Nova Scotia Historical Review

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(11)

The Covenant.

We do now in the presence of the great eternal, and omnipotent god, who knows the Secrets of all hearts, & in the presence of Angels & men, acknowledge ourselves to be under the most Sollemn covenant with the Lord, to be for him & no other. ——

First we take this one only living & true god to be our god. ——————————

Secondly we take the Scriptures to be the groun of our faith & rule of our lives; promising thereby to walk and act both towards god & man, as god by his grace shall enable us. ~~acording~~ acknowledging ourselves ~~the children~~ by nature children of wrath & heirs of ever lasting misery, & our hope of mercy

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Cover Illustration:
The covenant of a Gospel Church,
believed to be in Henry Alline's handwriting.
(From original in PANS.)

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Editorial

1984 is the bicentenary of the death of Henry Alline, Nova Scotia's New Light evangelist, known to his eighteenth century audience and later generations as the "Apostle of Nova Scotia." This issue of the *Review* commemorates Alline's life and his influence on the religious history of Nova Scotians. Some newly-located contemporary documents concerning Alline are reproduced, as well as a critical assessment of recent writings in New Light and Baptist history. This issue also features religious material ranging from the life of an early Anglican clergyman on the Eastern Shore, to an examination of the strong ties linking the Methodist Church in Nova Scotia and Bermuda.

The spring 1985 issue promises to be of special nostalgic appeal to many of our readers. It will focus on the fortieth anniversary of the end of World War II, and will present some lively material on Nova Scotia during the war years. Definite articles include a survivor's accout of the torpedo sinking of the passenger ferry *M.V. Caribou* in Cabot Strait, 1942, and the recollections of an air force bride in Halifax.

This present issue of the *Review* also brings a change in editorial staff. Brian Cuthbertson has been appointed Head of the Heritage Unit with the Nova Scotia Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness. He is retaining his position as managing editor of the *Review*, but his administrative duties will be assumed by a new assistant managing editor, Barry Cahill, on the staff at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

The editors are most interested in new submissions concerning Nova Scotian history. Please forward such material to the literary editor, Mrs. Lois Kernaghan, c/o Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 6016 University Avenue, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 1W4.

We at the *Review* continue to believe sincerely in the need for such a publication. We hope that you, the subscribers, will also continue to support our efforts, and *urge you to resubscribe using the subscription renewal form at the back of the issue.* We welcome your comments or suggestions concerning the *Review*, its format and its future direction. It will not continue without your support.

This issue of the *Review* has been made possible by a grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness.

Contributors

DAVID G. BELL
is a Fredericton barrister. His *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics 1783-1786* (1983) was reviewed in the spring issue of this magazine. He is currently editing *The Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis*, the sixth volume of the "Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada" series.

FREDERICK C. BURNETT
is a native of Yarmouth County, where he was ordained by the Free Baptist Church in Kemptville, 1951. He is now an active minister in Hartland, New Brunswick, where he also serves as a local school trustee, is on the executive of the provincial School Trustees' Association, and is a member of the regional library board. He is also actively involved in the Carleton County Historical Society.

Mr. Burnett's interest in Henry Alline began in Yarmouth County, where his church held some of Alline's theological views, and still sang some of his hymns from memory. Mr. Burnett has collected many unpublished New Light songs, as well as much early Free Baptist historical material, including a wooden communion vessel used in Yarmouth and Shelburne counties 150 years ago.

ROBERT G. GARDNER
is a native of Lima, Ohio, but since 1957 has been professor of religion at Shorter College, Rome, Georgia. He holds a B.A. from Mercer University, and a B.D. and Ph.D. (in church history) from Duke University.

Dr. Gardner is a noted Southern Baptist historian, with many books, articles and reviews to his credit. *Baptists of Early America: A Statistical History, 1639-1790* (1983) is one of his more significant recent studies. Dr. Gardner is a member of various church historical societies, and since 1972 has edited *Viewpoints*, the journal of the Georgia Baptist Historical Society.

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Dr. Mount has written two recent studies on Canadian activities throughout the Western Hemisphere. *Presbyterian Missions to Trinidad and Puerto Rico* (1983) was reviewed in the spring issue of this magazine; *An Introduction to Canadian-American Relations*, co-authored with E.E. Mahant, is being published this year.

PHILIP L. HARTLING
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An avid local historian, Mr. Hartling has written *Where Broad Atlantic Surges Roll* (1979), a history of Halifax County's eastern shore, as well as *A Testimony to Active Devotion: A Brief History of St. Luke's Anglican Church, Dartmouth* (1984). He has been previously published in this magazine, and has contributed to a forthcoming Heritage Trust publication, *Researching Your House in Nova Scotia*. Mr. Hartling is a member of various organizations, including the Dartmouth Museum Society and the Writers' Federation of Nova Scotia; he also serves on the Anglican Diocesan Archives committee.

NELLIE A. FOX
was born in Brickton, Annapolis County, but was educated in Hants County, where she is now a retired teacher in Hantsport. Mrs. Fox has been writing since 1931, and her many articles on history, genealogy, nature study, cooking and other household matters have been carried in such publications as the *Maritime Farmer*, the *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, *The Chronicle-Herald*, *The Teacher's Bulletin* and the *Hants Journal*. She is a member of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society and its Genealogical Association, and is actively involved in research and heritage preservation.

BARRY CAHILL
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Henry Alline (1748-1784)

This year the Baptist community has been marking the bicentenary of the death of Henry Alline, "the Apostle of Nova Scotia," which occurred at North Hampton, New Hampshire, on 2 February 1784. The celebrations have included the unveiling of a granite cairn in memory of Alline at the United Baptist Church in Falmouth; the unveiling of a portrait of Alline by Eva Scott at Acadia University (both events sponsored by the Henry Alline Bicentennial Committee); and a special display at the Manuscripts Department of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (organized by Darlene M. Brine).

The name of Henry Alline is most intimately associated with the so-called "New Light" movement, which he founded and led. Just as the latter was a revival of primitive Methodism, so Henry Alline was a preacher cut from the same mould as George Whitefield, the leader of the "Great Awakening" in New England. He underwent an intense conversion experience in his twenty-seventh year, and grew into a spellbinding preacher who could hold or move an audience at will. Alline was a native of Newport, Rhode Island, who came to Falmouth as a child with his parents in 1760. He had little formal education but was precocious and an avid reader, and imbibed a number of different religious traditions. During an itinerant preaching ministry of less than a decade, Alline attracted large crowds and established six New Light churches: five in the Annapolis Valley and one at Maugerville in New Brunswick.

Though Alline is best known as a travelling evangelist, he was also a theologian and hymnographer. His highly idiosyncratic theology was an attempt to rationalize his own mystical experience of divine love; and was thus rather more unintellectual than anti-intellectual. An optimist, Alline could not accept the Calvinistic doctrines of human depravity and divine predestination and election. His theology was also an attempt to justify the ministry of preaching unto salvation for all mankind.

Henry Alline died prematurely, of tuberculosis, at thirty-seven years of age. Ironically, though he was not himself a Baptist, his influence has historically been greatest in the Baptist Church, which preserved his memory and sang his hymns but suppressed his theology. Alline left no heir apparent to succeed him, and most of the churches that he had founded did not long survive him. But as an exemplar of the heroic evangelist, Alline's influence after his death was greater than it had been when he was alive.

Scholarly work on Henry Alline began with the publication in 1948 of Maurice Armstrong's *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809*. In more recent years other studies have been made, notably by J.M. Bumsted, who in 1971 brought out the first important biography of Alline and then wrote an admirable short one for Volume IV of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Some of Alline's own writings (including his *Journal*, or autobiography) have also been edited, and it is to be hoped that all of them eventually will be. His major work, *Two mites on some of the most important and much disputed points of divinity...*, equally merits the attention which has traditionally gone to his hymns. In any case, the two hundredth anniversary of Henry Alline's death seems an appropriate time to reevaluate and to commemorate his brief but momentous life.

Barry Cahill
Assistant Managing Editor

The Death of Henry Alline: Some Contemporary Reactions

D.G. Bell

Henry Alline died of consumption on 2 February 1784 at the home of the Reverend David McClure of North Hampton, New Hampshire. During his eight-year itineracy, the youthful revivalist from Falmouth had proven himself a "burning and shining light" who could communicate the gospel truths with heart-melting directness.[1] One critical observer of Alline's impact, alluding to his notion that every soul was spiritually present in Eden at the Fall, recorded in amazement that "He has had such influence over his followers that some of them pretend to remember their being in the garden of *Eden*... . The moment of their conversion they are so well assured of that, it is said, some of them even calculate the age of their *cattle* by it."[2]

Despite the surge of Alline scholarship in the early 1970s, Nova Scotia's Whitefield remains an elusive figure. His life and thought are as well as, or better documented than that of any other eighteenth-century Canadian, but almost all of the materials for a biography come from his own pen. Apart from Jonathan Scott's massive *Brief View* (1784), we have remarkably few opportunities to assess the New Light leader through contemporary eyes. This brief article will document three hitherto unknown responses to Alline, all relative to his death. The most important is a letter on the subject by the preacher's father. To this are prefixed materials relating to Alline's final days in New England and a comtemporary passage from the journal of one of the Halifax gentry.

The dying Alline began his journey towards Boston on 27 August 1783, pledging to spread the gospel "as long as I could ride or stand, if it was even to the last expiring breath."[3] The printed version of his journal shows that between about

1 The phrase (from John 5:35) was applied by David McClure: see James Beverley and Barry Moody, eds., *Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline* (1806) (Hantsport, 1982), p. 224. In 1855 Joseph Alline had it cut as part of the epitaph on Alline's new (present) tombstone.

2 From the account of an "ingenious young Clergyman, who resided at *Nova-Scotia* in the years 1782, 1783," quoted in Hannah Adams, *An Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects which have Appeared in the World from the Beginning of the Christian Aera* (Boston, 1784), p. *lxv*. The "young Clergyman" who authored the report was almost certainly the Congregationalist Aaron Bancroft, who arrived in Cornwallis "from Salem of Marble head" late in 1780. He proved too learned and orthodox for the "Cornwallissians," who pronounced him "an Arminian, a[n]d an unconverted man": Bailey to Weeks, 17 December 1780; Bailey to Brown, 16 February 1781; Bailey Papers, MG1, Vol. 94, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS]. From Cornwallis he moved to Horton and then, apparently, to Cape Forchu, departing Nova Scotia about 1783.

3 *Life and Journal*, pp. 177, 171.

10 September and 24 November, when he penned his last entry, Alline preached zealously and with effect in many named and unnamed coastal communities near the mouths of the Kennebec and Androscoggin rivers in Maine.[4] Thereafter, until he arrived at McClure's on 22 January 1784, "very feeble... and in the last stage of a hectic, and much oppressed with the asthma," he continued to preach and exhort. He did so publicly for the last time on 25 January at the North Hampton Congregational meeting house.

His condition immediately worsened. The final pages of the *Life and Journal* print David McClure's moving chronicle of Alline's last week of life. McClure's heart was deeply touched by the eminent piety of the humble stranger from Tory Nova Scotia. Other residents of North Hampton also cherished the memory of Alline's deathbed scene all their lives. Half a century later, the local recollection was still sufficiently bright to prompt the Reverend Jonathan French, one of McClure's successors, to append the following to Alline's obituary in the North Hampton Churchbook:[5]

4 Alline's influence on the Freewill Baptists of New England is a natural subject for speculation but, as F.C. Burnett noted to me in 1980, it has been uniformly overlooked that the chances of an actual encounter between Alline and the American arminian Baptists are high. When Alline was pouring out his evangelical energies along the coast of Maine and New Hampshire, Benjamin Randal, the leading force in the nascent Freewill sect, was itinerating that same area. (Compare the schedule in *Life and Journal*, pp. 215-18, with those in John Buzzell, *Life of Benjamin Randal* (Limerick, 1827), pp. 114-18, and Isaac Stewart, *History of the Freewill Baptists* (Dover, 1862), pp. 71-72.

It is unlikely that Alline and Randal would have preached several weeks in the same area, visiting some of the same towns, without meeting. At the very least, it is probable that Alline met some of Randal's followers. This seems the more certain because seven months after his death, the Freewill Baptist Quarterly Meeting (held in the heart of the area in which Alline is known to have preached) "Voted to have Brother henery Alens Book Intitled two mites Republished": Freewill Baptist Quarterly Meeting Records, New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord. (It should be noted that Maurice Armstrong erroneously placed this development in 1804, the year the *Two Mites* finally reappeared: *Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809* (Hartford, 1948), p. 92. On this subject see the recent work of Stephen Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 67, 139-44, and G.A. Rawlyk, *Ravished by the Spirit* (Montreal, 1984).

Henry Alline's importance to the Freewill Baptists was great, but it will never be properly assessed because John Buzzell, the author or editor of nearly all early Freewill Baptist publications, was determined that the Nova Scotian would be forgotten. Buzzell makes not one mention of Alline in his *Life of Randal* (1827), the *Religious Magazine* (1811-12; 1820-21) and the *Morning Star* (this author has checked from its 1825 beginning to 1844). Considering the Freewill Baptists' indebtedness to Alline's theology, this omission is extraordinary and hardly accidental. Even on the one occasion Buzzell did refer to Alline, he did so in terms conspicuously less flattering than he accorded others: see his "Preface" to *Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, Selected for the Use of the United Churches of Christ, Commonly Called Free Will Baptist, and for Saints of All Denominations* (Kennebunk, 1823)p. *iii*.

5 New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord. This archives is an all but unexplored treasure house of material on Maritime religion.

> Several persons are living (in 1839) who saw Rev[d] Mr. Alline while at Mr. McClures. They represent every thing in his appearance & conversation as hav[g] been very spiritual & as became one just on the verge of heaven. He seemed scarcely to belong to earth. He passed the last week of his life at Mr. McClures & preached on the Sabbath from "Zacheus came down &c" [Luke 19:6]. Many visited his sick & dying chamber & he had something spiritual to say to every one. Widow Hepzibah Marston, now 95, the oldest person in the town & a sister of the church, was one of his watchers the last night of his life & speaks of the prayerfulness & heavenly frame of mind with which he anticipated his departure. At his request during the night his watchers retired & he & Mr. McClure were alone together about an hour. The tradition is that he requested Mr. McClure to use the effects he had with him in defraying the expenses of his sickness & if any thing should remain it was [to be] given to Mr. McClure.

The deep impression made on the Old Light Congregationalists of North Hampton by Alline's triumphant exit had no known parallel among the official class at Halifax.[6] He cannot have been entirely unknown there, for the printed version of his journal notes four visits to the capital, on the last two of which he found openings to preach.[7] As well, it is unlikely that in the tense years of the late 1770s the governing elite could have been unaware of the great religious agitation that was shaking the Fundy coastal settlements. Yet with the evident failure of the revolution in Nova Scotia and the arrival in the colony of thousands of loyal refugees and disbanding soldiers, any political importance Alline may have had must have greatly diminished. Thus it was that Mather Byles III (1755-1802) of Halifax, scion of a line of eminent Massachusetts clerics, had evidently heard of

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Alline's visit was also noticed in some other form of North Hampton record. In George S. Brown, *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia: A Sequel to Campbell's History* (Boston, 1888) it is stated, p. 55, that, "In the annals of that town he is styled an 'eccentric preacher'." No such passage appears in the North Hampton Congregational Church records and the Town Clerk informed me in 1980 that there is no such entry in the town records for 1784. I have likewise been unable to find any published history of North Hampton which answers the name or description of an "annals."

6 Yet Alline was certainly known, for in 1781 Jacob Bailey could write a Halifax correspondent in the following terms: "I have just perused the two mites published [three weeks earlier] by our famous preacher Allien a[n]d fo[u]nd it a composition of nonsense, absurdity, contradiction and insolent self sufficiency" (Bailey to Brown, 15 April 1781: Bailey Papers, MG1, Vol. 94, PANS).

7 *Life and Journal*, pp. 131 (December 1780), 153 (March 1781), 209-210 (January and February-March 1783).

Alline but did not learn of his death until six months after the event, when he chanced to call at the dwelling of a Cape Forchu (Yarmouth village) shoemaker.[8]

> 20 [July 1784] I stopped at four different cottages to see their manner of living and amuse myself with a little *right down Yankeyism*. In one of them liv'd a New England shoemaker, who immediately after the first salutations began to question me *consarning the faith*. He told me he had been putting up his petition for rain, "And I dare say," says he, "we shall have a *spurt* before to morrow evening." He asked my opinion of Allan's treatise; said he began it, but finding it was not *right sound doctrine* he *hove* it by again. Allan, he says, died in New England last spring.

When Alline bade farewell to his parents on the wharf at Windsor on 27 August, all knew that this meeting might well be their last. Although his parents, whose conversion had long preceded Alline's, had at first opposed their son's preaching -- even leaving meetings when he spoke -- they soon recognized and encouraged his vocation. Now "they never parted with me so easily before...saying that if I went and wore out my days in the cause of Christ...all was well, if they never should see my face more in time."[9] Consequently, when the apprehended news from North Hampton finally arrived, William Alline's natural confusion at the working of God's purpose was tempered with the satisfaction that his son had "acted...ever Since he new the Lord...Lik one that had a great work to Du and but a Short time to du it in."[10]

William Alline's letter to David McClure[11] on the occasion of his son's death is a typical example of the peculiar rhetorical style that characterized Maritime New Lights at the end of the eighteenth century. Even arresting passages like "tast the

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8 From "Part of a Journal kept by Mather Byles (III) when on a journey with the General [John Campbell] when he was visiting the Interior Parts of the Province" (typescript): Byles Papers, MG1, Vol. 163, folder #2, PANS. The "treatise" was probably *A Court for the Trial of Anti-Traditionist*, published the year previous, rather than the *Two Mites* (1781).

9 *Life and Journal*, pp. 74-75, 214.

10 Alline mentions this sense of density in *ibid.*, p. 91.

11 McClure Papers, Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, NH. I am grateful to Mr. P.N. Cronenwett for assistance in 1980 in transcribing the manuscript.

McClure wrote the Allines soon after their son's death. William Alline responded on 18 May 1784. Meanwhile, on 29 April, McClure forwarded the detailed account of Alline's final days, printed in *Life and Journal*, pp. 219-25. It was to this letter that William Alline sent the response here printed.

Sweets of Redeeming Love" and "Little Children Lisping out the Love of Jesus" are actually stock phrases in the New Light vocabulary. The letter thus yields a valuable insight into the family literary heritage which the younger Alline's rhetorical genius so far transcended.

> Dear frind I rec^{d} yours [of] april 29 1784 and take it very kind of you to Let me know how my Dear Child Departed this life and it is Some relaafe to me under my troble that it pleased God to cast him upon one who Wasse so kind to him. the Lord Reward you. he will Reward you. not a Cup of Cold water to one of the Least of Christ['s] Disciples Shall be forgot by our Dear Lord. O what a kind frind is our Blessed Jesus. it Suports me under my troble. I know that all his Dealings is in Love. then the Cup that my Heavenly father gives me to Drink, Shall I not Drink it? he is gone to that Everlasting Rest, to the home of Everlasting Love. he has acted Like one ever Since he new the Lord Which is about Nine years Lik one that had a great work to Du and but a Short time to du it in and it has pleased God so to Bless his Labor that there has ben a great Work in this Land. Blessed be the Lord. Oh for ever Blessed be his Name. he has not Left us Dear S^{r}. many poor Sinners have Ben Brought to tast the Sweets of Redeeming Love and to Drink from the Living Stremes that make glad the City of our God. in falmouth and winser Since Last fall Some Littel Children [have been] Lisping out the Love of Jesus. O my Dear Brother in Christ Let us and all the followers of the Lamb praise this Blessed Jesus. why this is our god our frind and father. is he my father and frind? O can it Can it Can it be? is his grace so free and his Love so unbonded? it is a free Salvation free for all that will. O what a god. free Grace Will be the Everlasting Song. I hope to bear apart with you to join the throng of the Redeemed in the most Exalted notes of praise thro a never ending Eternity. the Lord Grant it for his name Sake.
>
> their is one thing in providence that is Dark to me. this is when it has pleased god to raise up a faithfull Sarvent they are often taken away in the midst of their work I know it has ben Said that it is some times in Judgment to a people who have Long Resisted his grace but that is not the thing With us. if you [would] be so kind [as] to inlighten me in this you will Oblige me. I think I have a Right to ask the Watchman and as you s^{r} are a minister of Christ I hope you Will answer me in this matter.[12] s^{r} I wrote to you by the w[ay?] of Boston some time ago which I hope you R[ec'd] as to what my Sone Left. I hope Cosen Alline will take the Care of them espetily his

12 McClure sketched the terms of his response at the foot of Alline's letter. (I have expanded the abbreviations.)

others leaning on them/putting them in the room of Christ/danger of being exalted/done the work providence assigned/had [four words illeg.] been taken off/ others raised up

papers. as for the Hymns I am in Some hope of Geting them printed in Boston and if you Can be any help I hope you wont be Backward.[13] Remember [us] in your prayers. may the Love of God be With you. my Wife joins with me in Love to you & yours.

Will^{m} Alline

s^{r} It is my Desier that all Charges be payd and that Grave Stons be got and I have Desired Cosin Alline to Do it.[14] falmouth June 29 1784

13 The Nova Scotian New Lights evidently held Alline's writings in high regard. He related that on an earlier occasion, when it was rumoured that he had perished on the Cape Sable shore, two of his friends had set out for the place "to get my writings": *Life and Journal*, p. 193.

14 Maurice Armstrong erred in thinking that the original Alline stone is the one now standing in the North Hampton burying ground: *Great Awakening*, p. 86. The original inscription does not, however, differ materially from the present one. See North Hampton Congregational Churchbook and Robert Lawrence, ed., *The New Hampshire Churches* (Claremont, 1856), p. 108.

Henry Alline's "Articles & Covenant of a Gospel Church"

Frederick C. Burnett

During the last thirty-five years there has been a remarkable resurgence of interest in the life and writings of Elder Henry Alline, the tireless evangelist who itinerated over most of peninsular Nova Scotia between 1776 and 1783. Most aspects of his work in the Maritime provinces have been dealt with in depth by a number of scholars,[1] but there has remained a certain lack of information as to the doctrines and church policy adhered to by the churches that arose under his influence.

Alline was described by those who disagreed with his views and methods as the author and abettor of great disorder, with confused ideas of church policy; but his critics themselves failed to agree as to the nature of this disorder. As late as 1876 an historian of Yarmouth County could dismiss Alline with, "He disregarded upon principle all order and discipline in the church...[and] despised the sacraments."[2]

One piece of evidence on the subject that was known to be extant is the articles and covenant of Cornwallis New Light Church, organized under Alline's labours about January 1778.[3] We do not know that these were actually composed by Alline, but they are probably a copy of those he is known to have composed for the mixed Congregational and Baptist church of Falmouth and Newport, organized on 27 September 1776. These Cornwallis articles are Calvinistic and quite contrary to the views Alline expressed in his *Two Mites* (1781) and *Anti-Traditionist* (1783), both of which dispute tenets plainly stated in the Cornwallis document. Indeed, Alline was brought before that church in 1780 to account for his teachings on the subject of baptism.

There were, in short, no church articles known to historians which were consistent with the doctrines set forth in Alline's theological works. There does, however, exist a small document of some thirteen pages among the miscellaneous manuscripts at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, containing "articles of faith," a "plan & Discipline of the Church visible" and a covenant with nineteen signatures. On its cover is written, "The articles & Covenant of a Gospel Church at," suggesting that it was one of a number of copies prepared for churches in different places. Unlike the Cornwallis articles, this

1 Among these I am especially indebted to correspondence and advice from the late Maurice Armstrong and from George Rawlyk. The principal studies on Alline are Armstrong's *Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809* (Hartford, 1948); Gordon Stewart and G.A. Rawlyk, *People Highly Favoured of God: The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution* (Toronto, 1972); and J.M. Bumstead, *Henry Alline, 1748-1784* (1971).

2 Roy Campbell, *History of Yarmouth County* (1876), p. 104.

3 Maritime Baptist Historical Collection, Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

other document -- which came into use in Barrington -- is completely in harmony with the stated views of Henry Alline. It was not, however, regarded in that light, principally because Dr. Edwin Crowell -- from his examination of the list of signatures -- judged that it related to a church gathered about 1795, thirteen years after Alline's last visit to Barrington.[4] Yet this date cannot be correct, as all the signatures above that of Elizabeth Doane must have been entered in or before 1790, when she married and became Elizabeth Crowell. Indeed, all nineteen of the signatories to the covenant are persons known to have been living in Barrington at the time of Alline's last visit in 1782, although some were then children.

There is even less doubt as to the early date of the document when its handwriting is compared with that of Henry Alline's letter to "The gospel church at Argyle."[5] The style of handwriting appears to be identical. These Barrington articles are, therefore, only the fourth document known to survive in Alline's hand.[6] The church at neighbouring Argyle may well have been organized by Alline a few days before he went to Barrington in the fall of 1782. The organization would almost certainly have been on the same plan as that reflected in the Barrington document. These two churches alone are known to have been described by Alline as "Gospel" churches and were the last he gathered. They probably indicate an attempt to organize his followers into churches more in conformity with his mature doctrinal views than, for example, that at Cornwallis. It is interesting to note that after visiting Barrington and Argyle, Alline went to Liverpool where, according to Simeon Perkins, his followers came into a new covenant in January 1783.[7] Baptism was said to be a "Non-Essential," which is exactly what the Barrington articles say.

4 Edwin Crowell, *History of Barrington Township* (Yarmouth, 1923), pp. 224-225.

5 Maritime Baptist Historical Collection, Acadia.

6 The others are the Argyle letter, four-and-a-half pages in the Cornwallis New Light churchbook, and a one-page (and four lines) document without date or signature in the Manning Collection, Acadia. This document appears to be the rough copy of a letter from the Cornwallis New Light church to a group of Christians who intended to form a church (perhaps in Annapolis County). Subsequently the paper was written over with a description of James Manning, a description of Henry Alline (in the handwriting of Edward Manning), a note of hand in favour of James Manning, and the words, "O Lord have mercy upon us and cause the Fogg to disperse," apparently by James Manning.

7 D.C. Harvey and C. Bruce Fergusson, eds., *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-89* (Toronto, 1958), II, 179.

From the beginning of Alline's ministry, his followers seemed to lack a suitable name. Others called them New Lights or Allinites, and these terms are still used by some in his tradition; yet Alline and his circle seldom, if ever, applied these names to themselves. "New Light" was a general term for any intensely evangelical Christian. Well before Alline's conversion there were New Lights in Nova Scotia, notably Jonathan Scott and other members of the Congregational Church at Chebogue.[8] Alline's people sometimes called themselves Congregationalists and Baptists, but neither name was sufffficiently descriptive. In common practice they spoke of themselves simply as "Christians," as their spiritual heirs have done since, holding the view that only those who had experienced the new birth were true Christians; but because they conceded that some who differed with them were also true Christians, this name, too, did not serve to distinguish Alline's followers from others. Hence, perhaps, his choice of the term "Gospel Church."[9]

The Barrington articles are in some instances nearly identical to those composed in 1778 for the Cornwallis New Lights, but in other respects they are greatly changed to conform with Alline's mature views of theology. Even the scriptures cited to support the articles are in many instances altered. So great are the differences between these two statements of doctrine and policy that this newly-identified Alline manuscript will be of much value to historians and those interested in the continuing influence of Alline's movement on the faith and culture of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The chief point of difference between these late Barrington articles and the early Cornwallis ones is the deletion of Calvinistic doctrine, including all mention of predestination and election. Baptism, which in the Cornwallis articles was said to be "a Door into the Visible church" is made a "non-essential" in the Barrington articles. Instead, it is Christ who is said to be "the only Door into the church." These are the very points insisted upon in Alline's books and pamphlets, and other writers of the time confirm that these were known to be his principles. Jonathan Scott, the pastor at Chebogue, found Alline's teaching and conduct obnoxious, and perhaps attached the worst possible meaning to all Alline said and did. He was, however, in a good position to know that Alline preached and taught. Scott charges that he "had set

8 See, for example, Scott's journal for 1766 in Henry Scott, ed., *The Journal of the Reverend Jonathan Scott* (Boston, 1980), pp. 11-12.

9 Alline, *A Court for the Trial of Anti-Traditionist* (ca. 1783), p. 62. The only known copy is in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Mass.

himself with Design to overthrow and destroy the Doctrines of Calvinism, Root and Branch: Witness, his Rejection of the Doctrines of *Election and Predestination.*" Elsewhere he charges Alline with the belief that all water baptism was non-essential.[10]

There are several other differences between the Barrington and the Cornwallis articles. In the Barrington set, ministers are no longer given a double vote, nor is an ecclesiastical council given authority over a local church. Support of the gospel is made the responsibility of the church only (versus both church and "society"), and that voluntarily, without rates and fines. Such terms as "Ghastly damned ghosts," found in the Cornwallis articles, have been deleted. As well, the Barrington articles provide that the "gifts" of any of the brethren were to be "improved." ("Gifts" meant the ability to pray or to exhort extemporaneously in public, and their frequent use in public was spoken of as "improvement.") This use of individual gifts in public exhortation and prayer is mentioned several times by Simeon Perkins at Liverpool. Members of churches carried on religious meetings themselves, through exhortation, singing and prayer when no preacher was present. Exhorters also commonly spoke at the close of a preacher's sermon. Alline himself wrote from Liverpool that, "Often after I have preached some one will arise & speak by exhortation as long as the Sermon, & many of their exhortations have been greatly bless[ed]."[11]

The names appended to the Barrington covenant are mostly those of people living near Sherose Island. They would have been aware of the doctrinal distinctiveness of this document to a much greater degree than the average church member today. The settlers of Barrington had built a meetinghouse as early as 1765 and a number of ministers from New England had spent time preaching in the place. There are indications of a Congregational church[12] and a sizable number of Quakers, but there were no known Baptists. Like most New Englanders the people would have had some knowledge of theology. The articles and church plan describe

10 Alline, *Two Mites, on some of the most important and much disputed Points of Divinity...* (Halifax, 1781), p. 259; Gordon Stewart, ed., *Documents Relating to the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1760-1791* (1982), p. 134; Jonathan Scott, *A Brief View of the Religious Tenets and Sentiments...* (Halifax, 1784), p. 132.

11 Letter to the Gospel Church in Argyle, 20 January 1783, Maritime Baptist Historical Collection, Acadia.

12 *Scott's Journal*, p. 99 (12 April 1775).

well the faith and order of the Free Christian Baptists in their earliest stage of development, in which body many of those who signed the covenant later became prominent.

This document, it should be noted, is not the record book of the Barrington church, which would have given much more detail. The names listed after the covenant may have been copied from the record book at a later date. The order of the names indicates that the church was formed by a few persons, with members added from time to time. This gradual growth process seems to be suggested in Dr. T.O. Geddes' recollection:

> During the last part of the American war came Henry Aline and preached and a number of people joined with him viz., Old Mr. Thomas Crowell, his son Ebenezer, Eleazer Crowell, Joseph Kendrick, Obed. Wilson. This was the commencement of the New Lights... .[13]

The process of adding members is the only logical reason why a male adult's name would come lower on the list than that of a child, as is the case with Paul Crowell and Thomas Doane. This order of names also reveals that the church remained active for some time.

Several members of this Barrington church must have joined when they were quite young. Youths and children played an important role in the New Light revival movement. Jonathan Scott wrote that a greater number of young people and children than adults separated from his congregation in Yarmouth Township as a result of Alline's preaching. Scott specifically referred to Thomas Hilton of Chebogue, aged about fifteen, as "one of the first and firmest Separates in the Place, who left the publick Worship on the Sabbath."[14] Another case in point is that of Ebenezer Hobbs of Argyle, of whom Alline himself wrote favourably. He was only about seventeen when he preached in Liverpool in 1782, before Alline's major revival there.[15]

It is relevant to note that about the year 1780, the Barrington New Lights built the "Island Meetinghouse" near Sherose Island. By 1811 this house was "very much decayed and out of Repair," as well as "too small, inconvenient and uncomfortable

13 Crowell, *History of Barrington*, p. 243.

14 Stewart, *Great Awakening*, p. 127.

15 Harvey and Fergusson, *Perkins' Diary*, II, 146.

for the number of people that generally attends divine service in that place."[16] Forty-eight persons subscribed to rebuild the house, with Obediah Wilson and Ebenezer Crowell superintending construction. In 1841 this building was again enlarged, by the Free Christian Baptists. It may also be of interest to add that Henry Alline's hymns were still in use in the families of some of the Barrington people as late as 1845.[17]

Here follows a transcription of the entire Barrington document, by far the longest manuscript known to be in Alline's hand. It was brought to this author's attention about two years ago by the Reverend Philip Griffin-Allwood. Dr. Brian C. Cuthbertson of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia kindly supplied a clear photocopy, from which this transcript is made. The handwriting, although unmistakably that of Alline, is not so steady or even as it had been a few years earlier. This reflects his increasingly poor health and the weight of his exhausting travels through pathless woods and along rough beaches, to visit remote settlements where his message was received with gladness by many, both old and young.

The articles & Covenant
of a gospel church
at

1) We beleave there is but one only living & true god, who is a Spirit of & in himself from all eternity unchangably the Same; Infinite in wisdom, power holiness, justice, goodness and truth, mercifull, gracious, eternally happy, & unchangably glorious in & of the possession of himself.
Deu. 6,4 Job 4,24; Prov. 15,3.

2) We beleave this god Subsists in three Persons, (or rather manifesting himself as in three offices), The Father, the Son, & the holy ghost, which are but one essence from all eternity; co-equal, co-essence, & co-eternal, in existance & in all the Divine operations.
John 1,1,2,3; 1 John 5,7.

16 Crowell, *History of Barrington*, pp. 272-273, and photograph facing p. 112.

17 Charles Knowles, *A Brief Sketch of the Life of Mrs. Ann Knowles...* (Boston, 1846), p. 17. The copy in the author's possession seems to be the only one in existence of this twenty-four-page imprint.

3) We beleave that god being infinite in wisdom from eternity to eternity, Dath [Doth] parfectly See & Know all things past present & to Come as one eternal now; & all his Decees [Decrees], & Divine opperations are according to his own nature. & Therefore not the author of Sin or misery; but all for his own glory & the happiness of his Creatures.
James 1,3; 1 John 4,8; Ezek 33, 2 Pet 3,9;

4) We beleave that god is the creator, Father, and preserver of all creation.
John 1. 1,2,3; acts 17. 32; heb 11,3.

5) We beleave that god made man in his own Image; (all mankind in adam) a free agent, capable of Standing or falling.
Gen 1.27; 1 Cor 15,22; Rom 3,23.

6) We beleave that man fell from god, & by thus brakeing off from god he became miserable in himself and thereby was ruined to all eternity.
Gen 3,6; 1 Cor 15,22; Rom 3,23.

7) We beleave that man being Dead to all Spiritual & Divine life, his recovery was wholy & alone in and from God thro Jesus Christ; or by the incarnation of the Deity.
Acts 4,12; Erek [Ezek.] 16,5,6; Hos 13,9.

8) We beleave that god So loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son to Dye that whosoever beleaveth in him Should not perish; but have everlasting life.
John 3,16.

9) We beleave that Jesus Christ was the very god which became man, suffered and Dyd for mans redemption.
John 1,1,2,3; & 14; John 8,58. Rom 5,5,6,7,8,9,10.

10) We beleave nothing but the Spirit of god can make man pertaker of this redemption; & that by convinceing him of his rightousness, & Judgement; & thereby redeeming him out of the Sins, Death Darkness, & Disorders of his fallen State, & thus restoring in him back to god from whence he is fallen.
John 6,44; 16; 7,8,9,10.

11) We beleave that true christians have communion with god, & fellowship one with another.
1 John 1,3, & 7.

The plan & Discipline of the Church visible

1) We beleave a Church of Christ is a number of Souls born by the Spirit of god, & united in the fellowship of the gospel; for the injoying & Spreading of the privileges of christs kingdom of grace upon the earth; according to the light that god has given, & Shal hereafter give by his word and Spirit.
Matt 19,20; 1 Cor 12 Chap; Ephe 1,22,23; & 5,30,31,32.

2) We beleave that the Baptism of water being but non-essencial ought not to be a bar of communion among true Christians, but each one ought to have their liberty of Conscience in that particular matter.
Rom. 14; Col 2,9,10,11; 16,17.

3) We beleave that the Lords Supper was not Destined for unconverted people; but for to Stir up the minds of his children to a Sence of their redeemers love; for they alone can Disern the Lords Body.
1 Cor [11,] 27,28,29.

4) We beleave that Christ is the only Door into the church, & therefore the members ought to come in by the Spirit of god & that by giving a publick relation of a work of grace upon their hearts.
Psalm 66,16; John 10 & 11 first verses. acts 2.14.

5) We beleave that all the power of the church government lies in the church, or Brotherhood not only to Deal with private members but like wise Ellecting, ordaining, & Disposing of any of the officers. - Matt 18,15,16,17,18,19,20. Numbers 8,10; acts 13,1,2,3; 1 John 4,1.

6) We beleave that the Ministers or officers hath no more powers in chirch goverment then of the bretheren; excepting by their Superiority of gifts & graces. — proved by the fifth article.

7) We beleave that the gifts & graces of any of the Brethern are and ought to be improved So far as after examination by the church, may be thought profitable, in their proper place and Station.
Ephe 2,21,22,23; 5,32,33; 1 Cor 12.

8) We [believe] that it may be profitable to call for advice, & Council from Sister Churches, which ought to be taken So far as is warrantable by the word & Spirit of god, but their Judgment alone is not to be imposed on the major part of the church. — acts 15,6,28.

9) We beleave it is the Duty of every member to Support the gospel, & every necessary charge in the church, according to their Several abilities; & that volentarily without Rates and fines.
2 Cor 8, & 9 chapters.

10 We beleave that the first Day of the week ought to be kept as a Sabbath holy unto the Lord.
John 20,1,19,26; Rev 1,10.

11) We beleave that altho' it may be lawfull & right to Sue a wicked man that Does withhold from his neighbour that which is his just Due: yet Bretheren in christ that have convenanted together to walk in all the rules, & ordinences of the gospel Blameless, ought not to go to law with another: but all their Differences ought to be Desided by the Brethren. — 1 Cor 6 Chap.

12) We beleave the Scriptures to be the revealed mind and will of god, & the Sufficient, & only rule of both faith and practice.
2 Tim 3,16,17; Rev 22,18; :19,20.

13) & lastly We beleave there will be a general & final Judgment, when all the Sons & Daughters of adam that have been, are, or Shall be, will appear before god, to be rewarded according as they have obeyed or Disobeyed God, & the gospel of the Lord jesus Christ; the righteous will [be] received into the full injoyment of god to all eternity, & the wicked be bannished to everlasting misery; and all heaven will Say amen, Hallelujah for the Lord god omnipotent Reigneth amen & amen.
Dan 12, 1,2, heb. 9,27.

The Covenant

We do now in the presence of the great eternal, and omnipotent God, who knows the Secrets of all hearts, & in the presence of Angels & men, acknowledge ourselves to be under the most Sollomn covenant with the Lord, to be for him & no other. First we take this one only living & tru god to be our god. Secondly we take the Scriptures to be the ground of our faith & rule of our lives; promising thereby to walk and act both towards god & man, as god by his grace Shall en[a]ble us, acknowledging ourselves by nature children of wrath & heirs of ever lasting misery, & our hope of mercy with god is only in & thro Jesus Christ by faith. thirdly we now call heaven & earth to witness that without the least knowing reserve we give up ourselves Soul & body, Names, & estates, all that we have, & are or ever Shall be to be at his Disposal; promising to be faith full therein, in whatsoever our consciences Dictated by the word and Spirit of god, dictates us to be Duty altho it be ever So contrary to the flesh & carnal mind. fourthly we give up ourselves to each other, to act towards each other in love as brethren in christ, to watch each [other] in love against all Sin, even against foolish talking & jesting that is not convenient, & every thing that Does not become the followers of the meek & lowly jesus; & to Seek the good of each other, & church univarsal; & to hold communion together in the worship of god, according to christs visible kingdom, as far as the providence of god admits of the Same; and Submiting our selves to the Discipline of this church as part of Christs misticle Body; Still to be looking for (& expecting) greater misteries to be unfold, & light to Shine into the churches from the word of God, then ever yet they have attained; looking & watching for the great and glorious Day when the Lord Jesus christ will take to himself his great power & reign from See to See & from the rivers to the ends of the Earth, & this Covenent we now make with the free & full consent of our souls, beleaveing that thro' free & boundless grace it is owned of god before the throne & the lamb; even So come Lord jesus come.

Amen & Amen.

[On the next, an unnumbered page, and in different handwriting, are the following names:]

Thomas Crowell[18]
Eleazer Crowell[19]
Joseph Kindricks[20]
Ebenezer Crowell[21]
Obediah Wilson[22]
Thomas Crowell[23]
Paul Crowell[24]
Thomas Done[25]
Daniel Hamilton[26]
Mary Crowell[27]
Sarah Wilson[28]
Elizabeth Hopkins[29]
Mercy Wilson[30]
Sarah Knowles[31]
Elizabeth Done[32]
Sarah Kenney[33]
Hannah Kendricks[34]
Eunice Wilson[35]
Rebeckah Hopkins[36]

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18 Thomas Crowell was a grantee of Barrington and one of its earliest settlers. Three of his sons -- Ebenezer, Thomas and Paul -- are also on the list of members.

19 Eleazer Crowell, a son of Judah Crowell, married his first wife, Mary, in 1781.

20 Joseph Kendrick married Hannah Horner in 1776.

21 Ebenezer Crowell was born at Barrington on 12 May 1763, a son of Thomas Crowell. He married Jerusha Harding in 1781, and became a justice of the peace and a public speaker.

22 Obediah Wilson married Mercy Knowles. He carried on an extensive and profitable trade with the West Indies.

23 Thomas Crowell, son of Thomas, was born at Barrington on 22 December 1768. He married Elizabeth Doane, another member, in 1790. Crowell began to preach before 1807, mostly in Barrington, and was ordained some years after. He was one of the founders of the Free Christian Baptist denomination in Nova Scotia. His daughter Mary, with her husband Captain Hichens, lived many years on remote Seal Island for the purpose of aiding survivors from the numerous shipwrecks there.

24 Paul Crowell, another son of Thomas, was born at Barrington on 28 October 1772.

25 Thomas Doane was either Thomas Sr., who died on 3 May 1783, aged 46 years, or Thomas Jr., who married Elizabeth Atwood in 1786 and was said to have preached.

26 Daniel Hamilton was a son of Samuel Hamilton. He married Nellie Morton of Argyle and moved to Tusket Lakes, Yarmouth County.

27 Mary Crowell was the wife of Eleazer Crowell.

28 Sarah Wilson was the wife of Henry Wilson. Her children Obediah and Eunice were also members.

29 Elizabeth Hopkins was a daughter of Samuel Hopkins.

30 Mercy Wilson was born in 1766, the daughter of Nathaniel Knowles. In 1785 she married Obediah Wilson.

31 Sarah Knowles may have been the widow of Samuel Knowles, or a daughter of Nathaniel born in 1776.

32 Elizabeth Doane, a daughter of Thomas Doane, married the younger Thomas Crowell in 1790.

33 Sarah Kenny married Isaac Kenny in 1775; Sarah was a daughter of Joseph and Mehitable Godfrey of Liverpool, N.S.

34 Hannah Kendrick was the wife of Joseph Kendrick.

35 Eunice Wilson, a daughter of Henry, and born in 1777, married Paul Crowell.

36 Rebecca Hopkins was the wife of Samuel Hopkins. They married by 1782. She died in 1840.

Early Maritime Baptists

Robert G. Gardner

Almost a century and a half before coming to the Maritime Provinces, the Baptist movement originated among English-speaking residents of Holland in 1609. Extending the Puritan protest against the Church of England by insisting upon believer's baptism, a gathered church, and religious liberty, these Baptists returned to their native land about 1611, beginning a church near London. While continuing to expand slowly in England and Wales, the movement spread to the colony of Rhode Island in 1639 when Roger Williams founded the Providence Baptist Church. Thanks to domestic conversions and to immigration, Baptists grew gradually in New England, expanding to the middle colonies in the 1660s and to the South in the 1670s. In America as in Britain, they fell into three major categories. Many formed Particular-Regular churches, holding to the Calvinistic stress on the sovereignty of God that resulted in unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints.[1] Many others formed General Six Principle churches, holding to the Arminian stress on conditional election, general atonement, human freedom, and the possibility of falling from grace. These practised the laying on of hands for all believers at their baptism, and not just for preachers or deacons at their ordination.[2] A smaller group formed Seventh Day churches, holding either a Calvinistic or an Arminian theology, but varying from their other Baptist neighbours by consistently worshipping on Saturday as the Lord's Sabbath.[3]

Sizable increases in membership and marked vitality came to the Baptists after 1750 as a consequence of the First Great Awakening. Largely because of Separate Baptists--persons of a mildly Calvinistic bent who left the unemotional and formal Congregational churches of New England, or who sprang up in the South from the largely unchurched population--the Baptist movement in what was soon to be the

1 For a brief discussion of the Particular-Regular Baptists, see *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists*, 4 vols. (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958-1982), II, 1137-1138. For extended treatments, see Robert G. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists* (Third edition; Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1963) and Robert A. Baker, *The Southern Baptist Convention and Its People, 1607-1972* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1974).

2 For a brief discussion of the General Six Principle Baptists, see *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists*, II, 1204. For an extended treatment, see Richard Knight, *History of the General or Six Principle Baptists* (Providence: Smith and Parmenter, 1827; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1980).

3 For a brief discussion of the Seventh Day Baptists, see *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists*, II, 1195-1196; III, 1955; IV, 2450. For an extended treatment, see *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, 3 vols. (Plainfield, N.J.: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1910, 1972; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1980).

United States became a lively, sometimes emotional, and always Bible-centred form of religion.[4]

For more than a century after Baptists first came to North America, they made no effort to enter what is now called Canada. Under Indian and French control until the eighteenth century, Canada would have been an inhospitable area for Baptist advance. In and after 1713 in the Maritimes and 1763 in present-day Quebec and Ontario, the British exercised expanding power. Baptists waited for the presence of the Crown before making their appearance.

In the east, they were at Cornwallis and Newport by 1760 and at Sackville in 1763. In the west, they were in Niagara, Hastings and Leeds counties, Ontario, by 1789 and in Missisquoi County, Quebec, in 1790. For the most part they were British and American whites, although in the Maritimes fifty or sixty were blacks from the southern United States and two were local Indians.

Growth was modest until the 1790s. Total Baptists numbered about five in 1760, about 118 in 1770, and about 159 in 1780--all in the Maritimes. During the 1780s the Baptist population almost doubled, comprising about 279 in 1790 (Nova Scotia, 201; New Brunswick, 53; Ontario, 22; Quebec, three). During the 1790s the Baptists almost tripled, counting about 796 in 1800 (Nova Scotia, 534; New Brunswick, 110; Ontario, 117; Quebec, thirty-five).

Eighteenth-century Baptists in Canada were of three or four varieties: Separate, General Six Principle, Particular-Regular and probably Seventh Day. Until the 1790s, both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were strongly Separate--with a preponderance of open-communion Baptists in mixed New Light Congregational-Baptist churches which had been influenced profoundly by Henry Alline, the New Light evangelist. As will soon be seen, Sackville had a General Six Principle congregation starting in 1763. The first Particular-Regular church was at Wolfville (Horton), which turned from its Separate origins in 1778. About 1784 at least four former members of the Cohansey Seventh Day Baptist Church of Shiloh, New Jersey, were living at Beaver Harbour, Charlotte County, New Brunswick. It might be speculated that they constituted a short-lived Seventh Day Baptist church, but this is uncertain at best. By 1800, almost sixty-nine percent of all Canadian Baptists

4 For a brief discussion of the Separate Baptists, see *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists*, II, 1190-1191. For extended treatments, see C.C.Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962) and William L. Lumpkin, *Baptist Foundations in the South* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1961).

were Particular-Regular, the remainder (all in Nova Scotia) being open-communion Separates.[5]

Within this broader context, early Maritime Baptists must be viewed. In the area of Sackville, Baptist origins have been discovered to have been far more complicated than had earlier been understood.

The traditional story of organized, local-church Baptist beginnings in the Maritimes--concerning the Baptists of Sackville in what was then called Nova Scotia and since 1784 has been called New Brunswick--has been based for the most part on tantalizing tidbits in Isaac Backus, and on more extended discussions in David Benedict.

Isaac Backus (1724-1806), a Massachusetts Baptist pastor-historian who published his materials about the Maritimes in 1796, had as his primary purpose the delineation of Baptist life in New England from 1639 to his own day. He knew personally many of the early Baptist visitors to, and Baptist leaders of, the Maritimes and surely made use of the original Swansea, Massachusetts, General Six Principle Baptist Church record book (discussed below). Even with this significant potential at his disposal, however, he recorded only those incidental facts that related to New England.[6]

David Benedict (1779-1874), a Rhode Island Baptist pastor-historian whose findings about Maritime Baptist origins were published in 1813 and 1848, admitted dependence upon Backus and upon an 1811 manuscript prepared by Edward Manning, then a Baptist pastor in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia. Because Benedict

5 These statistics are based on the following volumes and the primary sources used in them: I.E. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Saint John: Barnes and Company, 1880), pp. 1-49, 129-154, 160-167, 176-187, 203-215, 261-263; Edward M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax: John Burgoyne, 1902), pp. 10-38, 54-98, 106-143; G.E. Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946* (Saint John: Barnes-Hopkins, Ltd., 1946), pp. 1-67; M.W. Armstrong, *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809* (Hartford, Ct.: American Society of Church History, 1948), pp. 34-85, 126-129; Stuart Ivison and Fred Rosser, *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada before 1820* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), pp. 82-93, 98-117, 155-161; Robert G. Gardner, *Baptists of Early America: A Statistical History, 1639-1790* (Atlanta: Georgia Baptist Historical Society, 1983), pp. 127-133, 348-352, 518-519. Winthrop P. Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), seems to dissolve Saunders' theory of a Baptist group in Lunenburg by 1753. (In the introductory section of this article, present geographical designations have sometimes been employed, even if they were not current in the eighteenth century.)

6 Isaac Backus, *A History of New England. With Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists*, 2 vols. (Second edition, with Notes by David Weston; Newton, Mass.: The Backus Historical Society, 1871; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1969), II, 435, 437, 447, 467-468, 472-473.

attempted to deal in detail with the entire Canadian story, his rendition is much more complete than that of Backus.[7]

The Backus-Benedict account presents a coherent--and, as far as it goes, usually accurate--treatment of the earliest events at Sackville. In 1763 Nathan Mason and twelve others from Massachusetts were formed into a church and settled "at the head of the Bay of Fundy." Job Seamans went to Nova Scotia with the group, was converted there, and began to preach among them. By 1771 they had increased to about sixty. That year the founders returned to New England; the new converts left behind were probably "scattered" and the church "broken up." Two other American preachers are mentioned, Nathaniel Round and Joseph Winsor; Backus was uncertain regarding their place of service, while Benedict correctly associated them with New Brunswick. Joseph Reed, whose origins were unknown, was pastor at Sackville, probably after Mason left, working with "much success" until he moved to Horton and subsequently died. However, Benedict was certain that "the first Baptist church here [at Sackville] was entirely dissolved before Henry Alline's time." Benedict knew that Alline had founded a Congregational church in that community, but that it was "scattered" before Joseph Crandall established a closed-communion Baptist church there in 1800 (actually 1799).

Such has been the paucity of early Maritime Baptist records that I.E. Bill (1800), W.H. Warren (ca. 1891), E.M. Saunders (1902), C.E. Lund (1922), G.E. Levy (1946), and M.W. Armstrong (1948) were able to add remarkably few significant new facts to the Backus-Benedict materials.[8]

Unfortunately, no major breakthrough has even now been made in this regard. No closets or attics have recently given up vast, previously-hidden treasures that clamour for a major rewriting of Maritime Baptist origins. Instead, five separate libraries have recently been found to contain one or two items each[9] that,

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7 David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, and other Parts of the World*, 2 vols. (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1813; reprinted Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), I, 278-280, 298-299; (Second edition; New York: Lewis Colby and Company, 1848; reprinted Lafayette, Tenn.: Church History Research and Archives, 1977), pp. 521-522, 533-534. He mentions the use also of a narrative by John Leland (1754-1841), a Virginia-Massachusetts pastor, but this document has not yet been found and the extent of his dependence on it is not known.

8 W.H. Warren, *Sackville Baptist Church. A Historical Sketch* (n.p.: n.p., ca. 1891); C.E. Lund, *A Historical Sketch of the Sackville Baptist Church* (n.p.: n.p., 1922).

9 Those manuscript items are as follows: (1) Swansea, Massachusetts, Second (General Six Principle)

supplemented by a few passages from Isaac Backus' diary,[10] lead to a modest change in the tradition. These primary sources, unused by Backus and Benedict, are given serious attention in the reconstruction that follows. When these various documents are utilized, the one Sackville Baptist Church of tradition becomes two. The first all-Baptist church in Canada is found to have experienced competition from a second all-Baptist church, previously unknown. A relatively simple situation suddenly develops into a more complex one. In the process, our knowledge of Maritime Baptist beginnings is rendered the more precise.

(a) Sackville General Six Principle Baptist Church, 1763-1771. According to the Swansea, Massachusetts, Second Baptist Church manuscript book, on 21 April 1763, "Several of the members of this Ch of the Rehoboth Ch and of the Providence Ch being about to remove to the Township of SackVill...desired to be settled a Ch....Accordingly they were set apart and Nathan Mason [was] Ord Eldeir over them by fasting prayer Laying on of Hands of the Presbetery."[11] All three of these churches were General Six Principle, as was the new congregation being formed. Backus named the thirteen who constituted this body: Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Mason, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Mason, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Mason, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Seamans, Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert Seamans and Experience Baker.[12] As a group they moved to Sackville, where they

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Baptist Church, church minute book, 1680-1819, pp. 5-6 (handwritten transcript; Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R.I.); (2) Joseph Winsor letter to Isaac Backus, 17 September 1767 (Franklin Trask Library, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass.); (3) Sackville, New Brunswick, General Six Principle Baptist Church letter to "the Church of Christ in Newingland," 10 May 1770 (Smithfield, Rhode Island, Baptist Church collection; American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, N.Y.); (4) Horton, Nova Scotia, Baptist Church letter to Rev. John Davis, 27 October 1771 (Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Oh.; published with introduction and notes by J.M. Bumstead, "Origins of the Maritime Baptists: A New Document," *Dalhousie Review*, XXXIX [1969], 88-93); (5) Job Seamans, Memoir (undated; probably ca. 1820) and Diary, 1774-1820 (Public Library, New London, N.H.) (hereafter cited as Seamans, Memoir, or Seamans, Diary).

10 *The Diary of Isaac Backus*, 3 vols., ed. W.G. McLoughlin (Providence: Brown University Press, 1979).

11 Throughout this article, original spelling and punctuation have been retained in all quoted manuscript materials.

12 Backus, *History*, II, 435. These names are not in the manuscript volume cited in note 9, above. Backus evidently used the original version, which has disappeared.

gradually grew to about sixty.[13] In addition to having Mason as pastor, the church ordained at least one deacon, Charles Seamans, father of the Job Seamans who later recorded the fact in his memoir.[14]

On 10 May 1770, the "Church of Christ in Sackville under the pastol care of Elder Nathan Mason" issued a letter to "the Church of Christ in Newingland Where this may fall" commending to their fellowship "our bloved Sister Ruth Baker who was Recived into our Church fellowship according to the six prencepls of the docrtin of Crist...." Ruth Baker had not been included in Backus' list of original members, unless Experience went by either name. The letter was signed by Nathan Mason, Nathaniel Mason, Elisabeeth (Elizabeth?) Mason (probably Nathaniel's wife), Stevens Johnson, Mary Johnson (probably Stevens' wife), and George Shearman--five of whom were not on Backus' list either. The Smithfield, Rhode Island, church which probably accepted this letter (thereby contributing to its preservation) was General Six Principle.

The following year, the Sackville church was dissolved. Mason and most of the constituting members moved to Lanesborough (now Cheshire), Massachusetts, where they founded a General Six Principle church.[15] Deacon Charles Seamans did not accompany them, but died at Sackville on 4 August 1771.[16] The fate of the forty-seven converts who remained in the area can only be surmised.[17]

As will be discussed below, this church was *not* afforded leadership by Joseph Reed, Joseph Winsor, Nathaniel Round or Job Seamans. Backus' and Benedict's statements notwithstanding, each preacher was instead associated with another--Separate--Baptist church in town.

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13 Benedict (1813 edition), I, 270.

14 Seamans, Memoir, p. 2.

15 Backus, *History*, II, 473.

16 Seamans, Memoir, p. 2.

17 Saunders, pp. 64-65, felt that "probably" some of them became members of the Alline New Light church discussed later in this essay. He also felt, p. 75, that "probably" the one or two immersed Baptists whom Joseph Crandall found at Sackville in 1798 had earlier been in the Mason church. Of course Saunders did not know about the 1767 Separate church.

(b) Sackville Separate Baptist Church, 1767-ca. 1771/1777. In the summer of 1766, according to Backus' diary, "a considerable season of conviction and conversion" was initiated in the Sackville vicinity. He added: "They have sent for an elder to baptize a number of 'em."[18] An eyewitness account of this revival exists in the incomplete memoir of Job Seamans. Joseph Reed[19] was converted that summer and soon began to preach. "Upon this a reformation began: and a number cleaved to him. But I [Seamans] thought it only a newlight blaze, and would soon die away."[20] Instead, he recorded, "I found it increased. This gave me some uneasy sensations." Evidently he was already fearing that, in thus standing aloof from the revival, he was assuming an erroneous posture. During the winter of 1766-1767, Seamans went to hear Reed speak and subsequently "determined upon a reformation." Old habits of mind and body were hard to break, though, and he experienced no satisfying conversion. "I was exercised much in this way until August 1767. Then Elder Joseph Winsor of Glocister, in Rhode-Island came down to preach and baptize." Several of Seamans' peers were brought into the fold at the numerous services which Seamans attended. "As we had no meeting-house," he noted, "we met, as usual, in a private house" or at "the water-side...." His inner turmoil persisted--and he was still recounting spiritual torture on the eighth and last page of his memoir, which abruptly ends in mid-paragraph. From a passage in his diary, however, it is known that he soon enjoyed a satisfactory conversion experience and was baptized on 22 August 1767. The following day he joined the church and came to the Lord's Supper.[21] Later he wrote: "She [his wife-to-be] and I were both struck under Soul-concerne [i.e., experienced a concern for the salvation of their souls] at a

18 Backus, *Diary*, II, 662.

19 Seamans actually spelt the name *Read*. The 1771 Horton letter and David Benedict spelt it *Reed*. The usage of the earliest document has been adopted here.

Reed was born at Attleborough, Mass., 13 January 1736/37, and was married at Rehoboth, Mass., on 26 July 1761 to Martha Round, probably a daughter of Benjamin Round, a Separate Baptist pastor there (Esther C. Wright, *Planters and Pioneers: Nova Scotia, 1749 to 1775* [Revised edition; Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1982], p. 252). (My thanks go to Mrs. Lois Kernaghan for furnishing this citation.) Between the summer of 1761 and the summer of 1766, Joseph Reed and his family moved to Sackville, but the exact date is not known. It might be noted that his father-in-law was the Separate Baptist preacher who soon followed him to Sackville.

20 This and the next three direct quotations have been taken from Seamans, Memoir, pp. 4-6.

21 Seamans, Diary, 23 August 1807; Backus, *Diary*, II, 893.

baptizing meeting: and both of us obtained a hope in a few days, were baptized, and joined the Church...."[22] The next year he began to preach.[23]

Amazingly, a second, briefer eyewitness account also exists: that of the visiting evangelist, Joseph Winsor. Since 1763 he had been pastor of a Glocester, Rhode Island, Baptist church that remained Separate until he led it into the Particular-Regular Warren Baptist Association in 1782. In a letter hastily written on his way home, dated 17 September 1767 and addressed to Isaac Backus, he reported a visit to Sackville of "near eight weeks...." He said:

> I have the pleasure to inform you that the Lord hath been pleased to remarkably visit that town by converting grace and there is a church gathered there since I went down of thirty-seven members. Thirty-one [have] been baptized since I went down and conviction [is] still amongst the people.

The origin of the six previously-baptized constituent members was not discussed, and neither Nathan Mason nor Joseph Reed was mentioned. Because the new congregation was without a pastor, he concluded, "the church have sent a call to Brother Nathaniel Rounds of Rehoboth to come and take the care of them as an under shephard."

As has been observed, Mason and Reed were not included in this letter, although the latter was noted in the Seamans memoir. Presumably Mason was in Sackville throughout this period of excitement. As a General Six Principle pastor, though, he would refuse to participate extensively in a Separate Baptist endeavour where the laying on of hands would not be observed. Reed was probably instrumental in fathering the awakening, remaining in Sackville probably until 1768. His absence thereafter is explained in a letter dated 27 October 1771 written by the Horton, Nova Scotia, Baptist Church to John Davis of Boston, Massachusetts, requesting

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22 Seamans, Diary, 27 April 1819. He married his first wife, Sarah Esterbrooks/Easterbrooks, on 10 August 1769 (*Ibid.*, 27 April 1819). Shortly after her death, her obituary (by Job Seamans?) included a passage about this 1767 revival: "Nothing remarkable occurred in her early life until she was 17 years of age. At that time there was a very powerful work of God amongst her neighbors [in Sackville]; many believed, were baptized, and formed into a church. She, and the person who was afterwards her husband, were both struck under powerful convictions at a meeting for baptism. Both of them through divine grace obtained a hope soon after, were baptized and joined the same church" (*The American Baptist Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer*, New Series, II [1819], 189). The formation of a new church should be noted.

23 Seamans, Diary, 7 October 1804.

financial assistance. Ebenezer Moulton, they explained, visited them in 1765, helped them to form a church and became their pastor. They then stated:[24]

> Some time the latter part of the year 1767 it Pleased the Lord to Remove from us the said Elder Moulton and we were for a short time Distitute of an under Sheaperd--Soon after which it was the Divine Pleasure to favour us with a Visitation of Elder Joseph Reed from Comberland who administered the Gospell with us untill Death Removed him from this Life in October 1770.

Doubtless Reed remained in Sackville until his father-in-law, Benjamin Round, assumed active pastoral leadership of the church which Reed had nurtured.

In order to become the Sackville Separate Baptist pastor, Nathaniel Round was proposed for ordination in August 1767 by a Separate, closed-communion Rehoboth, Massachusetts, Baptist church (founded in 1762), the pastor of which was John Hix.[25] Backus and others refused to ordain Round, since he was probably inclining toward Seventh Day views.[26] On 9 May 1768 Backus received a letter from Rehoboth, again requesting his help in the ordination scheduled for 11 May. Because he had received the request too late (apparently Round's views on the Sabbath had become satisfactory), Backus did not participate. He noted that Round expected to sail for Nova Scotia the "next week."[27]

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24 According to Edward Manning, Reed was not ordained, and died of consumption (Benedict [1848 edition], p. 534). In his 1810 journal, John Payzant, a New Light Congregational preacher who had been active in the Maritimes for the previous thirty-five years, wrote: "One E. Morton came to Horton Preached the Gospel Some experienced under his preaching....At Horton Mr. Reed who came from Cumberland preached there until his death..." (John Payzant, *The Journal of the Reverend John Payzant (1749-1834)*, ed. Brian C. Cuthbertson [Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1981], pp. 21-22). Payzant provided no precise date for either Moulton or Reed, except to infer that they had been in the area sometime prior to 1775. Arthur W.H. Eaton, *The History of Kings County* (Salem, Mass.: Salem Press Company, 1910; reprinted Belleville, Ont.: Mika Studio, 1972), p. 306, says that Reed's death came "at some time unknown to us" from "the lodging of an apple core in his throat." The precise date of his death, October 1770, is open to serious question: A list of early settlers at Sackville includes Martha Round, who is described as the widow of Joseph Reed (Read, in the list). She is said to have married John Barnes on 4 June 1770. (This list was furnished by Elder Fred C. Burnett, Hartland, N.B., 6 February 1981, to whom my thanks are expressed.)

25 Backus, *History*, II, 437-438. Round had been preaching without ordination since 1759 (Backus, *Diary*, II, 506).

26 Rehoboth, Massachusetts, Baptist Church letter to Isaac Backus, 8 August 1767 (Andover Newton Theological School); Backus, *Diary*, II, 668-669.

27 Backus, *Diary*, II, 685.

The length of Round's ministry at Sackville is not presently known. The 1771 Horton letter specifically noted: "There is also a Baptis Church in the Town of Sacville in Comberland County under the Care of Elder Nathanel Round, who have ben Regularly Imbodied for this Several years past...." On 16 February 1777 Job Seamans, who was by then a pastor in Massachusetts, recorded in his diary: "This Morning Brother Robert Foster and Mr. Amasa Kallam [Killam] Came to my Hous from Sackville in Nova-Scotia and gave us an acount of the distressed Case of our Frinds thare...." Perhaps the "distressed Case" had been recently caused by Round's departure. He was definitely in Massachusetts by 20 July 1777, and was a pastor of a church there two months later; evidently he remained in that state until his death in 1781.[28]

One other early Sackville leader remains to be discussed: Job Seamans himself. Converted in 1767 and actively preaching by 1768, he undoubtedly gave Round much encouragement and aid thereafter. Even though Seamans' father was a pillar in the General Six Principle church, the son seems to have been a thoroughgoing Separate Baptist.[29] He remained in the Sackville area until late 1771 or early 1772, probably leaving Round as the sole Baptist preacher there. While in the Rehoboth-Swansea section of Massachusetts, Backus recorded in his diary on 20 March 1772 that "The labours of Mr. Job Simmons who lately came on a visit from Nova Scotia...have been considerably blessed in this work...."[30] His "visit" could have been of brief duration, after which he returned to Sackville. More than likely, however, he simply remained in Massachusetts. It is certain that in 1773 he became pastor of an Attleborough Baptist church that was Particular-Regular, not General Six Principle.[31]

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28 Seamans, Diary, 20 July 1777; 11 September 1777; 16 November 1777; Backus, *Diary*, I, 506n; II, 1007, 1019. Based on the uncertain evidence in Benedict (1848 edition), p. 534, Levy incorrectly dated Winsor, Round and Reed much too late (pp. 60, 66).

29 Although Backus and Benedict both connected his preaching with the older congregation, they appear to have been in error (Backus, *History*, II, 472-473; *Diary*, 830; Benedict [1813 edition], I, 279).

30 Backus, *Diary*, II, 830.

31 In 1789 he removed to New London, New Hampshire, where he was pastor of the Separate, later Particular-Regular, Baptist church there until his death in 1830. He seems never to have been affiliated with any General Six Principle Baptist church.

The closing years of the Sackville Separate Baptist Church may now be summarized. Reed probably left in 1768 and Seamans in 1771 or 1772. Round could have departed any time after October 1771; certainly he was gone by 1777. Apparently bereft of local leadership, the Separate Baptist church quietly became extinct between 1771 and 1777. Whether the membership ever surpassed the thirty-seven of 1767 is uncertain. What happened to those surviving the breakup of the church in the 1770s has not been ascertained.

After the disappearance of these two early churches, Sackville Baptists numbered no more than eighty-four, and probably fewer than sixty--all temporarily unaffiliated with a local church. Maybe some of them entered the New Light, mixed-communion Congregational church founded by Henry Alline on 4 August 1781, but the fact is that there is not one shred of documentary evidence known to support this view with certainty. Alline continued to preach in the area until 19 August, helping to raise the total membership to more than thirty.[32] However, they were described by John Payzant, another New Light evangelist, as being New Lights and Methodists, not Baptists.[33] When Alline left, the church had no regular pastor, but in March 1782 it was termed "flourishing."[34] Apparently soon thereafter, T.H. Chipman, an open-communion Separate Baptist from Annapolis, Nova Scotia, "preached the final perseverance of the Saints, not knowing there was any in the Church that denied it." Payzant, the source of this information, added: "The Methodis arose and condemned the Doctrine...."[35] Chipman's visit could have been at the invitation of the Separate Baptist segment of the church--if such an invitation were necessary and if such a segment existed--and his message would have been an affront to any General Six Principle Baptists present, as it surely was to the Methodists.

Alline returned to Sackville for a second and last visit in June and July 1782, "where," as he said, "I found some christians alive to God; but some had got into

32 *The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline* (Boston: Gilbert & Dean, 1806), pp. 137-141. A more accessible edition has been produced by James Beverley and Barry Moody (Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1982). Page references for each edition will be shown, with those of the 1982 edition in parentheses. Thus, for this note, the short form would read as follows: Alline, pp. 137-141 (177-180).

33 Payzant, p. 28.

34 Alline, p. 153 (192).

35 Payzant, p. 28.

darkness by disputing about principles."[36] Although this language might sound like a veiled allusion to Baptists and immersion, Payzant attributed the trouble to the Methodists who "drew off from them so that there was a great contention."[37] Alline himself commented on a debate with "bigotted presbyterians and mountain men," but failed to specify the subject and neglected to mention any possible bigotted Baptists and water men.[38]

In the fall of 1782, John Payzant moved as pastor to a Sackville "full of disputes." Although he faced steady attack from the Methodists, he also had at least one extended problem with the Baptists: A "very Zealos close Baptist" minister from America stayed for "some tim"; Payzant took sharp exception to his position on baptism without giving his name.[39]

Payzant's pastorate concluded in April 1784, after which he mentioned Sackville only twice more. He visited there briefly in the autumn of that year, but his journal said nothing about local conditions. Obviously a steady deterioration set in, however. When Payzant was ordained at Horton on 3 July 1786, "the Church of Cumberland, was So much broking to peaces that they wuld not Send delegates...."[40]

For the next thirteen years, Sackville Baptist life is surrounded by silence. Perhaps twenty-six unaffiliated Baptists remained in 1790.[41] One or two were said to be there in 1798. Joseph Crandall's exact words, written in 1843, are these: "From Amherst I went to Sackville [in 1798], where I found a people who received me with open hearts and hand. There were many 'New Lights' there, but I think that there was only one in that whole Parish

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36 Alline, pp. 157-158 (197-199).

37 Payzant, p. 30.

38 Alline, p. 158 (198). In commenting on the obscure phrase *mountain men*, Beverley and Moody, p. 261, can only ask: "By mountain men does he mean Highlanders?"

39 Payzant, pp. 30-31.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 40.

41 This number is based solely on the average annual decrease between fifty-nine in 1780 and one in 1798.

who had been immersed."[42] Under Crandall in 1799, a closed-communion Particular-Regular Baptist church was formed with perhaps twenty members.[43] One or two might have belonged to the earlier General Six Principle or Separate churches, but most were probably baptized by Crandall himself. At the close of the eighteenth century, Sackville Baptists again came into the light of documented history.

The earliest Maritime Baptists were identified with several localities: Cornwallis, Newport, Yarmouth, Sackville, and Wolfville/Horton. With respect to Sackville, the situation was a good deal more involved than had once been imagined. One solitary church has suddenly become two competing churches. That such a distinction as the one suggested in this essay has not earlier been made is, upon reflection, not too difficult to explain. Surely Backus was aware of the situation, which paralleled a widespread condition in his area, but his overriding concern for New England Baptists permitted him to ignore it in his books. Writing some forty or fifty years after the event, Benedict was most dependent for his information on Edward Manning, who was no eyewitness. With the lapse of many years, stories transmitted for the most part orally can become garbled. Such was probably the case here. Two very different Baptist churches gradually became one in the oral tradition of the subsequent decades, once again to become two because some of the participants produced definitive and irrefutable records that have been preserved.

42 Saunders, p. 65; Bill, p. 205. The quotation has been furnished by P.G.A. Griffin-Allwood, then of Seabright, N.S., in a letter, 30 January 1981; I am grateful for his assistance.

43 Warren, p. 4. The number is based on the first church clerk's report to J.M. Cramp many years later, and is only an approximation. Warren felt that, because the clerk did not mention baptism to Cramp, these twenty were Mason's former parishioners--a precarious assumption at best.

Maritime Methodists and Black Bermudians, 1851-1870

Graeme S. Mount

Bermudian Methodism has long had close links to the Methodist Church in what is now Maritime Canada. From the arrival of the earliest missionaries at the beginning of the nineteenth century, through the strong administrative connections formed at mid-century, the Methodist Church in Bermuda was strongly influenced by the companion movement in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Initially, the Methodists had substantial appeal for Bermudian blacks, many of whom joined the island congregations after 1800. However, the Methodist clergy -- many of whom came to the islands from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick -- could not overcome their prejudices in matters pertaining to black/white relations; as this article will describe, the clergy's acceptance of the Bermudian status quo and its practice of racial segregation ultimately prompted the movement of many Bermudian blacks into the British Methodist Episcopal Church after 1870.

Methodism had its origins in eighteenth century England and spread rapidly around the world. Kenneth Scott Latourette, historian of most forms of Christianity in most places, has commented:

> Methodism was ardently missionary. It spread rapidly in the colonies among the settlers and their children and there attained larger dimensions than any other denomination except the Church of England, the Presbyterians, and the Roman Catholics. It multiplied missions in Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea. . . .It had an even more phenomenal growth in the United States.[1]

Author's note

Throughout this paper, the term "black" is used in the manner usually understood by today's residents of the North American mainland; i.e. to include people labelled "coloured" in Bermuda and the Commonwealth Caribbean.

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For those unfamiliar with Methodist church government, the basic unit with its clergyman is the Circuit. The Circuits of a geographical area form a District, and the Districts of a larger area form a Conference. The Maritime Provinces of what is now Canada constituted one District of the British Conference until 1826, when it sub-divided to form the New Brunswick District and the Nova Scotia-Prince Edward Island District. Until 1851, the Bermuda Circuit had been part of different West Indian Districts of the British Conference when, for reasons of travel convenience, authorities transferred it to the Nova Scotia District of the same British Conference. Four years later, it appeared advisable to create the Eastern British America Conference.

1 Kenneth Scott Latourette, A *History of Christianity* (New York: Harper and Row), II, 1183-1184.

Within the United States, Methodism appealed to black people. In 1960, Clifton E. Olmstead, an historian of Christianity in the United States, estimated that of 468,000 Southerners of African descent, almost half, 215,000, were Methodists. The Baptists, whose appeal to black Americans was second only to that of the Methodists, had 175,000, and the Disciples of Christ came third.[2]

After the War of Independence, Methodists were the first, other than the Quakers, to take a stand against slavery. A Conference of 1784 in Baltimore voted to expel members who bought and sold slaves. Methodists who lived in states where it was legally possible to free their slaves and who did not do so, faced excommunication.[3] Yet, Methodism split into Northern and Southern factions over the morality of slavery in the 1840s, the first denomination to do so.

The first Methodist clergyman stationed in Bermuda was an Irishman, the Reverend John Stephenson, who arrived in 1799. His sponsor was the British Methodist Conference, which also managed Methodist affairs in what was left of British North America after the American Revolution, and there was a constant flow of personnel among the remaining British North Atlantic colonies.[4] Until Stephenson's arrival, the Church of England had held a near-monopoly on Bermudian religious life. John Wesley's associate, George Whitefield, had visited the islands in 1748, and there was also a Presbyterian Church at Warwick, but the Anglicans reigned supreme. Then Stephenson arrived.

Stephenson came to Bermuda at one of the worst possible moments. The French colony of Saint Domingue (now Haiti) had experienced a rebellion, as black slaves revolted against, killed or expelled their white masters. *The Royal Gazette* provided extensive coverage for Bermuda's white population to read, and the white population of the colony, like the white population of the southern United States, was determined that what had happened in Saint Domingue must never be allowed to repeat itself in their homeland. Because the British Anglicans ministering

2 Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965 [1960], p. 277.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 364.

4 A highly useful source of information about the personnel distribution of Methodist clergy in Bermuda, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland is George H. Cornish, *Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada* (Halifax: Methodist Book-Room, 1881), pp. 377-400. See also D.W. Johnson, *History of Methodism in Eastern British America* (Sackville, New Brunswick: The Tribune Press, c. 1927), especially pp. 348-363.

in Bermuda were giving almost all their attention to the white population, Stephenson devoted himself to the black people. The fact that he was from Ireland, recently embroiled in a rebellion of its own, hardly enhanced Stephenson's reputation among the paranoid whites. Arrested in 1800 under an act of the Bermuda Legislative Assembly, which act was later vetoed by the Crown, Stephenson left Bermuda and returned to Ireland a broken man.[5]

British Methodist authorities then assigned William Black, often regarded as the founder of Methodism in Atlantic Canada, to continue Stephenson's work. Black never got beyond New York. There, irate passengers gave the captain of the ship on which Black was planning to sail an ultimatum: either put Black ashore, or sail without them, for they would never sail on the same vessel as a Methodist clergyman. Black had to leave, and the ship sailed without him.[6]

Joshua Marsden, the next appointee to accept the unenviable Bermuda assignment, worked on the islands between 1808 and 1812 and set Bermudian Methodism onto its feet. An Englishman recruited by Black to evangelize Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,[7] Marsden spent almost two decades in the three colonies. Although he appears to have exhibited little interest in non-whites while in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, he managed to make himself acceptable to both groups in Bermuda.[8] One reason for Marsden's success may have been his willingness to work on a segregated basis. According to a recent black Bermudian historian, Cyril Outerbridge Packwood, "the races had been segregated by Marsden . . . into two classes, 'the Whites into one, and the Blacks and Coloured People [i.e. people of mixed European and African ancestry] into the other.' "[9] Marsden's actions were quite compatible with traditional Methodist mores;

5 For further information about Stephenson, see James Smith, *Slavery in Bermuda* (New York: Vantage, 1976), pp. 186-196; and T. Watson Smith, I, 449-450.

6 James Smith, p. 198; T. Watson Smith, I, 395, 467-468.

7 H.H. Walsh, *The Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1956), p. 126.

8 Marsden wrote his own memoirs, *The Narrative of a Mission to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Somers Islands* (USA, 1966 [1816]). On page 30 he stated that his was "not a mission to the Indians [of Nova Scotia] but to the colonists and settlers." He made no mention of blacks in either Nova Scotia or New Brunswick.

9 Cyril Outerbridge Packwood, *Chained on the Rock* (Bermuda: Baxter's, 1973), p. 110.

at the time of Whitefield's visit some generations earlier, blacks had had to stay on the periphery of racially mixed congregations.[10] Also, according to one source, some whites overcame their initial opposition to Marsden's work among blacks when they noticed "a moral improvement" and a lessening of hostility from the black community.[11]

Between Marsden's departure on the eve of the War of 1812, and Emancipation in 1833, white Methodists continued to reject a close association with black ones. Although blacks did become lay preachers, white people refused to attend a Sunday School established by black women at Warwick.[12] One Methodist slave, Edward Fraser, made such a good impression upon the incumbent Anglican Bishop, John Inglis of Nova Scotia, that Inglis offered to ordain him. In Fraser's case, the interesting point is that Methodists had not taken the initiative; Bishop Inglis did. Later, Fraser went as a Methodist preacher to the West Indies.[13]

That segregationist thought remained dominant is hardly surprising. The Anglicans, who by this time had an active programme among blacks, also practised segregation. White supemacist belief had contributed to the ubiquity of African slavery in the first place, in Bermuda and elsewhere, and people of different classes--let alone masters and slaves--have seldom been able to establish fraternal relationships.

In the decades following Emancipation, Bermudian Methodism was very much a part of the white establishment. Developments elsewhere may offer some pertinent insights into the Bermudian situation. In 1832, the year before the British Parliament passed legislation abolishing slavery throughout the Empire, Bermuda had 4,181 white people, 1,068 free blacks, and 3,608 slaves.[14] The proportions were closer to those of Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina during much of the nineteenth century, than to those of the British West Indies, where blacks

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

11 Johnson, p. 352.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 352-353. T. Watson Smith, II, 153.

13 Selby Jefferson, *Some Churches and Churchmen of the Enchanted Isles* (Hamilton, Bermuda: The Colonist Press, c. 1910), pp. 269-270. Johnson, p. 354.

14 *Bermuda Blue Book*, 1832, p. 118.

outnumbered whites by much wider margins. However, as Bermuda was considerably smaller, both in population and in surface area, than any American state, blacks and whites must have known each other to an extent unrealized on the mainland. There were no large estates with multitudes of slaves working for a master they rarely saw. Bermudian slaves had occupations which necessarily brought them into close contact with white people--as carpenters, masons, sailors, mechanics, fishermen, tailors, sail makers, stone cutters, domestic servants, butchers, gardeners, painters, and unskilled labourers.[15] Given the slaves' lifestyle, it is reasonable to assume that the cultural gap between blacks and whites was probably narrower than in many other slave societies. Indeed, one key event would seem to bear this out. When the British Parliament offered slaveowners throughout the Empire financial compensation in return for the emancipation of their slaves, Bermuda joined Antigua as the only colonies whose slaveholders granted unconditional freedom on the first possible day; elsewhere there was a transition period, labelled "apprenticeship."[16]

These considerations notwithstanding, Bermudian society remained segregated along racial lines until the second half of the twentieth century and did not desegregate until about the same time as the United States South. Bermuda did not have universal adult suffrage until 1968, three years after the Voting Rights Act created a similar political environment for American blacks; the restricted franchise, based on landholding, strongly favoured the white community. The first black legislator did not enter the colony's Executive Council until 1959, and the Civil Service was entirely white.[17] In short, nineteenth-century Bermudian Methodists lived in a racist environment--albeit not the worst in that part of the world--and they were shaped by this environment. Despite infusions of personnel from elsewhere, the Methodist Church failed to rise above these limitations.

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15 Kenneth Robinson, *Heritage* (Hamilton, Bermuda: Berkeley Educational Society, 1979), pp. 18-57. See also Packwood, pp. 14-38.

16 For an indication of the meaning of apprenticeship on different West Indian Islands, see the paper delivered by C. Van Woodward at the 1970 (Moscow) session of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, "Emancipations and Reconstructions: a Comparative Study".

17 Eva Hodgson, *Second Class Citizens: First Class Men* (London: n.d.), *passim*; Frank Manning, *Bermudian Politics in Transition* (Bermuda, 1978), *passim*; Selwyn Ryan, "Politics in an artificial society: the case of Bermuda," *Caribbean Studies*, XV, 2 (July, 1975), 5-35.

In 1851, the Bermuda Circuit became part of the Nova Scotia District, and in 1855 Bermuda joined Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland in the newly-created Eastern British America Conference of the Methodist Church.[18] Although these internal restructurings brought Bermuda into close contact with Atlantic Canada, white Methodists from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick appear to have had little appreciation of black dissatisfaction during the generation before 1870. *The Provincial Wesleyan*, from 1849 a weekly organ of the Methodist Church in Eastern British America, carried occasional references to Bermuda, but rarely to race relations. It was not that writers were hesitant about revealing the colony's moral shortcomings. Indeed, there were occasional references to unspecified "iniquity,"[18] alcohol-related problems,[19] and sexual promiscuity.[20] One columnist expressed shock that alleged Christians would support such an intrinsically dehabilitating institution as a theatre in Bermuda.[21] There were frequent personnel reports, obituaries, notes about clergy who had taken ill, stories of prayer meetings and fund-raising efforts, news items as to the activities of Bermudian Methodists, and statements about governors of Bermuda. There was even a complaint about Anglicans and Anglican privileges.[22]

The relative silence on matters pertaining to race relations must therefore indicate a general lack of concern. In 1858, the Reverend Matthew Richey, president of the Eastern British America Conference, visited Bermuda. His letter of 29 March, describing his trip to the colony, made no mention of race.[23] The Reverend Jotham McC. Fulton, who went to Bermuda immediately after completion of his B.A. at Mount Allison, displayed total obliviousness. In the spring of 1866, he reported a speech by a Confederate refugee, Judge J.W. Tucker, who had fled to Bermuda after the South's defeat in the Civil War. Describing the judge

18 *The Provincial Wesleyan*, 9 Jan. 1861, letter from the Rev. F.W. Moore.

19 *Ibid.*, 3 Feb. 1864, 26 Feb. 1868.

20 *Ibid.*, 19 Jan. 1868.

21 *Ibid.*, 26 Feb. 1868.

22 *Ibid.*, 28 May 1862, another letter from the Rev. F.W. Moore.

23 *Ibid.*, 8 April 1858.

as "a thorough Wesleyan and a devoted Christian," Fulton praised an address Tucker had delivered to a missionary in Hamilton. In Fulton's words, Tucker"delivered a most eloquent, appropriate, and impressive address, which was listened to with that profound respect befitting both the speaker and the assembly."[24] One may wonder how a refugee, in Bermuda because of his Confederate values, could have said anything of substance without provoking a controversy. There was no hint that Tucker had supported the Confederacy despite any personal opposition to slavery, nor alternatively that the judge had had a change of heart on the slavery issue. Later that same year, Fulton published a long letter summarizing Bermudian history. Beginning in 1609 and including the imprisonment of John Stephenson "for daring to preach in the name of Jesus," he made no mention of the slave trade or even the presence of black people in Bermuda.[25] Clearly, Fulton had little empathy for his black laity.

In the spring of 1870, the Right Reverend Willis Nazrey paid a visit to Bermuda. Nazrey was a bishop of the British Methodist Episcopal Church (BME), a denomination composed almost entirely of people of African descent. On 29 May, barely two weeks after returning to his home in Halifax, he arranged with the Nova Scotia Annual Conference of the BME Church for the appointment of the Reverend R.R. Morris of Saint John, New Brunswick, to Bermuda. Morris arrived in August to serve a black congregation recruited largely from the Anglican and regular Methodist Churches.[26] At face value, the BME does not appear to have had much appeal for these groups, but correspondence in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette* and documentation elsewhere indicate that many Methodists and Anglicans left their congregations in the early 1870s and started supporting the BME.[27] In retrospect, it is evident that the denominations already active in Bermuda had left a widening gap which the BME quickly filled.

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24 *Ibid.*, 6 June 1866.

25 *Ibid.*, 26 Dec. 1866.

26 *Bermuda Royal Gazette*, 10 May and 5 July 1870. *Bermuda Royal Gazette* 23 Aug. 1870.

27 Letter of Edward Feild, written in Halifax 12 May 1870 and printed in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette* of 31 May; letter of "Amicus," a Bermudian, written 3 June and published 7 June in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette*; anonymous letter of 29 August published 30 August in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette*; and elsewhere.

If regular Methodism had not provided a religious setting totally congenial to black Bermudians, neither had the other denominations. From 1844 to 1876, Edward Feild, Anglican Bishop of Newfoundland, had episcopal responsibility for Bermuda. A self-confessed racist all his life, Feild had to overcome an initial sense of "repugnance" before he could as much as baptize black babies.[28] Although Feild had been in Bermuda as recently as 6 May 1870, a letter of his written in Halifax less than a week later and addressed "to the coloured people of Bermuda" expressed surprise that any of them would want to leave the Church of England for the newly-established BME. In vain, he promised black Anglicans separate churches and black clergy, if such was their desire, but he thought his treatment of them over the previous quarter century had been quite fair. Any discrimination, he indicated, had been on the basis of wealth (or lack of it), and not skin colour.[29]

The Roman Catholic Diocese of Halifax began to send priests to Bermuda in 1846, but their priority was clearly the Irish population.[30] There was a strong feeling that the Diocese lacked strength to proselytize Bermuda's black community,[31] and what few comments the Roman Catholic clergy made about blacks displayed contempt or indifference. When Father Thomas Lyons died of yellow fever in 1853, his landlady, "a roguish coloured woman" according to Lyons' colleague, Father Patrick Phelan, stole most of his valuables. "If he [had] died in the house of a respectable white person, his trunks would not [have been] robbed," Phelan wrote

28 H.W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild* (London: W. Wells Gardner, 1877), p. 250.

29 Feild's letter of 12 May appeared in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette*, 31 May 1870.

30 Correspondence between the Right Reverend Doctor William Walsh, Bishop of Halifax from 1842 to 1843 and Archbishop of the same diocese from 1853 to 1858, and the priests he sent to Bermuda; located at the Chancery Office, Halifax Archdiocese. Copies at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax. Likewise, the papers of Archbishop Walsh's successors, Thomas Conally (1858-1877) and Michael Hannan (from 1877) indicate little interest in blacks living within the Diocese of Halifax (including Bermuda); those papers too are available at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Roman Catholic baptismal, marriage, and funeral registers in Bermuda convey a similar impression.

31 A Memorandum of Bermuda, Document #66, Walsh Papers; letter of John Nugent, Hamilton, to Bishop Walsh, Halifax, 7 June 1847 (Document #68); letter of R.F. Lyons, St. George's, to Walsh, Halifax, 6 Dec. 1850 (document #72).

to Archbishop Walsh.[32] Father James Rogers saw the future prosperity of the Roman Catholic Church in Bermuda as dependent on a migration there of Roman Catholics from various other islands, and a winter influx of North American invalids, some of whom would be Roman Catholic. Irish people, Cape Breton Islanders and Roman Catholics from Prince Edward Island, thought Father Rogers in a somewhat grandiose suggestion, could migrate to Bermuda and grow vegetables for the North American market during the winter months. In his opinion, the opportunity was there. Despite a labour shortage, he reported, the

> present owners [in Bermuda]...are either too rich and careless to cultivate it, or too lazy to work it themselves, and the negros [*sic*] (who compose the peasant population) will not work it for them.[33]

Against the staid complacency and polite segregation of these churches, Nazrey and his successors offered a comfortable alternative. The African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), parent Church of the BME, began in Philadelphia under the leadership of Richard Allen. Allen, a former slave and a convert to Methodism, became a lay preacher. While he was worshipping at St. George's Methodist Church in 1787, an usher pulled him from his knees for daring to be in a section of the sanctuary reserved for white people. Insulted and disgusted, Allen and other worshippers of African descent stormed out of St. George's and established their own place of worship. By 1816, Allen regarded himself as Bishop of the AME. In the words of one biographer:

> The Churches...*were* segregated and black members *were* denied full participation in ways that reflected the racial attitudes of their social environment. It was to overcome such immediate, humiliating oppression that Allen walked out in protest from white St. George's Methodist Church to organize a separate African denomination, and not because of any doctrinal reservations he had about Methodism.[34]

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32 Letter of Patrick Phelan, Hamilton, to Archbishop Walsh, Halifax, 6 Dec. 1853 (Document #78), Walsh Papers.

33 James Rogers, Hamilton, to Archbishop Walsh, Halifax, 29 Jan. 1858 (Document #86), Walsh Papers.

34 Carol V.R. George, *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760-1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978). The quotation is from p. 6, but see pp. 1-20 and 49-71 for a more complete story.

Blacks faced similar harassment elsewhere in white Methodist churches throughout the United States. In Charleston, there was controversy as to where they would sit.[35] In Louisiana, Methodists tended to have separate services for black members, or even separate mission stations where blacks could worship under the supervision of white ministers.[36] Black denominations and congregations mushroomed, and they opened mission stations where blacks could offer solace to each other and worship in an hospitable environment.[37] Eventually the AME spread to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where it called itself the BME.

The principal differences between the BME and the churches from which it recruited members appears to have been race. Bishop Feild did not challenge the theology of the BME, except to say that it was not in communion with the Church of England.[38] An anonymous letter writer in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette* of 30 August 1870 asked

> any serious thoughtful person who has joined, or contemplates joining, the Sect of Methodist Episcopalians...[to] be good enough to inform me through your newspaper on what grounds he separates from the Church of England. I ask the question...with a most sincere desire to understand what are the points of doctrine and discipline in the Protestant Episcopal Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodist Society which render the creation of a new sect necessary to meet the religious wants of the community.[39]

There was no reply. As for the Methodists, Bishop Nazrey had actually preached in the Wesleyan Church while in Hamilton, and he did so without creating a stir.[40]

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35 Donald G. Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 205-207.

36 Roger A. Fischer, *The Segregation Struggle in Louisiana, 1862-1877* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 6.

37 David W. Wills and Richard Newman, *Black Apostles at Home and Abroad* (Boston: G.K. Hall and Company, 1982), pp. xi-xxv.

38 *Bermuda Royal Gazette*, 31 May 1870.

39 Anonymous letter of 29 August, published in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette*, 30 Aug. 1870. See also letter of "Amicus," written 3 June and published 7 June in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette*.

40 *Bermuda Royal Gazette*, 10 May 1870.

When the Reverend R.R. Morris arrived and began to conduct services in the Odd Fellows' Hall, the *Bermuda Royal Gazette* reported favourably on his sermons, again without any hint that they were a source of controversy.[41] From all appearances, some black Bermudians--like some black citizens of the United States--simply wanted to meet by themselves.

The arrival of the BME does not appear to have provoked sober second thoughts among white Methodists. In 1874, Methodist Sunday School teachers in St. George's voted

> that as the Wesleyan or Ex Home Sabbath School was originally designed for white scholars only, and as we beleive [*sic*] that a departure from the original design must prove injurious to the school as well as to the Wesleyan School held in the Basement of the Church it is inexpedient to admit any colored children as scholars into the Wesleyan or Ex Home Sabath [*sic*] School.[42]

The earliest BME church to lay a cornerstone did so in 1879; the largest, St. Paul's in Hamilton, had its dedication in 1881.[43] As late as 1889, Methodists were complaining about desertions, as though they were unexpected.[44] Since then, the two Methodist bodies have continued to co-exist. The most recent Bermudian census, that of 1980, reported 3,306 individuals who identified themselves as Methodists, and 5,531 who said that they were members or adherents of the AME, as Bermuda's BME became known after 1885.[45]

One can certainly understand why black Bermudians turned to the BME. Because of economic and educational discrepancies and racial prejudice, whites *did* feel superior to blacks, as in the United States and, for that matter, in Canada. During the generation before the BME's arrival, most Methodist clergy had come

41 *Ibid.*, 23 Aug. and 6 Sept. 1870.

42 Minutes of Teachers' Meeting, Ex Home Methodist Sunday School, St. George's, Bermuda. Microfilm Reel No. 314, Bermuda Archives, Hamilton.

43 Nellie Musson, "Women and Family Life," *Royal Gazette* (Hamilton), 17 March 1980; W.S. Zuill, *The Story of Bermuda and Her People* (Hong Kong: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 141-142.

44 The Methodist Church, Nova Scotia Conference, Annual Meeting of the Bermuda District, held at St. George's, May 28, 1889 and thereafter. Microfilm Reel No. 230, p. 39, Bermuda Archives.

45 Calculated from Bermuda, *Census of 1980*, pp. 318-357. By that time, the Anglicans numbered 20,163; Presbyterians, 1,783; Roman Catholics, 7,458.

from what is now Atlantic Canada, but their influence, as already noted, hardly proved liberal. Others have already discussed white prejudice against blacks in nineteenth-century British North America,[46] and there is no need to repeat their findings here.

The fact that the flow of clergy between British North America and Bermuda made so little impact clearly illustrates the lack of empathy towards blacks which existed in both mainland societies, even among well-meaning, well-informed people with a social conscience. Between Marsden's departure in 1812 and the restructuring of Maritime Methodism in 1874, more than a dozen Methodist clergy from Atlantic Canada served in Bermuda.[47] One Bermudian, Thomas Smith, filled various pulpits in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. At least three Maritimers married Bermudian wives before returning to circuits on the mainland.[48] Another Maritime Methodist clergyman active in Bermuda was T. Watson Smith, principal historian of the Methodist Conference of Eastern British America and author of a lengthy article about slavery.[49] There certainly was ample opportunity for an exchange of ideas on race relations. However, on the British North American mainland and elsewhere, the status quo was taken for granted. Those who served in Bermuda carried their complacency with them. Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the BME managed to take root.

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46 Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972 [1971]), pp. 24-141; also W.A. Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick* (Fredericton: The Brunswick Press, 1972); John N. Grant, *Black Nova Scotians* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1980); James W. St. G. Walker, *A History of Blacks in Canada* (Hull, P.Q.: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1980).

47 The best biographical sources concerning the Methodist clergy are Johnson and the *Cyclopedia*. In alphabetical order, the Maritimers stated by the *Cyclopedia* to have worked in Bermuda, along with their dates of service in Bermuda, include: John Cassidy (1857-1859 and 1873-1874); Douglas Chapman (1859-1860); Albert S. Desbrisay (1866-1867); Robert Duncan (1855-1857); Jotham McC. Fulton (1865-1867); Frederick W. Harrison (1862-1865); Stephen Humphrey, who came from the United States but served in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia before going to Bermuda (1870-1872); Samuel Stuart Johnson (1836); Frederick W. Moore (1863-1865); William W. Percival (1862-1866); William Ryan (1860-1862); William Shenstone (1843-1846); Thomas Watson Smith (1871-1874); R. Alder Temple (1867-1869); G.W. Tuttle (1868-1871); Charles M. Tyler (1873-1874); and Fletcher Weldon (1870-1871).

William Sutcliffe, another early Methodist, came from England and served in Nova Scotia before beginning work in Bermuda in 1817; Rev. Clayton Munro, *A Methodist Epic: An Historical Record of the Methodist Church in Bermuda* (Bermuda: 1949, 1966), p. 10.

48 John Cassidy and Robert Duncan married Bermudian women (Munro, p. 20), as did William Ryan (Jefferson, p. 346).

49 T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada," in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, X (1899), entire issue.

Photograph courtesy of Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

The Reverend Robert Jamison: "An humble ambassador of my Divine Master"

Philip L. Hartling

On Sunday, 23 August 1840, three men in a small boat rowed across the open sea and up Jeddore Harbour. Shrouded in a dense fog but guided by a small compass, the men reached their destination at the head of the harbour. The journey of eight hours had begun before daylight at Clam Harbour. On board were two sons of a Mr. Webber, and the recently-ordained Robert Jamison. Assembled in the newly-completed church at Jeddore were approximately two hundred people who had congregated to worship with the Reverend John Stevenson, a visiting missionary. Here, Jamison had his first encounter with the people over whom he was to minister for the next forty-four years.

In the evening, he retraced his journey on board a small schooner, transporting thirty fellow worshippers about four miles from his morning's departure. The following day was also foggy, but Jamison was determined to reach Ship Harbour, which he wanted to make his headquarters. Accompanied by a guide, he began the exhausting twelve-mile trek through the long wet grass and underwood. As he later recalled,

> But of such a journey I could form no conception until I had accomplished it. At one time our path, (if path if could be called), lay through lofty groves of spruce, beech, and maple, at other times across unbridged brooks and rivulets, with here and there marsh swamps, while again, our journey was further diversified by having to traverse extensive tracts of barren heath covered with large granite rocks, and a species of shrub, called lamb-kill. Never in my lifetime did I entertain a more earnest desire of beholding a human habitation, then when exhausted with fatigue and privation, the boots all but torn from my feet with the rough rocks and stumps, I at length discovered peeping out among the trees, the first house that greeted my longing eyes in the settlement of Ship Harbour.[1]

Such were Jamison's first impressions of the Eastern Shore. Indeed, for some time after his arrival, he regarded his situation as forlorn, having previously experienced the comforts and conveniences of civilized society.[2] Robert Jamison was born on 8 June 1808 in Northern Ireland, where he received a sound classical education at the Academical Institution in Belfast. In 1830, after studying there for five years, he received a general certificate signed by all the professors, the only

1 Jamison's Report to the S.P.G., 31 December, 1865. MG20, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, microfilm reel 57, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

2 *Ibid.*

substitute for a degree which they were empowered to grant.[3] Although he was preparing for the ministry in another denomination, he converted to the Church of England. Originally intending to go to New York, he, his wife Matilda and daughter Sarah Jane, landed in Newfoundland, where they remained for several months before removing to Nova Scotia. From December 1832 to December 1839, he taught in the Dartmouth common and grammar school, where he gave instrucion in Latin, Greek, English grammar and the other common school branches.[4]

During this time, Jamison assisted the Reverend Addington Parker of Christ Church as a lay reader in some of the parish's distant stations, which extended to Porter's Lake and Seaforth. Because of his exemplary conduct and character, Parker and several other clergymen were anxious that Jamison be ordained. This was consummated on 9 August 1840, when Bishop John Inglis made him a deacon. In July of the following year he was ordained to the priesthood at St. Paul's Church, Halifax.[5]

The Bishop thought that due to his experience on the Eastern Shore while living in Dartmouth, Jamison "might be well qualified for the difficult office of a visiting missionary on the south-eastern coast, from Jeddore to Country Harbour, inclusive," a distance of approximately one hundred miles.[6] Several Anglican priests had visitied this coastal area in the 1820s and 1830s. The Reverend John Burnyeat of Truro made occasional visits, and during the 1830s and into the 1840s, the Reverend John Stevenson, a professor at King's College in Windsor, ministered to the region during his Christmas and summer vacations. Robert Jamison, however, was the first priest to live in the area as a resident missionary. Because of the general poverty in this region, his salary was paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Jamison sailed on the *Trusty* for Ship Harbour; he discovered when the schooner docked at neighbouring Clam Harbour that service was to be conducted by the

3 *Ibid.*

4 *The Church Guardian* (Montreal, 13 August 1884), p. 2, and Halifax County School Papers, RG14, Vols. 23-24, PANS. Jamison's obituary mentions that he converted to the Church of England but neglects to mention from which denomination. Nor are the circumstances surrounding the conversion mentioned. Jamison never alluded to it in any of his reports to the S.P.G.

5 Jamison's Report, 31 December 1867, reel 59.

6 *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the year 1840* (London, 1840), p. lxvii.

Rev. John Stevenson at Jeddore the following day. This was Stevenson's last service before returning to Windsor. However, Jamison was anxious to have a meeting with him so, rather than proceed to Ship Harbour, he backtracked through the woods, "passing a sand beach, salt marsh, and wretched cow-path to the house of a person named Webber...where I was hospitably entertained for the night."[7] As has already been recorded, Jamison arrived at Jeddore for Sunday service, returned to the Clam Harbour area, and the following day reached Ship Harbour, where he was received by John Shellnut, the village lay reader.

The Ship Harbour of 1840 was a village of approximately 250 individuals living primarily on the western side of the harbour. The adult male population found employment as mariners, carpenters, farmers or fishermen. Unlike most other Eastern Shore communities, Ship Harbour had a small church and a schoolhouse with a schoolmaster teaching about forty students. Jamison's parish, in essence, stretched from Petpeswick and Musquodoboit Harbour in the west to Country Harbour in the east, and was inhabited by more than three thousand residents.[8]

In 1840, the entire coast from Jeddore to Liscomb contained only three Anglican churches, one each at Jeddore, Ship Harbour, and Popes Harbour, and a Presbyterian meeting house at Sheet Harbour. The male population along the Eastern Shore in general followed marine-related occupations. As the Rev. John Stevenson noted in 1832,

> Very little cultivation exists on any part of the Shore; here and there indeed, a little patch of grain may be seen, but in general potatoes constitute the whole crop. They are a seafaring people, and all derive their support, in a greater or less degree, from the various pursuits upon the ocean.[9]

By 1840, some of the Eastern Shore's sixty-eight decked vessels traded with the West Indies, and there were double that number of whale boats employed in the shore fishery between Musquodoboit Harbour and Marie Joseph.[10] A letter to

7 Jamison's Report, 31 December 1881, reel 68.

8 Census of 1838, in *Journal of the House of Assembly 1839*, Appendix 32, pp. 58, 64.

9 Stevenson's Report, 1832, reel 28.

10 *The Colonial Churchman* (Lunenburg), 28 May 1849, p. 108.

Joseph Howe in 1837 best summarizes the livelihood of most Eastern Shore residents:

> The natives live chiefly by coasting, by carrying cord wood, by fishing and farming, and some live by their wit's end. The materials of a subsistence may be acquired without much difficulty. He who plants potatoes in the spring and catches fish in the fall, may exist; but he cannot support a family decently without constant attention to his calling. Industrious people generally thrive; but the shore is not a Paradise for idlers.[11]

Jamison was confronted by several unique problems when he arrived as a resident missionary. These included the migratory occupations of the male population, transportation difficulties, and the lack of churches and schools throughout his vast parish. During the summer season, the fishermen were engaged in the fishery off the coast, while some extended their voyages to the shores of Labrador. Others, who found work in the coasting trade or in conveying merchandise between Halifax and neighbouring colonies, were absent from home for even longer periods of time. Consequently, Jamison frequently was only able to minister to the children, elderly, and female population. Jamison believed that this migratory lifestyle provided greater temptations to the coasters than it did to the fishermen. Intemperance, however, was almost unknown to the latter and was, indeed, only a problem with a few sailors. Jamison also noted that if a comparison were drawn between the fishermen and sailors of the Eastern Shore and those of Great Britain, the former were generally exempt from swearing and had better living habits than the latter.[12]

For the first seven years of Jamison's ministry, he was frequently absent from Ship Harbour, on an average of three weeks at a time. With a knapsack on his back and an umbrella in his hand, which umbrella he used for a walking stick or for protection from the frequent rain showers, he traversed the rugged terrain of his parish.[13] Travelling from west to east, he would give notice of future services upon his return. To notify the neighbouring inhabitants of an intended service, a beacon fire was lighted on a high or prominent hill in the community where the service

11 *The Novascotian* (Halifax), 4 January 1837, p. 4.

12 Jamison's Report, 20 January 1851, reel 30.

13 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1878, reel 66, and 31 December 1879, reel 67.

was to be conducted. Shortly thereafter, a congregation would gather; some people would arrive after walking through the tangled forest paths, while others would be transported in fishermen's boats from the adjacent islands.[14]

In many places where Jamison was required to spend the night, the host would invite his neighbours to assemble in his house at the end of the day's work. Chairs and benches would be placed around the largest room, and once the house was filled with friends and neighbours, an evening service would commence. Singing, religious conversation, reading and commentary upon a portion of Holy Scripture would take place.[15]

Travel throughout his parish was extremely difficult for Jamison, especially during the early years of his ministry. In 1844, he travelled an estimated 1320 miles and delivered 125 sermons at seventeen preaching stations. To reach these various stations, he was required to travel "through the forest with scarcely a footpath" and in an open boat across the various harbours and bays which intersected the footpaths.[16] As Jamison noted about travel during his early ministry,

> we had neither road nor bridge of any kind, neither good nor bad, and the ordinary mode of travel was on foot through tangled woods, over barrens covered with moss and granite rocks, and through quagmires, the wearisome journey, being relieved occasionally by "a lift along" in a fisherman's boat.[17]

By the late 1840s, certain parts of his parish contained bridle paths or sleigh roads. After conducting Sunday services at Jeddore one winter day in 1846, he and Mrs. Jamison were returning home in a sleigh. Between the two locations were lakes covered with ice. Eight miles had to be travelled in this way, and such a mode of transportation was treacherous, because the snow had been melting all the previous week, and up to two feet of water lay above the ice in some locations. Occasionally, the sleigh was afloat in the water, but they managed to travel six miles without much difficulty. Then suddenly, the horse broke through the ice, leaving the sleigh and passengers sitting over the edge of the chasm! Mrs. Jamison suggested that the

14 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1878, reel 66.

15 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1855, reel 30.

16 *Ibid.*, 20 February 1845, reel 30, and 13 February 1843, reel 30.

17 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1871, reel 62.

horse be disengaged from the sleigh, which her husband successfully did by removing the harness. They then dragged the sleigh from the horse and away from the vicinity of the hole. None the worse for their experience, the Jamisons and their horse completed the rest of their journey without further problems.[18]

Due to the distances between churches, Jamison alternated his Sunday services among Jeddore, Ship Harbour and Popes Harbour. By 1853 a new road was completed to Ship Harbour, and this enabled the rector for the first time to conduct Sunday services on the same day at both Jeddore and Ship Harbour. By 1865, many bridges and roads had been constructed, and these enabled Jamison to travel through much of his parish by horse and wagon.

Because the only Anglican churches in 1840 were in Jeddore, Ship Harbour and Popes Harbour, other locations for worship had to be arranged. Sometimes Jamison worshipped in houses which he described as log huts of one apartment; at other times, large barns, containing cows and oxen, would be cleared, swept and suitably decorated by the neighbours to make a temporary meeting house.[19] Realizing that such quarters were totally unsatisfactory for the long term, Jamison's aim was to have erected a line of small churches along the entire shore. During his ministry, he was instrumental in helping to build or complete his residence and eight churches between Jeddore and Marie Joseph.

Provisions had not been made for a rectory when Jamison first arrived at Ship Harbour, nor was one likely to be built, due to the poverty of the people. Consequently, he boarded at the residence of his lay reader, John Shellnut. An appeal, which raised about £80, was launched to the benevolent of Halifax; the Diocesan Societies contributed additional funds, as did the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.[20] A large volunteer party cut the trees in the forest and the lumber was transported to the selected site for the mission house. Work began during the spring of 1841, but the house was still not completed by the following February; nevertheless, the Jamison family had moved into it by then. By 1846, this 43 x 24 foot residence was

18 *Ibid.*, 31 March 1846, reel 30.

19 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1882, reel 69.

20 Stevenson's Report, 29 January 1842, reel 28, and *The Church in the Colonies No. III* (London, 1846), p. 23.

almost completed. The posts were sixteen feet high and a pediment was located at the front of the building. Six rooms and a kitchen had been finished, although some of the smaller rooms had not been painted. An 18 x 20 foot barn, shingled on the roof and clapboard on the sides and ends, had also been constructed.[21] When Bishop Inglis visited Ship Harbour in 1846, he wrote that "Mr. Jamieson's [*sic*] Mission House...is beautifully situated and already more comfortable than I ever hoped to see the Missionary's residence on this Shore."[22]

By December 1835, the foundation was laid and lumber had been conveyed to the site for a church at Popes Harbour.[23] The interior was still incomplete by 1843, when the congregation realized that the building was already too small to accommodate the increasing population. With an addition of twelve feet, the church's dimensions became 44 x 24 feet. It contained a gallery on the west end and was the largest church in the mission when it was consecrated as All Saints on 3 November 1852.[24]

The small church at Jeddore faced similar delays. Although planning the structure in January 1836, the Anglicans of Jeddore had only recently finished its construction when Jamison arrived in 1840. Interestingly, on 9 July 1843, the church was consecrated St. James', partly in honour of its rector, Robert Jamison.[25] A similar situation occurred nine years earlier, when Bishop Inglis met 150 Ship Harbour residents "and, at their desire, in compliment to Mr. [the Rev. John] Stevenson, whom they greatly respect and love, it was called [and consecrated] St. Stephen's."[26] By 1849 Jamison had added an 8 x 12 foot vestry room and porch to St. James' Church. Pews were also provided, whereas previously the congregation had sat on temporary seats without backs. The seating accommodation was still so

21 Jamison's Report, 2 March 1846, reel 30.

22 *The Church in the Colonies*, pp. 22-23.

23 Stevenson's Report, December 1835, and January 1836, reel 28.

24 Jamison's Report, 2 March 1846, reel 30, and 2 January 1854, reel 49.

25 *The Church in the Colonies*, p. 21.

26 *Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1834-1855* (London, 1835), p. 68.

inadequate, however, that planks, on which many had to sit, were laid along the aisle.

Jamison hoped that a line of churches would also be erected east of Sheet Harbour and that a fellow missionary would be stationed there. In the spring of 1843, the inhabitants of Port Dufferin, Beaver Harbour and Quoddy procured wood from the forest and within the few years, erected and completed a 36 x 28 foot church at Port Dufferin. The plan called for an arched ceiling which the other Eastern Shore churches did not possess. Jamison regarded St. James the Apostle as being "much superior in plan and accommodation to any which as yet has been erected on the Shore."[27]

In the mid-1840s, the inhabitants of Marie Joseph built a church in their community. When the Rev. John Stevenson was visiting them during his Christmas vacation in 1845, the men marched joyfully into the forest and cut the lumber to build a church. The frame was almost finished the following month and measured 43 x 30 feet. The plan, by Halifax architect Henry Spike, called for a gallery on the west end.[28]

Jamison recommended that any fellow missionary sent to the Eastern Shore should reside at Port Dufferin. Apparently, the Bishop recognized the enormous geographical area which Jamison served, and stationed the Reverend James Breading at Port Dufferin in 1847. Breading ministered to the congregations from Sheet Harbour eastward, while Jamison concentrated on his three churches at Jeddore, Popes Harbour and Ship Harbour.

St. Stephen's Church at Ship Harbour was in an unfinished state in 1832, but was much too small to accommodate the congregation in the following decades. In the summer of 1853, the frame of a new church was erected. *The Church Times* reported that this was the fifth church which Rev. Jamison had been instrumental in building or completing. About two hundred people gathered and after prayers, the singing of the 100th Psalm, and an appropriate address, Jamison closed with Heber's Missionary Hymn ("From Greenland's icy mountains...").[29] The structure was raised without accident, and Mrs. Jamison prepared refreshments.

27 Jamison's Report, 15 February 1844, reel 30.

28 *Ibid.*, 2 March 1846, reel 30.

29 *The Church Times* (Halifax), 16 July 1853, p. 230.

Jamison was extremely pleased with the new St. Stephen's, which was opened for public worship on Christmas Day, 1855.[30] It was beautifully situated and the 44 x 24 foot structure contained two side porches for a vestry and entrance; its handsome tower and steeple were nearly sixty feet high.[31]

Many church members attending All Saints', Popes Harbour, had to travel six to eight miles to receive the ordinances of religion. Residents of Tangier and Spry Bay, in particular, wanted to erect churches in their own villages. By the early 1860s, Tangier had grown rapidly, following the discovery of gold there. Jamison also felt that a church should be built to counteract the influence of Presbyterian and Wesleyan ministers who preached weekly in the community hall. In 1863, therefore, a subscription list was taken, at which £85 was raised. Holy Trinity Church opened for service in 1865, and cost approximately £500 to build. The Gothic-style church was 50 x 20 feet and its chancel was 12 x 14 feet. Jamison commented that the quarries, or diamond-shaped windowpanes, had been obtained from Chance and Brothers of Birmingham, England, and that they "impart to the edifice a solemn and pleasing aspect, quite different from that of any other church in this part of the Diocese."[32]

The Tangier church had been financed by poor families who depended "on the precarious employment of fishing or on their daily wages at...gold mining."[33] The Eastern Shore experienced several economic failures throughout this decade. In 1860, many area fishermen became indebted to Halifax merchants who had outfitted them for the annual mackerel and herring fishery. Unfortunately, the season was a failure, and many men returned home in the late autumn without a single barrel of fish. Very few, if any cleared the expenses for the voyage. Three years later, the catch was again small and the potato crop also continued to fail. And again, in 1867 and 1868, the fisheries were failures. In spite of this economic climate, churches were erected at Tangier and Spry Bay. Jamison reported in December 1866 that if the fishermen were successful the following spring, the church should

30 Jamison's Report, 31 December 1855, reel 30.

31 *Ibid.*, 1 February 1855, reel 48.

32 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1866, reel 58.

33 *Ibid.*

be completed at Tangier; however, Holy Trinity was not consecrated until 19 July 1868.[34]

Timber for a church at Spry Bay had been procured from the forest during the winter of 1863, but was still lying on the proposed site at the end of the year. Problems arose over the location of the church, because the residents of Spry Bay and Spry Harbour each wanted the building erected in their own community. Jamison contemplated a Gothic structure finished externally in a board and batten style. Construction of this new church had finally begun at Spry Bay by 1866, and although in an unfinished state, its dimensions were 60 x 22 feet in the nave, while the chancel was 12 x 14 feet. Chance and Brothers again supplied quarries of rolled cathedral glass to fill the lancet windows.[35] Even as late as 1871, the interior was not completed. Unfortunately, the Spry Bay church was blown down during the August Gale of 1873, and the exterior of the present St. James' Church was erected the following year.[36] With the construction of Holy Trinity and St. James', All Saints' Church at Popes Harbour was no longer needed, and was closed by 1871.[37]

Whenever Jamison travelled from Ship Harbour to Jeddore, he passed through Oyster Pond. He frequently thought how desirable it would be to have a church here, and for many years he " 'Hoped against hope' to have this consummation fulfilled."[38] Finally, during 1877-78, St. John's was erected and completed in a Gothic style; this was the last church which Jamison was instrumental in building. After noting that at a recent service the structure was so crowded that many were compelled to stand outdoors, he proudly wrote that the S.P.G. had aided him in "the erection and completion of Eight Churches along this once desolate and long neglected coast."[39]

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34 *Ibid.*, 30 September 1868, reel 60.

35 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1866, reel 58.

36 *The Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 28 August 1873, p. 3; Jamison's Report, 31 December 1876, reel 65; and *The Presbyterian Witness* (Halifax), 28 November 1874, p. 381.

37 Jamison's Report, 31 December 1871, reel 62.

38 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1878, reel 66.

39 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1879, reel 67.

Although Jamison was primarily interested in religion, he also took a keen interest in education and for many years was a school commissioner and president of the School Board for the Shore District. In 1841, there were only five schools in his extensive parish: one at Ship Harbour, one at Spry Bay, two at Sheet Harbour, and one east of Sheet Harbour. Jamison regarded education as the handmaiden of religion, and therefore advocated the establishment of schools wherever possible. In 1855 he wrote that "The most serious drawback to the enlightened religious improvement of the people...is...the inefficiency of the system of general education."[40]

Although improvements were happening with the gradual establishment of schools, generally the teachers possessed poor qualifications for their jobs. Most were infirmed or superannuated people who were unable to earn a livelihood at other employment. Jamison hoped that training schools for teachers would remedy the problem in time. He also advocated the need for greater government financial aid, and wrote in 1860 that

> It would seem that all secondary efforts must fail unless the Legislature of the Province take up the subject and establish a general system of taxation for their [schools'] support. Then, and not till then, can we hope that education will become general, and that we can enjoy the satisfaction of beholding a School, even of humble pretensions, established and continued in each of our poor districts. The experience of twenty years as a School Commissioner for the shore has strongly impressed me that no other plan than that of a general taxation for educational purposes will diffuse these blessings among all classes of the people, but more especially among the children of the poor fishermen and coasters.[41]

Jamison had just cause for concern regarding the lack of education along the Eastern Shore. The census of 1861 recorded that within the villages from Musquodoboit Harbour and Liscomb, 35 per cent of the population above five years of age could not read, and 48.4 per cent could not write.[42]

The rector saw, however, that his own children received a sound education. His sons Jonathan Hugh, Robert and George Alexander were medical doctors, his son

40 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1855, reel 30.

41 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1860, reel 53.

42 *Census of Nova Scotia taken March 30, 1861* (Halifax, 1862), pp. 16-17, 41.

James Thomas became a dentist, and William Henry and Addington Davenport followed in their father's footsteps and were ordained to the priesthood. Although the education attained by his daughters is not known, his daughter Sarah Jane, with three assistants, taught the Sunday school students at Ship Harbour in 1853. She first married Daniel F. Curry, a master mariner, and following his death, she married John A. Bell, a Halifax City auditor. Amelia married the Rev. Bruce McKay (her father's curate), while Matilda remained a spinster.

After the Rev. James Breading's arrival at Port Dufferin in 1847, Jamison ministered solely to the congregations west of Sheet Harbour. One of his sons, who was studying for the priesthood in 1859, assisted his father on alternate Sundays at Popes Harbour. During the autumn and early winter of that year, the young man found the long travel to and from Popes Harbour to be too strenuous for his delicate health and he had to terminate his services as a voluntary lay reader. In 1862, prior to the construction of churches at Tangier and Spry Bay, Jamison recommended that a resident priest should be stationed in the eastern end of his parish. The Diocesan Church Society recognized the need for a curate, and in 1866 it granted £75 on their part.[43]

The rector's son, the Rev. A.D. Jamison, ministered to this eastern area until his removal to Maitland in 1870. When the diocese was divided into deaneries in 1866, the senior priest in each deanery automatically became rural dean, an appointment which Jamison held until his death. His deanery of Tangier included the parishes of Sackville, Dartmouth, Three Fathom Harbour, Ship Harbour and Beaver Harbour (Port Dufferin).

Jamison enjoyed good health throughout most of his ministry. In February 1856, however, his sleigh was upset on an icy precipice, and he dislocated his right arm at the elbow.[44] The accident could have been far more serious because his head barely missed striking a pile of stones. As it was, he was in considerable pain at the time, and for several months thereafter, since the dislocated joints did not receive prompt medical attention. Even though the injury was painful, Jamison did not neglect his responsibilities but continued to minister with his arm in a sling. A year after the accident, he had still not regained total use of the arm.

In the following years he enjoyed good health, until 20 December 1875, when Jamison suffered an accident which greatly weakened him. On that day the

43 Jamison's Report, 31 December 1866, reel 58.

44 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1856, reel 50.

temperature dropped to minus 22° F. Four fires were to be kept burning, but the seventeen-year-old boy who was residing with the Jamison family, complained that he was unable to cut enough wood to fuel them. Sixty-seven-year-old Jamison volunteered to help the lad, and for three hours sawed wood in the freezing temperature. When Jamison returned indoors, he saw that the boy had entrenched himself "in the warmest corner of the house," and seemed reluctant to carry in wood when asked to do so.[45] Jamison decided to complete the task, put on his overshoes which were worn smooth from usage, and then proceeded over the light snow covering the ice, towards the woodpile. The rector later recalled the ordeal which occurred during the next few seconds:

> [The overshoes]...suddenly precipitated me forward with considerable velocity and notwithstanding all my efforts to recover myself, that velocity increased in a forward motion for about twenty yards, when something in the ground caught my heel, and abruptly stopped my forward motion, when I instantly fell, and found myself unable to rise, and from the circumstances of the tendon, or principal leader connecting the knee with the thigh having been broken with the fall — or rather with the sudden stoppage of my forward motion.[46]

His family immediately rushed to his aid and he received surgical attention from his son. Jamison lay prostrate on his back for six months, hardly able to move; during the following six months, he was able to sit in an easy chair with his injured leg resting on another chair. By December 1876, he was able to walk with the aid of crutches through several rooms of his house. Fellow clergy conducted services during his illness and on 11 October 1876, Bruce McKay arrived to assist him.

Unfortunately, McKay contracted diptheria within several days of his arrival, and for several weeks there was fear that he might not recover. By December McKay, who was studying for ordination to the priesthood, had recovered and was conducting three Sunday services plus evening services several times a week.[47] Jamison, although lame, was sufficiently improved by the summer of 1877 to escort the Bishop through the parish in a horse and wagon.[48] His assistant in 1881 was

45 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1876, reel 65.

46 *Ibid.*

47 *Ibid.*

48 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1878, reel 66.

James Lowry, who resided at Jeddore; because Lowry was only a deacon, however, Jamison still had to travel to the various churches and administer Holy Communion.[49]

The rector was unable to attend his duties beginning on the Sunday before Christmas, 1883. He endured months of suffering which began as a cold, then turned to neuralgia, and was finally diagnosed as cancer.[50] His beloved wife Matilda died on 24 March 1884, and on 22 July 1884, he too passed away.[51] He was buried beside her in St. Stephen's churchyard, and his obituary noted that

> During his illness he bore, with Christian fortitude, sufferings of the most excruciating character. These were increased by the sudden death of his dear wife four months ago. After that, no hopes were entertained of his recovery; a conviction which gradually forced itself on his own mind. In all his sufferings he appeared truly thankful for past and present mercies. He firmly trusted that God for Christ sake would remember him in mercy. Slowly he succumbed, until at length, in peace with the world, and we trust with God, his spirit passed, we hope, to Paradise.[52]

Jamison, who in 1881 had called himself "an humble ambassador of my Divine Master," devoted most of his life to the Eastern Shore.[53] When he arrived in 1840, he ministered to the coastal villages between Musquodoboit Harbour and Country Harbour. At the time of his death, there were five priests in the same area, ministering to more than five thousand Anglicans. The census of 1881 recorded that 51.5 per cent of the population residing between those villages adhered to the Church of England. When Jamison arrived at Ship Harbour he felt forlorn, but realizing his duties as a missionary and thinking that he could be

> instrumental in ameliorating the religious condition of those committed to my charge, soon reconciled to my lot, and but a few years had elapsed, when I became much atached to the simple minded, kind-hearted, hospitable people, which then,

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49 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1881, reel 68.

50 *The Church Guardian*, 9 April 1884, p. 2, and St. Stephen's Anglican Church Burials, MG 4, PANS.

51 *The Church Guardian*, 9 April 1884, p. 2, and 13 August 1884, p. 2, and Halifax County Probate Papers, #3267, Court of Probate Office, Halifax.

52 *The Church Guardian*, 13 August 1884, p. 2.

53 Jamison's Report, 31 December 1881, reel 68.

> and still continue to form, the scattered flock committed to my...oversight. And it is now my pleasant duty to add that, twenty five years, during which I have been going out and coming in among them, have greatly tended to strengthen that attachment, and, I trust, also to cement more closely that bond of union which should ever subsist between the pastor and his flock.[54]

This he accomplished and was beloved by his fellow clergy and parishioners. Some of his chruches were subsequently replaced by larger edifices, but his legacy of a line of chapels along the coast remains. Travellers along the Eastern Shore today can still see his churches of St. James', Jeddore; St. John's, Oyster Pond; St. Stephen's, Ship Harbour; and Holy Trinity, Tangier. The present churches of St. James', Spry Bay; St. James', Port Dufferin; and St. Matthew's, Marie Joseph, replace Jamison's earlier buildings. A modern school at Oyster Pond is named in his honour. The Rev. Robert Jamison's missionary work is best summarized by his own words: "I have endeavoured to do amongst them, according to my ability, all that I could, and must leave the result in the hand of Him, who 'out of Weakness can bring forth strength.' "[55]

54 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1865, reel 57.

55 *Ibid.*, 31 December 1856, reel 50.

All Things New: The Transformation of Maritime Baptist Historiography

D.G. Bell

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are the birthplace and historic heartland of Canada's Baptist denomination.[1] From the 1760s to the 1980s Maritime Baptists have remained more numerous and culturally self-confident than those of any other region.[2] They have also been better served by their denominational historians than other Maritime religious groups. The dominant (Calvinist Baptist) school has produced three fat volumes (upwards of 1600 pages) and any number of lesser apologetics.[3]

Until recently historical writing on the Maritime Baptists and their Congregational/New Light cognates has been predictable in approach and content. (By general usage the concept of "Baptist" historiography in the Maritime context

1 The Baptist presence in Canada originated in New Brunswick's Sackville township in the 1760s with the gathering of two (rival) churches, one of General Six-Principle Baptists, the other of Calvinist Baptists. The definitive article on their history is Robert Gardner, "Early Maritime Baptists," carried elsewhere in this issue.

2 At the 1981 census Baptists numbered 2.7% of Canada's general population. At the same time they amounted to 12.8% of New Brunswickers and 12.1% of Nova Scotians: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada -- Population*, fascicules 93-927 (Nova Scotia) and 93-928 (New Brunswick). In English New Brunswick Baptists amount to nearly one-quarter of the population, much their highest concentration anywhere but the southern United States. (For "Baptist" the undefined census classification of Statistics Canada has been used. There are, of course, many historically Baptist groups [e.g., Maritime "Wesleyans," Pentecostals] which are now classed independently for census purposes.)

3 The principle published Baptist histories are : Ingraham Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces* (Saint John, 1880); Edward Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, 1902); George Levy, *[Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946* (Saint John, 1946).

Scholars recognize that each of these monumental productions is to a remarkable degree an attempt to improve on the preceding one rather than to take a fresh view of the subject. In this sense it is fair to say that they are all based directly and indirectly on James Cramp's "Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1760-1860," a long and excellent series of articles in the *Christian Messenger*, published beginning in January 1860. (They have never appeared in book form but are available in a standard, indexed photocopy edition from The Maritime Baptist Historical Collection [hereafter MBHC], Vaughan Memorial Library, Acadia University, Wolfville, N.S.) Cramp's work set the pattern of disproportionate emphasis on the period 1790-1810, and on Nova Scotia rather than New Brunswick, that all subsequent historians have followed. His material was drawn in great measure from the manuscripts -- and especially the extensive historical musings -- of one of the first-generation Baptist ministers, Edward Manning. Manning's carefully selective view of some of the most sensitive issues in early Baptist history (Henry Alline, New Dispensationalism, close communion) was faithfully reflected in Cramp's work and, therefore, in all subsequent denominational histories. Thus, as in life, Edward Manning rules the Maritime Baptists from the grave.

Two narratives of Baptist history were published even earlier than Cramp, the first in great measure written by Manning, the second the work of his favourite *protégé*: David Benedict, *General History of the Baptist Denomination in America*, (1863), I, 278-308, 497, 549; Charles Tupper, "History of the Baptist Churches in Nova-Scotia" (1828), in *Baptist Missionary Magazine I* (1829), pp. 287, *et seq.*

embraces Eighteenth-century Congregationalism as well.) Single-mindedly devoted to a "rise and progress" theme, it has been a fair example of what gives the genre of religious history a bad name. Baptist denominational historians have had little time for closely-related groups like Adventists and Disciples of Christ, and even less for those Maritime Baptists who perversely refused to join the majority Calvinist (or "Regular") Baptist fellowship. Thus the three Baptist denominational histories are largely indifferent to the experience of upwards of one-third of Maritime Baptists in the Nineteenth century -- the (anti-Calvinist) Free Baptists. While, therefore, the Baptists have been much better served by historians than other religious groups, their denominational historiography is narrow, partisan (not always consciously) and pious rather than scholarly in its approach.

None of this is unexpected in the writing of religious history. It would not merit notice but for the fact that the writing of Maritime Baptist history has dramatically broken out of this pious, uncritical, denominational cast. The result is probably the most active and exciting field of historical scholarship in the Maritimes today. The breakthrough began early in the 1970s with the rediscovery of Henry Alline. It was confirmed and strengthened in 1979 with the inauguration of annual publications in the "Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada" series. As volume has followed volume at yearly intervals, the agenda of Baptist historiography has become more various and sophisticated in a way that could not then have been predicted. Some of the major themes of this new historiography are sketched below.

Henry Alline and the American Revolution

For most purposes it is fair to say that the Baptist movement in the Maritimes began late in the 1790s as one consequence of the series of religious reformations triggered in Yankee Nova Scotia and New Brunswick a generation earlier by the preaching of Falmouth's Henry Alline (1748-84). For this reason Alline -- a New Light Congregationalist strongly opposed to distinctive Baptist principles -- features largely in all the Baptist denominational histories.[4] A popular biography of him was

4 Much as Renaissance humanists were at pains to prove that the ancient Greek philosophers were essentially Christians, so Baptist denominational historians have been largely successful in turning Henry Alline into an honourary Baptist. One writes to the contrary only with some diffidence. A prime example of popular Baptist devotion to the saintly Alline appeared in the *Chronicle-Herald* of 4 February 1984. The news item reported a ceremony at Wolfville unveiling a "portrait" of Alline in commemoration of the

published in 1927,[5] and in 1948 Maurice Armstrong wrote a much-respected scholarly analysis of Alline's role in what he labelled the *Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809*.[6] Henry Alline, then, was never an obscure historical figure. Yet as long as he was regarded as a man of "merely" religious significance he made no impact on the writing of general Maritime history. He appeared in J.B. Brebner's celebrated study of pre-Loyalist Nova Scotia only to be at once dismissed as of no secular importance.[7] It was left to Maurice Armstrong, in an obscure article published in 1946 and not even incorporated into his general study of Alline two years later, to suggest that the Allinite religious awakening represented a "retreat from the grim realities" of the American revolutionary conflict in which Nova Scotians were helpless, impotent by-standers.[8] There matters stood for a quarter-century, until the simultaneous appearance of two new scholarly studies of Henry Alline injected him into the mainstream of historical concern and, incidentally, began a revolution in what is loosely termed "Maritime Baptist studies."

First published was J.M. Bumsted's *Henry Alline, 1748-84*.[9] A masterfully brief biography, accessible to every level of reader, its scholarly strength was its presentation of Alline against the background of his New England Congregational heritage. Yet it was probably noticed chiefly because it appeared in tandem with, and to some extent responded to, Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk's *People Highly Favoured of God*, a sophisticated attempt to link the Allinite reformation to

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bicentennial of his death. Entitled "Valley Baptists honor Alline," the article introduced the word "Baptist" five more times without at any point noting that the figure thus honoured regarded the rise of distinctive Baptist principles as the work of Satan. At the same time it should be noted that Alline's own denomination (now the United Church) has never shown the slightest interest in him.

5 W.B. Bezanson, *Romance of Religion: A Sketch of the Life of Henry Alline* (Kentville, 1927).

6 (Hartford, 1948).

7 John Brebner, *Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (New York, 1937).

8 Maurice Armstrong, "Neutrality and Religion in Revolutionary Nova Scotia" (1946), reprinted in G.A. Rawlyk, ed., *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 33-43.

9 (Toronto, 1971). It has lately been reissued (with the Alline "portrait" on its cover) by Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S.

Yankee Nova Scotia's response to the American Revolution.[10] Bumsted's *Alline* attempted to pour cold water on the complex Stewart and Rawlyk thesis by arguing, rather laconically, that while religious reformation and response to revolution were to some extent linked, no one could say quite how. After twenty years on the frontier the Maritime Yankees were already ripe for a religious awakening, quite apart from the larger tensions of the day.[11]

In a much more detailed argument that constitutes the single most brilliant piece of scholarship on any aspect of Maritime history Stewart and Rawlyk suggested that the religious reformation of the 1770s and 1780s drew much of its force from the fact that the charismatic Alline offered his hearers a positive sense of identity in a confused world in which old ties and values were crumbling. Nova Scotians were told that they had been spared the horrors of war on their own soil and been blessed with a religious awakening because they had become God's peculiar favourites. Nova Scotia, Alline preached, had supplanted New England as God's "Citty [*sic*] upon a Hill."[12]

Despite the brilliance of the argument, Stewart and Rawlyk built such a grand edifice on so slender an evidentiary foundation that it attracted more admiration than assent. But allied to Bumsted's study and viewed against the backdrop of earlier work on the same period by Brebner and Armstrong, it effectively propelled an event (the Allinite reformation) that had formerly been of concern to only religious historians onto the agenda of "general" history. And, for the first time in the Maritime context, religious events were approached from a secular and scholarly rather than a pious, denominational perspective.

The debate over Henry Alline and Nova Scotia's response to the American Revolution has, itself, largely died. Despite further work by Gordon Stewart and some all-too-brief objections to the Stewart and Rawlyk thesis by the recent editors of Alline's *Journal*, scholars seem to have lost interest in the whole business.[13] In part

10 Stewart and Rawlyk, *People Highly Favoured of God: The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution* (Toronto, 1972). Although this book appeared after Bumsted's, the core of its argument had been made known four years earlier in Rawlyk and Stewart, "Nova Scotia's Sense of Mission," in *Histoire Sociale*, II (1968), 5-17.

11 Bumsted, *Alline*, pp. 64-65.

12 Stewart and Rawlyk, *People Highly Favoured*, pp. 154-92.

13 Further contributions to this aspect of the Alline debate are: Gordon Stewart, "Socio-economic Factors

this is the result of declining interest in the American Revolution by U.S. historians, slavishly reflected in the Canadian scholarly community. But in great measure it is also due to the fact that it takes two sides to maintain an historical debate. The writing of Maritime history simply does not attract scholars who feel at home responding to the kind of cross-disciplinary study Stewart and Rawlyk produced. This, however, is beside the point. The re-discovery of Henry Alline in the early 1970s began a revolution in Maritime religious historiography that is still ongoing.

Stewart and Rawlyk's study of Alline was only incidentally a work about Nova Scotia. Alline and the Maritimes were worth a sophisticated reassessment only because they were a legitimate footnote to the American historical agenda. Thus, Stewart and Rawlyk's interest in Alline ended abruptly in 1784. By that time, they imply, it was clear that Alline was a failure. "Alline's ideas," they write, "were relevant to the people in the outsettlements of Nova Scotia but to no-one else" (p. 195), and that "no-one else" included the authors. This is worth highlighting, not because it tarnishes the brilliance of *People Highly Favoured* but as a measure of how greatly values and attitudes have changed since the early 1970s. George Rawlyk has publicly regretted this blinkered view of Alline's significance and has been a major force in shifting the course of Alline's studies away from the Revolutionary era and towards the question of his continuing significance in the Maritime tradition.[14]

Unfortunately for students of Maritime history, no such maturing of perspective was evident in Gordon Stewart as editor of the Champlain Society's edition of *Documents Relating to the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1760-1791*.[15] Apart from the

in the Great Awakening," in *Acadiensis*, III (1973), 18-34; Stewart, "Charisma and Integration: an Eighteenth Century North American Case," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XVI (1974), 138-49; Stewart, "Charisma and Revivalism in Nova Scotia, 1776-1784: A Re-evaluation" (unpublished CHA paper, 1977); Stewart, "Introduction," in *Documents Relating to the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1760-1791* (Toronto, 1982), pp. *xi-xxxvii*; James Beverley and Barry Moody, eds., *Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline* (Hantsport, 1982), pp. 11-22.

14 G.A. Rawlyk, "New Lights, Baptists and Religious Awakenings in Nova Scotia, 1776-1843: A Preliminary Probe," in *Journal* of the Canadian Church Historical Society, XXV (October 1983), 48; Rawlyk, "Henry Alline: Reconsidered" (unpublished paper, Harvard Divinity School, 1982), p. 13. Rawlyk's most recent book, *Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, Baptists and Henry Alline* (Montreal, 1984) is devoted entirely to the ongoing importance of Alline in the Nova Scotia (and New England) religious tradition. In some ways it is the finest contribution to Maritime historiography since Brebner's *Neutral Yankees* (1937).

15 (Toronto, 1982). Stewart has even gone so far as to question why a new edition of Alline's deeply-moving *Journal* would be of interest to anyone but local historians: Review, *Canadian Historical Review*, LVIV

welcome inclusion of the Chebogue Congregational Church records (to 1791) the documentation selected for inclusion is lamentably inadequate to the volume's theme. Champlain Society publications on the Maritimes are rare events and have in the past been used to such good effect that one cannot but be disappointed that Stewart offers so little.

A second source of regret is Stewart's editorial perspective. It does not often happen that an historian who publishes a study in 1972 is given the chance to reformulate his ideas in a volume on the same theme in 1982. When it does one looks hopefully for ripeness of scholarship, deepened insight and maturity of perspective. Stewart gives us none of these, and less. The desultory introduction to the volume simply culls bits and pieces from *People Highly Favoured*, adding nothing of consequence. But conspicuous by its absence is any reformulation, or defense of, or reflection on, the "sense of identity" thesis that was the heart of the earlier volume. Stewart does not recant. He does not affirm. He simply does not mention it.

Most regrettably, Stewart has failed at the elementary editorial task of coming to grips with the extraordinary Chebogue document and of alerting his readers to its surprising character. He states merely that this record "ranks with the best New England sets of church records" (p. *xiii*), a statement as incredible as misleading. In the first place, the Chebogue churchbook was kept not by a church clerk but by the pastor, Jonathan Scott (a point on which Stewart does not comment). Second, the document is not simply -- or even fundamentally -- a record of church conference meetings, although these are included. The greater part of the church record (so called) is pastor Scott's narrative -- heavily autobiographical -- of Chebogue before, during and after Henry Alline. That is why the document is so fascinating and why Stewart did such a service by putting it into print. But as an artfully-composed historical narrative -- written years after the events described by one of the key belligerents--it is a document that must be read and used with great care. The reader will find no hint of this in Stewart's introduction.

Moreover, for one who chose to focus his mislabelled *Documents Relating to the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia* on the confrontation between Henry Alline and

(1983), p. 240. Coming from an academic who built his career on Alline this is a bleak testimony to loss of faith. The pessimistic comment on the appeal of Alline's *Journal* is doubly ironic because Stewart's edition of *Documents* includes about one-third of the *Journal*, published the same year that the full *Journal* appeared in reprint. This unfortunate duplication is not Stewart's fault but it does deepen one's sense that his Champlain Society volume represents a great opportunity wasted.

Jonathan Scott it is noteworthy that Stewart did not introduce his readers to the fresh insight into Scott's complex personality provided by Henry Scott's remarkable new edition of Jonathan Scott's *Journal*.[16] This new version covers roughly the same dates as the bowdlerized Fergusson edition of 1960 but is more than one-third longer.[17] To the present writer, it dramatically reveals a "new" Jonathan Scott, one who in his early religious exercises was remarkably similar to Henry Alline. As young men both were tortured New Lights. Both resisted, then submitted to the insistent call to preach. Scott, the ill-educated Yarmouth farmer and shoemaker, entered into an elaborate conformity with the ways of New England Congregationalism, reflected on every elegantly-crafted page of the Chebogue records. Alline, the ill-educated Falmouth tanner, became a self-styled "anti-traditionist" rebel against that same New England religious heritage. Much of the vigour as well as the poignance of Scott's confrontation with Alline is his recognition that Alline represented the path he himself had almost taken. Perhaps I am mistaken as to the importance of this Henry Scott edition; but it is regrettable that Stewart does not give his own response to the new Jonathan Scott.[18] In this as in other respects, his 1982 volume seems faintly old-fashioned. Happily, by the time it appeared, another and more promising stage of Maritime religious studies had already begun.

Henry Alline and the Maritime Baptist Tradition

The most recent phase of Maritime Baptist historiography began in 1979 with publication of the initial volume of the "Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada" series. Funded on a shoe-string budget by the United Baptist Historical Committee under the direction of Dr. Jarold Zeman, the series has deliberately set out to foster "critical

16 Henry Scott, ed., *Journal of the Reverend Jonathan Scott* (Boston, 1980). This edition was undertaken for genealogical rather than scholarly reasons, but it borrowed so heavily from the annotations to the C.Bruce Fergusson 1960 edition as entirely to supplant it. It also provides some new Alline material from the Minot (Maine) Congregational church records. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Frederick Burnett for providing an exhaustive listing of the hundreds of differences between the Fergusson and Henry Scott editions.

17 C. Bruce Fergusson, *Life of Jonathan Scott* (Halifax, 1960).

18 Stewart also fails to highlight this new version of the *Journal* in his recent "Jonathan Scott" article in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, V (1983), p. 743.

studies" of the Baptist denomination rather than repeat the pious nostrums of the past. Unlike other Maritime religious groups -- essentially branch plants of denominations centered elsewhere -- the Maritime (now "Atlantic") Baptists have always been responsible for their own theology, educational institutions, publications and ministry. One reflection of this spirit of necessary self reliance is a long-standing interest in writing Baptist history. Now that the Baptists are, for the first time in their history, in serious demographic decline -- outflanked on the one hand by Pentecostalism and on the other by secularization -- they are seeking instinctively the added self-confidence that comes from an awareness of the depth and diversity of their own past.[19] Whatever its latent motivation, the Baptist Heritage series has been a remarkable scholarly and popular success. The result, as one of its founders has written, is "arguably the most exciting field in Maritime historiography today."[20]

It was fitting that the first volume in the Baptist Heritage series -- the *Diary and Related Writings of the Reverend Joseph Dimock* -- should have been edited by George Levy.[21] Levy's 1946 denominational history was the first attempt to approach Baptist history from a scholarly rather than a pious perspective. On the smaller points he succeeded, documenting his sources and (unlike E.M. Saunders) refraining from the manufacture of evidence. But in its perspective Levy's history was what all its predecessors had been -- the story of only the Calvinist stream of the Baptist movement. Levy knew in his head that the Baptist world was round, but in his heart he was a loyal flat-earther. His edition of the Dimock "diary" (really a jounal) is of the same character -- good on old-fashioned concerns (identifying Biblical quotations) but lacking broader vision. This aside, Levy put a key Baptist document before the public and thereby brought his career of distinguished Baptist service to a fitting conclusion.

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19 Between the 1971 and 1981 censuses the Nova Scotia Baptists lost one-twentieth of their membership and the New Brunswick Baptists, one-tenth.

20 Barry Moody, "Religious History: The State of the Craft in the Maritime Provinces," in *Journal* of the Canadian Church Historical Society, XXV (October 1983), 95. Perhaps here I should disclose possible bias, as editor of the sixth volume in the Baptist Heritage series: *The Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis* (Hantsport, 1984).

21 (Hantsport, 1979).

The second number in the Baptist Heritage series was an edition of papers presented at a Baptist historical conference held at Acadia University in 1979.[22] The nine contributions published under the title *Repent and Believe* reflect both the past and future of Maritime Baptist historiography. Some are excellent and some embarrassing. The most valuable are Barry Moody's on the origin of Baptist concerns for higher education and, especially, George Rawlyk's reconsideration of that most problematic of Baptist saints, Harris Harding. In retrospect, one can see that Rawlyk's essay initiated the current reassessment of the Allinite-to-Baptist transition of the 1790-1810 period.

These are just the years highlighted in the third Baptist Heritage volume, Brian Cuthbertson's 1981 edition of *John Payzant's Journal*.[23] With this contribution publications in the series took on what would become their characteristic form -- presentation of an important document enhanced by detailed annotation. Liverpool's Payzant was Henry Alline's brother-in-law and a lifelong New Light Congregationalist (not a Baptist). His "journal" -- really an autobiographical memoir based on journals -- is a key document in tracking the fate of the New Light movement in the generation after Alline's 1784 death. The only regrettable feature of the volume is that the editor should have refrained from including his own detailed assessment of Payzant's career because it had already been published as a contribution to the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

The fourth and in some ways the headline volume in the Baptist Heritage series was the 1982 variorum edition of *Alline's Journal*, drawn from the 1806 published version and the Chipman manuscript at Acadia.[24] Prepared by James Beverley and Barry Moody, there is no doubt that this careful edition will be a great boon to historical study and attract a wider audience than any other Baptist Heritage volume. The annotations are acceptable, if unsteady. The introduction offers a

22 Barry Moody, ed., *Repent and Believe: The Baptist Experience in Maritime Canada* (Hantsport, 1980).

23 Brian Cuthbertson, ed., *The Journal of the Reverend John Payzant* (Hantsport, 1981). See also Cuthbertson, "Rev. John Payzant: Henry Alline's Successor," in *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XL (1980), 57-80. Payzant was Alline's "successor" in only a limited sense.

24 James Beverley and Barry Moody, eds., *Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline* (Hantsport, 1982). It is regrettable that the Heritage series did not plan a coherent edition of Alline's complete works, even if only in photographic reprint form. A small and indifferent selection of Alline's hymns appeared in Thomas Vincent, ed., *Selected Hymns and Spiritual Songs of Henry Alline* (Kingston, 1982). Most of his known letters are printed in George Rawlyk, ed., *New Light Letters and Spiritual Songs, 1778-1793* (Hantsport, 1983).

thoughtful review of the whole *People Highly Favoured* business, but no broader assessment of Alline's significance. Considering the importance of the document and what will likely be a demand sufficient to keep this edition indefinitely in print, this is a source of regret.

A more serious concern is the editors' failure to alert readers to the *Journal*'s most salient feature -- that it is not a "journal" at all. They do warn (p. 23) that:

> Alline seldom had time to write on a daily basis. As a result there are annoying gaps... . On other occasions, the sequence of events... [has been] blurred by the passage of time, as Alline waited for a quiet moment to record the happenings of several months. With publication always in mind, the author filtered the material through a fine sieve before including it.

While much of this is true, it suggests to the reader that what we now have as a text is what Alline kept as his contemporary "journal," flawed and coloured though that might be: and this is simply not the case. So far as this writer can see, there are only four pages (215-218) of the printed *Journal* that are almost certainly drawn unedited from Alline's contemporary "journal"; and we have these in unaltered form only because Alline died before he could finish redacting them (p. 224). Everything else in the text is either straight autobiography written years after the events described or Alline's edited version of his real journal.

The marks of Alline's editing are unmistakable. In the entry for 10 August 1781 (pp. 177-78), for example, he describes the conversion of a young woman in the Amherst area. Then he adds, "I have known her since, she continues to be a remarkable ornament to the gospel she professes." Is this not a plain indication that, whatever may have been in his original journal, what he prepared for his *Journal* was a pious redaction? Sometimes the editing is passive and imperceptible but sometimes the original journal text is all but lost in a torrent of editorializing. In Alline's entry for 28 August 1780 (pp. 124-26) I take the first three lines to be more or less authentic "journal" and the next fifty-three lines to be a rhapsody added in his editorial process. Indirectly this reinforces Beverley and Moody's caution that what Alline gives us is intended for the use of saints rather than historians, but it adds a whole other layer of complication to the problem of the Alline text, of which its editors are insufficiently aware.[25]

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25 The only discussion I have seen of the problem of Alline's text is W.D.H. Britton, "Henry Alline: Sounding the Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1784" (B.A. thesis, Mount Allison University: 1982), pp. 39-44. As it happens, I do not much agree with Britton's analysis, but he has at least perceived the problem.

George Rawlyk's contribution to the Baptist Heritage series was his massive 1983 edition of *New Light Letters and Spiritual Songs, 1778-1793*. With this volume the series reached a new high. The documentation presented is extensive. The annotation is copious. The sixty-page introducion is, in itself, a landmark in the re-examination of the fate of the New Light movement after Alline's death, drawing in great measure on new source material. It is fair to say that readers will be attracted to the volume more by the overview provided in Rawlyk's introduction than by the densely-textured New Light letters themselves.

I will highlight only one aspect of the Rawlyk volume -- the inclusion of many of the hymns and spiritual poems composed by Alline's followers. Alline himself wrote more than five hundred hymns and much other poetry. One of the many ways his young admirers tried to imitate him was by composing verse of their own. Rawlyk's edition prints a substantial sample of this little-known Maritime literary genre. One hopes that some literary historian will now do a complete study of the "School of Alline."[26]

A "New" New England?

To date, the Baptist Heritage series has presented major documents enhanced by often substantial introductions, rather than pressing for publication of more extensive studies. So much new documentation has been brought to general notice in the last five years, with discoveries continuing, that no historian would yet feel capable of a more mature work of synthesis. The documentary orientation of the Heritage series has also meant that the perspective of recent Baptist study has been

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A quite different approach to the Alline text is offered in J.S. Scott, " 'Travels of my Soul': Henry Alline's Autobiography," in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, XVII (1983), pp. 70-90.

26 One of Rawlyk's students has recently done an imaginative study of Alline's own hymns: Margaret Filshie, " 'Redeeming Love Shall Be our Song': Hymns of the First Great Awakening in Nova Scotia" (M.A. thesis, Queen's University: 1983). This and the items in note 25 exemplify the growing sophistication of Alline studies in ways quite remote from the concerns of a decade earlier.

The leading figure of the "School of Alline" was Benjamin Cleaveland (1733-1811) of Horton, whose *Hymns on Different Spiritual Subjects* sold more rapidly than Alline's (editions in 1786, 1788, 1792, 1793). After some preliminary investigation, I think Cleaveland was *not* the "most distinguished poet," a Cornwallis justice of the peace, who was reported in 1781 to have written "a huge volume in follio": Bailey to Brown, 2 February 1781: Bailey Papers, MG1, Vol. 94, PANS. Another prinicpal of the "School of Alline" was Mary Fletcher (sister-in-law of the New Light preacher Ebenezer Hobbs), eight of whose spiritual poems and hymns are printed anonymously in Levy, *Dimock's Diary*, pp. 73-82.

"deep" rather than "broad." With our appreciation of Baptist history changing so rapidly, it is only natural that priority be given to placing published documentation in its immediate context rather than to reassessing the role of radical Protestantism in the broader sweep of Maritime history.

Yet even within the exhilarating confusion of the Baptist documentary revolution, there are preliminary signs of that broadening of perspective that must come if Baptist studies are to become part of general rather than "merely" religious history. For those familiar with the past course of Baptist historiography, it was a startling feature of the introduction to the *New Light Letters* that George Rawlyk selected as the vehicle for his reassessment of the 1775-1795 period not some familiar Allinite, but the Maritime adventures of the American Wesleyan, Freeborn Garretson. Thereby Rawlyk made a point that was both obvious and yet revolutionary in its emphasis: that Wesleyans were just as central a part of the New Light stir as Allinites. To my mind this is a critical broadening of perspective, and it is fair to say that no one will ever again write about the post-Alline generation without consciously taking Wesleyanism into account. It may even be that the Baptist Heritage series, having already devoted half of its volumes to Congregationalism, will have to sponsor new studies of Wesleyans and Anglicans so that, in the end, Baptist history can be viewed in bolder relief.

A second landmark in broadening the perspective of Baptist studies -- anticipated by Stephen Marini and developed in George Rawlyk's scintillating *Ravished by the Spirit* -- is the exploration of Henry Alline's apparently formative influence on Benjamin Randall and the Free Will Baptists of northern New England.[27] One must concede that the study of Maritime religion is unlikely ever to cause great excitement in the Canadian historical establishment; the Maritimes never have and never will occupy the honoured place in the Canadian historiographical imagination that New England does in the American context. But while Maritime Baptist studies will always be damned with the "regional " epithet, George Rawlyk has introduced the possiblity that the "region" includes northern New England from 1770 until at least 1840. My own work on the interaction of New England Free Will Baptists and Christ-ians with Maritime Free Baptists in the first half of the nineteenth century fully confirms Rawlyk's suggestion. Interestingly, the study of these Baptist-type groups in northern New England and the Maritimes is a field in which American and Canadian scholars can meet in terms of approximate equality,

27 Stephen Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

both as to quality of sources and sophistication of scholarship. One of the exciting challenges for Maritime Baptist historians in the next decade will be to seek out an alliance with students of radical Protestantism in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont.

From the perspective of the mid-1980s, the transformation of the Maritime Baptist historiography over the last fifteen years has been little short of miraculous. Now firmly set along the lines of critical scholarship rather than denominational piety, it has breathed remarkable vigour into long-accepted Baptist verities. Whether the movement will reach a "take-off" point by attracting the ongoing interest of young historians in the graduate schools remains to be seen.

For my own part, I think that the momentum is still increasing and that the agenda of important questions is growing. In the next five years Baptist scholarship will almost certainly outgrow its fixation with the 1775-1810 period and move on decisively to the nineteenth century, to New Brunswick, to the Free Baptists, to women, and perhaps even to cognate groups like Adventists, Mormons and Disciples of Christ. Some of these fields are ripe and, for the time being, there are labourers. My sense, then, is that the transformation of Maritime Baptist historiography will continue, and that we may yet see Henry Alline supplant Joseph Howe as the world's favourite Nova Scotian.

Loyalist Brothers: John and James Mann

Nellie Fox

Among the Loyalist refugees to Nova Scotia, there are many examples of strong faith and dignity. The new land of opportunity was strange, the old land left behind was hostile; for many, their religion would be their support. Those who carried the faith were among the strongest of the new settlers. The lives of John and James Mann, early Methodist preachers in Nova Scotia, provide an excellent example of this vigorous heritage bequeathed to us from long-ago troubles.

The early years of these two men are only partly known. John and James Mann were born in New York City, John in 1743, James in 1750. While the children were quite young their father died, leaving the widow with a family of small children. John may have been the eldest, but there must have been another brother whose wife, known as Aunt Betsy Mann, aged about one hundred years, was living in 1858 in Jersey City.

John, at the age of twenty-one, married 7 May 1764, Jane Ann (called Ann) Marschalk. The marriage was recorded in the records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New York. She had been born in 1747 in New York City and belonged to a respectable family of Dutch descent. Her father was George Marschalk, a blockmaker; her mother was Hester; a brother was John; and two sisters were Katherine and Hester. When his father-in-law died in 1779, John Mann, "his trusty friend and son-in-law," was one of the executors of his last will and testament.

John became a businessman, but experiencing hard times he moved for awhile to Philadelphia, where he heard the sermons of a Methodist preacher and was deeply moved by them. His mother belonged to the Moravian Church, a Protestant sect which had originated among the followers of the martyred fifteenth century Bohemian reformer John Huss. Upon his return to New York, John, influenced by his mother, joined the Moravian congregation, but he frequently heard the preaching of Methodist missionaries who were sent out from England to New York by the Reverend John Wesley, the originator of Methodism. John joined the Society and soon became a class leader and local preacher, going to locations around the city and to Long Island. Subsequently he became trustee and treasurer of the John Street Wesleyan Society in New York.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the Methodist preachers returned to England. John Mann, however, kept the John Street chapel open and preached there. When New York was taken by British troops, Samuel Spraggs, a travelling preacher from Philadelphia, took charge of the Society, but John continued to preach once a week in the chapel and in the neighbouring countryside. He also carried on a successful business during this time.

At the end of the war, when the British evacuated New York, the Manns, with a number of other members of the John Street Society, joined the exodus of Loyalists who moved to Port Roseway (later renamed Shelburne) in Nova Scotia. There they attempted to make a new life for themselves in the wilderness.

Although the Methodists may have organized a Society and a Class, William Black, later known as "Bishop Black" and "The Father of Methodism in the Maritime Provinces," came from the Chignecto area to preach the first known Methodist sermons in Shelburne. John Mann also preached in the community at an early date. Captain Ephraim Dean of Liverpool, Queens County, soon became interested in Methodist doctrines, and asked John Mann to visit Liverpool. Mann agreed, but was initially opposed by a religious sect whose opinions did not agree with his own tenets; Simeon Perkins and another magistrate finally persuaded the disturbers to allow Mann to proceed with his sermons.

Later, about 1786 or possibly before, finding that circumstances in Shelburne made it impossible to support his family there, Mann followed the advice of Captain Dean and other friends and moved his family to Liverpool, where he continued to preach until 1789.

Although little is known of James Mann during these years, he had come to Shelburne with his brother, and had also removed to Liverpool, where he became a schoolmaster. In 1789, John and James returned briefly to the United States; they spent eight weeks in Philadelphia and were ordained at the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Later, John Mann began planning a removal to Newport Township in Hants County. As early as 1784 he had visited Windsor, preached there, and no doubt had become acquainted with John Smith, the Yorkshire immigrant who lived at Oakland Farm in Newport Township, and who was a foremost promoter of Methodism in the Windsor-Newport area.

The date of a departure from Liverpool was 27 November 1789. Due to the poor condition of the roads in those days and at that time of year, the Manns probably made at least part of their journey by water. In any case, there is a blank in the family history from then until 1792, when John bought land at The Village, Newport Township.

On the north bank of the Kennetcook River there had been, prior to the Expulsion in 1755, an Acadian village called L'Aigle (anglicized to L'Eagle), near the extensive dikelands and marshes known later as the Great Village Dike (the present Great Kennetcook Dike). When the township of Newport was surveyed for occupation by the New England Planters in 1760-61, this cleared land was laid out

in six-acre lots and became "The Village" or "Great Village." These village lots were granted to settlers in addition to their farm lots, woodland, marsh and dikelands. During the following years, much selling and exchanging of these lots resulted in their becoming parts of neighbouring farms. Between 1792 and 1808, John Mann bought five of these six-acre village lots, plus three acres of salt marshland. Two of the upland lots bordered on the Kennetcook River and the others joined northward; the marsh lay nearby.

Here the Mann family established their home, and here John Mann died, 26 February 1817, in his seventy-fourth year. He was buried in a little private cemetery on his property, near the Kennetcook River. His wife Ann died 24 September 1826, aged seventy-nine years. Later, a monument was placed there to honour John, Ann, and their son Captain John Mann, who was lost at sea.

John Mann's will was written 17 October 1816 and was recorded 24 March 1817. His property was left to his two sons, John and James. His daughters, Ann (Nancy) Dean and Sarah Sanford, received legacies of money. The other daughters may have died before their father. Twelve grandchildren were mentioned in the will. In 1817 and 1819, the sons sold the Mann homestead, but the burial place, one-quarter acre, was reserved.

John Mann had preached forty-nine years, including his years in New York and on Nova Scotia's South Shore before ordination, with thirty-one years' service in the Maritime Conference. Even in his old age, he continued to travel on horseback to preach in the townships of Windsor, Newport, Kempt and Douglas. His missionary work also took him into East Hants among the veterans of the Revolutionary War who had settled there and who, like him, were Loyalists. During the last two years of his life, however, his poor health forced him to remain at home.

Probably he was not an eloquent speaker, although it was recorded that at times he spoke with a loud and stern voice. He studied the Bible, preached plain doctrines, and was rewarded with many converts. His decendants have increased in number, especially those of his daughters, but there are many today who do not know of that steadfast old Loyalist forefather.

James Mann did not marry, and after ordination he gave his life completely to the Methodist ministry. Grave, earnest and devout, he was an impressive speaker. James Mann probably made more journeys on foot than any other early Methodist preacher in Nova Scotia. He was welcomed and felt at home wherever he went.

James served throughout the Maritime Provinces. In 1786 he was preaching in the Barrington area, and also in Shelburne and Liverpool. In 1787 he was at

Cumberland, where he remained until 1791. In 1788 the first Methodist church in Canada was built there at Point de Bute. It was constructed of stone, with a thatched roof, and was known as the "Stone House." In 1780 James opened a Methodist church at Sackville, New Brunswick. During 1791-92, he preached for several months in New York City. Before the end of the century, he made a preaching tour in Annapolis County, and in March 1801 was in Newport, Hants County. He also served on the Sheffield and Saint John circuits in New Brunswick. During 1802-03 he was superintendent of the Societies in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and in 1803 he again preached at Point de Bute.

James Mann made the greatest impression on Nova Scotia's South Shore, where he lived at Cape Negro, Shelburne County, during the later years of his life. His death on Christmas Day 1820 occurred at Northeast Harbour, on the opposite side of Cape Negro Harbour. He led a church service in the morning, baptized several children, performed a marriage ceremony, administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and then died suddenly. Seventy years old and a Methodist preacher for thirty-four years, he certainly had attained his desire to "cease at once to work and live."

It can surely be said that John and James Mann were true Loyalists. The two brothers lived in a time of great change, not only during their early lives in New York, but also after they came to Nova Scotia. Here they, along with other Loyalists, had to adjust to each other, to the earlier settlers, and to pioneer conditions. John and James were ideal Loyalists: loyal to the King and faithful to their religion; and John's children became genuine Nova Scotians.

Issue of the Reverend John and Jane (Marschalk) Mann: (order uncertain)

1 Ann (Nancy), b.ca. 1770, New York City; marr. 4 Oct. 1787, Liverpool, N.S., Ephraim **Dean** Jr., son of Ephraim Dean Sr. and his wife Martha. Ephraim Jr. was born 18 Aug. 1766 at Liverpool, where his family had moved, sometime after Jan. 1761, from Eastham, Mass. Issue, surname **Dean**:
   (1) William, b. 13 Sept. 1788, Liverpool.
   (2) James, b. 14 May 1791, Liverpool.
   (3) Nancy, b. 24 Feb. 1793, Liverpool.
   (4) Lydia, b. 10 Sept. 1795, Liverpool.
   (5) Maria, b. 11 Sept. 1798, Liverpool; d. 3 Oct. 1799.

2 Maria, b. New York City; marr. George **Fish**, of Ardoise, Newport Township. She may have predeceased her father, since she was not cited in his will, although her children were. Issue, surname **Fish**:

(1) Nancy, marr. Christian **Woolaver**, son of Caleb and Ruth Mary Ann (Hunt) Woolaver.
(2) Maria, marr. Cyrus **Mosher**, son of George Mosher. Issue.
(3) Eliza, b. 11 Jan. 1799; d. 1874; marr. 27 March 1821, George Henry **Hunter** (1791-1841), son of Lodowick and Jane (Gillmore) Hunter. Eliza was left a widow with ten children; an eleventh was born several months after George Hunter's death.
(4) Hester or Esther, b. ca. 1803; d. 8 April 1883; marr. Alexander **Mosher** (ca. 1799-1852), son of James and Susannah (Black) Mosher. Issue.
(5) John, marr. Sarah (Sally) **Snell**. Issue, adopted.
(6) James.
(7) Isaac. May have marr. Amy **Mosher**.
(8) Katherine/Kitty.

3 Sarah, b. 6 March 1781, New York City; marr. Encom **Sanford** (1772-1865), son of Woodward and Mehitable (Wilcox) Sanford. Issue, surname **Sanford**:

(1) Hester/Hetty, b. 11 Sept. 1797; d. after 1871; marr. William **Dean**; marr. secondly, Sanford **Burgess**. Issue.
(2) John, b. 13 Sept. 1798; d. 18 Nov. 1874; marr. Alice **Harvie** (d. 1867), daughter of Stephen and Katherine (Mann) Harvie. Issue.
(3) James, b. 16 Dec. 1799; d. 11 Jan. 1845; lost at sea.
(4) Ephraim, b. 17 July 1801; d. after 1871; marr. Rebecca **Allen**; marr. secondly, Rachel **Burgess**; marr. thirdly, Rachel **Hamilton**, widow. Issue.
(5) Peleg, b. 21 Oct. 1803; d. 10 June 1872; marr. Rachel Dove **Mosher**, daughter of Jehu and Eleanor (Foley) Mosher Sr. Issue.
(6) Isaac, b. 27 April or July 1805; d. 18 July 1887; marr. Martha **Harvie**, daughter of James and Martha (Harvie) Harvie. Issue.
(7) Thomas, b. 17 July 1807; d. 15 Sept. 1886; marr. Bethia **Liswell**, daughter of William and Martha Ann (Mann) Liswell Jr. Issue.
(8) Katherine, b. 15 July 1809; marr. Elisha William **Fish**. Issue.
(9) George, b. ca. 1811; d. 18 Oct. 1834, unm. Lost at sea.
(10) Mary, b. ca. 1812; marr., surname **Casson**.
(11) Nancy, b. ca. 1812/13; may have been Mary's twin; marr. Daniel **Burgess**.

(12) Charles W., b. 1814; d. 23 Jan. 1881; marr. Mary **MacDonald** (1819-1912). Issue.

(13) William Dean, b. 1816; d. 1886; marr. Mehitable **Poulson**, daughter of Christian and Susannah (Sanford) Poulson. Issue.

4 James, probably born in Nova Scotia. By his father's will, received one-half of the family property.

5 Martha Ann, probably born N.S.; d. before 1816; marr. William **Liswell** Jr. (1777/78-1879), son of William and Bethia Liswell Sr. Issue, surname **Liswell**:

(1) Lydia, b. 1803; d. 1892; marr. Edward **Burgess**.

(2) James, b. 1805; d. 1831; lost at sea.

(3) John, b. 1807; d. 1812.

(4) Mary, b. 1809; d. 1885.

(5) Bethia, b. 1812; d. 3 April 1883; marr. Thomas **Sanford**, son of Encom and Sarah (Mann) Sanford.

(6) John, b. 1814; d. 1845 at sea; marr. Lydia Ann **Mosher**, daughter of Barzillai and Nancy (Harvie) Mosher. Issue.

6 Katherine, probably born N.S.; marr. Stephen **Harvie** (b. 1774), son of James and Alice (Wilcox) Harvie Jr. Katherine probably d. ca. 1812; she is not cited in her father's will. Issue, surname **Harvie**:

(1) James.

(2) John.

(3) Stephen.

(4) Nancy, b. ca. 1797; d. 10 May 1885; marr. Barzillai **Mosher**, son of Joseph Mosher. Issue.

(5) Alice (Elsie), b. 1800; d. 1 Oct. 1867; marr. John **Sanford**, son of Encom and Sarah (Mann) Sanford. Issue.

7 John Jr., b. 27 June 1787, Liverpool; lost at sea off Cape Blomidon, 13 Dec. 1821; marr. 24 Jan. 1811, Sarah **Sanford** (ca. 1795-1874), daughter of Esbon and Lydia (Burgess) Sanford. Inherited one-half of his father's property.

Issue of Capt. John and Sarah Mann:

(1) John, b. 1813; d. 14 Jan. 1886; marr. 12 Jan. 1837, Catherine Ellis **Mosher**. Issue.

(2) James, b. ca. 1817; d. 25 Aug. 1858; marr. 12 Jan. 1843, Elizabeth Ann _____ Issue.

(3) Lydia, b. ca. 1818; d. before 1851; marr. James **Lockhart**. Issue.
(4) Sarah, b. 1820; d. 26 Sept. 1897; marr. 1841, William Church **Card**. Issue.

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The author also acknowledges the use of various other sources, including local cemetery inscriptions; Registry of Deeds material; family Bible records; and local family history. Thanks is also extended to Lt. Col. R.F. Kirkpatrick for his assistance with material held by the Queens County Historical Society.

Due to space considerations, this genealogy could not be published in its entirety. Comments, queries and corrections should be addressed to:

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"Ministre des Etrangers suisses allemands": A Halifax Letter of 21 September 1750

Barry Cahill

The man who described himself thus, the Reverend Pierre Christian Bürger, was one of about seventy French- and German-speaking Swiss immigrants to Nova Scotia who voyaged in the barque *Alderney* from London in the summer of 1750.[1] Rev. Bürger was a clergyman ordained in the "Dutch Reformed Church"; he had gone to England intending to minister to his people on the overseas journey and in their new homeland. Having set sail about the middle of June, the *Alderney* had only reached Plymouth three weeks later, and was forced by contrary winds and shortening supplies to put in there for a few days.

Before the ship had left Plymouth, Rev. Bürger wrote the first of two letters to the Lords of Trade. This first letter has not survived; nor has any record of its receipt. There are grounds, however, for suspecting that it may have been intercepted by the government's agent shipboard, Captain John Kinselagh.[2] Capt. Kinselagh had also written a letter to the Lords of Trade during the stopover at Plymouth (dated 6 July, received 9 July, read 10 July).[3] In it, he complained bitterly of troublemakers among the passengers: troublemakers whose actions had led to violence and imprisonment for the worst of them. What little is known, in any case, of the undelivered and unreceived first letter of Rev. Bürger is that its subject was the "bad behaviour of Mr. Kinselagh." It is perhaps no accident that Capt. Kinselagh's Plymouth letter survived, while Rev. Bürger's did not.

It is therefore especially interesting and important that Rev. Bürger's Halifax letter (the second)[4] has come down to us intact. This letter was written almost a month to the day after the *Alderney* had arrived at its destination, and is given here in an English translation of the original French.

Your Lordships,

According to the promises which I made on my departure from Plymouth, in the

1 For the historical background and a general description of the voyage, see Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961), sub-section 24; for Rev. Bürger, see pp. 390-391.

2 Concerning whom see Bell, *Foreign Protestants*, p. 160, n. 13.

3 Colonial Office Papers, Series 217, Vol. 9, p. 280, Public Record Office [hereafter PRO CO217].

4 PRO CO217/10/89.

letter which I had the honour of writing to you on the subject of the bad behaviour of Mr. Kinselagh, agent on board our vessel, *Alderney*, transport, this man did not stop pursuing his evil designs until two days before our arrival in Halifax. Seeking to ingratiate himself with the chief men of the vessel, as even with me, he had abdicated his responsibility for the foreigners over an extremely important matter. To make a long story short: the Swiss having requested that I should write a letter to Captain Neal and Mr. Kinselagh, agent, in which they asked whether the brandy would be supplied them (the two and one-half days' due had not been given: they had had nothing but fetid water to drink), or in case the said gentleman refused the brandy due, [whether they would give] a written reply as a guarantee of the said brandy. I sent the letter to Captain Neal, and a quarter of an hour later the agent summoned the council of war with a view to making me appear before them on the subject of having written the letter asking for the brandy due. Captain Kinselagh, having seen by all his inquiries that it was impossible for him to find in me the fault committed by the Swiss, arraigned me in public and ordered that none of the foreigners should thenceforth speak to me, but directly to him: which I bore with patience. I omit several other low actions which he committed, for they were many. I gave a true report of them to his Excellency Governor Cornwallis, who made restitution to me in every way I could have wished. For according to your Lordship's recommendations, to my great pleasure I have been received by the Governor; and he gave me the task of looking after the Swiss. Our Swiss are still encamped at Gorham's Point, where they have cleared part of the land. But in any case it is our intention to go farther afield, namely to Piziquid or to Minas, where fourteen Swiss inspected the land. Being very pleased at having seen one so good, [they] then made a report of it, to the great relief of their fellow countrymen, who are awaiting the latest orders of his Excellency our most honoured Governor so that they can leave.

I am taking the liberty of congratulating you on the victory which British troops had over the Indians at Chignecto. We hope soon to come to the last of the remaining Indians, to the great relief of true Britons; with the help of God. For the moment I have nothing more to state save only that I hope to see your Lordship on my arrival in London at the beginning of next May. His Excellency having approved the plan of Mr. Abram Dupasquier with regard to procuring Swiss in the fatherland to help the progress of Nova Scotia, I do not have any doubt at all that your Lordships would consent to it. Commending myself to the good graces of

your Lordships, I take the liberty of calling myself
Your Lordships'

Most humble and faithful
Servant
Pierre Christian Burger
Pastor of the German Swiss
Foreigners in Nova Scotia

Gorham's Point, 21 Sept.
1750 O.S.

The issue of brandy to the passengers to mix with their otherwise putrid drinking water was not standard practice aboard emigrant transports. In the case of the *Alderney* and *Nancy* (see below), however, it was contractual. Commenting on Rev. Burger's shipboard letter which he wrote on behalf of the Swiss asking for brandy, Dr. Winthrop Bell stated, "it looks as though he [Captain Neal] had not fulfilled Heyliger's programme too well in this respect."[5] Captain Neal, of course, was bound by the terms of the contract which the Lords of Trade (by proxy) had made with his employer, the merchant shipowner, George Heyliger, and the fulfilment of which agent Kinselagh was supposed to oversee. A dishonest captain (or agent), however, could have withheld the brandy ration in order to line his pockets with the proceeds of its sale later on.

John Kinselagh seems to have been rather officious, without taking his responsibilities for the welfare of the passengers seriously enough. Instead of releasing the brandy which the Swiss emigrants needed, and which they had a right to, Kinselagh tried to turn their pastor into his scapegoat. Granted: the request had not been made through the proper channels. Rev. Burger was not officially responsible to anyone; Mr. Kinselagh was responsible to the Lords of Trade, who had engaged him. But it was quite natural that the Swiss should have looked to their minister to represent them. He was probably the only one of their number who could express himself in English, though he later chose to write to the Lords of Trade in French (the language of diplomacy). Kinselagh, on the other hand, an ex-soldier who thought he could impose military discipline on the "foreigners," treated the writing of this letter as mutinous. Rev. Burger in any case had not written it on his own initiative, a fact which he no doubt stated to the council of war, as well as in his subsequent letter to the Lords of Trade.

5 Bell, *Foreign Protestants*, p. 248.

The *Alderney* arrived in Halifax on 22/23 August 1750. The fifty-three "foreign Protestants" among its human cargo did not share in the founding of Dartmouth, but were put down on the west side of the harbour to the north of the town of Halifax.[6] The Swiss community was increased by the arrival of over one hundred of their fellow countrymen aboard the brigantine *Nancy* about 16 September. There can hardly be any doubt that Rev. Bürger was a leader among these recent immigrants, and that his position was unofficially sanctioned by Governor Cornwallis, if not by the Lords of Trade themselves. There is no evidence to support his claim that he had been officially recommended to the governor. It is possible, however, that he was carrying a letter of introduction from the Lords of Trade.

The proposed migration of the Swiss to Piziquid or Minas is well documented: by the Reverend William Tutty, missionary, in his fourth letter to the S.P.G. (29 October 1750);[7] by provincial secretary Hugh Davidson in his oral report to the Lords of Trade (18 November 1750);[8] and by Governor Cornwallis himself in a letter to the Lords of Trade (27 November 1750).[9] Fort Edward had been raised at Piziquid earlier in the year, but Acadian lands were not considered safe. In a long letter to Governor Cornwallis of 22 March 1751 (their first since 26 June 1750), the Lords of Trade gave general but qualified consent to the proposal.[10] If Cornwallis, who had a high opinion of the Swiss and had allowed a delegation of them to visit the Acadian lands, finally decided against the idea, then it was probably because there were just not enough Swiss to make such a settlement viable.

The victory over the Indians which Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Lawrence won at the Missaguash River on 15 September 1750 was vividly described by a proud and thankful Governor Cornwallis in a letter to the Lords of Trade of 22

6 For Gorham's Point and the Swiss settlement there, see Bell, *Foreign Protestants*, sub-section 49 (pp. 346ff). The former is clearly marked on the map published by T. Jefferys on 25 January 1750: "A Map of the *South Part* of Nova Scotia..."

7 Cf. S.P.G. *Journal* (15 March 1750 [*sic*]), p. 3.

8 *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* [hereafter *Journal*], Vol. IX (1749-1753), p. 115.

9 PRO CO217/11/6.

10 PRO CO218/4/11.

September.[11] It is significant that Cornwallis quoted an "express" which had arrived only the previous night, giving him a report of the engagement. Rev. Bürger's letter to the Lords of Trade was dated the very day news of the victory had reached Halifax. An eye-witness account by the French officer, M. de la Vallière,[12] however, makes the engagement out to be a pyrrhic victory at best for the British. Some days later,[13] according to him, a company of sixty men under Captain Francis Bartelo (an officer at Fort Lawrence) was ambushed in the woods; more than fifty of them, including the captain, were killed, wounded or captured.

Abram Dupasquier was a Swiss from the canton of Neuchâtel who had crossed the Atlantic presumably on either the *Alderney* or *Nancy*. His proposal[14] for bringing out Swiss emigrants to Nova Scotia was recommended by Governor Cornwallis to the Lords of Trade and by them to the Secretary of State, who approved it. The scheme, however, was ultimately a failure: it yielded only twenty suitable emigrants. By coincidence, M. Dupasquier's "memorial...containing proposals for transporting and settling 300 Swiss protestants in that province" was read at the same meeting of the Lords of Trade (i.e. 12 November 1750) as Rev. Bürger's letter.[15]

After a ministry of about a year among the Germans at Halifax, Rev. Bürger went to England to be re-ordained an Anglican priest. He seems not to have attended the Lords of Trade, however, nor did he return to Nova Scotia. Dr. Bell conjectured that he "had fallen ill and died somewhere between receiving in London his appointment [as missionary for the S.P.G.]...and finding an opportunity to sail for Nova Scotia. A foreigner among strangers, his death might

11 PRO CO217/10/66.

12 English translation as Appendix B to J.C. Webster, *The Forts of Chignecto* (Shediac, N.B., 1930), pp. 134-135; French original in *Report* of Canadian Archives (1905), Vol. II, Appendix A, pt. iii, pp. 324-325.

13 Not 16 September, therefore, as stated by Peter L. McCreath and John G. Leefe, *A History of Early Nova Scotia* (Tantallon, N.S., 1982), p. 208. (Cf. Note 11 above).

14 Concerning which see Bell, *Foreign Protestants*, pp. 174ff. There is no justification in the records for Dr. Bell's entitling sub-section 26 of his book, "Dupasquier's *and Delesdernier's* Undertaking." The latter was but the travelling companion and assistant of the former.

15 *Journal*, Vol. IX, p. 117.

easily have failed to be reported to the S.P.G."[16] Against this hypothesis there is little which can be said.

Pierre Christian Bürger was the first native German-speaking clergyman to minister in Nova Scotia; there would not be another for almost twenty years. He had cooperated closely with the two S.P.G. missionaries, Tutty and the Reverend Jean Baptiste Moreau, and was influential in reconciling the "foreign Protestant" immigrants of 1750 with the Church of England. He not only conducted services but also translated the Anglican liturgy into German and taught Rev. Tutty what little German the latter knew. In short, Rev. Bürger's influence was all for the good. Dr. Bell concluded his sketch of him in these words:

> He seems...to have been faithful and energetic in his calling for a year at Halifax, and had he been able to return and carry on his ministry in Nova Scotia it is possible that he might have averted some of the denominational divisions which became emphasized among the German-speaking foreign Protestants there during the next ten to twenty years.[17]

16 Bell, *Foreign Protestants*, p. 391.

17 *Ibid.*

Book Reviews

Religion in Life at Louisbourg 1713-1758, by A.J.B. Johnston. ISBN 0-7735-0427-3. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston and Montreal, 1984. 223 pages, hardcover, $30.00. *The Summer of 1744: A Portrait of Life in 18th-Century Louisbourg*, by A.J.B. Johnston. ISBN 0-660-11263-9. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada, 1983. 119 pages, softcover, $14.95.

For some twenty years Louisbourg has been the subject of intensive historical and archaeological research aimed at first reconstructing and then interpreting a significant portion of this garrison town and seaport. Initial research was characterized by prosaic but badly needed structural and material cultural studies; more recent work has enjoyed a broadened scope in analyzing various aspects of life at Louisbourg. The above two works by A.J.B. Johnston are fine representatives of this more recent scholarship and especially in the case of *Religion in Life at Louisbourg*, considerable new ground has been broken.

The Summer of 1744 is both the title of Johnston's publication and the date to which the Fortress of Louisbourg NHP has been restored and animated. This book consequently has particular value for visitors seeking background material on this park. However, that summer was also a very important one for Louisbourg. The outbreak of war and the campaigns of that summer set the conditions for the New England siege of the following year. Students of that event will find much that is familiar but will also enjoy a broadened context, particularly in the careers and personal relationships of the individuals involved.

Johnston begins his work by placing Louisbourg and 1744 in their general historical context, and then introduces the immediate background to the summer of 1744. Indeed, this reviewer suspects many readers will quite enjoy the short introduction to 1744 as it successfully places that year in relation to prominent persons and events of that century. There then follow successive chapters on each month from June to September inclusive, with each chapter divided between the war and life in the town. A brief epilogue concludes the events of 1744 and an appendix offers a day-to-day calendar of occurrences, while endnotes and a short bibliography denote the sources used.

The Summer of 1744 typifies many of the delights and trials of historical research at Louisbourg. The mass of official documentation and the existence of carefully prepared indexes and research guides enable a very detailed analysis to be made. A pleasing aspect of this book is the ready identification of individuals, which contrasts with some earlier accounts of the sieges which offer, for example, vague identifications for French officers, but precise ones for the English. In spite of a

wealth of official documentation, however, there is a virtual lack of private correspondence and diaries. This frequently forces Johnston to surmise Louisbourg's reactions to particular events. Although this is ably done, such reactions are necessarily at the group rather than individual level.

The broader time frame of *Religion in Life at Louisbourg* enables Johnston to make good use of the available private sources. The pervasive nature of religion aids him in this by ensuring these sources have some comment to make. Without doubt, the most enjoyable anecdote, that of a young girl's surprising answer to the meaning of hope, comes from just such a source. This is not to say that Johnston does not have to deal with gaps in his source material. The occasionally incomplete parish records are a minor irritant, but the lack of personal communications from the *religieux* necessitate judicious use of official sources. Johnston surmounts these difficulties to present a well argued and highly interesting discussion of religion in Louisbourg.

Once again, Johnston begins by setting his subject and Louisbourg in historical context. Given his less-than-common topic, this well-written introduction will be much appreciated. The three religious orders in Louisbourg -- the Recollets, the Brothers of Charity of the Order of St. John of God, and the Sisters of the Congregation of Nôtre Dame -- are subsequently discussed in individual chapters. Most readers will no doubt be surprised to learn that the Jesuits were not established in Isle Royale and in fact do not merit a notation in the index. The chapter on "Faith, Morals and Popular Customs" will probably have the widest appeal. In it, Johnston follows the effect of religious thought and observances on the individual's life, encompassing everything from sexual morality to the concept of the "good dead."

Johnston reveals the role of religion in life to be a much neglected but extremely intriguing aspect of Louisbourg's history. With some surprising weaknesses as an institution in Louisbourg, the church nevertheless exerted a considerable and wide-ranging influence. Johnston relates this story with considerable skill and obvious mastery of his sources. His material is well-written and will readily draw the reader into what for many will be a new facet of history. Even the necessarily detailed account of the religious infighting among the Recollets exudes a certain fascination. In general, both of Mr. Johnston's books add to the field and are well worth reading.

As a parting note, it should be mentioned both books are well illustrated.

B.A. Balcom

Voyage of the Iceberg: The Story of the Iceberg that Sank the Titanic, by Richard Brown. ISBN 0-88862-656-8. James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, Toronto, 1983. 152 pages, illustrated, hardcover, $16.95.

This is a very good book on a fascinating though overwritten subject: the doomed maiden voyage of the *Titanic*. The story is told here from the perspective of the iceberg with which the ship collided; hence, an original variation on the hackneyed theme of "Greatest Marine Disaster of All Time." The subject of the book, however, is really much broader than its title implies. "*The Iceberg that sank the Titanic*" (to quote the subtitle) was part of the Arctic land- and seascape which the author, a marine biologist and Arctic traveller, paints so realistically. *Voyage of the Iceberg* reads like a drama performed across the miles and the years by a multitude of players: Inuit hunters, whalers, explorers, missionaries and "characters." There is plenty of local colour and vivid anecdote. The description on pages 107-108 of the slaughter of harp seal pups is not for the squeamish.

Though the two were fated to be on a collision course, the voyage of the Iceberg began much earlier than the *Titanic's*, and ended somewhat later. Had it not been for the exceptionally severe winter of 1911-1912, the Iceberg would not have drifted so far south as it did. Had it not been steaming ahead at an unsafe speed, moreover, the *Titanic* would not have met Nemesis in the icy waters of the north Atlantic.

In a disarming postscript the author states, "Most of this book is true" (p. 146). He means that he has had to treat his sources, both primary and secondary, with a certain amount of prosaic licence. But the book is none the worse for that. *Voyage of the Iceberg* is natural history and ecology at its least technical and most interesting. The author has drawn on both his professional knowledge and personal experience. He is a self-confessed Arctic addict, and in the very last sentence warns his readers against so dangerous a drug.

Forty illustrations to 140 pages of text is generous. There is an elementary bibliography but no index, which would have been welcome. "Thule," incidentally, was the name given by the fourth century B.C. mariner, Pytheas of Massalia, to an island (perhaps Iceland) six days' sail northward from Britain. It is therefore misleading just to say that the word "is Greek for the uttermost northern end of the earth" (p. 20).

Barry Cahill

Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church, by Thomas R. Millman and A.R. Kelley. ISBN 0-91891-00-4. The Anglican Book Centre, Toronto, 1983. 180 pages, illustrated with maps, softcover, $9.95. Available from the publisher, 6000 Jarvis St., Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 2J6.

A timely and welcomed development in the writing of Atlantic Provinces and Canadian history has been the renewed interest in church history. Nowhere has this been more pronounced than in the biographies carried in the published volumes of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Among the denominations in Atlantic Canada, the Baptists have led the way in regional publishing, with the series "Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada," which now numbers five volumes. This collection has concentrated on early Baptist history, publishing the writings of church leaders active in the formative years of Baptist expansion.

In contrast, the Millman and Kelley volumes is an historical survey of the expansion of the Anglican Church in Atlantic Canada. It devotes, quite rightly, much emphasis to the period from the middle of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries. This was the time when the Church ceased to make any pretence to being the "established" faith; created synods for local governance and the election of bishops; and became financially self-supporting. The leadership for these belatedly necessary changes came not from laymen, but from a series of vigorous bishops, particularly Bishop John Medley in New Brunswick.

This survey has both the strengths and weaknesses of denominational history. Its strengths are in the soundness and comprehensiveness of the research, and in the clarity of writing. The failure of the Anglican Church to have greater appeal during the period of early settlement is admitted and analyzed with a frankness all too often uncommon in such denominational studies. Its principal weakness is in its failure to probe more deeply into the influence on the work of the church of changing social times and relationships with other denominations. Nor is enough emphasis placed on the very significant changes in the form of service between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Anglicans in 1900, who had grown up after the liturgical and architectural changes resulting from the Tractarian movement, would scarcely have recognized either the services or the interior of St. Luke's, Annapolis Royal, in 1830 (as described on pp. 79-80).

The liturgical and administrative changes of the nineteenth century ensured both the survival and the expansion of Anglicanism in Atlantic Canada. These changes were made without the divisions so common in other Protestant denominations, themselves facing the same challenges of a more urban and

industrial society. Anglicans near the end of the twentieth century face the challenge of introducing perhaps even greater liturgical change than did their forefathers; it is well to note that such a move is not new to the church in Atlantic Canada. The Millman and Kelley volume is well worth reading, particularly by those who have rather a too changeless or traditional view of the Anglican Church.

B.C. Cuthbertson

Trinity United Church, Shelburne, N.S., by Marion Robertson. ISBN 0-88999-205-3. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1983. 57 pages, illustrated, softcover. Available from the publisher, P.O. Box 425, Hantsport, N.S., B0P 1P0.

Marion Robertson volunteered to write the history of Trinity United Church in Shelburne to coincide with its bicentenary. The result is an informative and entertaining little book which gives an account of the two principal congregations which joined together in 1925 to form Trinity United: the Presbyterian and the Methodist.

Though there had been Presbyterians at Port Roseway as early as the 1760s, they were especially numerous among the Loyalists who settled there in 1783. The Presbyterian meeting house, built in 1784, was the first church building in Shelburne. It lasted for about a decade and was then destroyed in a storm. The Presbyterians were then without a church or minister until 1803, when the Reverend Matthew Dripps, a Scottish-born and educated clergyman accepted their call to serve. In 1804 a new Presbyterian church, St. John's Kirk, was begun on the site of the old meeting house. The new St. John's, which after the Union of 1925 would become Trinity United, was dedicated in 1891.

The Methodists at Shelburne, especially the black Methodists of Birchtown, encountered much hostility from their fellow Protestants, Anglican and Dissenter alike. A number of itinerant preachers ministered at Shelburne in the early days, the best known of whom was James Mann. The cornerstone of the first Methodist chapel was laid in 1804. Seventy years later plans were set in motion for a new Methodist church. The trustees were plagued with financial problems, however, and the building was not finished until 1890, and not dedicated until 1906.

De facto union of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches in Shelburne happened a little in advance of the official Union of 1925. The Methodists were more favourably disposed towards union than the Presbyterians, and had initiated the negotiations.

This commemorative book is generously illustrated with photographs of the sites and structures concerned. There are also transcriptions from the gravestones in St. John's Kirkyard and the Methodist Cemetery, and a bibliography of primary and secondary sources. To the latter could be added some historical manuscripts prepared by Mrs. Robertson, which are on microfilm at the Public Archives (PANS Micro: Churches: Shelburne: Trinity United). There are some unfortunate misprints: on page 11, "1863" should read "1803"; on page 15, "Cosmos" should read "Cosmo"; on page 25, "Episcopals" should read "Episcopalians"; on page 36, "produces" should read "produce"; and on page 41, "detalied" should read "detailed."

Barry Cahill

The Loyalists: Revolution, Exile, Settlement, by Christopher Moore. ISBN 0-7715-9781-9. Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1984. 224 pages, 100 black and white illustrations, hardcover, $27.95.

The Loyalists is a superbly produced and well written book, for which both the publisher and author deserve high praise. It is not a history or survey of the Loyalist story, but a book about Loyalists. Moore's aim is to portray the refugees first and foremost as human beings, without sentimentalizing their lives. To do this, the author has had to balance the inclusion of much historical background (perhaps too much), with the "flesh and blood" concerns of his Loyalist men and women, whose selected individual stories are the life of the book.

The professional historian will find here no new interpretations of either the American Revolution or the Loyalists themselves. The general reader will, however, find the historical background informative and easy to follow. Wisely, Moore does not adhere to one particular interpretation, though he has perhaps relied too much on Bernard Bailyn's *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.*

The first half of the book is taken up with the story of the Loyalists on the eve of the Revolution, during the war, and through their exodus. It is in the latter half, with its account of their resettlement, that Moore is at his best and surest. As his Governor-General's Award-winning *Louisbourg Portraits* showed, Moore is primarily a social historian, possessing the necessary stylistic and research skills to portray, with sensitivity and vividness, the human concerns of his chosen men and women. In *The Loyalists*, he has followed the same technique of selecting individuals whose personal stories are woven into the texture of the times. In Edward Winslow, who went to New Brunswick, he has chosen the often pretentious and uncritical Tory aristocrat. In Gideon White, of Shelburne fame, and in Samuel Farrington, a pioneering farmer in Upper Canada, he has selected more representative Loyalists.

Although at times Moore is too uncritical of his subjects, he does not idolize them: they remain from beginning to end, "flesh and blood." Without embarking on an ideological crusade, he well points out that without the Loyalists, not only would there be no Canada, but also that their "conservation" has done much to ensure that Canadians can still live satisfying and secure lives in a tumultuous world.

Although imaginatively produced, with one hundred black and white reproductions, *The Loyalists* is more than your typical coffee table book. The literary craftmanship and research of Christopher Moore ensure that his latest book will be read as well as viewed. B.C. Cuthbertson

Department of Culture, Recreation & Fitness

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with god is only in & thro' jesus Christ by faith.

thirdly we now call heaven & earth to witness that without the least knowing reserve we give up ourselves Soul & body, Names, & estates all that we have, & are ever shall be to be at his Disposal; promising to be faithfull therein, in whatsoever our consciences Dictated by the word and Spirit of god, dictates us to be Duty at this it be ever so contrary to the flesh & carnal mind.

forthly we give up ourselves to each other, to act towards each other in love as brethren in christ; to watch over each in love against all sin, even against foolish talking & jesting that is not convenient, & every thing that Does not become the followers of ~~Christ~~ the meek & lowly jesus; & to seek the good of each other, & church universal;