scotia, and in 1847, Rand was assigned to the task. It was decided by the Association that Rand was to visit the Mi'kmaq throughout the Atlantic provinces. Rand was to expose them to enlightenment and salvation in the hopes that they would convert, while also continuing to build upon his knowledge of the Mi'kmaq language.⁸⁶ Rand took this task very seriously and it was expected that he would convert a large number of Mi'kmaq to the Baptist faith.

Rand knew how difficult this work was, and expressed himself freely about the need to support missionaries in the Maritimes. He knew that missionary work performed elsewhere would garner support, and people could understand the difficulties associated with this sort of work. One such missionary was Joseph Annand, used here as a point of comparison to Rand. Both men were born in Nova Scotia, but while Rand remained in Canada to preach amongst the Mi'kmaq, Annand spent a number of years in overseas missionary work in Vanuatu.⁸⁷ Annand's study of the Indigenous language was tedious and difficult, while Rand's was stimulating and enjoyable since he did not avoid interacting with the Indigenous Peoples. Annand limited his interactions with the locals and did not respect their way of life as Smith writes:

⁸⁵ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 40-41.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁸⁷ Arthur M. Smith, "'Curios' from a Strange Land: The Oceania Collections of the Reverend Joseph Annand." In *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, edited by Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, 262-278. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 264-265.

Annand was determined to stamp out traditional native practices, or ‘*kastom*,’ through the introduction of Western material culture, including European style dress, meals and homes, church organ music, and English as the language of instruction at the Teacher Training Institution at Tangoa. While promoting the cause of ‘salvation ethnography,’ Annand firmly believed in the superiority of Western culture and Christianity, much to the detriment of local ‘*kastom*.’⁸⁸

Annand’s way of thinking was in stark contrast to Rand’s and although both laboured amongst Indigenous populations, Rand was respectful and admired the Mi’kmaq while Annand wanted them to adopt a Western-style of thinking. Both men retired to Hantsport but Annand was around three decades younger than Rand.⁸⁹ Both of these men fit into the larger image of nineteenth-century Protestant missionary work in Canada and abroad.

Rand argued that he, too, had suffered difficult trials and dealt with issues regarding language, and as stated by Lovesey “work, hardship and deprivation is the same, as is the need.”⁹⁰ In order to raise money for the Home Mission Fund Rand delivered a speech on June 25, 1849 about the history of the Baptist Association of Nova Scotia at a meeting in Wolfville. This speech was subsequently published, with all funds being donated to the fund.⁹¹ It is at this time that Rand expressed a critical aspiration to work with Mi’kmaq as a missionary. Rand did his best to balance his time between the Mi’kmaq and his congregations in Prince Edward Island.

Rand’s concern for the Mi’kmaq continued to grow, and in November of 1849 the MMS was founded, which served the needs of the Mi’kmaw people living in the

⁸⁸ Arthur M. Smith, “ ‘Curios’ from a Strange Land: The Oceania Collections of the Reverend Joseph Annand.” In *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, edited by Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, 262-278. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 272.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁹⁰ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 48.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

Maritimes until its dissolution in 1870.⁹² During the founding meeting of the society Rand delivered a speech entitled *A Short Statement of Facts relating to the History, Manners, Customs, Languages and Literature of the Micmac Tribe of Indians, in Nova Scotia and P. E. Island*, based on his observations of the Mi'kmaq in the early stages of his career.⁹³ The meeting at which Rand presented this speech is significant as it brought together men from various denominations of the Protestant Church from around Halifax to try and garner support for Rand to pursue this work among the Mi'kmaq. Many attended, and respected ministers from among the congregations spoke and promised their support for Rand. A second meeting was planned and once again Rand spoke about his work. A committee was appointed and amongst them they decided to finance Rand's salary. Rand's mission with the MMS would be supported by subscriptions purchased by individuals.⁹⁴

Rand's work continued and he became fairly well-known and praised for his devotion. In January 1851, Rand was appointed Indian Commissioner of Prince Edward Island along with Henry Palmer.⁹⁵ However, Lovesey claimed it was never known if Silas Rand was ever the Commissioner.⁹⁶ He seems to have been resistant to the idea primarily because he thought his time could be better spent with his missionary and translation work. Lovesey explains that it was not as though the Commissioner would have had much to do in Prince Edward Island, since it was still the pre-confederation

⁹² Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 50-51.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 50-51, 56-59.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

era.⁹⁷ The position seemed to be more one of recognition for the work that Rand had already accomplished. Rand, however, did not appreciate the distraction, as he thought that the position would divert him from the work that he wanted to accomplish with the Micmac Mission.

Controversy followed Rand throughout his career, and at times he had very controversial views. One example of this was an incident that occurred because of the difficulties about translating the word baptize from Greek. Lovesey has stated: “[T]his whole unfortunate episode was dubbed facetiously “the Indian War”.”⁹⁸ The Baptist Church has historically been a denomination with quite stringent opinions regarding baptism and required those being baptized to be fully immersed. While translating sections of the Bible into the Mi’kmaw language Rand encountered some issues as he discovered that some terms did not translate easily into Mi’kmaq. As he was the first and only person to attempt this with the Mi’kmaw language, all eyes were on him and critics were very closely scrutinizing him. Reverend Dr. John Mockett Cramp, who served as President of Acadia College stated: “[I]f he should transliterate the word baptizo he would forfeit the confidence of his fellow Baptists. If he translated the word, his labour would be in vain for the Committee would refuse to print it.”⁹⁹ Comments from both sides of the debate were published in religious publications such as *The Christian Messenger*. Rand’s rebuttal was finally published and in it he attempted to explain the complexities of the Mi’kmaw language and that he was unable to make a simple translation of the word. He does mention having encountered a Mi’kmaw word

⁹⁷ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 82-83.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

baptisaywahdega, which came as closely as he could tell to ‘baptize’. This is the word that he chose, although he understood that at any point this could have been replaced or exchanged by the committee.¹⁰⁰

This controversy took a toll on Rand’s morale and, in addition, he was to suffer a personal loss. It was on June 7, 1852, that Dr. Isaac Chipman drowned. All but one occupant of the boat perished, and although they had planned to collect specimens, their excursion ended in tragedy.¹⁰¹ As mentioned earlier, Rand and Chipman worked together to collect documents and artifacts for the early archives at Acadia. Their friendship spanned over a decade and Rand felt a tremendous loss at Chipman’s death because he had been the one to suggest that Rand learn the Mi’kmaw language in the first place. Chipman’s support for Rand’s initiatives had not wavered.

Rand’s translating and evangelical work had created conflict within the Maritime Protestant community. The Catholic Church had also begun to speak out about him.¹⁰² It is likely due to their century-old monopoly on the religion of the Mi’kmaq. Many Mi’kmaw families had been converted when the Catholic Church first sent missionaries to the Maritimes.¹⁰³ Leslie Upton devoted a full chapter of his book, *Micmacs and Colonists*, to the Protestant and Catholic missions in the Maritimes. Upton begins his chapter by discussing the way the Mi’kmaq “were largely responsible for maintaining

¹⁰⁰ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 84-93.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁰³ Timothy Pearson, “Reading Rituals: Performance and Religious Encounter in Early Colonial Northeastern North America,” In *Mixed Blessings: Indigenous Encounters with Christianity in Canada*, edited by Tolly Bradford and Chelsea Horton, 21-37, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016) 23.

their own Catholicism.”¹⁰⁴ Because communities were separated by large distances, once converted the Mi’kmaq were required to uphold their own religious beliefs. The Mi’kmaq had initially been attracted to the Catholic Church because it allowed them to pair the sacraments with their legends, legends like the story of Glooscap. Upton states: “Catholic Christianity had blended into traditional life to the extent that the Micmacs valued it as they valued themselves.”¹⁰⁵ Father Pierre Maillard, an eighteenth-century Catholic priest, had introduced the Mi’kmaq to the religious texts of hieroglyphs in their language, and these had been passed down for generations. Maillard arrived in 1735 and continued his work with the Mi’kmaq until his death in 1762. He is viewed differently than Rand by historians; the language used about him is positive and encouraging.¹⁰⁶

Micheline D. Johnson wrote Maillard’s entry for the *DCB*, and concludes:

Maillard represents beyond a doubt the true missionary, enlightened, particularly lucid in complicated situations, always sure of where he stands, and passionate in expressing his opinions. He was probably one of the best ambassadors of the French cause in America in the 18th century.¹⁰⁷

This opinion, and the positive language, runs as a stark contrast to that regarding Rand. Maillard and his fellow Catholic priests achieved enormous amounts of success among the Mi’kmaq: “all [Mi’kmaq] wore the cross and many carried rosaries, telling their beads several times a day. Their Friday penance, which involved each member of the

¹⁰⁴ Leslie F. S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979), 153.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁰⁶ Micheline D. Johnson, “MAILLARD, PIERRE,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed September 23, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/maillard_pierre_3E.html.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

family having the backs of his hands beaten up to fifty times with a rod, was commendably rigorous.”¹⁰⁸

The Protestant denominations had tried with very little success to convert the Mi’kmaq, including an apprenticeship program with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England called Sussex Vale. The children who participated in this program were subjected to deplorable conditions, including a form of service resembling indenture and many of them were ostracized for the rest of their lives.¹⁰⁹ In a more positive vein, Walter Bromley, who Upton deems “the Maritime’s provinces’ first humanitarian,” worked to better the lives of the Indigenous Peoples in the Maritimes, but unlike Rand he did so with his own finances.¹¹⁰ This initiative also largely failed, and most Protestant missionaries sought out opportunities overseas for the next few years. Little was done in regards to evangelicalism until Rand’s interest in the Mi’kmaq was peaked.

Rand observed fundamental differences in the missionary work of the Catholic and Protestant Churches, as the Catholics had not devoted much time to the translation of texts into the Mi’kmaq language, though, as previously mentioned, some work had been done with Maillard’s hieroglyphic symbols. Upton’s *Micmacs and Colonists*, discusses Rand’s role in Mi’kmaq evangelism at length. Upton states: “[H]e was the first man to publicize the Micmacs amongst the whites, and he published an annual report to ensure the wisest possible audience.”¹¹¹ Upton also mentioned Rand’s hostilities with the

¹⁰⁸ Leslie F. S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979), 157.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 160-163.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 163.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 167.

Catholic Church, as well as his interactions with the Mi'kmaq who questioned and challenged his beliefs, and called him names including Rev. Ranny and Mrs. Granny.¹¹²

Before leaving Charlottetown Rand met Ben Christmas, a Mi'kmaw man, who became instrumental in the Micmac Mission, as well as Rand's quasi-assistant and translating partner for the next chapter of his life; Upton states that Christmas was "widely known as his "Micmac assistant" .¹¹³ Christmas was given a considerable amount of responsibility, and was the first and only Mi'kmaw man to be employed as a missionary; he was also a prolific public speaker and translator. Christmas even accompanied Rand to Upper Canada, and the two grew very close. Issues arose with Christmas when he began taking money from the Mission and drinking heavily.¹¹⁴ His relationship with Rand suffered, and he became known as 'Poor Ben Christmas', and "[P]oor Ben Christmas is of universal notoriety."¹¹⁵

According to Upton, Rand's real success lay in that his struggles finally led to the Micmac book of devotions being published on behalf of the Catholic Church. This book retained Maillard's form of hieroglyphics and sadly most of it was lost during a shipwreck.¹¹⁶ Upton believed that printed textual material did little to preserve the religion of the Mi'kmaq but rather it was a decision based on the values and traditions that they had adopted. Overall, however, Upton observed Rand as a failure, and the way in which he has been remembered is in stark contrast to personalities like Maillard.

Upton is not the only one to have made statements such as this; Fingard writes in Rand's

¹¹² Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 168.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 168-169.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 169-170.

DCB entry: “[U]ndeniably, Rand was more successful as a collector of the Indian heritage than as a Protestant evangelist.”¹¹⁷ If Rand’s success is to be measured in conversions, then perhaps the term ‘failure’ is fitting, but it is important to also highlight Rand’s achievements as well.

It is only with this in-depth examination of Rand’s career that one is able to observe the extent to which the Baptist Minister changed over time regarding large theoretical issues such as his religious alliances. Rand’s early career allowed him to explore his interests, and develop a reputation in the Baptist faith and regarding the Mi’kmaw language and culture. In late 1853, he took his leave and his tenure in Charlottetown came to an end.¹¹⁸ He, his wife, and their children made their way to Hantsport. This community would be their home, for better and for worse, for the next four decades. This new chapter in no way dulled Rand’s ambitions, and led him to a still often contested career and legacy.

¹¹⁷ Judith Fingard, “RAND, SILAS TERTIUS,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed October 24, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

¹¹⁸ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 105.

Chapter 3 Rand's Tumultuous Years: Adoption of Müller's Principles, 1854-1872

Introduction

In 1853 Rand left his missionary position in Charlottetown and took up residence with his wife and children in Hantsport, Nova Scotia. His return to Nova Scotia was marked by a keen concern for the Mi'kmaq and he began lecturing and preaching to neighbouring communities.¹ According to *The Christian Messenger* Rand was approached by the Mi'kmaq upon his return to draft a petition on their behalf to Queen Victoria about land title and sovereignty.² Rand was chosen because of his linguistic and translation abilities; he understood the magnitude and importance of this undertaking, and worked in close consultation with a number of Mi'kmaw Chiefs.³ Leslie Upton referred to this as "the most ambitious petition of them all ... presented to the Queen in 1853 with a certificate from Silas Rand that it had been dictated to Louis Paul."⁴ In the decades before Confederation it is not surprising that these sorts of issues were quite pressing to the Indigenous people throughout the region now known as Canada.

Rand continued to work on his translations of the Gospel and added to his list of words that would become his dictionary. His preaching, public lectures and writing continued in a frenzied manner and he was very much influenced by his time with the Mi'kmaq. Two years after establishing himself in Hantsport Rand purchased a large plot

¹Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 1, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

²Silas Tertius Rand, "The Indian's Petition to the Queen," *The Christian Messenger* (Halifax, N.S.), Mar. 16, 1854.

³Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 107-111.

⁴L.S. Upton, Colonists and Micmacs, *Journal of Canadian Studies* 10 (3), 1975; 53-54.

of land for the development of an industrial establishment for the Mi'kmaq. This was intended to be a reproduction of the Christian Missionary settlements in New England.⁵ It was Rand's goal that this plot of land would be called Mount Micmac, and that it would include "an established missionary post, model farm, workshops for instruction in all branches of art and industry, a building with yards attached surrounded by shady trees, beautiful groves and enchanting gravel walks."⁶ This large project was never fully realized, but is representative of the passion that Rand invested into his work. Over the next few years Rand travelled throughout the Maritimes, as well as to Upper and Lower Canada with Ben Christmas, the man who assisted him with his affairs in the MMS, visiting other Protestant missionaries and settlements. Rand's curiosity was peaked by the lives of other religious men, including David Brainerd and George Müller.⁷

This chapter explores Rand's career from 1854 to 1872, which includes his adoption of the principles of the Christian evangelist, George Müller. Three of Rand's diaries have been selected for examination of the missionary's obligations and interests. The first diary focuses on Rand's Week of Prayer from 1864; the second explores Rand's attendance at the Sixteenth Session of the Eastern Baptist Association of Nova Scotia in 1866, and the final diary focuses on Rand's peaked curiosity towards the Plymouth Brethren in 1870. Evidence has been extracted from each of these diaries in order to highlight Rand as an outlier within his denomination and others, and to focus on his relationship with and towards the Mi'kmaq.

⁵ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 114-115.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xvii.

Week of Prayer, 1864

Rand's diaries from 1864 spanned from 1 to 24 of January, when he was in Fredericton participating in Church services and prayer meetings. Rand met John Stirling, a member of the Free Church Presbyterian, and the two formed a quick friendship. On January 1, 1864, Rand mentioned having preached for Sterling in his diary.⁸ Five denominations of the Protestant Church were to come together for a Week of Prayer, although Rand ultimately felt as though he was being excluded by the members of his own Church.⁹ It was within the pages of his diary, that Rand recorded his discontent. On January 3, 1864, Rand wrote: "[A]ttended at the Baptist Chapel. Wanted to preach, but was not invited, and am pretty well convinced that my services there are not very desirable."¹⁰ As a minister, Rand felt as though it was his duty to preach, and not being afforded the opportunity to do so made him feel insecure. A few days later, on January 6, Rand wrote in his diary that "[M]eeting well attended. Prayers appropriate and solemn. Dr. Brooke did not call on me. Felt mortified, and glad to be mortified. Glad that God plans."¹¹ Rand felt so passionately about preaching, that when he was not able to do so, a change is observed within him and the passages in his diary.

The friendship struck between Rand and Stirling was in large part centered around their shared participation in the Week of Prayer in early 1864 and their common interests. The Week of Prayer, now formally known as the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, is still celebrated on an annual basis. According to the Canadian Council of Churches the

⁸ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 1, 1864.

⁹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), xvii.

¹⁰ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 3, 1864.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, January 6, 1864.

Week of Prayer is defined as “an annual ecumenical celebration traditionally held from January 18 to 25.”¹² This celebration is actually an octave, meaning that it is an observance which lasts for eight consecutive days. Participants were expected to spend time each morning and evening in shared worship, and to reflect and pray independently.¹³ These types of patterns of worship are outlined in detail by Bebbington.¹⁴ On this topic Rand wrote: “[T]oday commences the exercises of the “week of Prayer”. I wish to keep a minute record of my own exercises of mind and of the progress of events.”¹⁵ Of all of Rand’s diaries, this is the one where he spent the most time in reflection and prayer, and this is represented by the ninety biblical references noted from this diary.

In an attempt to track Rand’s use of biblical passages, each diary has been searched and flagged for references. An observation of Rand’s reliance on the King James Bible over time has been possible. Rand chose his biblical passages with careful purpose, and within the pages of his diary one can find meaning in his words. In these diaries were his most personal thoughts often amalgamated with both biblical verses and self-reflection. He often mentions his family, or his work with the Mi’kmaq. The following passage from January 2, 1864, is typical: Rand “[R]ead part of Exod. 6 and felt that God has power to deliver-me my family-the Indians and all.”¹⁶ Rand found true meaning in his work with

¹² Unknown, “Week of Prayer for Christian Unity 2017: Reconciliation-The Love of Christ Compels Us,” *The Canadian Council of Churches*, November 2, 2016, <https://www.councilofchurches.ca/our-faith/week-of-prayer-for-christian-unity/>.

¹³ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 144.

¹⁴ David H. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2005) 89-96.

¹⁵ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 4, 1864.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, January 2, 1864.

the Mi'kmaq; he felt as though he was pursuing the work that God intended for him.

Later on Rand recorded that he “[F]elt such satisfaction and assurance in the reality of the Gospel, that I clasped the New Testament to my bosom and held it there for some time for very [life].”¹⁷

Rand was unlike the majority of the missionaries of the late nineteenth century; he believed vehemently in issues pertaining to Indigenous peoples. He developed relationships with many individuals of Mi'kmaq descent and tried to improve their overall quality of living. Rand felt as though the Mi'kmaq had been unfairly treated by the colonists and it is for that reason that he supported their initiatives, making him an outlier in many senses. At the same time Rand wished to convert the Mi'kmaq in order to sever their relationship with the Catholic Church, and introduce them to the Baptist faith. This passage from his diary highlights the extent to which he holds the Catholic Church responsible for the plight of the Mi'kmaq:

Read in course Mark 5. The case of the demoniac seems strikingly applicable to the poor Indian. A whole legion of devils possesses him and may have done so for a very long time. He has broken all fetters and restraints. No man can bind him. He has no fixed habitation. He has been driven into the wilderness. Popery, drunkenness, ignorance, tobacco, lust, anger, hatred, malice, revenge, poverty, as well as the source of all corruption and vice, a carnal mind, are the legion of demons that hold him enslaved.¹⁸

The Catholic Church had enormous success in converting the Mi'kmaq, and during the Week of Prayer Rand reflected on his role as a missionary. In this diary he recounts a dream:

A suggestion came to me before I rose that we must carry the war into the Enemy's country-that we must go over to St. Ann's and hold a prayer meeting there-that we must make an assault upon the citadel. There is an unoccupied

¹⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 5, 1864.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, January 13, 1864.

hut there, large enough to hold perhaps twenty people which I think can be obtained. But if we can't obtain a house we can hold our meetings out of doors. I must see today. Then tonight call for volunteers. I shall ask for a company to go armed-not with carnal weapons: a company prepared to suffer and die literally-as we may be attacked by the Romanists. May God give wisdom and success!¹⁹

Rand's passion is evident, although it often led to periods of exhaustion, as well as spiritual fatigue. Rand was quite candid about this in his diary, and he chronicled quite openly his emotions and feelings. On the first of the year, Rand wrote: "I hope I have been for the last few months improving with respect to my spiritual eyesight which is far better. I cannot now detail the events of the past four months. But this day I have dedicated myself afresh and wholly to the Lord."²⁰ In a sort of New Year's resolution, Rand took it upon himself to reflect and re-dedicate to his relationship with God.

Rand took the time to reflect on the past four months of his life, which appear to have been significant to him. Although he did not keep a diary during that time, he mentioned the need to do so, and to remember all that had happened to him:

I feel hope and faith respecting the conversion of the Indians. I must take time some day to write a history of the workings of my mind for the last four months. I fear I am somewhat declining in faith. I am praying believingly for a blessing upon my labors. But now I want to see the blessing. I pray, I hope, I believe, I expect. I record this. Shall I have to record that I prayed and hoped and believed in vain! We shall see.²¹

Although he continued to adamantly believe that the Mi'kmaq would adopt the Baptist faith without question, Rand was questioning his own faith. This passage represents the large theoretical issues with which Rand was grappling, and may partially explain his changes in nature later on that same year. Given the amount of effort and time that he

¹⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 11, 1864.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1864.

²¹ *Ibid.*, January 2, 1864.

invested in the attempted conversion of the Mi'kmaq with little apparent success, it is apparent why his faith may have been declining.

On January 1, 1864, Rand wrote, “Bogatsky’s Golden treasury was sent to me as a present, and I mean by the grace of God to read a portion every day, and to live every day to the service and glory of God. Oh how I would like to live one year in God’s service!”²² Rand had received a copy of Bogatzky’s *A Golden Treasury for the Children of God*, and read the passages from his devotional calendar, written by Karl Heinrich von Bogatzky, the renown German hymn writer from the late seventeenth century.²³

Rand vehemently believed that he was doing God’s work, and that if he prayed he would receive the results that he desired. It is for this reason that Rand continued on, and chronicled his successes and challenges in his diaries: “[B]ut I seem transfixed. I seem to have no power to move. I believe and am sure that the blessed Lord has an important work for me to do here. We shall see. Meanwhile I look up to Him for wisdom and guidance.”²⁴ Over the course of Rand’s career he spent large amounts of time away from his home and family, to collect donations for his missionary work. Rand was expected to be in Fredericton to meet and converse with others and to garner support for the MMS, but this too posed its own set of challenges. On January 22, Rand wrote “[A]m almost willing to give up and go home.”²⁵ He often wrote about his time spent away from home as part of his discussion of his family, but at other points the passages reveal more about such things as his finances or his health:

²² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 2, 1864.

²³ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 144.

²⁴ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 9, 1864.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, January 22, 1864.

I am at Frederickton N.B. I left home for this place on the 10th day of October last. I do not remember ever having been so long from home before as I have been this time, and I do not expect to reach home for a fortnight yet. I have kept no diary for several months. For more than 10 years I have it in phonography, but my eyes became so bad that I had to abandon that method and give up reading phonography pretty much altogether. For more than a year my sight has been improving. After having worn glasses for thirty six years I was led to believe that it was an error. Dr. Skinner of St. John N. B. informed me that they injured my eyes, and advised me to try to accustom my eyes to do without them. I have not quite arrived at that point yet. But I can read large print quite well and have written these last two sentences without them. Those which I wear are of far less power than I used to wear.²⁶

In this passage, Rand explains his time spent away from his home and family, and the reason that he chose not to keep a diary. Rand also commented on his health in this passage, saying that his eyesight has been improving and that he no longer depends on phonography to write in his diaries. Upon discovery that his prescription was incorrect, Rand had made an effort to regain some of his strength so he could read and write. Rand had grown accustomed to using Pitman Shorthand, a phonetic system for writing developed by Sir Isaac Pitman.²⁷

In early 1864, Rand was 53 years old and beginning to have concerns about his health. Although his eyes and ears had been troubling him since childhood, he began using his diary as a means of tracking his physical exercise routine: “[H]ave taken exercise by jumping around my room for 15 minutes.”²⁸ As a young man, Rand would have exerted himself by laying bricks, but this was no longer the case, and, perhaps because of the sedentary nature of his vocation, he felt as though he needed to exercise. In 2013, Megan Garber published an article in *The Atlantic* about current exercise routines

²⁶ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 1, 1864.

²⁷ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 74-75.

²⁸ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 5, 1864.

and their links to Dr. Jonas Gustav Wilhelm Zander, nineteenth-century orthopedist.²⁹ This article discusses Zander's contributions to the field of physical exercise, and his opinion regarding "the connections between physical exertions and overall well-being."³⁰ Few in rural nineteenth-century Nova Scotia or New Brunswick would have had the luxury to indulge in recreational physical exercise since their occupations would most likely have required them to do so anyway. On January 12, 1864, Rand wrote "[W]alked about for half an hour for exercise."³¹ Rand's discussion of exercise is but one reason why he can and should be considered an outlier.

As Rand fasted during the Week of Prayer in January 1864, it is unsurprising that he felt the need to comment on this in great detail within his diary: "[C]ame home and took breakfast upon part of a Graham loaf and a cup of water. I had a very comfortable dinner and all of my animal wants were satisfied. I see I can live on 6 cents a day very well."³² Rand was eating very little, and spending the majority of his time in communal or solitary prayer. Three days later, Rand wrote "I have fasted every day-living on coarse bread and water-and either going without my breakfast or my dinner. I do believe I am better in body for this resting of the digestive and nutritive organs. I have been enabled to get very near the Lord."³³ Rand believed that by fasting he was able to foster his relationship with God, and explains why this ritual would have been an element of the Week of Prayer. Rand was strongly against the consumption of alcohol, but he also chose

²⁹ Megan Garber, "Going to the Gym Today? Thanks This 19th-Century Orthopedist," *The Atlantic*, November 6, 2016, <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2013/01/going-to-the-gym-today-thank-this-19th-century-orthopedist/266768/>.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 12, 1864.

³² *Ibid.*, January 6, 1864.

³³ *Ibid.*, January 9, 1864.

to avoid other substances as outlined in a passage of his diary from January 11, where he wrote: "I am glad that I use no stimulants, such as tobacco-tea or coffee, so that I have power to sleep in exciting times."³⁴ While the first two quotes represent his diet only during his Week of Prayer in January 1864, the third is more representative of Rand's diet year round.

Rand spent an enormous amount of his diary from 1864 discussing his prayers and his attitudes towards the Mi'kmaq and other Indigenous peoples. On January 6, Rand wrote: "My prayer for myself, my wife, my family, the ministers here and churches, and the Indians may be visited by an outpouring of the Holy Ghost and convinced of sin, of righteousness and judgement, and that it may come today."³⁵ Since much of his time was being spent in solitary reflection during the Week of Prayer, it is evident as to why Rand would reflect upon the people, and things for which he cared the most. Throughout his diary Rand is often reflecting on the Mi'kmaq and pondering the role that he plays within their lives, as both a missionary and a linguist.

Although his work was primarily among the Mi'kmaq, Rand's thoughts and sympathy were with all the Indigenous peoples of the world: "[F]elt my heart goes out for all the Indians from the Arctic to the Antarctic regions."³⁶ While Rand was probably unaware that there were no people living in the Antarctic region, he kept all Indigenous peoples in his thoughts and prayers. Rand still felt as though he was able to convert the Mi'kmaq to the Baptist faith, and that he would achieve so with hard work and God's mercy: "'Is any thing too hard for the Lord?' I feel satisfied that nothing can prevent his

³⁴ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 11, 1864.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, January 6, 1864.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, January 7, 1864.

saving the Indians. Oh! That not unbelief on my part and no errors may hinder the blessing! But why, my soul, this semblance of distrust?"³⁷ This passage demonstrates to what extent Rand put his faith in God, and felt assured that so long as it was what God wanted that it would happen. A few days later he writes: "[B]ut methought Jesus answered "Fear not only believe. The damsel is not dead but sleeping." The Indians are not dead not gone-not utterly lost-or past all hope-but sleeping-they are to be awakened."³⁸ Again, Rand put his faith in the Lord that the Mi'kmaq would be converted to the Baptist faith. He felt as though the Mi'kmaq would be awakened and then easily converted from Catholicism, but unfortunately this never happened on the scale that Rand would have liked.

Upon reflection on his participation in the Week of Prayer in 1864 Rand wrote:

Now from my heart I desire to thank the God of all grace for sparing me to see this week of Prayer. It has been a blessed era in my life. I think I can say that I have enjoyed constant communion with God. And I cannot doubt that He will grant me a rich and lasting blessing. For about five months I have been seeking Him with all diligence, and he has been drawing me nearer and nearer to himself. Now my prayer is that I may never be allowed to wander from him again; but that I may be made useful in his cause. Is any thing too hard for the Lord? Surely not. Then I may be made a humble instrument of his praise.³⁹

This sort of reflection and time in prayer seemed to be exactly what Rand needed in order to re-awaken his spirits and devote himself anew to his missionary work. He was grateful for the opportunity to devote so much time to solitary reflection, and it is for that reason that he felt capable of forging forward. He had communicated with others, who shared

³⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 11, 1864.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, January 14, 1864.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, January 10, 1864.

similar views as him, including John Stirling. He depended on these people to support the initiatives that he was piloting, but he also looked towards external factors as well.

Rand looked towards others in his field to compare and contrast his successes and failures. This allowed Rand to situate himself among them and to learn from their experiences and wisdom. In his diary from 1864, Rand focused his ponderings on David Brainerd and John Chase, two men of Protestant faith: “Read in Brainerd’s life, about the Conversion of the Indians at [Crosswaksung] and Forks of the Delaware. I was struck with one thing. Brainerd remarks that the Indians were awakened and converted without much means. I have hoped the Lord would do the same in regard to our Indians.”⁴⁰ David Brainerd was a Protestant Missionary to the Indigenous peoples of America, and although he died at a relatively young age, his legacy has impacted many—including Rand. Rand looked towards Brainerd because he too was attempting to evangelize the Indigenous peoples. The passage from Rand’s diary suggests that he wished that the conversion of the Mi’kmaq would be as simple as Brainerd had described it with other groups of Indigenous peoples. Sadly, this would never be the case for Rand. He continued to labor among the Mi’kmaq:

Have been remembering my family, and relatives. Have been almost brought to be willing to abandon my Indian Mission work, if it please the Lord, but I can say with Brainerd that no amount of success in turning others to Christ would satisfy the present Longings of my soul. Oh for success among the Indians. Feel somewhat cheered now.⁴¹

When the situation became extremely difficult for Rand, he sought the wisdom of others, and of God. Brainerd was someone that Rand could emulate, and was a model for the missionary work that he sought to accomplish.

⁴⁰ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 12, 1864.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, January 14, 1864.

Brainerd had been born in the late seventeenth century in New England, and spent most of his life being a missionary among Indigenous groups in America: “Have been reading and praying over the Bible and have been also reading Brainerd’s life. His earnest longings shame me. I feel as tho my aspirations were very faint. But I thank God that he gives me some longings.”⁴² Rand spent much of his time in early 1864 reading *The Life of David Brainerd* by Jonathan Edwards. When Rand experienced periods of spiritual fatigue or decline he sought to learn from others. Rand acted primarily as the only missionary to the Mi’kmaq and he felt as though he needed to learn from others, although they had lived in another time and place. Rand felt as though it was his duty to work among the Mi’kmaq and to assist them in any way that he could. Although many continue to revere Brainerd, the language used to describe him is very different than that used for Rand.

Brainerd was not the only individual that Rand chose to highlight; he also discussed John Chase in his 1864 diary:

Dreamed that John Chase was enraged at me, and rushed upon me while in bed threatening me with a pistol. Felt very calm, and answered him in meekness which disarmed him and he begged my pardon. Forgave him at once. Thought he was much excited, and saw that his troubles had nearly drive him mad. He became more composed, and my prayer this morning is that he may be restored to peace and usefulness. Feel very calm this morning.⁴³

This passage is another example of Rand’s very vivid dreams. He recounts his dream of encountering John Chase, the American Presbyterian Minister, writer and poet. Although this is Rand’s only mention of Chase, it is significant.

⁴² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 21, 1864.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, January 13, 1864.

Rand was experiencing enormous amounts of self-doubt and struggles in his missionary ventures. Then, in July 1864, he decides to abandon the ““unscriptural, God-dishonoring” method of raising money for the Micmac Mission and began to act on the principle of “living by faith”.”⁴⁴ This idea was first put forward by George Müller, a Christian evangelist, who spent his life caring for and educating orphaned children. This meant that Rand no longer would ask for donations, but rather he prayed and hoped that God would answer his prayers. Rand’s begging excursions ended, and he solely depended on the unsolicited generosity of others.

By 1865 the MMS had also undergone changes and they adopted a revised constitution put forward by Rand. This constitution aligned more with Müller’s “pietistic principles.”⁴⁵ It is only by examining his diary that one is able to see why Rand was able to continue to forge ahead with both his missionary and linguistic obligations with a renewed sense of self and devotion to God. The passages from the diary from 1864, especially those dedicated to Rand’s Week of Prayer, show Rand’s shift from traditional ways of fundraising towards Müller’s principles. This was only the beginning of the changes that would lead Rand throughout the rest of his career, both with the Baptist Church, the Plymouth Brethren, and finally back to the Baptist faith shortly before his death.

Sixteenth Session of the Eastern Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, 1866

Much took place within the pages of Rand’s diary from 1866. The diary itself extended from 14 July to 8 September 1866, and focused largely on Rand’s participation

⁴⁴ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), xvii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

in the Sixteenth Session of the Eastern Baptist Association of Nova Scotia in Sydney. To arrive at the conference Rand was required to travel through Truro and New Glasgow and also took the opportunity to visit many Indigenous communities along the way. While information pertaining to the meeting itself is rather sparse, Rand's travels to and from the meeting are recounted in great detail. The diary mostly reveals Rand's dissatisfaction towards elements within the Baptist Church, such as Closed Communion, and his work with other missionaries. Although his participation in events within the denomination continued, such as the meeting of the association, one can observe that Rand is creating distance between himself and his Church. Overall, the diary exposes more of Rand's biblical references, twenty-three in total, and his day-to-day reflections on his work and surrounding community.

Rand began keeping that diary on July 14, 1866 when he was in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. He wrote that "[O]n Tuesday we came on to Truro. Attended a Temperance Picnic & spoke."⁴⁶ Rand was adamantly against the consumption of alcohol and he was quite outspoken about that. By asking Rand to speak at the picnic, one can deduce that clearly the community, or at least those organizing the event, believed in Rand's abilities as an orator. Rand's views on alcohol never wavered, and he even wrote a thirty-four page lecture entitled *An Ode on Rum*, which discussed the evils of alcohol consumption.⁴⁷

Rand's diary from 1866 contains a tremendous amount of information about the missionary's own personal finances and those of the MMS: "[O]n Monday morning he sent me a sovereign for the Mission I had waited for four dollars to send to Jo Brooks and

⁴⁶ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, July 14, 1866.

⁴⁷ "Finding Aid, 2001". Accession No. D1900.006.

could not wait any longer than that day.”⁴⁸ Brooks had originally been the man who taught Rand to speak the Mi’kmaq language, and he continued to assist him with his translation work throughout his career.

As Rand had recently adopted George Müller’s practices of fundraising, he began to pray and put his faith in the Lord. He believed that if he prayed enough, and if God believed his prayers to be worthy, he would answer them. When recounting money owed to Brooks, Rand wrote: “[B]ut on Monday morning I was enabled to pray for it in faith, and so after breakfast five dollars were handed me. Some time after with the same handwriting and address a Five dollar bill was in anonymous.”⁴⁹ Within the pages of Rand’s diaries, he discusses many instances when people did indeed answer his prayers of faith. While Rand’s interest in Müller’s fundraising techniques increased, so too did his interest in information pertaining to the Christian evangelical:

I met the other day another person in Halifax that I esteemed it a favor to know. A missionary from Demerara, where for the last ten years he has been laboring in faith and living by faith. He’s one that Muller thinks much of and his name figures or rather the initials, in Mullers Report. I was pleased with the statements he made, and the spirit he manifested.⁵⁰

There was only one degree of separation between Rand and George Müller. Rand enjoyed meeting these sorts of people, because they too were missionaries. Rand never served as an international missionary, but he also spent time away from his home and had to deal with language barriers. It was his pleasure to make the acquaintance of others who lived in faith.

⁴⁸ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, July 14, 1866.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

Luckily Rand was able to make the acquaintance of domestic missionaries as well.

On July 23, 1866, Rand wrote

“[I]n the afternoon I took Mr. Armstrong and Miss Norris, both of whom are studying Micmac in true Missionary enthusiasm, and went over to Little Bras D’or to see some Indians. We found six wigwams, and as many as thirty or forty redmen, old & young. They were kind and attentive. I read Luke 8 & 15 preached the gospel to them sang several hymns [...].”⁵¹

The Mr. Armstrong of whom Rand spoke was William F. Armstrong, and Miss Norris, was Hannah Maria Norris. Armstrong and Norris were married, and had both served in Burma as missionaries.⁵² Norris’ *DCB* entry was written by Allen B. Robertson, and outlines her early life in Nova Scotia and her longstanding missionary career in Burma. Robertson wrote that in “[T]he early work of the Baptist missionary to the Micmac, Silas Tertius Rand, served as a model for her.”⁵³ Norris also learned the Mi’kmaw language, and according to Lovesey, “[A]pparently Miss Norris had contemplated devoting her life as a missionary among the Micmac.”⁵⁴ She chose instead to move to Burma and labour in her missionary work for close to half a century.⁵⁵ Rand mentioned Norris one additional time in his diary when he wrote: “I met Miss Norris. I gave her a Book of instructions and intimated that I was preparing one for the press.”⁵⁶ No other information is given about this interaction and it took place almost a month after their first interaction. Rand’s time

⁵¹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, July 21, 1866.

⁵² Allen B. Robertson, “NORRIS, HANNAH MARIA,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 15, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/norris_hannah_maria_14E.html.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 165.

⁵⁵ Allen B. Robertson, “NORRIS, HANNAH MARIA,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 15, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/norris_hannah_maria_14E.html.

⁵⁶ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 25, 1866.

working with Norris was short, but began as soon as she adopted the Baptist faith in 1866. She and Rand shared many similarities, including their talent with languages, as outlined by Robertson: “Hannah’s linguistic studies included not only Karen dialects but also Burmese, Tamil, Telugu, and Hindustani, and she published articles and books she had translated from these languages.”⁵⁷ Before leaving Nova Scotia Norris had also put in an effort to learn the Mi’kmaw language, so clearly she too had a passion for languages: “[H]er letters home appeared in such journals as the *Christian Messenger, Tidings*, the *Canadian Missionary Link*, and the *Missionary Review of the World*.”⁵⁸ She too, like Rand, had her personal letters published in magazines such as the *Christian Messenger*.

Rand shared his passion for religion with many, and was always eager to discuss it with others. On August 20, 1866, Rand wrote about a conversation he was having with a Mr. Pelton by writing that: “[H]e seemed inclined to talk of politicks, but I was enabled to direct the conversation into a more interesting channel. We talked of the second Coming of Christ.”⁵⁹ Rand was much more interested in discussing religion than issues regarding politics. He enjoyed preaching, but in 1866, Rand was not content having to preach to settler populations. Rand wrote: “I am enabled to preach both among the Indians and whites. Does this not satisfy me? No it does not. When shall we sweep. It seems to me that it is a point still a long

⁵⁷ Allen B. Robertson, “NORRIS, HANNAH MARIA,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 15, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/norris_hannah_maria_14E.html.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 20, 1866.

distance in advance.”⁶⁰ Rand wished to devote his time entirely to preaching and working among the Mi’kmaq.

Rand wrote openly about how he felt towards his missionary work. On August 29, 1866 Rand wrote “Rev. 6 & 7 & 8. Surely 7 refers to the struggle between light & darkness before light triumphs.”⁶¹ Although he continued to persevere in his work, it was a struggle. Although he no longer begged for money, he would travel throughout various communities in the province discussing the mission in the hopes of collecting funds to support it. Rand would visit Indigenous communities when the opportunities arose, and would speak and sing with the Mi’kmaq while discussing religion with them.

Rand’s discussion of his time at the Sixteenth Session of the Eastern Baptist Association of Nova Scotia is quite limited, but the meetings seem to have begun around July 21 and concluded on July 27, 1866. Rand provides his reader with little information, other than passages such as “[W]e have so far had an interesting season.”⁶² Although one cannot know for certain, one can hypothesize that perhaps Rand did not recount the entirety of the sessions because he knew that other, official documents would exist, and be available after the meetings themselves. On July 27, Rand wrote: “[T]he Association has closed and we have had a good season-one I trust long to be remembered.”⁶³ Little else is written to provide insight into Rand’s time in Sydney.

⁶⁰ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 28, 1866.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, August 29, 1866.

⁶² *Ibid.*, July 23, 1866.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1866.

Rand was rarely one to conceal his thoughts and opinions, but at times this outspokenness made him the subject of controversy. On July 30, Rand wrote about a discussion that he had with Dr. Cramp: "I had a pleasant interview with Dr. Cramp. We talked of Close Communion. I felt better towards the Dr. and more free."⁶⁴ Rand and Cramp were not the only two men preoccupied with the idea of closed and open communion. Christopher Killacky in the *DCB* entry about the Baptists, discusses the sacrament of communion as being imperative in understanding the group. Although the issue was not always in Nova Scotia, it affected others, like the Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada.⁶⁵ Closed Communion is restricting the sacrament of communion to those only who are in good standing within the congregation. On July 31, Rand wrote at length about a discussion he had with Brother Porter:

Yesterday Bro. Porter came down upon me very gravely for holding loose sentiments on Close Communion. I found that they have been dealing with members and excommunicating them for this "heresy". I find he is greatly opposed to bro. Kendall. I did not say much. I do not remember that when I was ordained I promised to teach all and singular the articles of the Baptist Confession. His remarks troubled me somewhat, and I must converse more with him. May the Lord direct!⁶⁶

Rand felt troubled by his conversation with Brother Porter and silenced by the Baptist Church. It was never Rand's intention to be excommunicated, but he had always been a man willing to speak his mind. Rand also spent time with Brother Porter on August 2: "[S]ome conversation this morning with bro. Porter on the 'Terms of Communion.' He

⁶⁴ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, July 30, 1866.

⁶⁵ Christopher Killacky, "Baptists," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, November 15, 2016, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/baptists/>.

⁶⁶ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, July 31, 1866.

told me some of his religious experience. So did his wife.”⁶⁷ Rand must have to some extent felt comfortable discussing these sorts of theoretical concepts with Porter.

On August 9, 1866, Rand spent a significant amount of time in prayer and self-reflection in the community of Plaister Cove: “[S]o I started off before breakfast, went a mile and a half to the meetinghouse, and found it open. I remained / there until five o'clock.”⁶⁸ Rand then listed the things about which he prayed about. This segment of Rand’s diary is incredibly significant, because it offers insight into the missionary’s deepest burdens. Rand began listing his concerns: “1st. My own spiritual condition. That I might never backslide, but grow stronger and stronger, in faith, in love, in wisdom, and diligence and all the Christian graces.”⁶⁹ Above all, Rand felt the need to reflect on his missionary work and spiritual condition. Over the course of Rand’s career he struggled to maintain balance in his life and he constantly felt as though he should be doing more. His second concern was more personal:

2nd. My family, mentioning my dear companion by name, that she might be made more holy, and then all my children, mentioning them by name—beginning with Aggie the eldest, her husband and children, and so on, mentioning their cases in particular, to Lewis, the youngest. Then I mentioned my sister Amy, Brother Chas—and the other sisters and brother.⁷⁰

It is significant, albeit unsurprising, to see Rand list his concerns for his family after those pertaining to his career. As a man dedicated to the conversion of the Mi’kmaq, Rand’s familial duties often came second. Rand’s third desire is mentioned: “[T]hen 3rd. The temporal wants of the Mission and my family. Particular fifteen pounds for Mr. D.

⁶⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 2, 1866.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, August 9, 1866.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Collins-interest for last year and this-”⁷¹ Again, Rand’s struggle with balance can be observed in this passage because sadly, he knew that he was unable to fulfill the needs of the Mission without doing harm to his family, those who depended on him for support. Rand’s fourth thought was “4th. For the Indians, that our Mission may be successful.”⁷² This was an ever-present thought of Rand’s for he wanted to do the best that he could for the Mi’kmaq. He was troubled by the fact that their land had been taken and that they might one day also lose their language. Rand did the best he could to assist them and although he was ultimately unable to convert them, he felt a sense of pride being able to offer them texts in their own language. Rand’s fifth and final thought concerned his desire to visit England:

5th. For leave of absence for one year to visit England. I want to see Mueller, Mr. Chapman and Capt. Liebenrood, Islebor, & other Christians of whom I hear. I feel resigned entirely to the will of God in the matter, but am impressed with a belief that could I go home and set the claims of the Indians before the British Christians, it would be no loss in any way.⁷³

This passage is significant, for it demonstrates to what extent Rand was aligning himself with the way of thinking of men such as George Müller. Rand wished to leave his family for a year and participate in a journey of sorts to learn from others, and to gain support for the MMS and his own work. Rand repeated his prayers multiple times and also prayed for the Baptists and the Presbyterians on that day, as if to reinforce his desires.⁷⁴ The trip that Rand desired never materialized, but he did spend a significant amount of time thinking about it.

⁷¹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 9, 1866.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

On September 6 Rand engaged in another session of prayer which also involved fasting:

[M]ade the following the principal subjects of request. 1st. More faith and spirituality for myself and family. 2nd The conversion of six of my children- 3rd. The success of the Micmac Mission and the temporal supplies needed to carry on the work. Found access and comfort & faith.⁷⁵

Rand's desires were somewhat different than those that he discussed on August 9, 1866.

In this instance he wished to be more spiritually inclined, although he also desired this for his family. He also prayed that his children would adopt the Baptist faith which up until this point had been incredibly important to Rand. His final desire was for the Micmac Mission to succeed, and to not go without any of the elements required to engage in this sort of work.

Rand was a well-read man who nourished his desire to learn by reading about the lives of others, and by keeping up with world events. On September 1, 1866, Rand wrote: "[T]he war in Europe is over. Venitia cede to Victor Emmanuel. Rome must follow. O may Immanuel be victor everywhere!"⁷⁶ Rand's mention of the end of the Austro-Prussia war is but one example of this in his diary. In Rand's earlier diaries he spent time reading about men such as Brainerd and Chase; in this diary from 1866 the missionary's attention was focused on George Müller, Henry Craik, and Dorothea Trudel: "I have just read A Memoir of Rev. Henry Craik, by his friend Rev. R. Morris. It has moved my heart and wetted my eyes. Bless God for such men."⁷⁷ Craik was of Scottish descent, worked as a theologian and preacher, and was a dear friend of Müller's which can explain some of

⁷⁵ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 6, 1866.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, September 1, 1866.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, August 3, 1866.

Rand's fascination with him.⁷⁸ A month later Rand wrote: "I am reading today the Memoir of Dorothea Trudel, a marvellous narrative of marvellous prayer and marvellous faith and marvellous works."⁷⁹ Trudel, also known as Trudd, is renowned for having been an apostle of healing from Switzerland.⁸⁰ Rand's diaries are in many ways filled with references demonstrating to what extent education continued to be of the outmost importance to him.

Rand's diary from 1866 constituted in large part the missionary's recollections of his interactions with the Mi'kmaq. Upon commenting on Rand, Fingard wrote: "Rand's study of Micmac customs and folklore also formed part of the evangelical design of the mission; by familiarizing himself with the language, he deepened his appreciation of the mental cast of the Indians, whose intelligence he highly esteemed."⁸¹ Rand travelled between communities and would do his best to interact with as many Mi'kmaq as possible. Some of the remarks that he made in his diaries are in passing, one such example being on July 15: "I went to see the Indians. They have five wigwams within two miles of this place. Had a pleasant visit. Think I must try and see them again tomorrow."⁸² At other times, Rand's recollections were more striking such as July 27, when he wrote: "I have had several visits to the Indians. They are now at Potlodek holding St Anns. If possible I will go there before they separate. I find them friendly, and

⁷⁸ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 167-168.

⁷⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 3, 1866.

⁸⁰ Clara McLeister, *Men and Women of Deep Piety*, (Syracuse: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1920), 412-417.

⁸¹ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 1, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

⁸² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, July 15, 1866.

surprised that I can handle their language so well.”⁸³ St. Ann was, and continues to be, the patron saint of the Mi’kmaq, and each summer they would celebrate her by congregating at Chapel Island, also known as Potlodek. Some may argue that it was brave of Rand to approach the Mi’kmaq during one of the Catholic celebrations, but others may see it as a lack of respect towards the people and their traditions. This is the sort of fine line that Rand had to walk throughout the duration of his career, and it made it difficult for him to achieve any degree of real success when it came to the conversion of the Mi’kmaq. From the passages listed in his diary, he seemed to have the outmost respect for the Mi’kmaq and only wanted to see them thrive without an enormous amount of intervention on the part of the Catholic Church, or the government.

Although Rand did not discuss the Plymouth Brethren in this diary, he begins to be curious about them. Müller and Craik were both quite involved in the Brethren and they had become a source of inspiration for Rand. As time went on Rand began to distance himself from the beliefs of the Baptist Church and instead aligned himself with the Brethren. This is telling of the religious tensions in Canada at that time.

Curiosity towards the Plymouth Brethren, 1870

Rand’s third and the final diary examined in this chapter spanned from August 24 to October 11, 1870. The majority of the diary is written in English, with brief sections written in Mi’kmaq and a form of shorthand. Luckily, a typed transcription of this diary exists in English. The diary from 1870 includes twenty biblical references. This diary has been chosen because it exposes Rand’s life at a time when he became infatuated with Plymouth Brethren. At a time when Rand was experiencing conflict within his own

⁸³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, July 27, 1866.

denomination, he was seeking support elsewhere. Passages from Rand's diary have been extracted to demonstrate his troubles with the Baptist Church, and the communities that he was visiting, as well as a discussion of his language and translation work, because these remain as an overarching theme throughout Rand's career and finally his curiosity and interest towards the Plymouth Brethren. This diary contains a number of Mi'kmaw legends written in English, including the legend of Glooscap. These are examples of early written Indigenous literature in Canada and without Rand it is likely they would have perished in their original form.

Rand's diary from 1870 began in Fredericton, although Rand noted it as "Frederickton."⁸⁴ On August 24 he wrote: "I learned from Mr. Chase that my name had been called in question in the matter at a meeting of the Board of Governors, and that Mr. Hunt has denied the whole thing and declared that it was a falsehood and a slander."⁸⁵ The Mr. Chase of whom Rand spoke was John Chase, the man with whom he was baptized with in 1832, in Billtown.⁸⁶ Rand went on to write that "[S]uch charges against me from such a quarter affect me very little. May I have grace at all times to cast all my care on the Lord. He must protect my reputation, as well as support me in soul and body."⁸⁷ Rand looked towards God for support as members of his own denomination spoke ill of him. He knew that his reputation was being compromised but he wished not to engage in conflict with other members of his church. These issues took a toll on Rand, despite his claim to the contrary, and, as someone who spent a great deal of time in

⁸⁴ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 24, 1870.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1870.

⁸⁶ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 167-168.

⁸⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 24, 1870.

solitary reflection, he often documented these thoughts. Rand often embodied the sorts of emotions that he felt, and this manifested itself through his morale and often his sleep:

I have had a refreshing sleep. I like to mention this because it is so great a favor. To be kept awake by sickness or pain in one's own body, or by mental anguish, or by the sickness of others, is so common and so distressing that we do well to recognize a sound refreshing sleep as a great blessing.⁸⁸

Rand was grateful for a good night's sleep and documented the blessing that he had received. Rand was probably losing sleep since it seemed as though his own church was turning him away. Yet Rand's religious fervor did not diminish: "I do not know when I could say before that I preached four times within 25 hours. I have rested well, but feel somewhat battered this morning."⁸⁹ Rand was sixty years old in 1870, and it is no wonder that he felt exhausted after preaching on four separate instances within just over a day. Rand went home the following day and kept his diary entries sparse for the next few days.

Rand continued to participate in events within the church: "[T]he Association commenced yesterday. James Parker in the chair. I assisted in reading the letters. These were numerous, short, and in general gave sad Reports. The Baptist Cause seems to be about done, judging from appearances."⁹⁰ Although Rand had joined the Baptist church as a young adult in 1870 he felt as though the church itself was failing. This passage recounts Rand's opinion towards a church in which he was so heavily invested. On September 26, he also discussed having preached multiple times in one day.⁹¹ Although the church was ostracizing Rand, he continued to remain invested.

⁸⁸ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 5, 1870.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, September 5, 1870.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, September 23, 1870.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, September 26, 1870.

It was not only the Baptist Church that had turned its back on Rand; individuals were harboring feelings of rage towards the missionary. Rand recounted, in a somewhat lengthy passage, an encounter that took place between J. K. Ryerson and himself. He recounted the event in his diary: “[L]ast night I called at Mr. J.K. Ryerson’s where we had been entertained several nights, and / spoke to him respecting his state. Whereupon he turned upon me and was apparently in a boiling rage.”⁹² Rand seemed somewhat surprised by Ryerson’s feelings towards him, meaning perhaps that in the past they had been on good terms. Rand continued by writing “[H]e did not wish me to come there to talk to him about his spiritual concerns. He had borne it beyond all endurance and would put up with it no longer.”⁹³ It would seem as though Ryerson had simply had enough of Rand’s behaviour and could no longer hide the rage that he felt. Rand continued by recounting what Ryerson had said and writing that: “[I]f I was a mind to come there and mind my own business, as the other ministers did, I was welcome to do so, but he did not thank me to try and convert any of the members of his family.”⁹⁴ Ryerson felt as though Rand had no business trying to convert his family, while lodging with them. It would appear from this passage that Ryerson often had other ministers boarding with his family. Rand continued: “[T]he people of Yarmouth, he assured me, looked upon me as a fool and a crazy man. I was a town’s talk. In short I have never heard such a torrent of abuse in my life except from a Roman Priest.”⁹⁵ Although Rand was often met with individuals opposed to his preaching and teachings, it would seem as though Ryerson’s words were particularly hurtful to the missionary. Rand felt as though he must pray for Ryerson and

⁹² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, October 11, 1870.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

his whole family. Rand had attempted to enlighten their perspectives on religion, but understood that not all men would feel comfortable with this taking place in their homes. It appears as though Rand felt somewhat battered by these comments, and would do his best to avoid attracting attention to himself in regards to his missionary endeavors.

Although Rand felt particularly driven toward missionary work, his true passion was in his study of the Mi'kmaq language. By 1870 Rand's grasp of the Indigenous language was exceptional and he continued his translation work with both religious texts and Mi'kmaw legends. Rand's curiosity towards languages was not restricted to the Mi'kmaw language; he continued to possess a keen interest in languages including Hebrew and Greek. This sort of enthusiasm for languages also demonstrates to what extent Rand was an outlier: "Read several chapters in Proverbs and several Psalms in Hebrew, and several chapters in Greek-reading aloud.-suppose some would think it quite autre, tho I read very low. I find that I can pronounce those languages better by practice-and understand them better by using the ear as well as the eye."⁹⁶ Rand felt as though he needed to practice these languages in order to continue to be proficient in them, but sadly few people in rural nineteenth century Nova Scotia were able to converse comfortably in languages such as Greek or Hebrew. The same can be said about the Mi'kmaw language, and it is for that reason that this diary is particularly telling as it offers multiple instances of Rand discussing the translations of both the legends, and the religious texts into Mi'kmaq.

Throughout this diary Rand was providing individuals of Mi'kmaw descent with copies of religious texts that he had translated. On August 24, 1870, Rand wrote: "I went

⁹⁶ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 31, 1870.

over to see the Indians at St. Mary's this afternoon. I distributed two copies of John's Gospel. Read and sang, and talked."⁹⁷ This was common, and happened in most of the communities Rand visited. Rand felt as though it was his duty to distribute these sorts of texts so that the Mi'kmaq could read religious texts in their own language. On August 29, Rand wrote:

I was driven this morning up to French Village by Mr. Hartt. Had pleasant conversation by the way. Was kindly treated by the Indians. They called for the "book". "You have an Indian book, we hear," said the first man whose house I entered. I have, indeed, was my reply, and I immediately produced it. I read a few chapters, and the neighbors began to gather at the door. I found that the man of the house who listened with great attention, could read, and I offered him a copy of the Gospels of John, which he readily accepted. Others asked through him for copies. I distributed ten.⁹⁸

In a sense what Rand was doing was revolutionary; even though the Mi'kmaq had adopted the Catholic faith for close to a century, they never had translations of the Bible into roman orthography. Rand was working his way through the Gospel of Matthew in August, and the Gospel of Mark in September of 1870.⁹⁹

This diary contains a large number of indications of Rand's work pertaining to Mi'kmaw legends. On August 27, Rand mentioned having been at St. Ann's and then he went on to outline nine different Mi'kmaw legends.¹⁰⁰ These legends appear in an inconsistent format and seem to be written as one full narrative with multiple sub-headings. The first few pages pertain to the legend of Glooscap-although it would appear that Rand took the liberty to insert biblical references into the legends:

Glooscap had many enemies, but they were evil spirits visible and invisible. He trained the wolves to guard him, and also the loons. And the howling of

⁹⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 24, 1870.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, August 29, 1870.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1870; *Ibid.*, September 14, 1870.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, August 27, 1870.

the wolf and the cry of the loon is their lamentation for the loss of their master since his departure. The birds and beasts and fishes were his domestics, and submitted to his authority. ("Thou hast put all things under his feet." Ps: 8.).¹⁰¹

Rand was making his own connections to the scripture. According to the King James version Psalm 8 states:

(To the chief Musician upon Gittith, A Psalm of David.) O LORD our Lord, how excellent *is* thy name in all the earth! who hast set thy glory above the heavens. Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger. When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained; What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all *things* under his feet: All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, *and whatsoever* passeth through the paths of the seas. O LORD our Lord, how excellent *is* thy name in all the earth!¹⁰²

Rand saw the similarities between the scripture, and the legends that he was being told, and did his best to make connections between the two.

Rand was collecting legends and stories from Gabriel Thomas and Susan Christmas. On August 27, Rand wrote: "Gabriel Thomas informs me that the names of the places up and down this River are Micmac ..."¹⁰³ Rand continued by listing other information given to him by Thomas. Many of these stories would probably have been lost if not for Rand and his understanding of the plight of the Mi'kmaq. On October 6, Rand wrote: "I have heard two long Indian Legends today from Susan Christmas. One is entirely new, and the other in part."¹⁰⁴ Upon hearing these legends from Christmas Rand then spent days translating and re-writing them. In 1868, Joe Brooks passed away and Rand was left to do

¹⁰¹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 27, 1870.

¹⁰² Psalm: 8 King James Version

¹⁰³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, August 27, 1870.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, October 6, 1870.

the majority of his translation work on his own. A few days later, on October 11, Rand wrote,

I find that I have heard and written down in whole or in part eight Legends, at Yarmouth. Six of them I have written fully out, and sketches of two more-two that I have already, but was glad to listen to them again, and to collect interesting particulars omitted by the first narrator. What changes since I heard them first. Then I could not understand a single sentence. Susan Bass told the yarn and Joe Brooks translated it for me. When I had written it down-it took me two days-friend Joe interpreted the words and I interlined the literal translation. This was the first real progress I made in the language. Now I could hear a long story-covering many sheets of paper-hear it in Indian and then go to my lodgings and wrote it out in English.¹⁰⁵

This passage illustrates the sort of progress that Rand was making in his linguistic pursuits, and he willingly credited both Brooks and Bass for their participation and support. Without Bass' skill for storytelling and Brooks' assistance with translating, Rand would not have been able to document and retain these stories for future generations.

Rand is often criticized for the inclusion of religious references within his translations, and for having applied verbs most likely to have derived from European societies and languages. Rand struggled to find words to signify what he was trying to say, and chose the words after close consultation with native Mi'kmaw speakers. Fingard wrote that, "[U]ndeniably, Rand was more successful as a collector of the Indian heritage than as a Protestant evangelist."¹⁰⁶ His methods may now seem somewhat outdated, but Rand's ultimate intent was to conserve the Mi'kmaw language as much as possible.

Rand's interest in the Plymouth Brethren began before his diary in 1870, although these passages may be some of his earliest written accounts of interest towards them. On

¹⁰⁵ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, October 11, 1870.

¹⁰⁶ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 1, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

September 2, 1870, Rand wrote: “I feel my soul yearning over the little band called Plymouth Brethren. They seem just now to be the church. Alas! they are divided. I do not know upon what subject. Oh! For the coming of the Lord!”¹⁰⁷ Rand felt as though he shared many of the same views and opinions as those invested in the Plymouth Brethren. He made note of their commonalities, and aligned himself more closely with them.

Rand had ties with the Plymouth Brethren and was influenced by those involved in the organization, such as George Müller, Henry Craik, and John Wilson Smith.¹⁰⁸ When Rand decided to begin living by faith, according to Müller’s teachings, it would appear that he was unaware of Müller’s connection to the Brethren.¹⁰⁹ Rand struggled even more with his finances once he chose to no longer beg or request money for the MMS. In large part this is why the society was dissolved in 1870.¹¹⁰ Rand found that his values very closely aligned with those of the Brethren, and that is why he ultimately chose to join them.

The Plymouth Brethren were founded by John Nelson Darby in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The group originally belonged to the Church of England but separated in order to retain some of the values that they cherished most about their branch of Christianity. Many Baptists and Presbyterians took interest in this organization and Darby

¹⁰⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 2, 1870.

¹⁰⁸ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 166-167

¹⁰⁹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 166.

¹¹⁰ Judith Fingard, “RAND, SILAS TERTIUS,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 1, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

found a great deal of success in Upper Canada.¹¹¹ Although many supported the group, there were also many staunch and traditional Baptists who rebutted the ideas of the Plymouth Brethren. As Lovesey wrote: “Rand was known as a formidable controversialist and opponent.”¹¹² He held very strong views and opinions on certain subjects, and felt as though it was his right to express himself.

Rand was outspoken on his views on the consumption of alcohol, the right of women to speak in religious contexts, and the idea of closed communion; it is no wonder that Rand also became involved in an altercation regarding the Plymouth Brethren. Lovesey wrote of the event by saying “[A] vehement battle of words ensued with bitter attacks and disturbing insinuations.”¹¹³ Rand felt personally attacked by a review published by W. M. Sommerville, in regards to Jas. C. L. Carson’s book *Heresies of the Plymouth Brethren*.¹¹⁴ Rand never actually read Carson’s book, but he felt as though Sommerville was assaulting the lifestyle that he had adopted, modeled after Müller.

This situation did not resolve itself quickly. As Lovesey stated: “[T]he Rand and Sommerville altercation continued over some weeks with harsh exchanges and frequent personal attacks.”¹¹⁵ This was not the first time that Rand was dealing with these sorts of issues, and sadly it did not help his reputation. Lovesey went on to write that “[I]t was obvious that Rand was very emotionally involved and was trying to clear away any

¹¹¹ Rodney J. Sawatsky, “Evangelical and Fundamentalist Movements,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, (November 15, 2016)

<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/evangelical-and-fundamentalist-movements/>.

¹¹² Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 165.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

accusation against the Brethren.”¹¹⁶ Rand typically fought in this manner. For him it became all-consuming, and his emotions were always invested. Those who study Rand have observed the sort of passion that propelled him forward and it is for that reason that Fingard described the missionary as both “eccentric and erratic.”¹¹⁷ The Plymouth Brethren seemed to have accepted Rand’s support for their cause without much hesitation.

Rand wished to see a reform within the Baptist Church but as he aged he realized that this wish was unlikely to become reality. Although he had been immersed in the Baptist faith since childhood, he no longer felt as though it represented his values and desires. It is for that reason that Rand chose to distance himself from his own congregation. In 1872, around the time of Rand’s sixty-second birthday, he wrote a letter to be published in *The Christian Messenger*. The letter outlined the reasons for Rand’s decision to leave the Baptist church. Rand’s letter, albeit succinct, summarizes the two main reasons for his separation from the Church. Rand called the whole of the Baptist denomination as “an enormous, God-dishonouring SHAM, with which I cannot endure to be any longer connected.”¹¹⁸ Rand was not only targeting his insults towards his own congregation but towards the entirety of the denomination. Since he no longer felt as though he could align himself with the values of the Baptist church he admitted that the

¹¹⁶ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 169.

¹¹⁷ Judith Fingard, “RAND, SILAS TERTIUS,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed November 1, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

¹¹⁸ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 175.

Plymouth Brethren was the group with whom he wished to associate henceforth.¹¹⁹ Rand admitted that the decision was not one that he came to easily; however, after much prayer and reflection he concluded this to be the path forward.

The Baptist Church chose to excommunicate Rand after the publication of his letter instead of granting him a dismissal. His name had been further tarnished and although he felt as though he had done right by his decision, his wife was distraught over the whole affair. Although she felt that she had to support her husband, her alliances still lay amongst her congregation in Hantsport.¹²⁰ For the following decade Rand felt comfortable within the confines of the Plymouth Brethren and continued his work amongst the Mi'kmaq.

Over the course of Rand's life he underwent a great number of changes as reflected within his diaries. These diaries are telling because they allow one to explore Rand's most personal thoughts. These three diaries have provided insight into periods of change within Rand's life, from dedicating himself anew to God in 1864, to spending time travelling to and from the Sixteen Session of the Baptist Association in 1866, as well as Rand's interest in the Plymouth Brethren in 1870, which led him to leaving the Baptist faith two years later. Each of these diaries demonstrates to what extent Rand was an outlier within his own congregation, denomination and community. Rand was invested in his work with the Mi'kmaq and although he was often judged and ostracized for his decisions, he continued to forge ahead. As he approached old age Rand did his best to leave a lasting legacy not only for himself, but for the Mi'kmaw language more generally.

¹¹⁹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 175-176.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 175-178.

Chapter 4 Rand's Later Years: Changes Over Time, 1873-1889

Introduction

Within Rand's diaries it is possible to observe a change within him over time. At the onset of his career Rand focused on the evangelization of the Mi'kmaq but with minimal measurable success, having only baptized one individual into the Baptist faith. Later on in his career Rand chose to focus on the collection of Mi'kmaw legends and the translation of biblical texts. Rand's goal was to make religious texts accessible to the Indigenous population in their own language. He fundraised in order to distribute these texts to the Mi'kmaq, free of charge. Throughout his career Rand's interest in the Mi'kmaw language endured and prompted him to collect a total of over 40,000 words. This work, only published the year before his death, resulted in a dictionary of Mi'kmaw words, instrumental to the preservation of Mi'kmaq as a written language. In the years leading up to his death this dictionary became his main focal point. He worked tirelessly to secure the funds needed to have it published, a task which so fundamentally shaped Rand's diary from 1884. Rand's dictionary and his contributions to the Mi'kmaw language are the primary reason that Rand is now remembered.

Rand thought of himself as a pioneer for others, forging on, in order to alleviate the struggle for others. Fingard argued, however, that, "he remained a pioneer without followers among Nova Scotia Protestants."¹ Some questioned his motives and criticized his actions, and although some did support the initiatives, both his critics and supporters

¹ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 22, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

did so from a distance, requiring Rand to do the work predominantly on his own. By 1884, Rand was approaching the last years of his life and attempting as best he could to leave a lasting legacy for the tumultuous career that he had had. After losing his wife earlier that year, Rand endeavored to complete his translations, for the sake of both for monetary gain and public recognition. Although the diary from 1884 only contains 35 biblical references, it is the longest of the five examined for this project. The diary itself spanned almost an entire year from March 19, 1884 to February 21, 1885. This is atypical of Rand's diaries. Although most of his other diaries focus on a specific event or short period of time, this one does not.

While the first chapter focused on Rand in his early ministerial career and introduction to the Mi'kmaw language, the second chapter focused more on Rand's role within the Baptist Church and his adoption of the principles of the Plymouth Brethren. This chapter is structured in order to focus firstly on Rand's failing allegiance to the Plymouth Brethren, and his subsequent return to the Baptist Church. Although he had committed himself to that denomination in the past, he had begun to identify issues within the group. By 1884, Rand was also pursuing less missionary work, but continued to preach to congregations across the province. These sorts of changes are demonstrated through Rand's own diary entries and are drawn almost entirely from primary sources.

This chapter then examines Rand's renewed reliance on colportage. After extensively studying the life of George Müller, Rand began to rely solely on prayer in order to solve his financial issues. Nearing the end of his life, Rand returned to his old ways and began begging for financial support from acquaintances, friends, and strangers in order to support himself. Much of the diary from 1884 is focused on Rand's financial

issues, and correspondence pertaining to the publication of his dictionary. It is apparent that Rand is seeking financial support from others in person and through his correspondence. Although not completely abandoning his prior method of praying for support, it would appear as though Rand was able to strike a balance between the two methods. Again, most of the evidentiary support for this argument is found within Rand's diary, but some secondary sources have been consulted. The last substantive part of this chapter is focused on providing an image of Rand over the course of his life, in his death and within the memory of him. Some primary sources have been consulted, but the majority of this section has focused on secondary sources written about Rand by Judith Fingard, Daniel Paul, Ruth Holmes Whithead and Aldean Nowlan.

Irreconcilable Issues with the Plymouth Brethren, 1884-1885

By 1884, Rand had been excommunicated by his congregation in the Hantsport Baptist Church for a number of years, and aligned himself more closely with the Plymouth Brethren. However, it was at this point that Rand began to identify issues within the Brethren, and started to distance himself from the denomination. At the onset of his career, Rand spent the majority of his time engaged in missionary pursuits, but by 1884 he was devoting himself more to the preaching of the gospel within communities across Nova Scotia. Rand's diary from 1884 unearthed a number of examples pinpointing his dissatisfaction with the Plymouth Brethren, and theirs with him. These sorts of disagreements culminated in Rand's excommunication from the Plymouth Brethren in 1885, and his subsequent return to the Baptist Church in Hantsport.

It is problematic and altogether unwise to write about Rand's diary from 1884 without exploring his tumultuous relationship with the Protestant community in Nova

Scotia. Having joined the Baptist Church at a young age, Rand preached tirelessly for years until, in 1872, he was excluded by those in the Baptist faith. Rand quickly turned his attention and energy towards the Plymouth Brethren and they welcomed him with open arms. Rand was a man who spoke his mind and this often resulted in him being at the center of controversial issues, and although his relationship with the Brethren had been smooth at first, it too suffered. Rand's diary from 1884 is littered with diary entries that demonstrate his trepidation regarding the Brethren, as well as their dissatisfaction with him.

As was Rand's duty, he continued to preach on behalf of the Plymouth Brethren throughout Nova Scotia. As he remained a Protestant, communities continued to welcome him and therefore he kept preaching to all those who would listen. While in Halifax on March 23, Rand wrote: "I am to preach in the coloured peoples' meeting house."² Two days later, on March 25, Rand wrote: "[O]n Sunday morning I preached in the "Coloured" meeting house to a small congregation."³ Although these two entries from within the pages of Rand's diary provide the location and explanation of how the missionary spent his time, they also mention to whom he was preaching, which in some way allow for further highlighting of the sorts of racial divides and segregation present in nineteenth century Nova Scotia.

It is evident early on in Rand's diary from 1884 that there is already discontent concerning him developing within the Plymouth Brethren. On March 25, Rand mentioned in his diary that he had yet to see Lord Cecil, but he had hoped to while he was in town.⁴

² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, March 23, 1884.

³ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1884.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1884.

The next day Rand wrote: "I called on our friends. I was soon cross-examined as to my "orthodoxy", and we had considerable argument."⁵ Although Rand is quite vague in his diary entry, it is apparent that he was being scolded for his opinion on a matter. Two days later, on March 28, Rand wrote: "I wrote a line to Lord Cecil, and left it with him, explaining a little what my present standing is and what it has always been."⁶ Rand wrote to Lord Cecil since he was a prominent member of the Brethren, according to Lovesey.⁷

This sort of discontent was not only targeted towards individuals like Rand, but there seemed to be large issues arising within the entirety of the organization beginning around 1884.⁸ This trouble, as put by Lovesey, was developing because members within the Brethren had quite varying opinions regarding fundamental issues pertaining to the Church. On March 29, Rand wrote: "I took dinner yesterday with John Wilson, and explained to him kindly why I was not at the "Breaking of Bread" Sunday Morning, and reproved him gently for reproving me and I think he will not repeat the offence."⁹ Rand felt as though it was his duty to defend himself against men who sought to slight him, such as John Wilson. Later on that same day, Rand met with Lord Cecil and wrote about it in his diary by saying: "[H]ad a quiet conversation with Lord Cecil and I think we see nearer than He supposed. I tell him that we may possibly have gone too far from the true idea of the Supper. I certainly do not attach much importance to it, and I am afraid of Superstition."¹⁰ Rand and his counterparts within the Plymouth Brethren were disagreeing

⁵ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, March 26, 1884.

⁶ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1884.

⁷ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 211.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, March 29, 1884.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

on issues such as this, issues pertaining to communion and participation within the inner circles of the Church. After being excommunicated by one denomination, Rand was attempting to censor himself as best he could to avoid entering into the controversy within another.

Rand wrote little of these sorts of disagreements for a few weeks, until, on April 13, he received a letter from another member of the Plymouth Brethren, Acomb. In his diary entry Rand wrote: “I wrote to bro. Acomb and got a reply. He seems glad to be remembered. He says the word in England, is, that “I have left the “Brethren” and denounce them as “worse than the Catholics”. I tell him this is the first I ever heard of it.”¹¹ It would seem as though Rand was becoming part of the controversy not only in his own province, but within the organization as a whole. Since the Plymouth Brethren had members in various locations around the world, Rand was likely discussed in a number of different settings, as he attempted as best he could to be, as Fingard stated, “a fugitive from Nova Scotian denominationalism.”¹² In spite of the fact that he had originally clung to the structure of the Plymouth Brethren, he hastily realized that this group also contained its own set of challenges.

Rand often expressed himself freely in his diary, and at times he chose to write poems instead of his typical diary entries. On April 15, Rand wrote what appears to be one of these poems in his diary. Although he does not provide any additional information, the poem is particularly poignant and telling of Rand’s situation. Rand wrote “[M]idst the trials of life, In struggles & strife, Is the pathway to glory, bless in the end Sweet joy too

¹¹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, April 13, 1884.

¹² Judith Fingard, “RAND, SILAS TERTIUS,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 28, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

will come, As we went to our home To meet with our Saviour, Redeemer, & Friend.”¹³

Rand continued to uphold his passion and devotion to the Church until he died, and wanted to share this commitment with others. He did so with the biblical passages mentioned in his diary, as well as the religious poems and passages and a continued devotion to the people of Nova Scotia. In 1884, he continued to preach regularly in communities that he visited, and despite the fact that some elements in Rand’s life changed, this sort of passion for sermonizing did not.

April 27 was a day of intense reflection and prayer for Rand, as he read from the Psalms. In his diary, Rand wrote “[R]ead this morning Ps. CXXIII to CXXXI: Ps 127 & then 137, came especially home to me. All my anxiety would be useless without the blessing of the Lord, and He giveth all that is needed, and all that is best, to his beloved, in sleep, - in quiet rest, and calm trust.”¹⁴ Rand turned to prayer in order to see himself through the difficulties that he was facing, as he had done many times before. Since beginning his career in the field of missionary work, Rand had often relied on biblical passages in order to express himself in his diaries, and in approaching old-age he continued to do so.

Throughout the summer Rand travelled as he was accustomed to doing and preached within the communities that he visited. On May 18, Rand’s birthday, he wrote in his diary that it was his desire to meet with the Brethren.¹⁵ Two days later Rand wrote that “[T]he “Brethren” have taken a modest room. We had rather a pleasant meeting.”¹⁶ Interspersed between mentions of the Plymouth Brethren, Rand would preach in most

¹³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, April 15, 1884.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1884.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, May 18, 1884.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1884.

communities that he frequented and although the size of the congregation would vary, he typically included the biblical texts referred to during the service. On June 22, Rand wrote “I do hope the Lord will be with me today and enable me to be earnest and faithful and successful in the Lord’s service!”¹⁷ Rand continued to carry on the work that he had been trained to do, and laboured continuously long into his old age. He strongly believed that the work that he was pursuing would bring good to the lives of others. On July 6, Rand wrote “[T]his evening I went to Meeting house and before I went I went to John Churchill’s and had some good talk with him. I preached to a pretty fair congregation. Had freedom and comfort. People listened attentively. May it prove a blessing to them and to us all around.”¹⁸ In the summer of 1884, Rand spent over a month travelling throughout Nova Scotia, meeting with members of the Protestant Church, as well as individuals of Mi’kmaw descent who consented to meet with him.¹⁹

Rand was self-aware enough to know that he had caused some contention within the Plymouth Brethren, and by the fall of 1884, he travelled with hesitation to meet with other representatives of the group. Within his diary, Rand wrote: “I came last Saturday to St. Croix, where Brethren are holding a “Convention”. I came on with fear and trembling. I feared controversy, discussion and contention. There has been nothing of the kind.”²⁰ Although Rand had initially been anxious to meet with other members of the Plymouth Brethren, he was quickly relieved that they were not looking to cause further controversy. He identified 1 Peter 1 as being the theme for this religious gathering.²¹ Rand enjoyed

¹⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, June 22, 1884.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1884.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 26, 1884.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, September 1, 1884.

²¹ *Ibid.*

this meeting and the opportunity to meet with others, some of whom continued to share similar views as him.

Later on that fall, on October 31, Rand was in Halifax and met with fellow ‘Plyms’ to share dinner. This group, including Rand, Howe, Greenman, Haskill and Crann shared a meal, discussed the gospel, and listened to a lecture in the evening.²² Rand continued to preach in Protestant meeting houses throughout the fall, to groups of Baptists, Presbyterian and community groups such as the Y.M.C.A. At times, Rand was the one to preach to the group, but in other instances he would attentively listen to lectures that others gave. On December 12, Rand received a letter from Montreal, about the issues taking place within the Plymouth Brethren. After having received a previous letter as well, Rand quickly understood that the group appeared fundamentally divided regarding a number of issues. He wrote in his diary,

[T]he worst of the matter is that it introduces strife and contention into the Whole Body. Each party in the strife of course casting all the blame upon the other side. But nothing troubles me. I am careful for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication I make my requests known unto God, and the peace of God keeps my heart and mind through Christ Jesus.²³

Rand disliked controversy and felt anxious at the idea of belonging to a religious community which was divided. The situation worsened on December 19, when Rand was confronted by Major Oldright. Rand wrote: “[H]e seemed displeased because I took the Lord’s Supper with the Dartmouth Baptist Church and dispensed it to others. We had some argument, but wound up pleasantly, although I thought him somewhat “huffy”.²⁴ Rand did not enjoy being confronted by others but he did his best to leave conversations

²² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, October 31, 1884.

²³ *Ibid.*, December 12, 1884.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, December 19, 1884.

as pleasantly as he could. Instead of holding a grudge, as he might have done earlier in his life, he attempted to make amends for the controversy that he caused. Three days later, Rand made an entry in his diary: “[C]alled on Major Oldright and offered a word of explanation.”²⁵ It would appear as though Rand felt he needed to further explain the situation in order to alleviate stress in his relationship with Oldright.

Although little took place within the pages of Rand’s diary from January 1885, February 4 was the sort of day that Rand was likely trying his best to avoid. Rand began his entry on that day by explaining that he had been in Halifax for a fortnight. He also wrote:

[C]alling upon bro. W. Howe I learned that the gathering at Halifax had assumed that Lord Cecil Mr. Mace and their party at Montreal were all right, and had “decreed to take sides with them”, and that there were a few dissentients who had left- I gave Howe to understand that I could not concur in that decision, and he informed me that then I & he must be separated. All right, said I.²⁶

Rand would not provide a favourable decision to Howe and therefore he was to be excluded. Rand continued by writing: “[B]ut I concluded that I would not reject them, but if they rejected me, I would not care much.”²⁷ Rand, stubborn as always, was unmoved, a decision which had serious effects on his religious affiliations. Rand then wrote:

[S]o I went to the Room on Sunday morning, and I was early. There was no one there but Pennington. I walked up to him and spoke pleasantly and offered him my hand. But he drew back and said “I can’t shake hands with you. And you can’t break bread here.” “Why not?” I asked. Because of what I had said to Mr. Howe. So as they came in, I observed they looked at me “askance”.²⁸

²⁵ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, December 22, 1884.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, February 4, 1885.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Rand was being ostracized by other members of the Plymouth Brethren, and in this passage it is apparent that he is no longer welcome to practice certain religious customs with the group, such as breaking the bread. Rand was undoubtedly upset by this, although he also appeared to be confused about the situation as well. In his diary he wrote that he was asked to speak to Mr. Howe.²⁹ Rand then wrote: "I found the Major, Pennington, Mr. Howe and Wilson. Howe informed me that they did not wish me to come there to make trouble, and I told him and all, that I did not wish to do so, and would go away and that now all the responsibility of course rested on them, and them alone. I went away."³⁰ Rand left after his confrontation with the other members of the Plymouth Brethren. He mentioned later on in his diary that he had written to Howe, in order to try and understand why the Brethren had excluded him, although he never received a reply.³¹ Once again Rand was excluded by his religious community for speaking his mind and for avoiding conforming.

Although his behaviour did not change, his religious affiliations did, and later that year he returned to the Hantsport Baptist Church. The rest of Rand's diary developed without any mention of the confrontation with the Brethren, for the missionary was preoccupied with his correspondence, as well as the publication of his dictionary.

Although Rand continued to make mention of biblical texts and verses in his diary and to comment on the communities to which he preached, Rand was excluded by his religious community of choice and no longer had the support of those around him. After initially leaving the Baptist Church, in order to join the Brethren, he was excluded by them in

²⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, February 4, 1885.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

early 1885. Rand was never informed of the exact reason for his exclusion from the denomination, but Lovesey hypothesized that it was regarding the issue of open and closed communion within the Church; she went on to claim that it may also have been about his nature of speaking his mind, since his opinion was not the popular opinion shared among the majority of members within the group.³² After Rand returned to the Hantsport Baptist Church, he remained faithful to them until his death in 1889.³³

Reliance on Colportage and Prayer, 1884-1885

In the final years of his life, Rand began once again to rely on the act of begging to support himself, and to fund the initiatives that he undertook, returning to his former way of sustaining his ministry. Rand did not live his life as a financially secure man and until his death he struggled with financial constraints, and grappled continuously to support himself and his family. Rand also dealt with health issues, and in approaching old age they became increasingly taxing. Since Rand's personal diaries tended to include information about the missionary's finances and health, they are telling and reveal a number of changes within Rand over time. In Rand's earlier diaries, he often used the pages in order to recount a sort of accounts received and payable. His diary from 1884 was less structured and organized, but it has revealed, in part, the money collected and spent by Rand over the course of the year, as well as documented evidence of Rand's continued physical ailments.

Colportage was the way in which Rand supported the MMS for a number of years, and luckily at the beginning, he found support amongst Protestants throughout the region.

³² Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertitus Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 214.

³³ *Ibid.*, xix.

As time went on, Rand's commitment to fundraising wavered, and it took a toll on his emotional and mental wellbeing, not to mention his physical wellbeing.³⁴ After being exposed to George Müller's way of thinking, in 1864 Rand took it upon himself to model his behaviour, and chose to abandon his manner of soliciting money. Since Müller had achieved a high level of success using this method to fund orphanages in Britain, Rand thought this technique would work for him as well.³⁵ Sadly, the realities in Nova Scotia were very different from those in England, and the causes for which he attempted to secure funds were less popular, and Rand never achieved the sort of success that Müller experienced in Europe. Rand spent a great deal of time in reflection and prayer, believing that a higher power would satisfy his needs. In Rand's diary from 1884, he was wholly preoccupied with having his Mi'kmaw dictionary published, and relied on a combination of both tactics to garner contributions from others. As in the beginning of his ministry, he begged for money from all he encountered, both in person and by correspondence, but he also continued to pray for financial support. This demonstrates a change in Rand's behaviour over time, indicated by the excerpts from within his diary.

Rand took the opportunity to start anew with his diary from 1884, and he began by stating, "I have made no entry for several days. I here commence another "folio" of my diary. Will as many changes and as great take place in my circumstances during the filling of these sheets as occurred during the filling up of the last half year?"³⁶ Rand appeared to be writing with the desire to convey a message. He continued by expressing

³⁴ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 28, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, March 19, 1884.

haste for the project he was currently undertaking, and wrote: “[A]s to the events that are at present occupying my attention, the most important is a negotiation going on between myself and the Smithsonian Institution, respecting the publication of my Micmac Dictionary.”³⁷ Rand was told by Major Powell that his dictionary would be published as long as it was written in a phonetic alphabet. Powell was the Chief Director of the Ethnological department at the Smithsonian Institution, and his correspondence with Rand spanned the entirety of this diary.³⁸ Rand worked tirelessly over the course of his career in order to collect a large number of words in the Mi’kmaw language. Although he struggled to convert the Mi’kmaw to the Baptist Church, his linguistic study had been overwhelmingly successful. It had been his desire to have his dictionary published before his death, and luckily it was published the year before he died, and his dictionary did become one of the primary reasons that Rand is remembered to this day, along with the collection of Mi’kmaw legends that he translated.

In order to have his dictionary published Rand required both encouragement and financial support from a number of powerful men. It is for that reason that Rand devoted such a large proportion of his life in 1884 to corresponding with these men. Rand was seventy-four years old and he grew increasingly dependent on others. In the past he had been quite industrious and laboured independently. This was no longer always the case. The majority of his correspondents were men, save for his daughter, Sarah, who took on a larger role in Rand’s life after the death of his wife. In order to be as efficient as possible, Rand would write to his daughter Sarah in his absences. Rand’s daughter kept her father informed on the sorts of letters that awaited him upon his return. At times, Rand’s

³⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, March 19, 1884.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

notations were quite substantive, as on March 28, when he wrote: “Received a letter from Sarah, all well. Sarah writes that there are several letters she sent me from W. Elder, which I must answer at once enquiring about an Indian word.”³⁹ In other instances, Rand was much more brief and simply wrote, as per his diary on March 29: “A letter from Sarah. Lots of letters.”⁴⁰ It is quite likely that Rand had depended on his wife for this sort of support throughout their relationship, and after her death Rand never remarried. It should be noted that in Rand’s diary from 1884, he increasingly listed and documented his monetary and health issues, and this may be in part because after the death of his wife, he lacked a proper confidante and this loss likely prompted a fundamental shift in Rand’s behaviour.

Early on in Rand’s diary from 1884, he began commenting on his financial constraints. In the first entry of Rand’s diary from 1884, on March 19, he wrote: “[R]eceived a letter from Judge James today inclosing five dollars. This enables me to leave something to my daughter and pay my way.”⁴¹ As Rand struggled for money, it is telling that he chose to comment on this so early in his first entry. Like the publication of his dictionary, his financial constraints appear to have been constantly weighing on his mind. On March 25, just a few days after mentioning Judge James’ generous contribution, Rand wrote about having had tea with the Judge himself.⁴² Just as he commented on his correspondence, Rand did at times write at length about who was providing him with financial support but at other times Rand wrote in the following manner, “[T]en dollars

³⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, March 28, 1884.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1884.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, March 19, 1884.

⁴² *Ibid.*, March 25, 1884.

received. This will help Will. Called on Dr. Avery who gave me five.”⁴³ In Rand’s early ministerial career, he collected funds to support the MMS, as well as his own family. Since the dissolution of the society, Rand now sought out money for the most part to help with the publication of his Micmac Dictionary.

Rand received mail from a number of individuals, some of whom he had never met, and the quantity of correspondence appeared to only increase as Rand aged. On April 12, 1884, Rand mentioned having received a letter from “Dr. D.G. Briton, Philadelphia, asking for Indian Remains. He wants Indian works composed by themselves; and written in their own tongue. I wrote him that I have five that were written down from the mouths of Indians, I being simply their amanuensis in the case.”⁴⁴ Indeed, Rand had served as an amanuensis in this case, referring to his task of assisting with dictation, transcription and translation. A few days later, on April 25, Rand wrote: “[A]nother letter from Chicago thanking me for my translation of the Lord’s Prayer in several Indian Languages, and asking for the Indian for the three words, - “The Lord’s Prayer.” I sent them on in Micmac, Maliseet & Mohawk.”⁴⁵ Although Rand focused his translations primarily on the Mi’kmaw language, he also worked with other Indigenous languages such as Maliseet and Mohawk. Later on the same day, Rand wrote “Got a P.C. from the Editor for the “Hants Journal”, acknowledging the reception of my Micmac Legend, and he will find room for it next week. I had become somewhat fidgety about it.”⁴⁶ Rand was often agitated at the thought of this continued correspondence, and it added a significant amount of stress to his life. Since letters were arriving from a number

⁴³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, March 29, 1884.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1884.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, April 25, 1884.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

of locations, many of which were requesting information from Rand, he spent a great deal of time and effort toiling over his replies.

Powell was one of the most notable individuals with whom Rand corresponded, and he is often mentioned in his diary from 1884. On April 17, Rand wrote: “I found a huge letter from Washington. I find I have received credit for about 60 books in or about the Indian languages.”⁴⁷ This letter was no doubt from Powell, a man who admired the sort of work that Rand was completing. It would appear as though Powell discussed Rand’s translation work with others in the same field, because on April 25, Rand wrote:

I arrived home on Wednesday and found I was just in time to attend important business. I found a letter from Gen. M. Dawson Esq, Ottawa, saying they are collecting and publishing vocabularies of the Indian Dialects of British Colombia, and that Major Powel of the Smithsonian Institute has highly recommended my Dictionary to the “Geological and Natural History Survey, in very flattering terms”, and he Dawson is anxious to get my consent to have it published in Canada. I have written in reply to say that this will harmonise. He tells me the authority of the Minister of the Interior would be needed, and he will attend to that matter as soon as he is informed that I consent to it. So things seem to be moving on in the right train on & on may it go, until all matters are settled.⁴⁸

Rand likely felt a level of pride due to the fact that his work was to be published and that his translations proved to be meaningful to someone other than himself. Weeks later, these sorts of thoughts continued to pester Rand to the point where he made mention of them on his seventy-fourth birthday, writing: “I feel somewhat anxious to know the result of my proposal to the “Geological and Natural History Survey.” I feel safe, however, in committing that matter and all others into the Lord’s blessed hands. I am satisfied that all

⁴⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, April 17, 1884.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, April 25, 1884.

will be well.”⁴⁹ Again, Rand put his faith in prayer and assured himself that these sorts of issues would resolve themselves.

As Rand continued to age, these sorts of projects weighed heavily on his mind. On April 27, Rand wrote: “I am not seeking worldly praise or honour. I can rest, subdued and quiet, like a child that has been properly weaned, completely weaned – and no longer cries & worries for the breast.”⁵⁰ A part of Rand would perhaps have been comforted to know that he would be remembered, within certain circles, for the work that he completed in regards to the Mi’kmaw language. Although his legacy is unknown to a considerable percentage of the population, he worked passionately until his death of the pursuits which brought him joy. Rand put a great deal of time and effort into his replies to the letters that he received. On April 29, Rand noted: “I have been working hard yesterday and today answering Mr. Pilling’s last letter. I have it now ready to send off. It comprises 13 pages. I think they will be a sorry set if they don’t send me 100 dollars.”⁵¹ This sort of passage reveals the financial struggles that Rand battled against throughout his career, but it also offers insight into the sort of replies that Rand constructed. This instance in particular demonstrated the extent to which Rand was invested in his work, as he continued to correspond with different and more recognized individuals in the fields of anthropology, sociology and linguistics. The immensity of the tasks that he undertook weighed so heavily on his mind that at times he felt as though he needed to take a break and rest. In continuing to examine the passage from April 29, Rand noted: “I feel fatigued. I must rest

⁴⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, May 18, 1884.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1884.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, April 29, 1884.

from brain work today.”⁵² It is altogether unsurprising that Rand felt exhausted. The lifestyle he lived was demanding, as well as tiring, and required a particular devotion to the tasks at hand.

While some changes in Rand’s character are noticeable, his passion and drive rarely wavered. Rand was quite ambitious insofar as the projects that he undertook, but none of the projects were achieved easily. On May 5, Rand gave the impression that he was about to take on an additional charge, by writing,

I have today copied my letter to the “Geological and Natural History Survey”. I have proposed to them to hand over all my Lexicographical and Grammatical Manuscripts to them for their use and behoof, for what would be deemed a generous salary for one year. And I name 1500 dollars. Then for a thousand dollars per annum I will labour for them diligently in preparing them, and putting them through the press.⁵³

One must wonder as to the sort of career Rand anticipated for himself at the age of 74? It is possible, and quite likely, that Rand wished to sell much of his life’s work, including his research and translations in order to leave something to his children after his death. He had not been able to provide a great deal of money to his family during his career, so perhaps he saw fit to do so in his death. Rand noted,

I tell them “if they can propose any thing more just and generous either on their part or on mine, I will agree to it, and I say I know not how to make them a fairer offer. Now I have sought earnestly divine direction in all this, and I feel as though the Lord has indeed been with me in the matter. Now I leave it all in his blessed hands. I feel composed and quiet in the thoughts that he who is my Father in Heaven, will guide and bless me in all things. “Bless the Lord, O my Soul.”⁵⁴

⁵² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, April 29, 1884.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1884.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Rand sought wisdom from the Lord in order to guide him on how to proceed with matters such as this, matters which were intrinsically linked to the legacy that he would leave behind.

While constructing and moulding his legacy, Rand became an experienced networker, undoubtedly understanding the importance of well-placed connections. On May 14, 1884 Rand mentioned having seen his cousin Charles Tupper on a train. This encounter is telling because of the significance of the letter recounted on April 25, 1884. Dawson had told Rand that he needed the permission of the Minister of the Interior in order to move forward with the publication of Rand's material in Canada. Rand wrote in his diary that "[O]n entering the cars, after having seen and conversed with Jake Brooks, who should I see but Dr. Tupper, Sir Charles. I spoke to him."⁵⁵ Rand and Tupper were cousin on his mother's side of the family. The two were relatively close in age, and it is likely that they knew each other. Rand went on to write that "[A]s soon as he was disengaged from the gentleman with whom he was conversing, he came and took a seat beside me. I told him, among other things, that I had been looking after an Indian to assist me in preparing my Dictionnary. I also told him something about our present plans and prospects respecting that matter."⁵⁶ Seeing as how the matter of the publication of his dictionary was of such pressing concern, it comes as no surprise that Rand would want to discuss this with whomever would listen. Rand explained: "[H]ow surprised was I to find that the matter rested with himself, that he is "Minister of the Interior" and that my letter to Dawson containing my proposal had been forwarded to him by Selwyn, the chief of the Survey. This is wonderful and convinces me that the good Lord is planning my business

⁵⁵ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, May 14, 1884.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

for me.”⁵⁷ Rand understood in that moment that Tupper was familiar with the subject of conversation seeing as how he was the one to have received the proposal. It is quite likely that Rand parted with Tupper with a renewed sense of accomplishment and motivation. From the manner by which Rand wrote about Tupper, it would appear as though he held him in high regard and genuinely respected his contributions as a politician and individual. Summarizing the rest of the conversation with Tupper, Rand wrote: “[I]n his blessed hands I desire to leave it. Sir Charles gave me a Sovereign on parting, and a stranger sitting just in front and an Indian sitting in behind, was the occasion of two more dollars being given me.”⁵⁸ Because of his constant financial limitations, it was not as though he would turn away money offered to him by the men on the train, and Rand may have seen it as a blessing since he had not had to ask for it.

As with most of Rand’s missionary visits, he continued to collect donations from any and all interested individuals. On May 15, in his diary Rand wrote: “I have received in cash \$13.25 since I have left home.”⁵⁹ Rand had little trouble asking for money since he had been used to doing so for much of his adult life, as a minister and missionary. Later that same day Rand wrote: “I found a letter from Pilling, containing five dollars. This makes 18 ds I have received within one week. Thanks be the Lord!”⁶⁰ Since Rand’s life was so intrinsically linked to religion, it comes as little surprise that Rand would offer thanks to a higher power, instead of thanking the individuals who bestowed money upon him. On June 5, Rand wrote rather bluntly: “[T]hen I had to go to Kentville Friday for

⁵⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, May 14, 1884.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1884.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

money. I went over to Silas Killam's and got his name to the note for 125 dollars."⁶¹ This was a significant amount of money for Killam to offer to the missionary and it is quite interesting that Rand would only mention it in passing. On June 24, Rand also commented on the money that he had collected since leaving home, although this time it was only seven dollars.⁶² A few days later, on June 29, Rand wrote: "[T]his morning Mr. Bill asked me if any one had given me any thing for my services. I told him No. So he handed me a five dollar bill. This makes fourteen dollars I have received since I left home."⁶³ Bill was another example of an individual who did their best to reward Rand for the services that he was providing to the community. It should be noted, however, that Rand sought to collect money from any individuals willing to part with it, even if it happened to be his own children. On July 2, Rand wrote: "I have been praying for money night and day."⁶⁴ Rand worked industriously to support his family, but money was never in large supply. Even his children supported him and sent him money whenever they could. On July 5, Rand wrote: "[W]e needed a couple of dollars and what was my surprise to find them in a letter from Hattie."⁶⁵ His lack of funds did not seem to shame him in the least, as he received the money from his daughter Hattie as if she were any other parishioner.

Rand's correspondence with Dawson was one of the most important aspects of his diary from 1884. The two men were separated by a great distance and this made communication delayed and difficult. It was not as though the two could discuss

⁶¹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, June 5, 1884.

⁶² *Ibid.*, June 24, 1884.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, June 29, 1884.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, July 2, 1884.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, July 5, 1884.

situations face-to-face, which led to months of correspondence regarding salary and the publication of Rand's dictionary. On May 23, 1884 Rand wrote: "I came home on Tuesday last. I found a letter from Dawson, acknowledging that my proposal was reasonable, but the funds in their possession would not warrant them in complying. So I replied that if they will send me five hundred dollars-I will go on and get the Books ready."⁶⁶ Although Rand had initially requested a sum of fifteen-hundred dollars, he had settled for a third of that. Instead of losing out on all monetary reward for the work that he had completed, Rand chose to accept a small sum as an alternative. Rand was known to be an outspoken individual, and in the past he may have negotiated his salary further, but he accepted the offer made to him by Dawson, possibly in order to gain some degree of financial security.

Another interesting element of Rand's correspondence was with a man named Charles Godfrey Leland, an American of considerable wealth. Leland was both a journalist and lawyer, but found great meaning in researching the folkloric traditions of various groups of people. Lovesey wrote that he was "a well-known author, particularly for his work on the gypsies."⁶⁷ Leland's niece, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, wrote his biography after his death and highlights his interest in things pertaining to the occult.⁶⁸ Leland and Rand corresponded regularly about their shared interest in Indigenous languages and legends. Most of their correspondence was centered around Leland's interest in Rand's work among the Mi'kmaq. Leland published a book entitled *The*

⁶⁶ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, May 23, 1884.

⁶⁷ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 206.

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Charles Godfrey Leland; a biography*, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1906), 8.

Algonquin Legends of New England, and Rand commented about this in his diary, for it was Rand who had lent Leland a large number of Mi'kmaw legends that he had collected. Lovesey wrote that "[H]e found resemblances between these tales and those of the Eskimos, and the Eddas and Sagas of the Norsemen, and thought the Micmacs had been influenced by the Eskimos who in turn had been influenced by the Norsemen."⁶⁹ Having never interacted with the Mi'kmaq in their own language, it is very likely that Leland made a large number of generalizations and statements loosely based on facts.

The two men were corresponding so that Rand could help Leland with his book project. The Mi'kmaw legends that Rand had collected were of interest to Leland. On June 19, Rand wrote about receiving a letter from Leland and also stated: "[H]e sent me a copy of the 'Edda', Scandinavian mythology. He says he has prepared an article for the 'Atlantic Monthly' on the 'Edda of the Micmacs', in which he has 'puffed' me and my Indian labours up."⁷⁰ This is another example of Leland making use of the research that Rand collected pertaining to the Mi'kmaq. The following day, Rand noted in his diary: "[F]inished reading the Edda as I came up. It is certainly a curious affair."⁷¹ Perhaps Rand did agree with Leland's claims and also observed similarities between this legend and those collected among the Mi'kmaq, but if this were the case he did not list these observations in his diary, and therefore kept his opinion to himself.

Months later, on October 13, Rand wrote: "I received the other day Leland's publication on 'Algonkin Legends', and he certainly made an interesting book of it. I

⁶⁹ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 206.

⁷⁰ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, June 19, 1884.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1884.

think it will “read”.⁷² It is likely that Rand looked forward to reading Leland’s book since his work had contributed to it. Later that week, Rand finished the volume and wrote that Leland had developed an interesting idea, but appeared to remain critical of the publication.⁷³ Undoubtedly, Rand would have been flattered that another individual in his field would have seen merit in the work that he was accomplishing, but in that instance he took the opportunity to express himself about the situation in his diary. Rand went on to write that: “[B]ut when he expatiates on Indian Philosophy, or Etymology, he slips. He has made sad havoc of my Micmac. Hood is Flood and words are separated, and put together, and letters are confused and confounded in all manners of ways.”⁷⁴ Rand rarely minced words, and instead of tarnishing Leland’s name publicly, he chose instead to comment on the sorts of errors that he observed in his personal diary. Rand took pride in the work that he completed, and felt strongly when others wrongfully translated, misprinted and misunderstood the meaning of his work. Although in other situations, as within his role in the church, he appeared to be at the center of controversy, it is altogether unlikely that Leland ever knew how Rand actually felt about his work. Leland is not mentioned again in Rand’s diary, until Rand received a letter from him on December 29, 1884, when he wrote: “[L]etter from Leland, complaining that I did not proof his book.”⁷⁵ Although the two men shared a common interest in Indigenous languages and legends, Leland had a keen interest in elements of the occult such as witches and witchcraft, and this is not something that Rand ever commented on in his diaries. Rand would likely have judged his sort of work very harshly, and observed it as a

⁷² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, October 13, 1884.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, October 16, 1884.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, December 29, 1884.

staunch contradiction to his own religious beliefs, and perhaps this is why their correspondences ended.

In spite of being preoccupied with his correspondence, Rand continued on with his duties, as can be noted on June 14, when he wrote: “I have been driving on with my Dictionary.”⁷⁶ Rand was able to do so because of the support that he received from individuals of Mi’kmaw descent such as Jake Brooks. Rand last mentioned Brooks when the two men saw each other on the day of the encounter with Charles Tupper on May 14, 1884. A month later, on June 14, Rand notes in his diary having received a letter from Brooks by writing “[R]eceived a letter today from Jake Brooks of Spring Hill Junction, well written and well spelled, and I have asked him to write down atookwōkūn. I have sent him paper and a tract in Micmac as I write it, and some other Books, and told him why I have not written.”⁷⁷ There were still words that Rand was not familiar with and therefore he continued to depend on the support of Mi’kmaw speakers. Rand understood more than anyone how invaluable his relationships were with Indigenous speakers, for they propelled his work forward, and these interactions allowed him to physically collect and organize an incredible amount of knowledge that would likely have otherwise been lost. On November 4, 1884, Rand was in Spring Hill and was able to converse with Brooks in person.⁷⁸ Rand commented on this interaction by writing “Jake came to the Inn, & spent a couple of hours with me. We went over a list of words, and I find him quite capable, and if we succeed in getting the means of publishing the Dictionary, his services

⁷⁶ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, June 14, 1884.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, November 4, 1884.

will be invaluable.”⁷⁹ Rand was appreciative of the sort of assistance that he received from Brooks, for without him, his dream of having his dictionary published would have been unfulfilled. Only five days later, Rand commented on the subject of his dictionary again, by writing “I have been busy at my Dictionary. I am as far as Best, and have copied out nearly 200 pages.”⁸⁰ The scale of this project was immense, and to Rand’s credit he undertook the majority of it on his own. He continued to work industriously to provide a list of Mi’kmaq words as complete as possible.

The next few months unraveled quite quickly in the pages of Rand’s diary, but it had become apparent that he was beginning to seek counsel from others about the pressing issues in his life and, although Rand had mentors in the past, he had functioned in an autonomous manner. On October 13, Rand commented about a trip he took to Wolfville by writing “I wished to consult Dr. Rand respecting my Dic. He gave me some important information, and some-as I think-judicious counsel.”⁸¹ Dr. Theodore Harding (more commonly known as T.H.) Rand, was a nineteenth century Nova Scotian educator, civil servant and poet.⁸² He too had been educated at Horton Academy and it is therefore understandable as to why Rand would seek advice from his well-educated cousin. Later that same day Rand also wrote to Dr. Dawson upon the suggestion of Dr. Rand. He recounted the event in his diary by writing “[A]t the Doctor’s suggestion I have written to Dr. Dawson of McGill College, asking counsel and advice, and suggesting that he make a move to have a petition from the Colleges & other Institutions and individuals, to the

⁷⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, November 4, 1884.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1884.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1884.

⁸² Margaret Conrad, “RAND, THEODORE HARDING,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed January 12, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_theodore_harding_12E.html.

Dominion Parliament, for the means of publishing my Dictionary.”⁸³ Rand continued to correspond with a number of these well-positioned individuals with the ultimate goal of having his dictionary published and circulated. By October 21, Dawson had responded to Rand’s letter, and in his diary Rand wrote: “[H]e gives me good counsel, about my Dictionary and I mean to follow it up.”⁸⁴ Rand was quite grateful for the advice given to him by Dawson, who by all accounts was a busy man. On October 25, Rand received an additional letter from Dawson.⁸⁵ Rand’s correspondence with Dr. Rand and Dr. Dawson continued into the fall of 1884, and on October 31, Rand wrote: “[R]eceived a letter from Dr. Rand in reply to the suggestions of Dr. Dawson. Sent Dr. R’s letter today to Sir William, with quite a full of explanation of the matter.”⁸⁶ Rand would correspond with his relative, and relay the information that he received from Dawson. On November 29, another exchange of this nature appears to have taken place. Rand wrote in his diary :“I have written to Dr. Rand and sent Sir Wm’s letter. Sent him Churchill’s letter, and one of Jake Brooks’.”⁸⁷ It is likely that Rand was heavily influenced by his cousin, and this too can be noted as a change in his character over time.

Dawson continued his correspondence with Rand, although in early 1885 it was understood that he was unable to provide Rand with the sort of financial support that he required. On January 2, 1885, Rand wrote in his diary: “[L]etter from Sir Wm. Dawson today and five dollars. He does not think the “Survey” can publish my Micmac

⁸³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, October 16, 1884.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, October 21, 1884.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, October 25, 1884.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, October 31, 1884.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, November 29, 1884.

Dictionary.”⁸⁸ Since Rand’s dictionary was not going to be published by Dawson, Rand took it upon himself to initiate a new idea. He decided to garner the support of wealthy men via a petition. Over a month later, on February 8, 1885, Rand wrote: “[O]n Thursday evening I went up to Wolfville to see the Faculty of the College, respecting a petition which I had drawn up to be laid before the Government of Canada for aid to finish and publish my Dictionary of the Micmac Language.”⁸⁹ Rand found success in this tactic, and this petition led him to institutions all over the province. Rand went on to write:

I first called on Dr. Rand, and then, by his direction on Dr. Sawyer, the President of the College. I read my petition to him and he agreed to call the faculty together the next day at 12 o'clock. So I was on hand, showed them my petition and a specimen of my Dictionary. They examined it, and discussed the matter and soon agreed to appoint a Committee to draw up and prepare a petition form themselves, recommending the prayer of the petitions. I must then lay it before the other Colleges, and take it to Ottawa myself.

Instead of requesting money from individuals, Rand was now seeking support from academic institutions. He began with Acadia in Wolfville, where he had studied and long laboured over the translations of Mi’kmaw legends. Rand then began to travel to visit other institutions to secure funds for the publication of his dictionary as well. On February 10, 1885, Rand wrote: “[Y]esterday Dr. Rand sent me my “petition,” and a very good one attached. I shall now go to Windsor and then to Halifax, to get Windsor and Dalhousie Colleges, and then get ready D.V. to go to Ottawa.”⁹⁰ From the pages of Rand’s diary, it would appear as though this was the only thing that was preoccupying his mind at that point. Three days later Rand wrote about having to travel to Windsor, where he did indeed receive the support he was seeking. At the end of his diary entry for

⁸⁸ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 2, 1885.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, February 8, 1885.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, February 10, 1885.

February 13, Rand wrote: “[N]ow I must go to Halifax and pitch on Dalhousie.”⁹¹ It appeared as though Rand also received the support that he needed from the Faculty at Dalhousie.⁹²

After deciding to create a petition to amass funding for the publication of his dictionary, Rand appeared to have more success securing funds. On February 20, 1885, Rand wrote: “I have just received a card from Montreal from Sir. Wm. Dawson, who has invited me to come to his house if I stop at Montreal.”⁹³ It does not appear as though Rand ever made a trip to Ottawa, but correspondents like Dawson were willing to host him. Rand’s diary concluded on February 21, with a brief note about other sorts of support he had received, and an acrostic written by Rand. It took three more years for Rand’s dictionary to be published, and it appeared in print the year before his death under the title of *The Dictionary of the Languages of the Micmac Indians, English-Micmac*.⁹⁴ He received congratulation from Powell of the Smithsonian Institute for the contributions that Rand had made towards future generations.⁹⁵ Over fourteen years later, a second edition of the dictionary was prepared by Jeremiah Clark and published with the translation from Mi’kmaw to English.⁹⁶ Rand wanted to publish both, but he was unable to do so because of the financial constraints that crippled him throughout his career.

In Rand’s diary from 1884 and 1885, it is apparent that he still felt a desire to publish his life’s work, but in order to do so he needed to devote an enormous amount of

⁹¹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, February 13, 1885.

⁹² *Ibid.*, February 20, 1885; Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 208.

⁹³ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, February 20, 1885.

⁹⁴ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 208.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 208-209.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 209.

time to his correspondence with men who could assist him. Unlike in his earlier career, Rand became increasingly dependent on his daughter, as well as correspondents such as T. H. Rand. He sought counsel from others and took reductions in pay as necessary to further advance his project. These changes in Rand are apparent from the pages of his diary and demonstrate the sort of drive that propelled him forward.

Understanding the Individual that Rand Has Become, 1889-present

At the end of Rand's life what was left was a disillusioned man struggling to support himself after having undergone a number of changes over the course of his life. These changes shaped the individual that Rand became, and in large part moulded the legacy that he left behind. But it is only by examining what others wrote of Rand that it becomes possible to understand the individual as a whole, for as much as it is imperative to consult the primary sources, in this case Rand's diaries, one must also consult the secondary literature published by others in the field. It is for that reason that the final section of this chapter is meant to provide an image and description of Rand during his life, in death and throughout his legacy and memory.

Although Rand did receive some praise during his life, a large amount of the recognition came posthumously, including that for the publication of his dictionary. Throughout the twentieth-century, a number of historians, including Judith Fingard, Daniel Paul, Ruth Holmes-Whitehead and Aldean Nowlen, wrote about Rand in volumes of social history, meant to inform the general public. Interestingly, much of this literature was geared towards, and written for a young audience, in order to educate them on the history of Mi'kmaq legends and language.

The most complete description of Rand is found within his *DCB* entry written by Dr. Judith Fingard. Fingard wrote her account of Rand in 1975, although it was not published until 1982, and it continues to provide readers with an unbiased depiction of him. It is well researched, although Fingard did not appear to be overly impressed with Rand. Fingard actually corresponded with her husband, historian Peter Burroughs, about a draft of the entry, and the two discussed her lack of enthusiasm regarding Rand. According to a letter found within Fingard's fonds at the Dalhousie University Archives, Burroughs wrote:

[I]f I was to cavil or carp I would say that it does not at present have quite the liveliness or sparkle that you usually attain. Perhaps because I know you so well & am familiar with your writing over the years, the draft conveys to me the impression that the subject did not quite capture your imagination or that your heart was not quite in it. But I doubt whether anyone else would realize this, not having that personal acquaintance with & sensitivity for your work.⁹⁷

There is no doubt that Burroughs would have known Fingard's work intimately, and to observe him review it critically is compelling. Perhaps Fingard struggled with her study of Rand because she found him eccentric and erratic, but her final version of his biography is both polished and complete.

Fingard wrote about Rand critically but objectively and provided readers with a complete overview of Rand's life and legacy, and she commented on the changes that he underwent while providing readers with a chronological retelling of Rand's life. In one such instance, it is interesting to compare Fingard's biography with Rand's own diary. At the end of Fingard's biography she wrote:

As solace Rand devoted more and more time to his study of Micmac culture as the years passed, a study which won him recognition abroad and honorary

⁹⁷“Letter to Judith Fingard from Peter Burroughs., 12 August [1975].” Accession No. MS-2-713.2014-031.

degrees at home as he produced his scriptural translations in Micmac and Malecite, compiled his Micmac dictionary, and collected scores of legends including the time-honoured tales of Glooscap, the mythological hero of the Micmacs.⁹⁸

Although Rand had been awarded a number of degrees as mentioned by Fingard, his own diary revealed that there was some hesitation in accepting these sorts of recognition. On December 18, Rand wrote about visiting a friend, Judge James at his home, since he had been bedridden for a number of months. Rand wrote: “Judge James gave me five dollars, and intimated that the Kingston University were going to confer on me a “Degree.” I do not know whether I shall accept of it, should it be offered.”⁹⁹ Although Rand was not initially convinced that he would accept a degree should it be conferred upon him by an academic institution such as Queen’s College in Kingston, he did receive his Doctor of Laws degree in 1886. Later on that same year, Rand was also awarded a Doctor of Divinity degree from Acadia.¹⁰⁰ In just over twelve-hundred words Fingard was able to educate the general populous, on the significance of the legacy left behind by Rand, the missionary with a keen interest in the Mi’kmaw language.

Aldean Nowlan also wrote about Rand in his book *Nine Micmac Legends* by stating “[E]very surviving Micmac legend, including the nine stories in this book, owes its continued existence to Rev. Silas T. Rand.”¹⁰¹ Nowlan wrote of Rand more in regards to his role as a linguist and less so as a missionary, for it is in that role that Rand left a more

⁹⁸ Judith Fingard, “RAND, SILAS TERTIUS,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 22, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

⁹⁹ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, December 18, 1884.

¹⁰⁰ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), xix.

¹⁰¹ Aldean Nowlan, *Nine Micmac Legends* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2007), 9.

lasting impact. Nowlan also wrote that “[W]ithout Silas Rand, we might never have heard of Glooskap.”¹⁰² Glooskap is now a story taught to children across the province of Nova Scotia, and a legend known across Canada. Rand’s objective was fulfilled, in that the legends endured long after his death. He likely would have felt as though his life’s work had been justified and all his labour successful. Nowlan continued to write about the legends by stating that “[T]hey were stories told by an adult to other adults—the nearest a people without a written language could come to creating a literature.”¹⁰³ Rand’s respect for the Mi’kmaq and their language propelled his work forward, and luckily it had positive repercussions for those who came after him.

At the end of the twentieth century, there came a rise of Indigenous writers writing about their own cultures, languages, and histories. Kenneth Williams wrote about this subject in the article “Cultural Appropriation and Aboriginal Literature”, published in Windspeaker, an Indigenous news publication. Williams wrote that at one time, the only way to read about Indigenous people was to read the literature written about them by “anthropologists, missionaries or adventurers.”¹⁰⁴ These individuals wrote about groups of people different from themselves, and most of them wrote from a position of relative power within the community. This was the case for Rand, who wrote extensively about the Mi’kmaq, and continued to hold positions of relative power within communities as a minister and missionary.

It is crucial to see how authors of Indigenous descent wrote about Rand in their studies of Mi’kmaq language and culture, and luckily both Daniel Paul and Ruth Holmes

¹⁰² Aldean Nowlan, *Nine Micmac Legends* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2007), 9.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁴ Kenneth Williams Cultural Appropriation and Aboriginal Literature, *Windspeaker* 14, no.11, (1997): 18.

Whitehead have commented on Rand within the breadth of their work. In 1993, Daniel Paul, a Mi'kmaw elder, wrote *We Were Not the Savages: Collision between European and Native American Civilizations*, a fundamental text used in the understanding of Mi'kmaw culture and history. Paul only commented briefly on Rand in this publication, in two different instances, but both pertain to his work in legends and language. The first was when discussing the name given to the Mi'kmaw people, and the second was when Paul discussed two multiple accounts of the same legend collected by Rand.¹⁰⁵ Paul is an author of Mi'kmaw descent and therefore it is understandable that he would spend less time discussing Rand, since as he was of settler-colonial descent. Paul's work has been praised as it offers readers a basis of knowledge regarding the Mi'kmaq spanning centuries.

Three different volumes by Ruth Holmes-Whitehead have been examined within the scope of this project, for Holmes-Whitehead is a historian of Mi'kmaw descent working in Nova Scotia. In 1991, Holmes-Whitehead published *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History 1500-1950*, and within this volume she identified many excerpts taken from both Rand's translations and legends.¹⁰⁶ The other two volumes written by Holmes-Whitehead include *Six Mi'kmaq Stories*, and *Stories from the Six Worlds: Mi'kmaw Legends*, published in 2010 and 2013 respectively. Both of these publications provide a considerable amount of information about Rand and his influence on the Mi'kmaw legends recounted in these volumes.

¹⁰⁵ Daniel Paul, *We Were Not the Savages: Collision between European and Native American Civilizations* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2006), 4; Daniel Paul, *We Were Not the Savages: Collision between European and Native American Civilizations* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2006), 67.

¹⁰⁶ Ruth Holmes Whitehead. *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History 1500-1950*. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1991).

In *Six Mi'kmaq Stories*, Holmes-Whitehead wrote about the significance of stories in Mi'kmaw culture, stories that at times lasted for days.¹⁰⁷ She mentioned that all six of the stories in this collection had been gathered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including some by Rand, the only story collector who spoke the Mi'kmaw language. Rand took great care in collecting the legends, and often read his translations back to the storyteller to check for accuracy. At times, two or more sources and variation of stories were used in order for Holmes-Whitehead to recount the stories as accurately as possible.¹⁰⁸ Holmes-Whitehead went on to write that "Rand's 'legends' are the oldest collection and form the basis of each tale here, to which were added any details supplied by other collections. By combining details and actions from a number of variants, we can come closer to a complete retelling of each of the original Mi'kmaq stories."¹⁰⁹ One difficulty noted by Holmes-Whitehead is that some words or verbs would be changed, as to better or to ease or to make possible the work of the translator.¹¹⁰ It appears as though in this volume Holmes-Whitehead is appreciative of the work completed by Rand, but she believed that more can be done to restore the quality and vocabulary of the original dictated legends.¹¹¹

In Holmes-Whitehead's other publication *Stories from the Six World*, she does not provide as much background information about Rand. She mentions briefly his early

¹⁰⁷ Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *Six Mi'kmaq Stories* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum/Nimbus Publishing, 2010), 5-6.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

interactions with Susan Barss, from whom he collected legends.¹¹² Holmes-Whitehead also writes that Rand's collection of legends and stories collected over a forty year period are "still the best resource for Mi'kmaw stories."¹¹³ Rand took great care when collecting these legends and laboured over his translations in order to ensure the accuracy and quality of his work. Holmes-Whitehead and other Indigenous writers have attempted to ameliorate the language used by missionaries like Rand, which was often formal and stilted in nature, given the culture of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁴ Holmes-Whitehead appreciated the work undertaken by Rand when she wrote that "it is frightening to think how much would have been lost forever if Rand had not been able to speak Mi'kmaw."¹¹⁵ Holmes-Whitehead presented an interesting assertion in discussing Rand's role in the conservation of the Mi'kmaw language, for without him, it is possible that the language would have vanished. Although criticised at times for his methods, and his choice of language, Rand made it his duty to conserve these Mi'kmaw legends for the enjoyment of future generations, and in this he succeeded.

The study of Rand's life has continued to intrigue academics of all types, and has ensured a further discussion of his life's work. Although first and foremost a minister and missionary for the Protestant Church, it is Rand's work in linguistics that has ensured his continued relevance. Most academics in the twentieth century have focused on this sort of work when discussing Rand, and it is based on these fragments that one is able to imagine a cohesive and complete representation of the outlier known as Silas Tertius Rand.

¹¹² Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *Six Mi'kmaq Stories* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum/Nimbus Publishing, 2010), 234.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 235.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 238-239.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 235.

Throughout the entirety of Rand's diary from 1884 and 1885 it was apparent that Rand was going through a period of immense change in his life. These sorts of changes took a toll on Rand's mental, spiritual and physical health, and affected other facets of his life including his relationship with the Church, and his monetary stability. This period of change further contributed to Rand's troubled legacy, but in order to fully understand its impact, it was necessary to unearth entries and passages from Rand's diary which pertained to his relationship with the Protestant Church, his reliance on colportage, and an understanding of the way in which others perceived Rand after his death. It is only by exposing these passages that it becomes possible to understand the individual that Rand was, the man that he became, and the legacy that he would leave upon his death.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Silas Rand's career as a Protestant minister was as tumultuous as it was long. In the centuries after his death Rand continues to be applauded and criticised by both supporters and critics for the career that he led and the choices that he made. Although primarily remembered for his work collecting and translating Mi'kmaw legends, he was first and foremost a minister and missionary for the Protestant Church. In order to better understand Rand, his life has been divided into three distinct phases to demonstrate the sort of behavioural and spiritual changes that he experienced which ultimately shaped the individual that he became.

Born just after the turn of the nineteenth century in rural Nova Scotia, Rand was raised by his father after the death of his mother. His strict upbringing led to a religious fervor that remained with him throughout his career in the ministry which spanned over five decades. Although excommunicated by the Baptist Church, he was welcomed back to its fold before his death in 1889.¹ Although he shared some characteristics with others in the field of missionary work in Nova Scotia, such as Henry Alline, Rand he was ultimately an outlier, for no individual followed the same course as he. Rand is characteristically remembered for being outspoken and gifted with languages, but he struggled for many years to convert the Mi'kmaq to the Baptist Church and for that he is often labelled a failure.

The changes in Rand's character were often linked to substantive changes in location, religious affiliations, and sources of inspiration. These changes were apparent in

¹ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 27, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

Rand's writing and it is for that reason that five of Rand's diaries have been studied in such detail within the scope of this project. Rand's diaries from 1846, 1864, 1866, 1870, and 1884 have all been selected because they are primarily in English whereas some of the other diaries written by Rand were in Latin and Mi'kmaq. Each of these diaries contains information pertinent to the study of Rand's life and they elaborate on elements of Rand's character. The missionary rarely censored himself in his personal writing and he was often unabashedly honest when discussing his feelings towards specific situations and individuals. The narrative structure of this thesis follows the chronological development of Rand's life and allows for an understanding of the changes that he experienced over time.

Chapter Two focuses primarily on Rand's early life and his relationship with the Baptist Church. This chapter is divided into three sub-sections, each discussing a period in Rand's life between 1810 and 1853. Rand's personal diary from 1846 has been examined in this chapter, but a significant amount of the research has been based on secondary literature about Rand's early life.² The chapter begins with an explanation of Rand's heritage and family which is followed by a description of Rand's first educational experiences as a child and young adult. These experiences fostered a life-long fascination with and love of languages within Rand.³ His spiritual pilgrimage has also been explained highlighting the three stages before his ultimate welcoming into the Baptist Church as a

² Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, September 5-21, 1846.

³ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 27, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

young man.⁴ Having been influenced by men such as Edward Manning, Rand situated himself prominently amongst Protestant leaders of the day.

Chapter Two continues by exploring Rand's subsequent role as a preacher and subscription agent to *The Christian Messenger*, a religious publication in the Atlantic provinces. It is at this stage of Rand's life that he strongly considered an international missionary post, but he was dissuaded by his wife.⁵ Rand's wife understood that her husband's newly developed interest in the Mi'kmaw language was significant and she encouraged him to pursue it. The family did relocate regionally and Rand laboured among communities on behalf of the Church. Rand's choice of biblical passages has been discussed as they have been tracked within each of his diaries. Rand was fascinated by his sleep patterns and dreams, and these have been tied to the study of nineteenth-century ideas about sleep. This section also highlights the various roles that Rand played within the communities that he visited.

The final section of this chapter highlights Rand's interest in the Mi'kmaw language and culture since this instrumentally shaped a large part of his career. Rand developed a relationship with Jacob Brooks, the individual who taught him the Mi'kmaw language, which Rand subsequently developed in Roman orthography. Rand began his study of the language he loved best in 1846, a pursuit which he upheld until his death in 1889. Rand's primary goal was to provide the Mi'kmaq with religious texts in their own language even though they remained faithful to the Catholic Church. Rand founded the

⁴ Dorothy Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1992), 13-17.

⁵ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 27, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

MMS in order to support these initiatives, but since he only had one convert to the Baptist faith he has often been labelled a failure.⁶

In Chapter Three Rand's career from 1854 to 1872 is explored. The first section of this chapter is devoted to Rand's Week of Prayer in 1864, which was spent in Charlottetown. Rand spent a large amount of time in solitary and group prayer, and he developed a relationship with John Stirling. It was at this point that Rand felt excluded by members of his own church and he befriended a large number of Mi'kmaq individuals; and he often sympathized with their situation. He believed that the settlers were taking advantage of the Mi'kmaq and he did his best to spread this message to others. As Rand questioned the strength of his own faith, he continued his attempt to convert the Mi'kmaq. This chapter explores Rand's commitment to his own physical health through exercise and fasting during the Week of Prayer, as well as his interest in the lives of others within Christian missionary work, individuals like David Brainerd. This section concludes with Rand's adoption of George Müller's principles of fundraising and his subsequent rejection of colportage.⁷

Chapter Three continues by exploring the Sixteenth Session of the Eastern Baptist Association of Nova Scotia in 1866 and Rand's comments about the event in his diary. Feeling dissatisfaction towards the Baptist Church Rand approached this event with trepidation. On his travels throughout the province Rand visited a number of communities such as Truro, Antigonish, and Sydney. Since Rand was instrumental in the education of other missionaries, such as Hannah Norris, their relationship is also discussed. From the

⁶ Judith Fingard, "RAND, SILAS TERTIUS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 27, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

⁷ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, January 1-24, 1864.

entries in Rand's diary it is evident that he is trying to distance himself from the Church but his commitment to his own spirituality never wavered.⁸

The final diary and section of this chapter focuses on Rand's curiosity towards the Plymouth Brethren, a multi-denominational gathering of believers adopted by men like George Müller. Since Rand so deeply admired Müller, it is altogether unsurprising that he would align himself more closely with this new religious group that had garnered considerable success in Nova Scotia. These changes are exposed and discussed using entries from Rand's diary from 1870. It is within this diary that Mi'kmaw legends are found, legends such as Glooskap, since Rand was the first person to capture this story in written form. It is at the end of this chapter that Rand is excommunicated by the Baptist Church and is welcomed into the Plymouth Brethren.⁹

Chapter Four begins by concentrating on Rand's return to the Baptist Church after distancing himself from the Plymouth Brethren upon discovering issues within the group. Although Rand relied on prayer for the things that he needed, by 1884 he chose to rely on colportage to raise the funds needed to have his Mi'kmaw dictionary published. This sort of begging is apparent in Rand's diary when the missionary discusses his correspondence and interactions with a number of individuals.¹⁰ The changes observed in Rand's character are used to provide an assessment of the aging missionary. This sort of assessment is then observed through the lens of other academics such as Judith Fingard, Daniel Paul, and Ruth Holmes-Whitehead. A study of the secondary literature is used to provide an image of Rand's career and legacy.

⁸ Silas Tertius Rand, personal diary, July 14-September 8, 1866.

⁹ *Ibid.*, August 24-October 11, 1870.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, March 19, 1884-February 21, 1885.

Rand was an outlier remembered primarily for his work studying the Mi'kmaw language. The changes observed in him over time are considerable and have been used to identify his role within the Protestant Church. Without Rand's work in the field of linguistics it is unlikely that the Mi'kmaw language would exist in the form known today. Without having learned to speak the oral language, Rand's accumulation of Mi'kmaw legends would likely not have occurred. He depended on the assistance of individuals of Mi'kmaw descent and remained grateful to them. His admiration for the language propelled him forward, leaving a lasting impression on the history of Nova Scotia while highlighting himself as a unique individual.

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Appendix: Figures



Figure 1 Photograph of Silas Tertius Rand

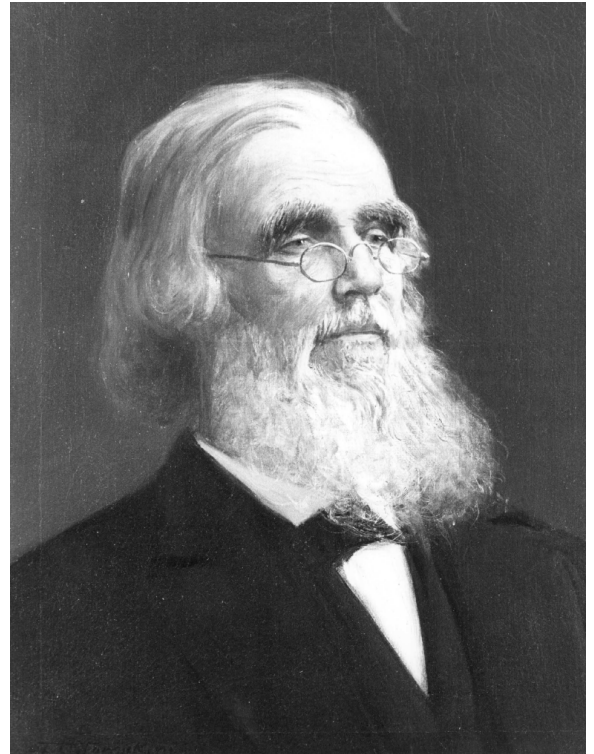


Figure 2 Photograph of Portrait of Silas Tertius Rand

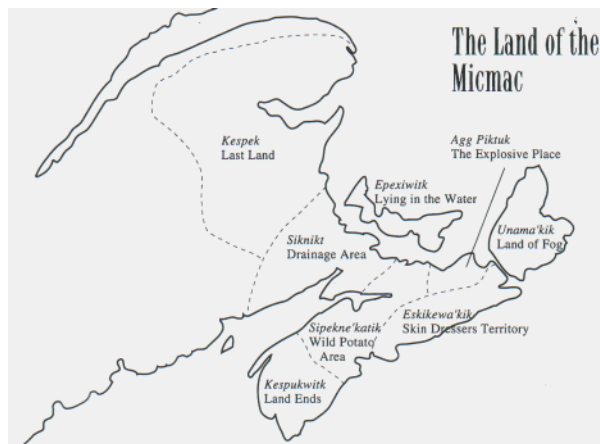


Figure 3 Map: Land of the Mi'Kmaq-Mi'kma'ki