Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 7, Number 1, 1987

Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 7, Number 1, 1987

Cover Illustrations:
Arms of the Anglican Diocese of Nova Scotia. Used with permission of the Right Reverend the Bishop of Nova Scotia (front)
Cartoon by Yardley Jones, Canadian Churchman (back)

To Our Readers

The *Nova Scotia Historical Review* publishes articles on every aspect and period of Nova Scotian history, and welcomes contributions from everyone interested in the subject. The *Review* has a special mandate to publish non-professional and/or first-time authors, whose work can benefit particularly from the rigorous but sympathetic literary editing provided by the *Review* to all its contributors.

Nova Scotia Historical Review
Quarterly / Review

Back Issues Available

Quarterly
Volume 2 — Number 4
Volume 3 — Numbers 2, 3 and 4
Volume 4 — Numbers 1, 3 and 4
Volume 6 — Number 3
Volume 8 — Numbers 1 and 4
Volume 9 — Numbers 3 and 4
Volume 10 — Numbers 2, 3 and 4

Available at $2.00 each or $3.00 for two.

Review
Volume 2 — Number 1
Volume 3 — Numbers 1 and 2

Available at $4.00 per copy.

Volume 4 — Numbers 1 and 2
Volume 6 — Numbers 1 and 2

Available at $5.00 per copy.

from:

Nova Scotia Historical Review
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
6016 University Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 1W4

Contents

Editorial

In 1787, the Loyalist cleric Charles Inglis (1734-1816) became the first colonial bishop in the Church of England. Inglis's diocese, though it has always been called "Nova Scotia," originally comprehended all of British North America. Though the jurisdiction of Inglis's successors now covers only Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, moreover, the prestige of this first episcopal chair has always been unique. It has also had some notable occupants, two of whom--Worrell and Kingston--have subsequently become primate of the Anglican Church of Canada.

In 1987, Anglicans in Nova Scotia and elsewhere are celebrating the bicentenary of Charles Inglis's consecration as bishop. Many events are taking place, among which is the publication of Brian Cuthbertson's definitive biography of the first Bishop Inglis. Our cover illustrations--front and back--treat the graver and lighter sides, respectively, of this distinguished episcopal anniversary. We are most grateful both to the Right Reverend Arthur G. Peters, Bishop of Nova Scotia, and to Mr. Jerry Hames, Editor of the *Canadian Churchman*, for their kind cooperation.

This issue of the *Review*, the second in three years to take religious history as its theme, is exclusively devoted neither to episcopacy in particular nor to Anglicans in general. There are also articles on Methodists, Baptists and Unitarians. If the focus of the issue is the bicentenary of the episcopate, then the scope of the various articles is ecumenical. Our next issue will take as its theme women's history, and will feature a bibliography of the late Dr. Phyllis R. Blakeley, formerly Provincial Archivist. We hope that the December 1987 issue will stand as a contribution, however belated, to the celebration of International Women's Year.

We have regretfully had to suspend our High School Essay Competition, despite an active promotional effort, as too few entries were received to enable it to go forward.

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

Contributors

The Reverend Doctor Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood is the Associate Minister of First Baptist Church, Halifax.

D.G. Bell is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Law, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick.

Allen B. Robertson is currently completing his Ph.D. dissertation (Queen's) on the role of nineteenth-century Nova Scotian Methodist merchants in education and politics.

Otto Lohrenz is a member of the Department of History, Kearney State College, Nebraska.

Heather M. Watts is the historian of the Universalist Unitarian Church of Halifax. This article is part of a longer work she is preparing to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the church's founding in Halifax.

Roland K. McCormick is an ordained Baptist clergyman and retired teacher, now living in Barrington, Nova Scotia.

Marion D. Oldershaw has turned a hobby into a profession, and is now a Certified Genealogist (Canada).

Tear-Out
Subscription Renewal Page

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

PROVINCE _____

POSTAL CODE _____

☐ I enclose $10.00, 1 year, 2 issues

☐ Enter my subscription

☐ Renew my subscription

☐ Change my address

Send To:
Nova Scotia Historical Review
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
6016 University Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia B3H 1W4

THE FIRST BISHOP

A Biography of Charles Inglis
by Brian Cuthbertson

Irish by birth, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary in colonial Delaware, Charles Inglis as rector of Trinity Church in New York became the foremost Loyalist clergyman during the American Revolution. Consecrated in 1787 as the first bishop of the Anglican Church in Canada and as the first overseas bishop in the Commonwealth, the controversial Inglis in his 29 year episcopate laid the foundations for the Church in Maritime Canada. There are twelve chapters describing his career in colonial American and as bishop, including a special chapter on his role in creating an indigenous style of Maritime church architecture.

Former Public Records Archivist at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, the author has published extensively in Nova Scotian history, including biographies of Attorney General Richard John Uniacke and Governor Sir John Wentworth, and edited the Journal of the Newlight preacher John Payzant.

Pre Order Form
(copies can only be ordered from the **Diocesan Bookroom**)

Please send on publication in September 1987 _____ copies of THE FIRST BISHOP: **A Biography of Charles Inglis**, 220 pages, illustrated, softcover.
COST — $14.95 plus postage. Please do **not** prepay. Invoice will be sent with book order.

Name _____ Phone Number _____

Mailing Address _____

_____

MAIL TO: **Diocesan Bookroom**
5732 College Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 1X0

Phone Orders Accepted
(902) 423-8978

"Danger. . .of famishing in grace" : The Idea of an American Episcopate, from Inception to Execution

Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood

> The process of Canadianizing the Protestant churches in Canada--effectively in Upper Canada--has three major aspects. The first is the training and employment of a native clergy--a Canadian-born or at least Canadian-resident clergy--that would understand Canadian problems and Canadian ways better than British-trained missionaries. The second aspect is the legalization of church bodies to organize church courts and hold property--the creation of jurisdiction. This involved the structuring of churches to meet specific Canadian conditions. The third major aspect can be defined as psychological Canadianism--the acquisition and manifestation of attitudes reflecting identification with the land and the people of Canada and with the Canadian outlook--in a word the growth of a Canadian sentiment or identity in the life of the churches.[1]

The election of Samuel Seabury (1729-1796) as bishop by the Connecticut clergy in 1783 and the appointment of Charles Inglis (1734-1816) as Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787 marked the culmination of a long struggle within the Anglican Church between pressures for and against the appointment of a colonial bishop.[2] Although John Moir's categories for indigenization are used with reference to Upper Canada, the three criteria--native clergy, local jurisdiction and cultural identification--can be applied to colonial denominational life in general. In the colonial period, the desire for the appointment of a bishop for America[3] was a response to the first two aspects, for a bishop was necessary to ordain clergy (otherwise they had to travel to England) and to confirm candidates for church membership (the basis of local jurisdiction). The major hindrance to an appointment was defining the idea of the episcopate for the American context.

The priesthood of the colonial church was not large enough to meet the demands placed upon it. Missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), which was organized in 1701,

---

1 John Moir, "The Canadianization of the Protestant Churches," *Canadian Historical Association Papers* (1966), pp. 56-57.

2 The story of colonial Anglicanism with respect to episcopacy is detailed in a number of places. The best are John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit, 1984); Frederick Mills, Sr., *Bishop by Ballot: An Eighteenth Century Ecclesiastical Revolution* (New York, 1978); and, for an earlier interpretation, Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate in the American Colonies* (New York, 1902).

3 Throughout this article "America" will be used to refer to all of North America, since the use of the designation for the United States was not adopted until the end of the American Revolution.

constantly reported the need for more priests. For example, in 1742, Stephen Roe reported to the SPG's secretary:

> I found many families of his Majesty's Subjects chiefly Irish Protestants scattered there [northeast part of Massachusetts] who were baptized & bred in our Chh's Doctrine & Worship, but for want of the Ordinances of the Gospel by an Orthodox Minister are in danger of falling away into schism & Enthusiasm (for some Vagrant Enthusiasts have been among them) or into profaneness imorality [*sic*] & indifference to all religion.

Roe attributed the situation to the lack of "Episcopal power of Ordination being present among us." [4]

Despite the need, recruitment of native clergy was hindered by the necessity of travelling to England for ordination: "The people of the County are discouraged from bringing up their Children for the Ministry, because of the hazard and expense of sending them to England to take the orders where, they often get the small pox, a distemper fatal to the Natives of those Countrys." [5] This problem could only be alleviated by the appointment of a resident bishop.

A resident bishop would be responsible for church life, for oversight of pastoral care. John Talbot (1645-1727) commented that the appointment of a bishop would mean that the church would "att [*sic*] last take Care of her Children." [6] To meet the need, Talbot may have obtained consecration as a bishop by Nonjuring bishops during a visit to England, 1720-22.[7]

According to one observer, the sending of a bishop would remove in "the common expression of the people. . .a famine of the word."[8] Samuel

4 Mr. Roe to the Secretary of the SPG, 28 Aug. 1742, printed in W.S. Perry, *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church* (New York, 1969), III, 365.

5 Bishop of London to Rev. Dr. Doddridge, 11 May 1751, printed in Perry, I, 373. Candidates who did make the journey often did it because they could not find any employment otherwise, or were bankrupt financially or in reputation.

6 Quoted in Woolverton, p. 133.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134. If the consecration did take place, it was not recognized by either the British or colonial church.

8 Mr. Craig to the Secretary of the SPG, 16 June 1752, printed in Perry, II, 187. At issue here again was the hindrance posed by candidates having to go to England for ordination.

Thomas expressed a similar sentiment in 1706 in South Carolina:

> . . . it is sadly evident how destitute our Brethren of the Church of England in South Carolina are of spiritual guides and Publick Ordinances, and [in] how much danger they are of famishing in grace for want of the word and sacraments, or to be led aside to error while destitute of the public ministry to confirm them in the truth . . . [9]

Without an adequate supply of clergy, the parochial needs of adherents of the Church of England could not be met.

While the appointment of Thomas Bray (1656-1730) as commissary in 1695 represented the beginning of the creation of church courts in America,[10] only the appointment of an American bishop could satisfy all jurisdictional demands. In the words of Samuel Seabury, loyalty to the bishop prevented members of the church from "forfeit[ing] all Title to the promises of the Gospel."[11]

Concern for perceived abuses in church practices among the churches in the colonial plantations led Henry Compton (1632-1713), Bishop of London, to assume responsibility for the colonial Church in 1677.[12] He and his successors' decision to work through commissaries resulted in the accusation by 1713 that the Bishop of London was trying to "Extend his Diocese and Authority farther than the Pope ever did." [13] A later Bishop of London, Thomas Sherlock (1678-1761), in 1751 recognized the difficulty "for a Bishop to live at one end of the world, and his Church at the other," and recommended that "two or three Bishops [be] appointed for the plantations to reside there." [14]

---

9 Samuel Thomas to the SPG, 18 Jan. 1706, quoted in Woolverton, p. 155.

10 Woolverton, p. 84.

11 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 33.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 83. The claim to authority had originated in the days when the Bishop of London sat on the Board of the Virginia Company. Cross, pp. 8-26.

13 Commissary Johnston to the Secretary of the SPG, 13 Feb. 1713, quoted in Woolverton, pp. 158-159.

14 Bishop of London to Rev. Dr. Doddridge, printed in Perry, I, 373. By this date the Bishops of London were trying to eliminate their responsibility for America.

High Church leaders in colonial America considered the appointment of a colonial episcopate essential if uniformity was to be maintained in the church. An illustration given by them was the conflict between the proprietary and royal governors and the assemblymen, who thought that they should run the church. The appointment of Bray as commissary failed to meet that need, for he lacked the authority to exercise the spiritual functions of consecration of children, ordination of clergy, or consecration of churches.[15] Nicholas Moreau expressed the opinion that if a bishop was appointed, "Religion and piety, should flourish presently, and we should be mighty glad and contented. . . . An eminent bishop of that same character [as Governor Nicholson, "the Right hand of God"] being sent over here. . .will make Hell tremble and settle the church of England in these parts forever. . . ." [16]

Perhaps the influence that led immediately to the creation of an American episcopate was the appointment of bishops in other denominations with episcopal church government. In the United States, the episcopal "competition" was Methodism, while in British North America, it was French Roman Catholicism.

Until the American Revolution, American Methodism was, at least nominally, part of the Church of England. As a consequence of the creation of the United States of America, John Wesley decided to ordain ministers for America. As a result, Thomas Coke and later Francis Asbury were ordained as bishops of the newly created Methodist Episcopal Church.[17] Whether Wesley actually intended them to be bishops or simply "superintendents" is a matter of historical debate. Wesley had rejected the ordination of Methodist preachers by English bishops, wishing to avoid the slowness of episcopal procedures and submission to their authority.[18] The effect was the creation of a church with an organization modelled on the British parish

15 Woolverton, pp. 20-21, 84-85. A second commissary, James Blair (1655-1743), who was appointed in 1689, added an additional impediment due to rejection because he was Scottish; see Nicholas Moreau to Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 12 Apr. 1697, printed in Perry, I, 31.

16 Moreau to Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in Perry, I, 31.

17 *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America* (Philadelphia, 1797), p. 5.

18 Robert Emory, *History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1845), pp. 23-24.

system and whose existence disturbed American Episcopal leaders such as Devereaux Jaratt (1733-1801), who had worked closely with the Methodists.[19]

The conquest of Quebec in 1759 had left Great Britain with a colony in which the Bishopric of Quebec had been established in 1674. The death of Bishop Pontbriand before the fall of Montreal in 1760 presented a dilemma, for British policy did not permit the appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop. A compromise was reached in 1766 when Bishop Jean-Oliver Briand returned to Quebec, after having been consecrated in France.[20] The existence of an unofficial Bishop of Quebec led to pressures, after the American Revolution and the subsequent migration of Loyalists to the province, to appoint an official Church of England Bishop of Quebec.[21]

Thus, to the competition from non-episcopal churches, were added two episcopates, one a division from the church and the other the focus of an anti-Roman "Grand Alliance," in which the Church of England participated.[22]

A superficial examination of the pressures exerted for the creation of a colonial episcopate leaves the reader questioning why the appointment of the first bishop was delayed as long as it was. Moir's third aspect of indigenization provides a reason. The desire for a native clergy and ecclesial jurisdiction was countered by the failure to develop an indigenous identity.

One of the most significant hindrances to the development of a colonial episcopacy was the internal debate in the Church of England about the nature of the episcopate. Talbot's possible consecration by Nonjuring bishops in Scotland illustrates the tension. The Nonjurors were clergy and bishops

19 Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1981), p. 76.

20 John S. Moir, ed., *The Cross in Canada* (Toronto, 1966), pp. 59, 64. Cf. John S. Moir, ed., *Church and State in Canada 1627-1867: Basic Documents*, The Carleton Library No. 33 (Toronto, 1967), pp. 72-110.

21 Moir, pp. 111-140. This would occur in 1792. A bishop had been appointed for Roman Catholics in the United States in 1789, after a petition in 1787; see James Hennesey, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 87-88. One of the first Loyalist clergymen to settle in Nova Scotia, Jacob Bailey's correspondence is full of his irritation at the presence of a Roman Catholic bishop in Quebec; see Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783-1816* (London, 1972), pp. 15-16.

22 Woolverton, pp. 37-55.

who, after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, refused to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to William and Mary on the grounds that it would break their oath to James II and his successors.[23]

In the last four years of the reign of Charles II, 1681 to 1685, the higher clergy polarized into two groups, one of which leaned to Roman Catholicism and support of the Stuarts. Episcopal appointments before 1688 were based on loyalty to the Stuarts. The second party consisted of moderate Anglicans who became disenchanted with James II's plans for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts because of the resultant freedom for Roman Catholicism. After the Glorious Revolution, William of Orange, as a convinced Calvinist, became the focus of the tensions.[24] The situation created in England was described to Sir William Turnbull (1639-1715), who would become Lord of the Treasury and Secretary of State in the mid-1690s, in the following way: ". . .whereas our former fears were of Popery and Arbitrary Government, now it is of a Commonwealth and the pressure of the Church by the Dissenters." [25]

William sought to find a middle way between the two High Church factions, with the result that the Nonjurors were deprived of their livings in 1690 and the moderates were made to feel uncomfortable, albeit loyal. Tensions thus existed between the bishops appointed by William and the moderate High Churchmen. Among the leaders of the dissidents to William's policy was Henry Compton, Bishop of London. The result was ecclesiological chaos.[26] With chaos occurring in Great Britain, it is small wonder that proper attention was not paid to the identity developing in America.

One of the greatest hindrances to the establishment of an episcopacy in North America was the failure of the British establishment and the advocates of episcopacy in America to understand the psychological identity

23 F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (London, 1978), pp. 979-980. They remained a force of discontent until the late eighteenth century.

24 G.V. Bennett, "King William III and the Episcopate," in *Essays in Modern English Church History: in Memory of Norman Sykes*, eds. G.V. Bennett and J.D. Walsh (London, 1966), pp. 105-112.

25 R. Browne to William Turnbull, 17 Mar. 1689, quoted in Bennett, p. 116.

26 Bennett, pp. 113-131.

developing in the continent. As William Warren Sweet has shown,[27] the frontier aspect of the continent fostered individualism. This was reinforced by the revivalism promoted by New England Theology and Methodism.[28] Individualism was confirmed by a sense of providence: "Wherefore, since God hath opened the doore of *Virginia*, to our countrey of England, wee are to thinke that God hath, as it were, by word of mouth called us in, to bestow our severall Charity on them." [29]

This sense of destiny was reinforced by the influence of Puritanism among colonial Anglicans. The result was the creation of vestries with considerable power and authority.[30] Thus when the issue of appointment of a bishop for the colonies was debated in the 1760s and 1770s, lay Anglicans opposed the appointment, for it meant surrender of their control. Anglicans who were adherents of the individualism inherent in American civil religion[31] found themselves in conflict with a Loyalist civil theology that advocated "The principles of submission and obedience to lawful authority. . .as inseparable from a sound, genuine member of the Church of England as any religious principles whatsoever. The church has always been famed and respected for its loyalty, and regard to order and government." [32]

One reason for the failure to accept Loyalist civil theology was the lack of a single established national church in the colonies. For example, Standing Order (Nonseparatist) Congregationalism was the establishment in Massachusetts and Connecticut, while Rhode Island lacked an establishment. The Church of England was established in the colonies between Georgia

27 William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, 4 vols. (New York, 1931, 1936; Chicago, 1939, 1946).

28 See Jonathan Edwards, *Religious Affections*, ed. John E. Smith, Works of Jonathan Edwards, Vol. 2 (New Haven, 1959) and *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America*.

29 Alexander Whitaker, "Good Newes From Virginia," in *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny*, ed. Conrad Cherry (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), p. 31.

30 Woolverton, pp. 42-48, 75-78 and Mills, pp. 16-19, 92-94, 113-115, 121-128, 201-202.

31 See Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones, eds., *American Civil Religion* (New York, 1974).

32 Thomas Chandler, *A Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans* (New York, 1774) quoted in Glenn T. Miller, "Fear God and Honor the King: The Failure of the Loyalist Civil Theology in the Revolutionary Crisis," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XLVII (1978), 223.

and Maryland, but only in one of them, Virginia, did it have a demographic majority.[33] Thus, suggestion of the appointment of a colonial bishop led to non-Anglican ecclesial and political resistance, which had a considerable political force in Great Britain.[34] Colonial Anglicanism lacked the lobbying ability that would have been provided by demographic majority and establishment.

The failure to appoint a bishop in a manner which would meet the colonial psychology is illustrated by the fruitless attempts prior to Seabury's selection and Inglis's appointment. The founding of the SPG in 1701 marked the beginning of serious efforts to establish a colonial episcopate by the British government, by missionaries resident in the colonies, by the SPG and higher clergy, and by clergy of New England.[35]

William Laud (1573-1645), as Archbishop of Canterbury, planned to send a bishop to New England as early as 1638, but was prevented by disorders in Scotland. After the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, plans were made to send Dr. Alexander Murray to the colonies as Bishop of Virginia. Although royal approval was gained and letters patent for the execution were granted, internal controversy in England prevented them from being executed. Later, Chaplain Miller attempted unsuccessfully to have a suffragan bishop appointed for the secular government of New York province.[36]

Thomas Bray recommended the appointment of a bishop in 1700-01,[37] but it is John Talbot who made the most significant effort by petitioning the SPG for the appointment of a resident bishop in 1703. He acquired a house for the bishop's seat and in 1712 the SPG directed that the house

33 Hudson, pp. 24-32. Cf. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven and London, 1972), pp. 135-229.

34 An Anglican episcopacy was viewed as a political threat by colonial leaders. For example, in 1815 John Adams called "Episcopacy a Cause of the Revolution." For a discussion of the Adams letter, see William Gribbin, "A Reply to John Adams on Episcopacy and the American Revolution," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XLIV (1975), 277-283.

35 A.L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate*, p. 89.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 89-91, and Perry, I, 537-542.

37 Cross, p. 93.

be prepared for habitation. The society expected help from Queen Anne?[38] "In 1703 an SPG committee drafted a memorial to Queen Anne expressing . . . the earnest and repeated desires, not only of the Missionaries, but of divers other considerable persons that are in communion with our excellent Church, to have a Bishop settled in your American plantations. . . ." [39]

In response to appeals for a bishop, in 1707 the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, recorded his observations on the advisability of appointing a bishop for America. He noted that an absolute episcopate would be rejected by colonists out of fear of a politico-ecclesiastical tyranny. Therefore he recommended the appointment of a suffragan bishop, whose office would be similar to a commissary. The appointment of a suffragan would be a means of testing the political climate in the colonies. No action was taken on the observations.[40]

Lack of response to the 1703 petition resulted in the deliverance in 1713 of "A Representation to be laid before Her Majesty, for procuring Bishops and Bishopricks in America." Queen Anne granted the request of the SPG and a bill was drafted for presentation to Parliament, but proceedings stopped with her death in 1715. A final attempt to induce the Crown to appoint a bishop came in that year in a petition to the new king, George I. The attempt was unsuccessful, due to internal British politics.[41]

Plans were made before the appointment of Dean Swift as governor of New York in 1713 to make him Bishop of Virginia. The first New England petition came in the same year from the ministers, wardens and vestry of King's Chapel to the Queen. Petitions also came from New York, New England and Rhode Island. Desire for a resident bishop was expressed by conventions held in Newport, Rhode Island in 1725 and 1727. In the latter year, the attempt by the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson (1669-1748), to appoint a suffragan in Maryland was stopped by the courts in Maryland.[42]

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

39 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 100.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 91-105.

Discussion of the appointment of a colonial bishop was reopened in 1740-41 in a sermon by Thomas Secker (1693-1768), then Bishop of Oxford, delivered before the SPG. In the colonies, the suggestion drew a response from the Reverend Andrew Eliot, a leading Boston Congregationalist, who attacked it as an attempt to make colonies support the Church of England. Colonial anxieties about the appointment of a bishop were raised with the succession of Thomas Sherlock as Bishop of London in 1748. A deputation was sent to England in 1749 to protest against the introduction of resident bishops.[43]

Sherlock's plan for a colonial bishopric was introduced in 1750.[44] It stated, with respect to the appointment of a bishop:

> 1. That no coercive power is desired over the laity in any case, but only a power to regulate the clergy who are in Episcopal orders. . . .
> 2. That nothing is desired for such bishops that may in the least interfere with the dignity, or authority, or interest of the governor, or any other office of state. . . .
> 3. The maintenance of such bishops [is] not to be the charge of the colonies.
> 4. No bishops are intended to be settled in such places where the government is in the hands of dissenters, as in New England. . . but authority [is] to be given only to ordain clergy for such Church of England congregations as are among them.[45]

This was an attempt to alleviate the prejudices in America against the appointment of a bishop. It also reflected both Sherlock's realization that he could not effectively oversee the Anglican Church in America, and his desire to be rid of the responsibility. Instead of relieving the pressures, Sherlock's plan was a prelude to heated discussion over the appointment of an American bishop.

While Sherlock advocated the appointment of a bishop on the British side of the Atlantic, in the colonies Samuel Johnson (1696-1772), the first

---

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-111, 113-117.

44 The plan is generally referred to as the "Butler Plan" due to the incorrect assumption that Joseph Butler (1692-1752), who served as Bishop of both Durham and Bristol and was the author of the *Analogy of Religion*, had drafted it; Woolverton, pp. 223-224.

45 Quoted in Cross, p. 123.

president of King's College, agitated for the same goal. Johnson articulated his position in letters to England and in print. In 1754 he included his thoughts on an American episcopacy in the third edition of the *Elementa Philosophica*. Johnson found a cautious ally in Thomas Secker, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1758. The latter rebuked the former for the inclusion of the idea in the *Elementa Philosophica*, because of the growing political tensions between Britain and the colonies.[46]

The debate over the establishment of a resident bishop reached its height in the years from 1763 to 1771. The Reverend East Apthrop's *Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, published in 1763, was answered by Jonathan Mayhew, a Congregationalist minister, in *Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. Episcopal appointment was discussed within the larger context of missionary activity. Mayhew raised the spectre of British interference in the colonies. Johnson joined the fray in support of Apthrop.

In March 1766, the Bishop of London, Richard Terrick, approached the Board of Trade with a recommendation for a colonial episcopate. He received no response, for the Board had just weathered the Stamp Act crisis and the British government was hesitant to arouse the religious passions of the colonies.[47]

In 1767, the Reverend Thomas B. Chandler (b. 1724), rector of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey published, with Johnson's support, *An Appeal to the Public, concerning the Reasonableness, Usefulness, and Necessity of an American Episcopate*. Non-Anglican reaction against the proposal was led by Charles Chauncy (1705-1887), minister of the First Congregationalist Church of Boston, who published *The Appeal Answered...* in 1768. The pamphlet warfare continued and spread to the papers of the day.[48] Although Chandler argued that the type of episcopate sought was spiritual and that bishops would have neither state rank nor position, fear of hierarchical

46 Don R. Gerlach, "Champions of an American Episcopate: Thomas Secker of Canterbury and Samuel Johnson of Connecticut," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XLI (1972), 381-399.

47 Gerlach, pp. 400-405.

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 410-411.

authority led to resistance both from non-Anglicans and from lay Anglicans.[49] The internal Anglican resistance to the proposal led Samuel Seabury to acknowledge in 1773 that "the battle for the colonial episcopate was lost."[50]

The American Revolution brought an end and a beginning to the agitation for an American episcopate. The two ideas in conflict in the Chandler/Chauncy debate--lay versus hierarchical authority--would be implemented in the divided North America after 1783. Sufficient Anglicans had been loyal to the revolution,[51] that the church faced a crisis of organization in 1783. No longer supported by the SPG and free of the Bishop of London's jurisdiction, a new ecclesial government was needed. Three separate actions coalesced into the Protestant Episcopal Church.

In 1783 Episcopalian clergy in Maryland elected William Smith as bishop. The laity reacted and in 1784 recognized episcopal authority to ordain and confirm, but declared that acceptance of a minister was a parochial right. This decision ended Smith's hopes for a quick consecration in England.

Pennyslvania's Episcopalians reorganized under the leadership of William White (1748-1836), who had published in 1782 *The Case of the Protestant Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered.* White presented a confederation plan, which the Pennsylvania churches adopted as six *Fundamental Principles.* A general ecclesiastical body was to have no power that a local congregation or vestry could exercise.

Supporters of hierarchical church government met in Connecticut in March 1783 and elected Samuel Seabury as bishop. Seabury was sent to Great Britain where the English bishops refused to consecrate him. Acting on advice he had received before leaving for Europe, Seabury was then

49 Frederick V. Mills, Sr., "The Internal Anglican Controversy over an American Episcopate," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XLIV (1975), 257-276.

50 Quoted in Mills, p. 276.

51 William Stevens Perry, "The Alleged 'Toryism' of the Clergy of the United States at the Breaking Out of the War of the Revolution: An Historical Examination," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XLV (1976), 133-144. Cf. David L. Holmes, "The Episcopal Church and the American Revolution," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XLVII (1978), 261-292.

consecrated by the Nonjuring bishops of Scotland in November 1784.[52]

The tensions between the two positions, confederation and hierarchy, were resolved in 1785 and 1786 in the interest of unity. A policy of non-political bishops in a church with a limited hierarchy was accepted.[53] Thus an American bishop was appointed within the context of psychological Americanism.

The proponents of Loyalist civil theology, those who were included among the Loyalists who left the United States following the revolution, sought to perpetuate their view of church and episcopate in the surviving portions of British North America. In March 1783, Loyalist clergy in New York presented Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief, with a plan for a Nova Scotian episcopate, which would be spiritual without "temporal power or authority." Three reasons were given for its creation:

> 1. Unless an episcopate be granted, the Church of England will be in a more disadvantageous situation in Nova Scotia than any other denomination of christians. . . .
> 2. The proposed episcopate will supply the province of Nova Scotia with a sufficient number of clergymen. . . .
> 3. The fixing of a Bishop in Nova Scotia and the consequent supply of clergymen, will strengthen the attachment and confirm the loyalty of the inhabitants, and promote the settlement of the province.[54]

---

52 Frederick V. Mills, Sr., "The Protestant Episcopal Churches in the United States 1783-1789: Suspended Animation or Remarkable Recovery?", *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XLVI (1977), pp. 166-169. Two reasons prevented Seabury's ordination by English bishops. First, as an American he could not take the state oaths and second, the British government did not want to give the impression of interfering in the religious affairs of the United States. Bruce E. Steiner, *Samuel Seabury: A Study in the High Church Tradition* (Oberlin, Oh., 1971), pp. 191-195, 201-207. Concerns over the validity of the Nonjuring consecration would end after the British government granted permission for English consecration of American bishops. Samuel Provoost (1742-1815) and William White were consecrated in 1787. With Seabury they made up the requisite three bishops needed for the continuance of holy orders. Cross, pp. 266-267. The objections to Seabury's consecration had been removed by the reconciliation of the Nonjurors to the House of Hanover after August 1788; see Mills, *Bishops by Ballot*, p. 270.

53 Mills, "Protestant Episcopal Churches," p. 169. For details of the process, see Mills, *Bishops by Ballot* and Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics 1689-1775* (New York, 1962).

54 Quoted in "King's College and Episcopate in Nova Scotia," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society for the Year 1887-1888 (reprinted Belleville, Ont., 1977), pp. 130-131.

Thus the needs for native clergy and jurisdiction combined with Loyalist civil theology. The Fox-North ministry in Britain collapsed before the plans could be executed.[55]

Discussion of an episcopate took place in the years following, but it was not until May 1787 that a Privy Council committee recommended that a Bishop of Nova Scotia be consecrated and appointed who would have "Ecclesiastical Authority and Jurisdiction in the said province and its Dependencies." He would be "without civil Authority except what may be necessary for the discharge of his Jurisdiction in Clerum." Anglican clergy would be legally bound to the bishop.[56]

Thomas Chandler was the leading candidate for the office until his health forced his withdrawal from consideration. Charles Inglis was consecrated in August 1787. Inglis's appointment was an experiment, for although an hierarchical episcopate, it was a non-political one, although not in the Protestant Episcopal sense. Establishment combined with promotion of the Loyalist civil theology created a working relationship with government. For example, Charles Inglis was appointed to the Council of Nova Scotia in 1809.[57]

The effect in British North America was to create one aspect of Canadian identity, Loyalism to the British Empire; that is, support for an International Americanism, instead of the Continental Americanism of Manifest Destiny, which was adopted by the United States.[58] But that aspect of Canadian identity would conflict with other aspects of the developing Canadian multiculturalism. In the decades following the creation of an hierarchical episcopate in an established church, controversy would occur concerning church/state relations.[59] As well, the frontier would have an effect in British

55 Fingard, p. 14.

56 Quoted in Fingard, pp. 18-19. A second recommendation gave the bishop jurisdiction over Quebec, New Brunswick and Newfoundland.

57 Fingard, pp. 20-26, 34. For more details, see Brian Cuthbertson's forthcoming *The First Bishop: A Biography of Charles Inglis*.

58 W.L. Morton, *The Canadian Identity*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1972), pp. 23-25.

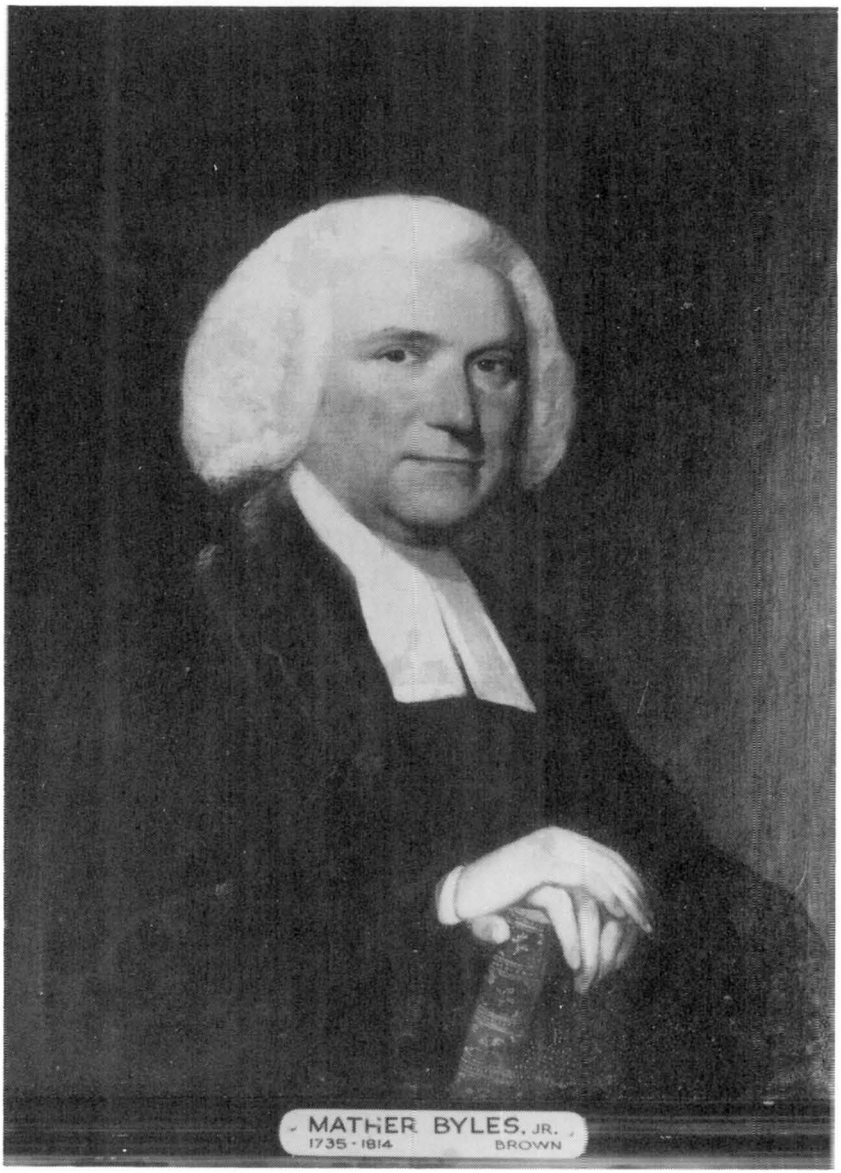
59 See John Moir, *Church and State in Canada*.

North America similar to that in the United States: the laity would assert their prerogatives.[60]

When the colonial episcopates were finally erected, they were done so within the American context, although in Canada several decades would pass before the Anglican Church would gain complete autonomy.[61] They met the needs for native clergy and ecclesial jurisdiction and they reflected the psychological nature of North America in both its northern and southern expressions.

60 Philip G.A. [Griffin-]Allwood, "First Baptist Church Halifax: Its Origin and Early Years" (M.Div. thesis, Acadia Divinity College, 1978), pp. 6-35.

61 See Richard E. Ruggle, "The Canadianization of the Church of England," *Papers of the Canadian Society of Church History 1981* (Montreal, 1982), pp. 79-88.



Mather Byles (1735-1814). As rector of Saint John (1789-1814) Byles ministered to "a most respectable Congregation, . . . universally allowed to be the largest in the four remaining British Provinces." (*From a 1784 portrait by Mather Brown, in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society.*)

Charles Inglis and the Anglican Clergy of Loyalist New Brunswick

D.G. Bell

Since his death in 1892 the life and legacy of John Medley, first bishop of Fredericton, have dominated study of the Church of England in New Brunswick. Medley's long episcopate has the coherence, drama and richness that other periods in New Brunswick Church history notably lack.[1] Because of this historiographical fascination with Medleyan church politics and the Medleyan aesthetic, research into Loyalist-era Anglicanism remains where W.O. Raymond left it in the 1890s.[2] Other factors, too, have tended to discourage scholarly interest in the Church in early New Brunswick, especially as compared with Nova Scotia. While the Loyalist period does have a certain elementary thematic unity--the story of beginnings--there is no natural context for inquiry such as Charles Inglis and King's College

The author gratefully acknowledges the stimulus of conversation with Inglis's most recent biographer, Dr. Brian Cuthbertson.

1 Of many studies of Medley's work and influence the most useful are: W.Q. Ketchum, *Life and Work of the Most Reverend John Medley* (Saint John, 1893); Lyman Harding, "John, by Divine Permission: John Medley and the Church in New Brunswick", *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, VIII (1966), 76; William Spray, *David's Kingdom: A History of the Anglican Parish of Chatham, New Brunswick* (Chatham, N.B., 1979); M.H. Blom and T.E. Blom, eds., *Canada Home: Juliana Horatia Ewing's Fredericton Letters, 1867-1869* (Vancouver, 1983). On Medleyan architecture see Douglas Richardson, Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, N.B. (MA thesis: Yale University, 1966); Richardson, "Hyperborean Gothic: or, Wilderness Ecclesiology and the Wood Churches of Edward Medley," *Architectura*, I (1972), 48; Robert Watson, *Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton: A History* (Fredericton, 1984). On Medley and literary sensibility see Malcolm Ross's suggestive "A Strange Aesthetic Ferment," *Canadian Literature*, LXVII-IX (1976), 13. Medley's contribution to church music awaits authoritative assessment, but see the notice in Helmut Kallmann *et al.*, eds., *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (Toronto, 1981), 612, and Blom and Blom, *Canada Home, passim.*

2 W.O. Raymond's career as an historian extended from 1889 to the early 1910s, but his published work on the Church of England dates from his earlier, less accomplished phase. Its generally heroic and pious cast is explicable both in terms of the need Raymond felt to prove to New Brunswickers that the Loyalists were interesting, and by the fact that two of the Loyalist missionaries (Beardsley and Dibblee) were Raymond's ancestors and two others (Scovil and Sayre) were closely associated with his family. Raymond's first published work was an edition of Walter Bates's remarkable memoir of the planting of the Church in Kingston: *Kingston and the Loyalists of the 'Spring Fleet'* (Saint John, 1889). Two years later he compiled a valuable pamphlet on the founding of the parish of Woodstock: *Proceedings at the Centennial Commemoration of the Ordination of [the] Rev. Frederick Dibblee . . . [with a] Paper on Early Days of Woodstock* (Saint John, 1891). Raymond also contributed extensively to Leonard Allison's *Reverend Oliver Arnold, First Rector of Sussex, N.B., with Some Account of . . . the old Indian College* (Saint John, 1892). In newspaper format, Raymond explored the career of Richard Clarke (Gagetown) and provided further material on his favourite, Frederick Dibblee. Much of Raymond's Anglican research is summarized in *Progress of the Church in the Seven Rural Deaneries* (Saint John, 1897). Since Raymond's time, the only work on the Church in Loyalist New Brunswick has been in the context of contributions to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography.*

provide for Nova Scotia. Similarly, New Brunswick Anglicanism has no documentary collections remotely comparable to the Inglis and Jacob Bailey papers.[3] For want of some obvious historiographical focus, the story of the planting of the Church of England in New Brunswick readily degenerates into a miscellany of parochial beginnings. Historians have little impetus to move beyond Raymond's catalogue of ministers settled and churches built. The following attempts, in a preliminary way, to raise some broader issues concerning Charles Inglis and the Church of England in Loyalist-era New Brunswick.

It is tempting to say that Charles Inglis was important in the New Brunswick context chiefly by the fact of his absence. Even the sure-footed W.S. MacNutt faulted Inglis for visiting "only on three occasions," the last in 1798.[4] In truth, Inglis toured, and in one case actually resided in, New Brunswick on seven occasions between 1788 and 1809, totalling fourteen months.[5] In 1812 the 78-year old bishop was beginning yet another New Brunswick visit when he fell so seriously ill that his active episcopate was brought to an end.[6] Thus, even in terms of visible presence, it is less than

3 Even in SPG material New Brunswick fares poorly. On the SPG microfilm edition of in-letters released in the 1950s and only lately superseded, much of the early New Brunswick material is illegible.

4 W.S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 92, 170. Even Judith Fingard, whose superbly useful work on Inglis is single-mindedly limited to Nova Scotia, nevertheless boldly characterizes Inglis's New Brunswick role in terms of "neglect" : *Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816* (London, 1972), p. *vii*. At the same time it must be said that almost everything we know about Inglis and New Brunswick, and most of the sources for this essay, fall within the period before Thomas Carleton's departure from the province in the fall of 1803. After that time the volume of documentation on the central administration of the province falls off sharply, a development which unfortunately coincides with a similar thinning of Inglis papers in general and regarding New Brunswick in particular.

5 Inglis's New Brunswick visits were as follows: 31 July-25 Aug. 1788; 14 July-21 Aug. 1792; 8-22 Aug. 1795; 29 July-10 Sept. 1798; 26 Oct. 1800-25 June 1801; Aug. 1804; c. 17 July-c. 17 Aug. 1809. To these one might add the week he passed in Westmoreland in June 1790 dealing with the Eagleson affair. Inglis's primary visitation in 1788 was not the first visit by an Anglican prelate to the province. Bishop Samuel Seabury preached at the temporary Trinity Church, Saint John, on his return voyage to Connecticut in the spring of 1784; Kenneth Cameron, ed., *Church of England in Pre-Revolutionary Connecticut* (Hartford CT, 1976), pp. 267, 269; A.W.H. Eaton, *Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution* (New York, 1891), p. 114n.

6 Inglis to Duke of Kent, 19 Oct. 1812: Inglis (1984) Papers, MG1, Vol. 2430, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

fair to say that Inglis simply neglected New Brunswick. There must have been few places apart from Halifax and Windsor where he passed more time than Fredericton and Saint John.

Those who would accuse Inglis of neglecting his New Brunswick duties would probably also criticize him for insufficient vigour even in Nova Scotia.[7] Judging Inglis by the standard of a nineteenth-century colonial activist like John Medley rather than the gentlemanly model of the English episcopate of his own day is anachronistic, however, for Inglis had far less practical power and patronage than his Canadian successors would command. He was sent to preside over a clergy and church which had no experience in dealing with a resident bishop. Many of the clergy had actually opposed his appointment. In administering and building up the Church his power was largely negative and indirect. He could censure or inhibit clergy for misconduct, discourage the creation of new missions, and facilitate or impede the transfer of missionaries; but he had little creative leeway to regulate the growth of the Church according to his own best judgement.

Because popular financial support for the Church was negligible, Anglican clergy received their stipends from English charities and the British government. In practical terms this meant that Inglis's clergy owed their support to their status as "missionaries" of the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG).[8] The SPG might have chosen to entrust local management of its missionaries to the resident bishop. Instead it relegated Inglis to an adivsory capacity, thereby undercutting his authority and largely negating the advantage of having a colonial

7 Reacting against the counterfeit encomia heaped on the "first Colonial Bishop" by Anglican denominational historians, Judith Fingard has missed no opportunity to portray Inglis in a distinctly but unconvincingly unfavourable light: e.g., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, V, 444. Her unsteady treatment of Inglis, especially in his view of religious dissent, is the least satisfactory aspect of the invaluable *Anglican Design*.

8 There seem to have been only three occasions in the New Brunswick context in which Inglis ordained clergymen without an SPG appointment. Oliver Arnold (Sussex Vale) and Frederick Dibblee (Woodstock) were ordained on a promise of financial support from the New England Company, an English charity devoted to converting and educating Indians; James Bisset (Fredericton) was ordained on a promise of income as head of the Fredericton academy. All three subsequently received SPG appointments as well.

bishop.[9] Because his clergy owed much to the favour of the remote SPG and little to that of the resident bishop, they had remarkably little to do with Inglis. Except when they ran into difficulty they did not bother to correspond with him or he with them.[10] They did not even send the bishop copies of the annual "notitia" of their duties submitted to the SPG. Inglis's principal source of systematic information about his clergy was the extensive inquiry made at his triennial visitations and, in the case of New Brunswick, through correspondence with his commissary.[11] Establishment of the college at Windsor for the education of prospective clergy was intended to give Inglis a measure of creative flexibility in building the Church, but he continued to rely in part on missionaries who arrived, sight unseen, from the SPG in England. The bishop's effective power was further restrained by two informal but well-understood conventions: clergy, once settled in a mission, were practically immovable except with their consent, and missionary sons who desired ordination were, if at all possible, to be accommodated.

Just as Inglis occasionally had to invoke the aid of the Archbishop of Canterbury in order to get his way with the SPG, so his attenuated formal control over his clergy was often practically enhanced through his personal acquaintance with the parochial squirearchy. Oliver Arnold of Sussex, for example, may have owed little more than formal allegiance to Inglis but he owed much to the favour of George Leonard, the parish magnate, with whom Inglis was well acquainted. First Gabriel Ludlow, then Ward Chipman performed the same role of friendly oversight at Saint John and Carleton; John Coffin in Westfield; Simon Baxter, for a time, in Norton; James Peters in Gagetown; Isaac Hubbard in Maugerville; and so on. The chief of Inglis's lay allies for the first fifteen years of his episcopate was Lieutenant-Governor

9 The problem was particularly acute in the first decade of Inglis's episcopate: Fingard, *Anglican Design*, pp. 182-91.

10 In the extensive surviving Inglis papers (including letterbooks) there is no evidence of routine correspondence between clergy and bishop. Similarly, in the case of the one Maritime clergyman whose letterbooks survive almost complete (Jacob Bailey) there are surprisingly few letters to Inglis.

11 From Inglis's surviving correspondence we know that Samuel Cooke, the New Brunswick commissary from 1788 to 1795, was modestly active in holding conventions of the clergy. There is, on the other hand, little evidence of similar activity by Cooke's successor, George Pidgeon.

Thomas Carleton, whose closest adviser, Jonathan Odell, was himself a former SPG missionary. Inglis's personal relations with Carleton were a source of great satisfaction to him. Fredericton, where Inglis passed eight months in 1800-01, was probably his favourite spot away from home. Carleton took pleasure in bringing the bishop into contact with former acqaintances from New York, and gratified Inglis by showing particular attention to his daughter Anne and her husband, George Pidgeon. The pedestrian but morally circumspect New Brunswick governor was infinitely more to Inglis's taste than the cynical John Wentworth and the dissipation of Halifax high society. Carleton was also generally, if unenergetically, cooperative in Inglis's ecclesiastical concerns. Of these the most immediately troublesome was the issue of legal "presentation" (i.e., nomination) of clerics to vacant parishes.[12]

During his governorship of Nova Scotia, John Parr did great mischief in the Anglican communities at Shelburne and Halifax by insisting on his supposed right to present clergy to vacant parishes in preference to the choice of the vestry. In New Brunswick the same question arose, again in connection with the two most important parishes. Early in 1788, just as Parr was unsettling the parishioners of St. Paul's (Halifax) with his pretensions, the death of George Bisset, rector of Saint John, gave Inglis his first chance to fill a New Brunswick parish. The vacancy at Saint John alarmed him, both because it was "universally allowed to be the largest [congregation] in the four remaining British Provinces" and because it coincided with the presence of a Calvinist Methodist preacher who proved so popular that a party formed in the congregation to have him made the new rector.[13] The fact that upwards of a year would pass between Bisset's

12 The formal process whereby a man became rector of a parish was complex. It involved, in order: a "title" (i.e., promise of financial support, usually from the SPG); episcopal ordination; episcopal licence; presentation (i.e., nomination); institution (i.e., investiture by the bishop with the "Spiritual Cure" of souls in the parish); and induction (i.e., symbolic delivery to the temporal aspects of rectorship). The licence, certificate of institution and bishop's mandate for induction issued on Mather Byles's appointment to the parish of Saint John are preserved in Inglis's Act Book: MG1, Vol. 1688A, PANS. Related documents are in F67, New Brunswick Museum [hereafter NBM].

13 Byles to SPG, 24 June 1796, as summarized in SPG Journals: Reel A-157, Public Archives of Canada [PAC]. Disappointment over Inglis's refusal even to consider ordaining the preacher motivated the famous slander concerning the bishop and a Saint John prostitute: A.G. Condon, "John Caleff," *DCB*, V, 134.

death and Mather Byles's induction--while the bishop engaged in awkward trans-Atlantic negotiations with the SPG, the governor and the vestry--affords a practical indication of how little independence of action Inglis had.

Governor and bishop met on the presentation issue in the summer of 1788. Carleton took the traditional view that the right of presentation was in the Crown, and Inglis did not so much dissuade him as bring him to see that it was politically imprudent to insist on it to the exclusion of the congregation. "[T]aking from them wholly the right of presenting or recommending their Ministers," the bishop urged, "would alienate their minds and injure the Church." Inglis did not secure the right of congregational presentation of rectors, but he did win Carleton's agreement to solicit the vestry's "recommendation" of a candidate for the vacancy, whom Carleton would then routinely present.[14] Unexpectedly the problem recurred in 1795 when the death of Samuel Cooke, the venerable rector of Fredericton and commissary for New Brunswick, presented Inglis with an opportunity to insinuate his prospective son-in-law into the parish. Carleton acquiesced in the bishop's lobbying, but absolutely declined to receive a representation from the vestry formally recommending Pidgeon for the post. By 1795 Carleton's regime was entering a profound political crisis generated in great measure by the governor's determination to view those who criticized him as infected with the principles of the American and French revolutions. Just as the negotiations over Pidgeon were taking place, the "whole country" was in a "violent ferment" in anticipation of a general election which Carleton's regime would resoundingly lose. Intensely fearful of anything that smacked of democracy, Carleton now declined to allow the vestry even a recommendatory role in the choice of its rector. As Inglis, himself no democrat, recorded with surprise,

> the Governor would not admit of their recommendation, as in some former cases, fearing the precedent might lead to an opinion that the people had a Right to recommend, without which a Clergyman could not be fixed in a Parish; and this might lead farther to popular Elections of Clergymen, a thing much to be avoided at present.

14 Inglis Journal, 9 Aug. 1788 (recounting the resolution Inglis hoped he had achieved); Inglis to SPG, 6 Nov. 1788 (describing the solution actually implemented in Byles's case): PANS.

Inglis thought Carleton's fears "not well founded" but, "perceiving. . . that I should carry my point in fixing M'r Pidgeon," let the matter drop.[15] Thus, despite serious disagreements, Inglis and Carleton were able to resolve their differences in a discreet and amicable way that utterly eluded Inglis and the peevish, insecure Parr.

In two other matters the official careers of Carleton and Inglis intersected, both involving the bishop's attempts to shore up the *de facto* establishment of the Church of England. Inglis had not yet been appointed in 1786 when the New Brunswick Assembly enacted its anaemic *Act for preserving the Church of England*. Its effect was to accord a symbolic rather than practical pre-eminence to the Anglican Church, and even in these terms it was less emphatic than the equivalent legislation in Nova Scotia.[16] When, therefore, New Brunswick's draught *Marriage Act* was referred to Inglis for comment in 1789, he determined to use the opening to gain some of the practical advantages of establishment conspicuously absent from the *Act for preserving the Church of England*. The proposed marriage legislation, following the practice of New England and Nova Scotia, allowed justices of the peace and any person in "Holy Orders" to solemnize marriage. Inglis, who had already decided that the Nova Scotian marriage law was objectionably liberal, remonstrated so strongly against the New Brunswick measure as to cause its entire abandonment. In restrained but self-confident language he reminded Carleton that the bill accorded no pre-eminence to the supposedly "established" Church of England, that it allowed "trading" magistrates to marry even where Anglican clergymen were resident, and that its "Holy Orders" provision was so vague as to accommodate even New Light preachers:

> New and Whimsical Sects are daily springing up and the Preachers, or as they call themselves, *the ministers* of those Sects will take advantage of the Law, where it is obscure or dubious, & undertake to Solemnize marriages,

15 Inglis Journal, 18 and 21 Aug. 1795: PANS. On subsequent presentation controversies see T.W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community* (Toronto, 1985), p. 129. Representatives of the Crown continued to exercise the right of presentation to all New Brunswick rectories until it was removed by statute in 1869; the issue is canvassed in *Doe d. St. George's Church* v. *Cougle & Mayes* (1870) 12 N.B.R. 96.

16 The history of the *Act for preserving the Church of England* is discussed in Bell, "Religious Liberty and Protestant Dissent in Loyalist New Brunswick, 1784-1815," *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, XXXVI (1987).

> to the great Injury of Society. Several instances of this Sort exist in Nova Scotia at present.[17]

Carleton was himself completely in accord, and in 1791 he secured passage of a *Marriage Act* which largely confined the privilege of solemnizing marriage to Anglican clergy. Thereby the bishop's tenacity won for the Church in New Brunswick a key instance of practical establishment that it was never able to secure in Nova Scotia.

Inglis had less success in prodding Carleton's regime into granting the Church adequate glebes. When Inglis arrived in New Brunswick in 1788, he discovered with concern that government surveyors had generally ignored instructions to reserve glebes in every parish for the use and support of the Church of England. Naively he supposed that by drawing Carleton's attention to the defect it would be remedied. On his 1792 visit he learned that, while there were now glebes in two-thirds of the 37 parishes, "some. . . are so bad a quality as to be incapable of cultivation; &. . . others are so remote from the Churches to which they belong, that the Incumbents can derive little or no benefit from them." [18] One case in point was that of the rector of St. Andrews, who ministered, at least theoretically, to all of the parishes of Charlotte County. The glebe in St. Andrews was "in the northern extremity" of the parish and "incapable of answering the end of its appropriation" ; the glebe in the parish of St. Stephen was "burnt land, not worth a farthing" ; the ample glebe reserved in St. George was "an impenetrable swamp" ; in the parishes of St. David, St. Patrick and West Isles there were no glebes at all.[19]

Frustrated that the interests of the Church were being disregarded and spurred by the extensive land reservations made by the British government for support of clergy in the Canadas, Inglis renewed his plea for adequate glebes and hinted to the Archbishop of Canterbury that it would be desirable

17 Inglis, "Observations on a Bill for regulating marriages in the Province of New Brunswick," 20 Oct. 1789, in Inglis to Carleton, 24 Oct. 1789: Lawrence Collection (Chipman Papers), MG 23 D1, Vol. 7, PAC. The complicated legislative history of the *Marriage Act* is outlined more fully in Bell, "Religious Liberty and Protestant Dissent."

18 Inglis to Carleton, 24 July 1792: F67, NBM.

19 Samuel Andrews's glebe report, 25 Sept. 1793, summarized in Inglis Journal, 29 Aug. 1798: PANS.

if the British government gave Carleton "more peremptory instructions on this point." [20] Yet as late as 1798 Inglis was unable to report much improvement. Carleton and Odell always answered criticism by maintaining that the settlement surveys which left the Church without opportunity for centrally-located glebes took place while New Brunswick was still part of Nova Scotia. This, however, does not explain why the Church was not awarded glebes out of the vast number of farms escheated back to the Crown in the late 1780s and early 1790s. The persistent failure of Carleton's regime to provide extensive or even adequate glebes is a practical example of the conspicuous failure of the governing élite to take decisive steps to lay a firm foundation for the Church. In this, as in many respects, the province's appointed rulers proved remarkably irresolute in implementing their boasted intention of giving New Brunswick the "most Gentlemanlike" constitution "on Earth." [21]

In repeatedly tackling the glebe issue, in pressing Carleton for a politically astute *modus vivendi* on the nomination of rectors and in securing a quasi-establishment through the *Marriage Act*, Inglis displayed what some would see as an uncharacteristic vigour. His willingness to assert himself against the governor on these issues in particular reflects the bishop's characterization of his role as that of a "pioneer," which in its original military sense meant one who lays down infrastructure for the benefit of those who come after.[22] In labouring to secure a legal near-monopoly of solemnizing marriages, glebes for the future financial support of the clergy and a convention on selection of rectors, Inglis was acting to ease the way of his successors in vital matters which, if neglected, would likely prove irremediable. If Inglis's success was incomplete, it had more to do with the failure of colonial governments to promote the Anglican design and the feeble powers entrusted to the colonial bishop than to the bishop's personal failings.

---

20 Inglis to Canterbury, 26 Nov. 1792: Inglis Papers, PANS. For similar difficulties over glebes in Nova Scotia, see Fingard, *Anglican Design*, pp. 82-88.

21 Winslow to Chipman, 7 July 1783: Winslow Papers, University of New Brunswick. Ann Condon aptly characterizes the élite's approach to the Church as a "combination of interest and ennui" : *Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1984), p. 184.

22 "I really consider myself somewhat in the light of a *pioneer*, to remove obstacles and smooth the way for my successors" : Inglis to Canterbury, 1 Mar. 1788: Inglis Papers, PANS.

Maps, this page and facing, taken from the 1820 *Report* of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. *Photographed by Christine Callaghan.*


The PROVINCE of
NOVA SCOTIA,
Including
its Islands of
PRINCE EDWARD, CAPE BRETON
and
NEWFOUNDLAND.
British Statute Miles
NORTHUMBERLAND
NEW
YORK
BRUNSWICK
WESTMORELAND
CUMBERLAND
QUEENS
SUNBURY
YORK
CHARLOTTE
KING'S
ST JOHN
BAY OF FUNDY
HALIFAX
SHELBURNE
QUEENS
LUNENBURG
ANNAPOLIS
DIGBY
HORTON
FALMOUTH
WINDSOR
ARGYLE
BARRINGTON
LIVERPOOL
A T L

Although a review of Inglis's career acquits him of the charge that he "neglected" New Brunswick, it does seem likely that the Church would have prospered more than in any of the other British American provinces had Inglis been resident in the colony. In 1795, for example, the SPG missionary at St. Andrews lamented that Inglis had never found time to visit Charlotte County. The mere presence of a bishop, Samuel Andrews urged, would be a check to the "visionary Folly" of the New Lights and promote a more "rational and regular" Christianity.[23] Andrews's complaint was addressed not to the bishop himself but to the SPG, and the inference is strong that its object was not so much to secure an episcopal visit as to promote the idea that New Brunswick should have a bishop of its own. That is just what all concerned had contemplated in 1787, when Inglis was appointed bishop of Nova Scotia for life and, in a separate patent, given ecclesiastical jurisdiction over New Brunswick, Quebec and Newfoundland only during pleasure, until they should be "divided or formed into Dioceses or Bishop's sees" of their own.[24] That this was not accomplished for upwards of half a century is yet another aspect of the general failure of the original Loyalist élite vision for New Brunswick.

The first such agitation from New Brunswick came as early as 1791 when all but one of the clergy, reciting the "great Need of a resident Bishop in this Province," petitioned Carleton to take steps to secure a local bishop "to supply the wants, and administer to the real Necessities of the Church."[25] The governor was said to have "highly approved" of the initiative, but his Council thought it "not seasonable" to press the matter.[26] In 1794 the rector of Gagetown thought that "at the close of the war, we shall expect a Bishop,

23 Andrews to SPG, 12 Oct. 1795: SPG Papers, Reel 10007, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick [hereafter PANB]. It appears that Inglis never did visit Charlotte County or the Miramichi.

24 Inglis's patent as bishop of "Nova Scotia, and its Dependencies" (i.e., Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island) is printed in C.W. Vernon, *Bicentenary Sketches and Early Days of the Church of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1910), pp. 248-52. The patent giving him "jurisdiction, spiritual and ecclesiastical" over New Brunswick is quoted in R.V. Harris, *Charles Inglis: Missionary, Loyalist, Bishop (1734-1816)* (Toronto, 1937), p. 74. Thus New Brunswick was never "part of" the diocese of Nova Scotia.

25 Memorial of the Clergy in Convocation, 7 Oct. 1791: F67, NBM. The missing signature was that of Mather Byles, who had not opposed Inglis's original appointment.

26 Clarke to Peters, 28 Oct. 1791; Clarke to Peters, 2 Nov. 1792: Samuel Peters Papers, PANS.

or shall push hard for one," [27] and the year following the rector of St. Andrews made his appeal to the SPG in terms already noted. But few of the petitioners of 1791 would themselves live to the end of the war to resume campaigning for a resident bishop, and none long enough to see the new diocese created. Not until 1819 did New Brunswick renew its claim for a bishop. A similar petition was submitted in 1832, and it was 1845 before the separation expressly contemplated at Inglis's appointment in 1787 was actually undertaken.[28]

The clergy who subscribed the 1791 petition for a New Brunswick bishop carefully professed to "admire the activity and revere the amiable Character of the Prelate in the Neighbouring Province." Possibly their claim was sincere, for we have no other indication of how the clergy or indeed the provincial élite viewed Inglis after the commencement of his episcopate. Just four years earlier, however, most of the New Brunswick clergy had viewed the prospect of Inglis's appointment with emphatic distaste. In 1787 Samuel Andrews was "persuaded [that] nothing could throw a greater damp upon the Ch'h here than to have Inglis come out as a Bish'p for it." [29] Richard Clarke of Gagetown judged that "perhaps three Quarters of the People of New Brunswick" viewed the prospect of an Inglis episcopate with disfavour, himself not excepted.[30] John Beardsley of Maugerville, James Scovil of Kingston and George Bisset of Saint John opposed Inglis. Andrews, Clarke, Scovil and, presumably, Bisset, appointed a meeting for Saint John in the summer of 1787 to concert plans for a representation to the Archbishop of Canterbury in terms that would discourage any plan to send out Inglis.[31]

---

27 Clarke to Peters, 10 May 1794: Samuel Peters Papers, PANS.

28 Thomas Millman outlines the later efforts to secure a New Brunswick bishop in his succinct and reliable *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church* (Toronto, 1983), p. 146.

29 Andrews to Peters, 15 Oct. 1787: Samuel Peters Papers, PANS.

30 Clarke to Peters, 27 Oct. 1787; Clarke to Peters, 22 June 1787: Samuel Peters Papers, PANS.

31 Clarke to Peters, 3 Nov. 1787; Andrews to Peters, 22 Aug. 1787: Samuel Peters Papers, PANS. Only two of the SPG missionaries in New Brunswick are not known to have actually opposed Inglis: Samuel Cooke of Fredericton, who evidently kept a prudent silence, and John Eagleson, the pre-Loyalist missionary of the remote Cumberland (Amherst-Sackville) region, who was regarded as belonging to Nova Scotia and whose view would not, in any event, have been sought by the Loyalist clergy of the St. John valley.

Part of their opposition was owing to mere jealousy at the fact that Inglis, who began life with few advantages, had managed to scramble into the circle of influence and power in British-occupied New York and in London. Loyalists as a class were acutely sensitive to the fact that in the general shipwreck of fortunes in the Revolution, a few had actually bettered themselves.[32] It must have vexed the Loyalist clergy to think that one who had passed the years of turmoil in comparative comfort and safety at New York might be preferred above those who had daily suffered at the hands of the Patriots. Moreover, most of the New Brunswick clergy were from New England and would naturally have preferred a familiar, New England face in the unfamiliar role of bishop to a relative stranger. As a matter of course, however, London appointed Inglis without reference to the opinions of obscure missionaries in obscure settlements, and the clergy of New Brunswick joined their brethren in Nova Scotia in pledging allegiance to the new order.

Despite their initial estimate of Inglis, the bishop's professed view of his New Brunswick clergy was distinctly favourable. He gave mixed reviews to the clergy among whom he lived in Nova Scotia and was disappointed with the missionaries in Lower Canada. In contrast, in 1792 he publicly commended the "exemplary conduct, diligence and faithful services of the Clergy of New-Brunswick," while privately emphasizing that these were his "real sentiments" and were "perfectly sincere." [33] Six years later he could still pronounce them a "worthy, respectable body of men, of good moral[s] & exemplary lives, diligent in the discharge of their clerical duty, & beloved & respected by their congregations." [34] No doubt Inglis's favourable perception of the New Brunswick clergy was coloured by the fact that all those he encountered at his first visitation in 1788 were Loyalists in mid-career, on whose judgement and probity he assumed he could rely. These transplanted missionaries, soon augmented by the ordination of Oliver Arnold and Frederick Dibblee, formed the stable core of the New Brunswick clergy

32 For example, see Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John* (Fredericton, 1983), pp. 124-125.

33 *Halifax Gazette*, 11 Sept. 1792; Inglis to SPG, 15 Oct. 1792; Inglis to Canterbury, 26 Nov. 1792: Inglis Papers, PANS.

34 Inglis Journal, 18 Aug. 1798: PANS.

throughout most of Inglis's episcopate. Whatever their shortcomings, they proved more reliable than many of the pre-Loyalist clergy Inglis inherited in Nova Scotia, and none ever caused mischief comparable to the Panton-Walter rivalry at Shelburne or Ranna Cossit's politicking in Sydney. The factors which did tend to lessen the effectiveness of the New Brunswick clergy were, apart from the special case of John Eagleson, generic rather than spectacular and fall for discussion under three heads: poverty, immorality and ill-health.

Most New Brunswick clergy drew stipends from two sources--a grant from the SPG, which in the 1780s was typically £50, sometimes less, and an allowance of £100 from the British government. This was not a large annual sum in an economy where common labourers received high wages, but it did provide two collateral advantages: access to hard cash in a cash-scarce economy, and ready credit through borrowing against the security of the next remittance from London. Beyond this, missionaries could count on some fees for solemnizing marriages and were technically entitled to a parsonage house and income from the parish glebe. This last was, of course, insignificant in the Loyalist period, and it is doubtful if more than a couple of missionaries had access to a decent parsonage except where--as at Saint John in Mather Byles's time--one was rented for them.[35] Those missionaries who arrived in the 1780s, before there was any hope of a parsonage, necessarily settled on their own land grants and built their own houses for the ultimate benefit of their heirs, rather than improving a glebe and a parsonage for their clerical successors. Richard Clarke and James Scovil were even so bold as to expend government money intended for parsonages on improving their private houses; Samuel Cooke spent the Fredericton share on the house rent.[36] Settled in their own houses on their own farms and tenured essentially for life, most clergy aspired to the lifestyle of a gentleman

35 Exceptions were Saint John, where a parsonage was built at public expense for John Sayre in the summer of 1783 but soon sold; St. Andrews, where there was a glebe house by 1792; and Maugerville, where two successive parsonages were erected.

36 Inglis Journal, 26 July, 4 and 8 Aug. 1792: PANS; Cooke to SPG, 16 Oct. 1787: SPG Transcripts, Shelf 46, NBM.

farmer.[37] In the extensive journal kept by the "very pleasant Gentlemanly" missionary at Woodstock, the rhythms of farming and family are the organizing themes. The Church and the deity are scarcely mentioned.[38]

Only one of the Inglis-era Loyalist clergy considered himself in tolerably easy financial circumstances. Various members of Mather Byles's family boasted to their Boston connections that their income was "sufficient for the[ir] easy maintenance" and "liberal!". Their only complaint was that the "visiting & visittationing [*sic*]" of Saint John's frantic social scene was "sufficient to turn one's brain." [39] In contrast to the fortunate Byles, whose income was supplemented by extensive marriage fees and a garrison chaplaincy, Gagetown's Richard Clarke was "fully convinced"that the "utmost frugality & industry" would be insufficient for the support of his family of thirteen.[40] Like his brethren Andrews and Scovil, he put off cutting his ties with Connecticut until the latest possible moment, hoping somehow to escape the hardship of beginning life anew in the wilderness.[41] Apart from John Sayre, all of the Connecticut missionaries were to live long enough to recoup their fortunes, but it was not so for those who had the ill-luck to die pre-

37 Two of the parochial clergy during Inglis's episcopate rose sufficiently into the squirearchy to be appointed magistrates: George Pidgeon of Fredericton in 1803, and Oliver Arnold of Sussex Vale in 1808. On Arnold as magistrate, see W.O. Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers* (Saint John, 1901), p. 610. There was no further such appointment until Jerome Alley's in 1821.

38 Richard Parr Journal, 8 Oct. 1820: PAC; Frederick Dibblee Journal: NBM. Parts of the excellent Dibblee journal not now extant are printed in Raymond, *Centennial Commemoration of Frederick Dibblee*, pp. 24-25.

39 Byles to Byles, 28 Aug. 1788; 28 Oct. and 15 June 1789: Byles Transcripts, MG23 D6, Vols. 1-3, PAC. One of Anna Byles's brilliant accounts of Saint John society contains the earliest known usage of the term "gregory" in the sense of an evening party: "M'rs [Elizabeth] Chipman['s] best respects, & hopes to have the favor of the Ladys companys[*sic*] to a hot water gregory on Tuesday": Byles to Byles, 15 June 1789. The earliest usage recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is not until 1804, again from New Brunswick.

40 Clarke to Peters, 30 June 1791: Samuel Peters Papers, PAC.

41 The [Saint John] *Royal Gazette* of 23 May 1786 notices the arrival of the three Connecticut missionaries, but none remained for the winter. Indeed, all met in convention with Bishop Seabury's clergy in February 1787: Cameron, *Church of England in Pre-Revolutionary Connecticut*, p. 237. Not until the spring of that year did they finally resign themselves to living out their days on British stipends in the wilds of New Brunswick; there is even some suggestion that Scovil wintered in Connecticut in 1787-88: Cameron, p. 293.

maturely. At George Bisset's unexpected death in 1788 he left his family "so poor that he was buried at the expense of the parish" ; when Samuel Cooke drowned in 1795 his widow and unmarried daughters were left in great distress.[42] Even those clergy who lived to a venerable age spent most of their careers on the edge of insolvency. The case of Frederick Dibblee, missionary to Woodstock and three other parishes, was probably typical rather than extreme. In 1802 Bishop Inglis pronounced him an "indifferent economist." Nine years later, pleading with the SPG not to stop Dibblee's salary on account of his overdrawing, the bishop outlined Dibblee's financial predicament in terms that must have been apt for most parochial clergy:

> He is encumbered with a large family and not overburdened with economy. His creditors are numerous and often clamorous for payments which he is unable to make. . . . The Society have it in their power to stop his salary to the amount of what he should refund, but this would scarcely fail of being ruinous to him and his family. His creditors would instantly strip [him] of everything. Their forebearance hitherto has been solely owing to their prospect of reimbursement from his salary.[43]

Much more fortunate was Oliver Arnold of Sussex Vale. Like Dibblee, Arnold was among the first to be ordained by Inglis himself and, like his Woodstock counterpart, his initial financial support derived from an appointment by the New England Company as instructor to Indians; an SPG stipend and government allowance followed. These proved insufficient in the early years of his mission to keep Arnold from accumulating heavy debts, which by 1804 totalled about £250.[44] But unlike Dibblee, who had to trust to a farm and children to supply comforts in his old age, Arnold was handed a remarkable opportunity to make his fortune, when in 1807 the New England Company decided to strengthen its educational effort through an extensive system of apprenticing young Indians to white families in the vicinity of Sussex and Kingston. For keeping an Indian boy or

42 Inglis to SPG, 28 June 1788; Inglis Journal, 17 Aug. 1795: Inglis Papers, PANS.

43 Inglis to SPG, 24 Mar. 1802, as summarized in SPG Journals, 18 June 1802: Reel A-158, PAC; Inglis to SPG, 22 Jan. 1811: Inglis Papers, PANS. Samuel Andrews's financial woes are still similarly detailed in several turn-of-the-century letters to the SPG: SPG Papers, Reel 10007, PANB.

44 Inglis Journal, 8 Aug. 1804: PANS.

girl until age 21, whites received £20 per year and the child's labour. Elias Scovil, missionary assistant to his dying father at Kingston, was one major beneficiary of the largesse, drawing Company pay both for ministering to Indians and for keeping apprentices.

Scovil's profiteering was modest, however, compared to the shameless spoliation of Oliver Arnold. In addition to his missionary stipends from the SPG, the British government and the New England Company, Arnold kept "apprentices" himself as well as binding others out to his unmarried daughters, sons and sons-in-law. At £20 per child per year, Arnold was thus able to give himself an enormous cash supplement to his income until the Company abandoned New Brunswick in disgust in the 1820s. Judith Fingard characterized Arnold's central role in the sad fiasco of the Indian philanthropy in terms of "incompetence," but this is too kind. Even John Coffin, who did not hesitate to engross his own share of the spoils, condemned Arnold's behaviour as "rapacious in the extreme." Not content like Coffin with moderate exploitation of undeserved good fortune, Arnold abused his trust like "a mad dog after his prey." [45] Arnold had no interest in being "competent." He saw the New England Company's charity as an opening to turn his clerical status into ready cash, just as Mather Byles held a sinecure in his garrison chaplaincy and George Pidgeon had his sinecure as chaplain to the House of Assembly. In the scramble to live like a gentleman and stave off creditors, such collateral advantages to clerical office could not be ignored.

More than just financial advantages were available to masters of the Indian apprentices in Sussex Vale and Kingston, though no misconduct is known to have been alleged against Oliver Arnold personally.[46] There were, however, at least six occasions in which Inglis was called on to investigate

45 Judith Fingard, "The New England Company and the New Brunswick Indians, 1786-1826: A Comment on the Colonial Perversion of British Benevolence," *Acadiensis*, I, 2 (1972), 36-37.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

charges of a scandalous nature against one of his New Brunswick clergy.[47] By far the most serious, and the only one Inglis handled personally, was the first: that against John Eagleson in 1789-90 for habitual drunkenness and neglect of duty.[48] Although the centre of his mission was just inside the New Brunswick-Nova Scotia border, Eagleson was a clerical hold-over from pre-partition days and met in visitation with the clergy of the peninsula rather than the St. John valley, He was not, therefore really regarded as a New Brunswick missionary. All other complaints related to clergy in the St. John valley, and were investigated through Inglis's commissary or a committee of clergy.

- In 1795 Benjamin Griffith, one of the leading laymen in Woodstock parish, charged Frederick Dibblee with dishonesty and oppressive financial transactions with his poor neighbours. The Dibblee-Griffith affair lasted ten years and climaxed when each sued the other for defamation. In 1795 Inglis was preparing to send an investigatory committee to Woodstock but took no action when he learned that the vestry had, to an extent, exonerated Dibblee.[49]
- Between 1790 and 1798 James Jones, a Welsh priest, first assumed Eagleson's charge in Cumberland, then itinerated on the Miramichi, then ministered in Norton. In 1796, while at Norton, he was charged with misbehaviour in his work on the Miramichi, and in 1798 he was accused of fornication with two Kings County women. The bishop's investigators found no truth in the

47 From this reckoning I except the scandals attaching to John James and James Bisset. James was the Calvinist Methodist preacher whose activity after George Bisset's death divided the parish of Saint John and gave rise to the slander against Inglis mentioned above in note 13. A bizarre train of events subsequently led the Anglicans of Sheffield to recommend him to Inglis for ordination in 1792, but the bishop prudently delayed and James soon departed for New York: Inglis Journal, 14 July, 8 and 17 Aug. 1792: PANS. For the scandalous aspect of his conduct see D. Bell, ed., *Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis* (Saint John, 1984), pp. 70-71, 138. James Bisset's problem was intemperance. In the summer of 1811 Inglis learned that the young rector of Maugerville had been a drunkard for years. Whether he took any step beyond rousing Commissary Pidgeon to his duty is not clear, but in 1813 he could declare that Bisset had reformed: Inglis to Pidgeon, 19 Oct. 1812; Inglis to SPG, 18 Aug. 1813: Inglis Papers, PANS.

48 Inglis Journal, 26 Aug., 12 Sept., 1 Oct. 1789; 16-17 June 1790: PANS. Judith Fingard wrote that Inglis proceeded against Eagleson "summarily" (*Anglican Design*, p. 59), but the evidence of his journal and his Act Book (Vol. 1688A, PANS) shows that he proceeded only with reluctance and great care.

49 Inglis Journal, 17 and 18 Aug. 1795: PANS.

charges, but Inglis regarded Jones as such a gullible, uncouth character that in 1798 he instructed him to teach school at Kingston under the eye of James Scovil. Inglis never mentioned Jones again, but from other sources we know that he bolted to the Wesleyans, who soon dropped him.[50]

– In 1798 charges of a presumably sexual nature were lodged against another Welsh clergyman, Walter Price, the former rector of St. John's, who had removed to St. Mary's-Nashwaak in 1790. To prevent their investigation he resigned.[51]

– In 1799 John Beardsley, the 67-year-old rector of Maugerville, married a fifth wife without having been careful to learn whether he was yet divorced or widowed from his fourth. Inglis was astonished that a senior Loyalist clergyman could have stumbled so badly. He ordered Beardsley and his new wife to separate and, though inclined to attribute his lapse to dotage rather than depravity, secured his resignation in 1801.[52]

Clerical misbehaviour was a problem for all Maritime religious alignments in the Loyalist period.[53] Certainly Inglis's New Brunswick clergy were not below the general standard in outward morality. The three worst cases (Eagleson and the two Welshmen) were handled with reasonable dispatch, and the fact that they involved non—Loyalists tended to confirm Inglis's high opinion of the Loyalist core of his New Brunswick clergy. Even John Beardsley's remarkable stumble was largely discharged of its disruptive potential by his advanced age and generally fair character.

Taking Inglis's 29-year episcopate as a whole, the factor that most discernibly limited the effectiveness of the parochial clergy was ill-health. Most of the Loyalist core of the clergy came to the colony in the later years of their middle age and continued to serve long past the point where their

50 Bell, *Newlight Baptist Journals*, pp. 226-27; Inglis Journal, 17 Aug. 1798: PANS.

51 Inglis to SPG, 1 Mar. 1798; Inglis Journal, 7 Aug. 1798: PANS.

52 Alexander Pincombe, "John Beardsley," *DCB*, V, 58.

53 Terrence Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism, 1781-1830," *Acadiensis*, XII, 2 (1984, 35-37; Bell, *Newlight Baptist Journals*, p. 254; Fingard, *Anglican Design*, pp. 58-62.

work was curtailed by natural infirmity.[54] Samuel Cooke was already 62 when his New Brunswick journey began. Much enfeebled by "stone," he was still in service when he drowned a decade later. Samuel Andrews was 49 and paralyzed when he took up his mission at St. Andrews. Though he enjoyed considerable recovery for a time, he was unequal to the demands of his vast mission long before his death at age 81. James Scovil began his New Brunswick career at age 53; John Beardsley was 51; Mather Byles was 54. They served until ages 75, 69 and 79 respectively. Scovil was completely without the use of his limbs during the last five years of his mission. Similarly, Byles was half blind and almost continuously sick for several years before his death. The record for long service was probably held by Richard Clarke, who was about 48 on arrival and in his mid-eighties when he died. Even Arnold and Dibblee, the cadets of the Loyalist clergy, were not ordained until their thirties and served well into their seventies.

The Loyalist clergy knew that, both for better and for worse, they held office practically for life. Even in a case so extreme as that of Eagleson, Bishop Inglis was loathe to deprive a clergyman of his livelihood and even went so far as to solicit an allowance for Eagleson's wife. Because the eighteenth-century world had a quasi-proprietorial view of office--that once attained it was held for life--it is not surprising to see how often the New Brunswick clergy tried to hand their "property" down to a son. Most of the Loyalist missionaries had large families and were correspondingly hard-pressed to place sons in respectable situations.[55] The clerical profession, if not lucrative, was at least gentlemanly and carried a regular salary. Because the SPG and the bishop took the view that such nepotism was entirely proper, father/son patterns among the New Brunswick clergy were commonplace. Inglis himself set quite an example. The son of a clergyman, he had the satisfaction of ordaining a nephew, a son and a prospective son-in-law. The son became his Nova Scotia commissary. So long as his relatives were

54 By referring to the Loyalist "core" of the clergy I thereby except John Sayre and George Bisset (who died early in their New Brunswick careers), James Sayre (who returned to New England after his brother's death), Eagleson, the two Welsh rogues (who served only from 1790 to 1798) and the three Anglicans in orders (John Agnew, Jonathan Odell, David Owen) who generally did not exercise their vocations in New Brunswick.

55 Andrews had 6 children, Beardsley had 10, Byles had 13, Clarke had 11, Sayre had 8, Scovil had 8, Arnold had 7, Dibblee had 10 (totals are necessarily approximate).

competent the bishop used his influence and patronage to favour them, and he accepted the same practice among his clergy. Most missionaries appointed sons or nephews as SPG schoolmasters, and most sought to have this followed by ordination. The Scovil family is the best known example. Father, son and grandson were successive rectors of Kingston for ninety years. During James Scovil's long illness in the 1800s, his son Elias was incumbent of the parish in all but name. Oliver Arnold succeeded in placing two sons in the ministry. George Bisset's early death and impoverished circumstances meant that his son James was at once marked out for future ordination as a sort of pension for the widow. Richard Clarke, when already past 70, boldly gave up his old mission and moved to the frontier parish of St. Stephen so that his son Samuel could succeed to the desirable living in Gagetown. Frederick Dibblee, himself the son of an SPG missionary, repeatedly tried to effect a similar scheme for a son at Woodstock, with himself moving up to the Military Settlement. The SPG always declined, however, citing the younger Dibblee's inadequate education. Samuel Andrews and John Beardsley also gave notice that they had sons intended for the Church but, like Dibblee, their plans went awry. Andrews's son became impatient with the long wait for a mission to open and went into trade; Beardsley's son was offered a mission, but the financial terms were such that he turned it down. By these various strategies the Loyalist clergy, like Bishop Inglis himself, used their influence to secure dynastic support as they sank under the burdens of age.

W.O. Raymond never allowed himself to address the question whether the Anglican Church in Loyalist New Brunswick was to be accounted a "failure." The present *tour d'horizon* does not repair that omission, but it may suggest that there is something new to be learned on so familiar a topic by stepping back from the parochial minutiae and taking a broader view of the forces at work. The New Brunswick clergy in the Loyalist era were generally men past their prime engaged in an intense search to regain personal security in a world turned upside down by revolution and exile. Their public concern was the encouragement of loyalty, outward sobriety and inward piety. To reproach them for failure to carry the gospel from one smokey cabin to another is to suppose that they could transcend the presuppositions of their time and class and the frailties of old age. It is also to forget that the Anglican appeal lay not in the drama of instantaneous conversion, but in the solid satisfactions of decorous and regular public

worship. The habits of the Anglican heart were instilled and sustained by an unvarying pattern of worship which largely precluded itineracy. Where the clergy were able to preach constantly they laid the foundation for extensive parishes which, with hardly an exception, lasted across two centuries and exerted a regularizing influence out of all proportion to numbers. Like his missionaries, Charles Inglis schemed to build family security while laying down a firm institutional foundation for the future prosperity of the Church. To the extent he succeeded he did so through the force of personality and the aura of episcopal office, for his practical power was very limited. To the extent Inglis failed it had much to do with the unwillingness of Thomas Carleton and his circle to be energetic partners in the task, and symbolizes the general failure of the original élite vision for Loyalist New Brunswick.

Charles Inglis and John Wesley: Church of England and Methodist Relations in Nova Scotia in the Late Eighteenth Century

Allen B. Robertson

The death of Charles Inglis in 1816 brought to a close the first important phase of episcopal history in Nova Scotia. Appointed in 1787 as the first bishop of the Church of England in British North America, he had sought to revitalize, organize and increase the influence of the Church within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, most notably in his adopted province.[1] Indeed, the Anglican Church had attained a greater degree of unity and direction by the early nineteenth century. However, this was achieved only with competition from other sects or denominations whose adherents together always outnumbered the favoured Established Church. Foremost among its religious rivals, particularly in light of its affinity with Anglicanism, was the energetic Methodist sect-become-church founded by John Wesley.

Methodism reached Nova Scotia through immigration, primarily via the Yorkshiremen at the Isthmus of Chignecto during the 1770s, the Loyalist refugees of the 1780s, and the military personnel in the army and navy at Halifax.[2] During the late 1770s, William Black of Cumberland began to itinerate for the Methodist cause, following his own intense spiritual conversion.[3] He in turn succeeded, after starting a correspondence with him, in convincing John Wesley to take an interest in Nova Scotia and to promote a regular Wesleyan Methodist ministry in the province. Ironically, this was achieved two years prior to Inglis's elevation to a bishopric; the Methodists had, as a result, an early start in organizing their own plan for evangelization.

An outgrowth of Anglican evangelical pietism, Methodism long had a peculiar relationship with the Mother Church. Several of Wesley's Nova Scotian preachers and lay leaders had grown up within the Anglican Communion. Consequently, to examine the goals of and the relationship

1 The terms "Church of England," "Church," and "Anglican" are used interchangeably throughout this article, though "Anglican" was not regularly used till the late nineteenth century.

2 For more on these immigrants, see: W.C. Milner, "Records of Chignecto," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 15 (1911), 1-86; Marion Robertson, *King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1983); T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church within the territories embraced in the late conference of Eastern British America. . . .*, 2 vol. (Halifax, 1877-1890). Unfortunately, there has been no specific study of military personnel at Halifax with regard to their impact on religious or political developments in Nova Scotia.

3 Matthew Richey, *A Memoir of the late Rev. William Black, Wesleyan Minister* (Halifax, 1839).

between the two religious bodies is to study the unique roles of an energetic, ever independently-acting provincial Wesleyan community and a defensive, assertive Anglicanism. By the early nineteenth century, neither would be the principal denomination in the colony, yet each imparted a specific stamp on Nova Scotia's development, an imprint which time and demographic changes would not greatly alter.

The Church of England had gained a permanent hold in Nova Scotia with the fall of Port Royal in 1710 to New England and British forces. Renamed Annapolis Royal, the fortress town was the site of Anglican services, beginning in April of that year, when the garrison chaplain celebrated the liturgy in the former Catholic chapel.[4] Chaplains would serve at Annapolis Royal off and on until the 1760s, but no specific plan was formulated to provide permanency, even though the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the SPG) had some interest in the settlement.

Matters changed considerably with the founding of Halifax in 1749. The SPG entered the scene in a more organized fashion, through the close ties of its leaders with the new town's promoters.[5] Missionaries were provided for the English settlers, and some hope was entertained for the conversion of the Catholic Acadian population. Neither that hope, nor the attempt to gain or convert the German- and French-speaking immigrants of 1750-52, succeeded to any significant extent. Only with the arrival of hundreds of New Englanders in 1760-62 and the Yorkshiremen of the 1770s, was there a true possibility of increasing the number of Anglican adherents.

Most of the New England Planters belonged to non-Anglican sects which included Congregationalists, Baptists and the Society of Friends (Quakers). A long tradition of Congregational independency and a revitalized commitment to evangelical revivalism during the 1730s and 1740s in New England had established a strong aversion toward episcopacy. Yet the settlers, when deprived of adequate numbers of their own ministers, were willing to attend any available Protestant services.[6] Till the early 1800s it is

4 Thomas R. Millman and A.R. Kelley, *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church* (Toronto, 1983), p. 28.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

6 John B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia: A Marginal Colony during the Revolutionary Years* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 165-68.

observable that a broad segment of the Nova Scotian population was marked by an amazing indifference to strict doctrinal matters, and readily shifted from one sect to another. The early preachers of the period noted this unsettled allegiance; at no time, even with communion statistics, could they place the number of adherents for a particular religious group at a fixed number.[7] The settlers themselves at times blamed this situation on necessity. Congregationalists at Cornwallis in 1769 addressed an appeal to the Reverend Mr. Andrew Eliot of Boston for financial aid to enable them to keep the Reverend Phelps, who had advised them he would move for lack of income:

> And if we now part with our Minister (who Seams willing to tarry with us on very moderate terms) we of consequence In a Few years Shall all be Churchmen or Nothing. . . in point of Religion, as it Seams we shall be in no Condition to Cettle Another Minister.[8]

These circumstances might have favoured the Anglican Church if the SPG had expended special efforts to take advantage of the situation.[9]

The SPG did not, however, fill the colony with missionaries. Preoccupation with proposals to create a North American episcopate, and the turmoil of the American Revolution distracted attention and resulted in lost opportunity. Moreover, a convulsive religious fever known as Nova Scotia's "Great Awakening" drew away potential converts toward evangelist Henry Alline, his New Light ministerial colleagues and enthusiast followers.[10] One outcome was a further reinforcement of doctrinal indifference in favour of an experiential and emotional personal religion. A former member of the Reverend Jonathan Scott's orthodox, conservative Standing Order Church at Chebogue, when confronted by Alline's peculiar doctrinal speculations, summed up this prevalent attitude: "It was. . . no Matter of any great Consequence to him what a Man's Principles were, if he was but earnest

7 David G. Bell, ed., *The Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis* (Hantsport, N.S., 1984), pp. 11-12.

8 Cornwallis Congregational Church to Andrew Eliot, 8 Nov. 1769, printed in *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 4, 2nd ser. (1887-1889), p. 68.

9 Millman and Kelley, *Atlantic Canada*, p. 33.

10 See Maurice W. Armstrong, *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809* (Hartford, 1948), and J.M. Bumsted, *Henry Alline, 1748-1784* (Toronto, 1971).

in promoting a good Work." [11] It was the spread of popularity for experiential religion that opened the door for Methodism in a manner not readily available to the Church of England. It has even been suggested that the followers of Wesley were therefore perceived by the population as a variation of the New Light influence of the period.[12]

Perception by the people in general, and by the various religious leaders of each other, could either be acutely accurate or terribly misinformed. Lack of direct communication between rival sects and the spread of rumours or half-truths added to the confusion of the late eighteenth-century religious scene. Only with the maturation of organized networks of ministers and of an effective means of consistent sectarian propaganda (through centralized control of tracts and enforced conformity of preachers) could each group hope to consolidate gains and clearly set themselves off from rivals. The creation of the Anglican episcopate with Charles Inglis in a position to head the Nova Scotian Church, and the formation of a Methodist District Meeting initially established by Freeborn Garrettson marked two such phases.

It has been argued by Judith Fingard that Charles Inglis wanted to fulfil both SPG and British government plans to secure dominance for the Anglican Church in Nova Scotia, in order to foster loyalty to the Crown.[13] Inglis, a Tory polemicist in New York during the Revolution, had been well aware of the growing controversy centred on proposals for an Anglican episcopate in the colonies.[14] Echoing James I's declaration, "No bishop, no king," Tory propagandists promoted an American bishopric to bind Church and State closer together as one remedy for colonial democratic radicalism; in particular, non-conformity was held to have been a key element in Patriot ideology. Post-revolutionary Nova Scotia, a royal colony from its capture

11 Quoted in Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk, *A People Highly Favoured of God: The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution* (Toronto, 1972), p. 97.

12 Bell, *Newlight Baptist Journals*, pp. 8, 11-12.

13 Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783-1816* (London, 1972), pp. 26-38.

14 For an examination of this issue, see Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics 1689-1775* (New York, 1962); for Inglis as pamphleteer, see William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (Boston, 1964), pp. 74ff.

in 1710, already favoured the Anglican Church by statute. A bishop would further enhance the promotion of loyalty to the mother country.

On 12 August 1787 Charles Inglis, Loyalist clergyman, was consecrated at Lambeth Palace chapel as first bishop of Nova Scotia. Letters patent in the same month created the "Bishoprick of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies," wherein the bishop was to exercise spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[15] While this appeared to be a favourable beginning, the new diocesan jurisdiction was to be hampered for many years by a triple division of power. The Church under the Hanoverian kings of England was as much an institution of state as it was a religious body. In Nova Scotia the lieutenant-governor had been used to arbitrating local church disputes and acting as an informant for the SPG. Furthermore, the SPG, after Inglis's consecration, continued to pay missionaries' salaries, including those of several Loyalist refugee clergymen now resident in the province. Long accustomed to operating without centralized control, Nova Scotia's Anglican ministers balked at full submission to a bishop's directives. It would take time for Inglis to make episcopal visitation and government an acceptable part of Church life in the colony. Particularly when ministers' livings were not dependent on the bishop, discipline proved to be one of his main headaches.[16]

In spite of such problems, Inglis threw himself in earnest into the administration of his diocese. He sponsored and encouraged the erection of several new churches, completion of older structures, and the setting up of Church-run schools to further educate and wean the populace. Triennial visitations and publication of his addresses on these occasions made the episcopal presence more visible.[17] Inglis was especially anxious to counter New Light "enthusiasm" and the preachings of self-appointed prophets, both of which he viewed as disruptive of public order and not at all conducive to an ordered

15 Millman and Kelley, *Atlantic Canada*, p. 47. For an earlier biography of Inglis, see R.V. Harris, *Charles Inglis: Missionary, Loyalist, Bishop (1734-1816)* (Toronto, 1937). A new biography is in preparation by B.C. Cuthbertson.

16 Fingard, *Anglican Design*, p. 26.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 74. Examples of these early churches and a brief account of parish histories may be found in Allan Duffus *et al.*, *Thy Dwellings Fair: Churches of Nova Scotia 1750-1830* (Hantsport, N.S., 1982), and *Two Hundred and Fifty Years Young: Our Diocesan Story 1710-1960* (n.p., n.d.).

spirituality.[18] Inevitably this brought him into conflict with Methodism.

From his missionary days in Delaware, Charles Inglis had been much influenced by pietistic leanings. He had been initially favourable to Methodism as a regularized means of encouraging religious devotion. Preaching in 1764 at Trinity Church, New York (where he eventually was made rector) he declared, "I glory in being called a Methodist, for I am not ashamed of the cross of Christ." [19] Anglican mystic William Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1724) likewise left an impression on Inglis, as it had on so many others from John Wesley in England to Henry Alline in Nova Scotia. Nonetheless, evangelical though his piety may have been, Inglis was never to be identified as a Wesleyan: Arminianism and the de-emphasis of good works were not compatible with his orthodox Anglican beliefs.[20]

Although the office of bishop would compel him to be less open to other sects, and to uphold the full beliefs and rights of the Church of England, Inglis was known to have maintained cordial relations with Wesleyans during his days in New York. Among those Loyalists who moved to Nova Scotia and who had previously attended John Street Chapel in New York (the continent's first Wesleyan place of worship) were James Mann and Robert Barry. Both had known Inglis in his less formidable aspect. Mann had served as a clerk to Inglis, and would earn a living as a teacher in Nova Scotia before turning to the Methodist ministry.[21] Robert Barry had been an

18 "The Methodists and an enthusiastic Sect called New Lights, are very troublesom [*sic*] here [Granville, 1791] and at Annapolis. Among the Latter, a woman had lately pretend[ed] to prophecy. Among other things, she prophesied that on a certain day, the devil would come and carry off bodily a man in the neighbourhood, whom she named. The day came and elapsed and the man remained safe; yet the prophetess retained much of her credit and influence among her adherents." Inglis to Dr. Morice, 9 Nov. 1791, MG1, Vol. 479, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS]. See as well, Allen B. Robertson, "Legacy of Henry Alline: The Antinomian Challenge to New Lights in Nova Scotia," B.A. Hon. thesis, Acadia University, 1982. Antinomianism meant the belief in faith or spiritual rebirth as freeing one from moral law or outward conformity to social norms.

19 Quoted in B.C. Cuthbertson, "Charles Inglis: The Young Colonial Missionary," *Collections* of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, 42 (1986), 113.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 115. Arminianism was a free-will doctrine in opposition to Calvinistic or predestinarian teaching as espoused by Presbyterianism and implicit in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer.

21 Smith, *Methodist Church*, I, 172.

Anglican in England and New York. However, Methodism attracted him at an early age, and in time he would become a prominent Nova Scotian layman and correspondent of John Wesley.[22] While in New York, Barry and Inglis often discussed religious matters, even though the latter "was aware that while I was a regular Communicant in his Church, I was at [the] same time closely connected with the Wesleyan Society." [23]

Inglis thus was no stranger to Wesleyan Methodism, nor to some of its leading Nova Scotian proponents. In turn, the Methodists knew both the doctrines of Anglicanism and the character of the bishop at Halifax. Perhaps in part this intimate knowledge explained the mistrust and flare-ups of bitterness between the two groups in Nova Scotia. Charles Inglis saw Wesleyanism growing away from the mother church; the establishment of the independent American Methodist Episcopal Church (the AME) in 1784 was a sign of what was to come in England (foreshadowing the creation of the British Connexion, five years after Wesley's death in 1791, as a distinct Church) and elsewhere, as Wesleyanism developed a greater consciousness of its own corporate identity. Indeed, American-born Wesleyan missionaries who came to Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth century were compared to New Light Congregationalists, who were seen as disrupters of order and bearers of republicanism.[24] Although there seems to be no evidence of any validity in this latter fear, it was the perception of potential danger and the corresponding response which mattered. Inglis as bishop was endeavouring to unify Anglicanism. Secessionists could only be viewed as opponents.

In reports to the SPG and by his own actions, Inglis revealed his concern over dissenter activity in the colony. By 1793 he had commenced a lending library in Halifax to combat the spread of Methodism. That same year, Methodist leader William Black felt compelled to defend his sect after Inglis had preached a sermon that was seen as strongly anti-Wesleyan.[25] In 1794

22 Allen B. Robertson, "Loyalist, Methodist, Merchant--Robert Barry--From Refugee to Nova Scotian," M.A. thesis, Acadia University, 1984.

23 Robert Barry to Bishop John Inglis, 27 Nov. 1834. Mfm: Biography: Inglis, John, PANS.

24 "for the New Lights are, almost to a man, violent Republicans and Democrats." Inglis to Dr. Morice, 16 Aug. 1799: MG1, Vol. 479, PANS.

25 Fingard, *Anglican Design*, p. 130; Smith, *Methodist Church*, I, 351.

Inglis was reporting that Chester, on the South Shore, "has been much overrun with fanatic and vagrant teachers, both Methodists and New Lights." [26] He was obviously not distinguishing too finely between the two. To combat the dissenters' appeal, regular Church of England services were promoted, with pertinent sermons by Inglis and other Anglican clergy, throughout the province.[27]

The government authorities at Halifax, who had kept in touch with the SPG, had entertained fears that popular Methodist revivals would undermine the Established Church. Just prior to Bishop Inglis's arrival from England, Lieutenant-Governor John Parr wrote:

> The Province swarms with Methodists who are indefatigable in propagating their tenets, especially those under Mr. Wesley; and the Society may be assured, that unless persons of equal zeal and assiduity are engaged in supporting and administering the Rites of the Established Church, it will scarcely have a name in the course of a few years.[28]

Certainly Inglis was not alone in worrying about the fate of the Church. Moreover, Parr and Inglis were quite right in believing that the Wesleyans were making concerted efforts to win converts.

William Black had first written to Wesley from Nova Scotia after his conversion experience.[29] Following early itineracy efforts, Black was further encouraged in his work by the arrival of John Street adherents at Shelburne in 1783. Both Black and Robert Barry then applied to John Wesley for ministerial assistance in the colony. Consequently they were directed to the United States in 1784, where Wesley had that year sent Thomas Coke and associates to help found the American Methodist Episcopal Church. As Norman McNairn in his article, "Mission to Nova Scotia," has described the events, one of the first acts of this new organization was to sponsor

26 Inglis to Dr. Morice, 27 Dec. 1794, MG1, Vol. 479, PANS.

27 Inglis to Dr. Morice, 9 Nov. 1791. *Ibid.*

28 Quoted in Fingard, *Anglican Design*, p. 129.

29 John Emory, ed., *The Works of The Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, 7 vol. (New York, 1856), IV, 558.

missionaries to the province.[30] Freeborn Garrettson and James Oliver Cromwell thus became in 1785 the first ordained Wesleyans to serve the colony.

From 1785 until the mid-1790s, the majority of Methodist missionaries in Nova Scotia came from the United States. In addition, Black, James Mann and his brother John, plus various English probationers serving in the colony, all went to the United States for ordination. Of the two founding bishops of the AME, Dr. Thomas Coke was always the more supportive of pleas for aid to Nova Scotia. Bishop Francis Asbury had a greater interest in evangelizing the more heavily populated American states, and as the leading voice in the AME, he never put the Nova Scotia Mission forward as a high priority. Nonetheless, the fact was that Wesleyans who were enabled to celebrate sacraments were serving the Methodist communities in Nova Scotia. In that capacity, then, Anglican ministers could rightly regard them as a competitive agency.

The irony here was that Nova Scotian Methodists, while being served from the United States, were at the same time being told by John Wesley not to separate from the Church of England. His adamance on this point placed the colony's Methodists in a peculiar midway position between the Church of England and the AME. In addition, their preachers, while serving in Nova Scotia, were under the jurisdiction neither of the AME nor of John Wesley. E.A. Betts has rightly observed that the American preachers were on a sort of leave of absence while in British America.[31] Discipline and organization in the Maritimes came from the Wesleyan Methodist District Meeting, created in 1785 by Garrettson as acting superintendent; the mission had a semi-autonomous existence. It would be the efforts of this local District Meeting, which represented all the preachers of the district, that worked for the propagation of Methodism throughout Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and later, Prince Edward Island.[32]

30 Norman A. McNairn, "Mission to Nova Scotia," *Methodist History* (Jan. 1974), p. 5. Also see George A. Rawlyk, "Freeborn Garrettson and Nova Scotia," in *Reflections Upon Methodism During the American Bicentennial*, ed. R.P. Heitzenrater (Dallas, 1985), pp. 105-21.

31 E. Arthur Betts, *Bishop Black and His Preachers* (Sackville, N.B., 1976), p. 53.

32 Known as the Island of St. John till 1799, P.E.I. was only intermittently served by Methodist ministers before the early 1800s: Smith, *Methodist Church*, I, 343, 411-15.

While urging Nova Scotians not to forsake the Church of England, John Wesley favoured close ties between the AME and Nova Scotia, since travel was easier between these two areas than were transatlantic voyages. He had confidence too in the assistance that Bishops Coke and Asbury would provide.[33] The contradictory message that he sent to correspondents in Nova Scotia could only perplex. Black, for example, received a letter from him dated October 1784; in it Wesley stated:

> In the other Provinces [United States] there are abundance of preachers. They can spare four preachers to you better than you can spare one to them. . . . Does there not want a closer and more direct connexion between you of the North and Societies under Francis Asbury? Is it not more advisable that you should have a constant correspondence with each other and act by united counsels? [34]

Two years later, Wesley was advising Robert Barry at Shelburne not to shun Anglican services (in the absence of Wesleyan ministers), even if the sermons were not truly evangelical. As Barry was admonished, "A hundred good sermons I have heard at Church and five hundred bad ones. But it never came to my mind that I should leave the Church because the minister preached a bad sermon." [35] This advice came in the wake of a highly successful revival that Freeborn Garrettson had set in motion while stationed in Nova Scotia, the results of which had prompted Parr's observations about indefatigable Wesleyans.[36] Methodists wanted sermons infused with evangelical piety. When this need was supplied by AME preachers, their sympathies tended in that direction.

There was not uniformity of response to either American or English Wesleyan preachers in the colony. The charismatic Garrettson confided to Asbury that his nationality was a problem: "I made bold to open matters

33 Wesley to Francis Asbury, 31 Oct. 1784, quoted in E.S. Bucke *et al.*, *The History of American Methodism*, 3 vol. (New York, 1964), I, 211.

34 Wesley to William Black, 15 Oct. 1784, in John Telford, ed., *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, 8 vol. (London, 1931), VII, 244.

35 Wesley to Robert Barry, 15 Sept. 1786. Mfm: Churches: Nova Scotia: Methodist (Early Methodist Papers, from United Church of Canada Maritime Conference Archives), PANS.

36 George A. Rawlyk, ed., *The New Light Letters and Spiritual Songs 1778-1793* (Hantsport, N.S., 1983), pp. 30-34.

to Mr. Wesley, and begged of him to send one preacher from England as a number of people would prefer an Englishman to an American. Many have refused hearing me on this account." [37] Coming to Nova Scotia so soon after the Revolution, Garrettson no doubt aroused the resentment of embittered Loyalists. However, his preaching style and discipline did not come under criticism. The American preachers, both ordained and probationers, had introduced American terminology and usages at variance with English Methodist practice. As representatives of an independent Church, they allowed courtesy to the Anglican establishment, but extended deference in the first years only to not holding their own services at the same time as those of the Church of England.[38] This situation in its turn made for problems when British preachers arrived on the scene.

At least one English Wesleyan who did come over to the colony proved too rigid in his observance of the way things were done in the mother country; resistance by Nova Scotian Methodists made him seek other missionary fields. Wesley voiced exasperation in a letter to James Mann about the matter: "Alas! my brother, one just from Halifax informs me that they made objections to James Wray, that he is an Englishman! O, American ingratitude! Lord, I appeal to thee." [39] Nova Scotians, as a result of their semi-autonomous mission status, were not willing to surrender quickly North American versions of Methodist practice and preaching. Unfortunately, in the eyes of detractors, such behaviour more readily identified them with American evangelical "enthusiasts" or New Lights, rather than with a British movement.

Wesleyan Methodism by the late eighteenth century was well on its way to becoming what Frank Baker has termed a transatlantic faith.[40] Wesley

37 Garrettson to Francis Asbury, 1786, quoted in Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson*, 5th ed. (New York, 1847), p. 11.

38 This was sanctioned by John Wesley: "Whenever there is any church service, I do not approve of any appointment the same hour; because I love the Church of England, and would assist, not oppose, it all I can." Telford, *Letters of Wesley*, VII, 354.

39 Wesley to James Mann, Feb. 1789, quoted in Smith, *Methodist Church*, I, 208.

40 Frank Baker, "The Trans-Atlantic Triangle: Relations between British, Canadian, and American Methodism during Wesley's lifetime," *The Bulletin* (United Church of Canada), No. 28 (1979), 5-21.

had tried to remain the dominant figure, but found that his temporal rule of the movement was not as secure as the spiritual one. The Americans under Asbury, who was as autocratic as Wesley himself, became increasingly concerned with evangelizing their own republic in a spirit of full independence. Thomas Coke, though a joint bishop, was kept very much in a secondary role and remained so, since he was considered more a visiting Englishman--unlike Asbury, who endeavoured to strike roots in the country.

British North America remained in a peculiar flux, alternately beseeching Methodist aid from the United States and from England. Nova Scotia, as a maritime colony, was especially subject to this double tug. Methodists in the province had ties of business, friendship and family in both nations. This basic tension underlay the additional one of Wesley's push for Nova Scotians to affiliate with the AME, yet remain loyal to the Church of England. Following Wesley's death in 1791, realignment would be inevitable.

In 1791 Bishop Asbury sent the last group of missionaries to Nova Scotia. After 1796 he would not permit any more to go north. He believed that all available manpower was needed in the central and southern States. This left William Black, the Manns, James McColl, plus various lay preachers and exhorters to struggle to keep the faith alive for a five- to eight-year period, during which time they came to the realization that only English aid would save the work of Wesley and his Nova Scotian preachers.[41] In 1800 Black returned to the land of his birth, where he managed to convince his English colleagues to bring the Nova Scotia Mission under English Connexional jurisdiction. Until the creation of the Eastern British North American Conference in 1855, by which time a native ministry and denominational school (Mount Allison) marked a new stage of maturity, the majority of Maritime preachers came from Britain.

Throughout the late eighteenth century the New Light movement had been in disarray. Bereft of Alline's leadership after his death in 1784, there emerged no single, unquestioned successor. A virulent outbreak of antinomianism, known as the New Dispensation Scheme, further demoralized the Allinite societies. Not until 1797 did the leading ministers band together to create an association to foster orthodoxy, maintain discipline, and ensure

41 McNairn, "Mission to Nova Scotia," p. 17.

legal recognition.[42] During the confused years, the Methodists had an opportunity to bring disaffected New Lights into the fold. This was not without some success. New Light minister John Payzant, in his journal/history, acknowledged as much in the Horton Township area.[43] It was in 1793, furthermore, that the Methodist Society in Liverpool raised the shell of their new chapel.[44] This latter centre is of particular interest since its population, New England in stock, had formerly been principally Congregationalist. Alline's preaching had split Old Lights and New Lights, the latter forming the majority. A consequence of the New Light troubles of the 1790s was that Methodist incursions and missionaries won respect, particularly when leading businessmen such as Simeon Perkins were drawn to the more orderly Wesleyan discipline.

In spite of these successes, the Methodists were unable to take full advantage of the New Light disruptions. The extreme liberties of the latter group held the allegiance of many settlers, who regarded self-appointed prophets as manifesting the Allinite legacy.[45] Methodist leaders had to constantly guard against New Light extremism entering their own assemblies. James Mann, while stationed on circuit at Liverpool in 1796, mentioned such difficulties to fellow minister Daniel Fidler: "I have prevented Stephen Snow from exhorting, or in any manner to convene meetings for the like purposes--He is strongly tinctur'd with enthusiasm & holds to no falling from Grace." [46] Methodist meetings, by their very nature, remained susceptible to these dangers.

The withdrawal of American support from the Nova Scotia Mission by 1796 further hampered conversion efforts. Just at the New Lights' time of greatest weakness, the Methodists of Nova Scotia found themselves having to cope with a reduced contingent of ordained men. By the time the situation started to change for the better after 1800, the opportunity had been lost. A Baptist

42 Robertson, "Legacy of Henry Alline," pp. 69-74; George A. Rawlyk, *Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline* (Montreal, 1984), pp. 80-89.

43 Robertson, "Legacy of Henry Alline," pp. 30-32.

44 Smith, *Methodist Church*, I, 274.

45 Bell, *Newlight Baptist Journals*, p. 14.

46 Mann to Daniel Fidler, 15 Oct. 1796, quoted in Goldwin French, ed., "The Papers of Daniel Fidler, Methodist Missionary in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1792-1798," *The Bulletin* (United Church of Canada), No. 13 (1960), 33.

Association had emerged from the New Light chaos to rebuild and regain followers. What Bishop Inglis referred to as a "rage for dipping" swept the province in 1799-1800, and would do so periodically, notably among the New England Planter populace, and swelled Baptist ranks.[47] Throughout the nineteenth century, Methodism would have only one-third the number of adherents to Baptist congregations.

During these years of confusion, Inglis kept informed of the various New Light breakups and subsequent re-organization. He held no sympathy for what appeared to be confused dissenter services, neither then nor later in his life. Commenting on dissenting ministers and revivalist sects in 1810, he wrote: "The Church of X [Christ] is by no means what these people seem to suppose it--it is not a tumultuous, disorderly, & uninformed multitude. On the contrary, it is a regular, well-formed Society." [48] If the Methodists were in danger of New Light infiltration because of revivalist services, the Anglicans became increasingly restricted to traditional Church of England adherents, because they refused to incorporate any of the features of popular revivalism into their liturgical observances. Fingard has rightly considered this as a severe handicap, since it served to thwart hopes of expanded Church influence in Nova Scotia.[49]

Flexibility of response from the Established Church was to be found more in the character of only a few clergymen than in official sanctions. Men such as Jacob Bailey at Annapolis were as conservative in response to the dissenter challenge as Bishop Inglis. William Twining, on the other hand, preached at Cornwallis Township in a fashion that was evangelistic and attracted eager listeners. More so than Inglis had been in his Delaware days, Twining went so far in Methodist leanings as to offer himself to the local Wesleyan District Meeting. William Black dissuaded him, deeming that he could reach Church evangelicals better by staying within Anglicanism.[50] Although Twining would come under admonishment from Inglis for suspicion of Methodism, he remained

47 G.A. Rawlyk, "From Newlight to Baptist: Harris Harding and the Second Great Awakening in Nova Scotia," in *Repent and Believe: The Baptist Experience in Maritime Canada*, ed. Barry M. Moody (Hantsport, N.S., 1980), p. 19.

48 Quoted in Fingard, *Anglican Design*, p. 122.

49 *Ibid.*

50 Smith, *Methodist Church*, I, 337-39.

favourably inclined toward it for life. However, he was one among many who, unlike himself, looked more to the Book of Common Prayer and episcopal directives for a closer definition of the Church's identity in Nova Scotia.

By the end of the 1790s, there was a decided trend among what were to be the main-line denominations of the province toward conservatism, as each group consolidated early organizational work. The Wesleyan Methodists were no exception. Methodist Societies existed in Halifax, Liverpool, Barrington, Shelburne, Annapolis, Windsor, Horton, Cornwallis and Parrsboro.[51] Their District Meeting regularly corresponded with the British Connexion, based their yearly meetings on English form, and began to receive salaried ministerial support from England. Though a practice of sending Nova Scotian delegates to the AME yearly conferences continued into the second decade of the nineteenth century, identification with England was increasingly fixed. As a religious society which promoted Bible reading and the sale and distribution of Wesleyan tracts, Methodism also fought criticism which lumped its preachers with unlearned, illiterate dissenter ministers or "prophets." Old accusations of disloyalty were less easily brought against them when AME ties were reduced and British affiliation strengthened.

The Church of England, with its own resident lord bishop, and ability to harken to a long ecclesiastical tradition in Nova Scotia, while not greatly expanding, did confirm and hold onto its loyal parishioners. Those of the congregation who sought more evangelical services went over to the Wesleyans and found familiarity in a hierarchical church structure and adherence to certain Church liturgy and ritual.[52] It is yet to be assessed how much impact the Church Evangelical movement of the early nineteenth century had on keeping potential Methodist converts within the Anglican fold.[53] Nor has there been adequate attention given to the Wesleyan drift back into the Church of England, when the former body became more identifiable as an established institution which had lost some of its eighteenth-century revivalist spirit. That there existed any possibility of drift between the two denominations illustrates that in spite

51 Betts, *Bishop Black*, p. 70.

52 T. Watson Smith repeatedly provided examples of Church of England adherents who joined the Wesleyan cause: *Methodist Church, passim.*

53 Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (London, 1976).

of the divisions occasioned by doctrinal bitterness, Nova Scotian Wesleyans had not forgotten their spiritual roots.

Robert Barry was tied by marriage to William Black when his son John A. married Black's daughter Mary. His own days as lay exhorter and occasional preacher, promoter of Methodist causes and correspondent of John Wesley had all set him firmly within the Methodist camp. Nonetheless, he did not forget his friendship with Charles Inglis of Trinity Church, New York. In 1834 Barry sent a copy of a letter Inglis had written him in 1783 to the new lord bishop, John Inglis, as a special favour. The original had been retained by Barry, "it being the only remembrance I have of one who was pleased to honour me with his Friendship when I was young and newly embarked in a Religious course. . . ." Moreover, Barry did not doubt that the Inglises, father and son, were spiritually alive: "O that I may share with you my venerable departed Friend in that Inheritance which is incorruptible, Undefiled and that fadeth not away." [54] These lines reflect the sentiments of John Wesley who, though he founded a Church, believed himself to have died a faithful son of Anglicanism. Set on different paths, Church of England adherents and Methodists in Nova Scotia were not completely divided while the generation that had known Inglis and Wesley still lived.

54 Barry to Bishop Inglis, 27 Nov. 1834. Mfm: Biography: Inglis, John, PANS.

The Reverend John Hamilton Rowland of Revolutionary America and Early Shelburne

Otto Lohrenz

Information about the Reverend John Hamilton Rowland, who served the Anglican Church faithfully in several English colonies from his ordination in 1771 until his death in 1795, has heretofore been very incomplete. His first known benefice was in Virginia in the early years of the American Revolution, where his loyalism led to his flight to New York, occupied by English troops. He then became chaplain to a Loyalist military corps, acted as rector to congregations on Long Island and Staten Island, and assisted the churches in New Jersey. In New York and New Jersey he contributed to the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A few years after the War for American Independence he settled in Shelburne, Nova Scotia in order to live under the flag and rule of his King. There he helped restore harmony to a factious congregation.

Virginia church authorities are completely ignorant of Rowland,[1] and information about him in the church accounts of New York, New Jersey,[2] and Nova Scotia is very meagre.[3] Rowland merits cognizance from his several historical constituencies. Too long have the Loyalists been neglected, say the American students of the Revolution.[4] Honour and recognition are due

The author wishes to thank the Research Services Council, Kearney State College, for financial assistance in the research and preparation of this article.

1 Among the church annalists of Virginia, only George MacLaren Brydon has a reference to Rowland, but he mistakenly calls him the Reverend John Hamilton; see his "The Clergy of the Established Church in Virginia and the Revolution," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XLI (1933), 142.

2 Among New York accounts there is a biographical paragraph of Rowland, of only a few lines, in Charles S. Burch, "History of Saint Andrew's Church Richmond, Staten Island," *The Grafton Magazine of History and Genealogy*, I (1908), 19; see also John J. Clute, *Annals of Staten Island, From Its Discovery to the Present Time* (New York, 1867), 265. Rowland's activities in New Jersey are mentioned by Nelson R. Burr, *The Anglican Church in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1954), 429-443, 492, 521.

3 From the Nova Scotian perspective the best reference to Rowland is found in William O. Raymond, "The Founding of the Church of England in Shelburne," New Brunswick Historical Society *Collections*, VIII (1909), 290-291. There is also a brief, inaccurate note on Rowland in Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution* (New York, 1891), 139-140.

4 See, for example, William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (London, 1961), v; Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1964), vii; Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1969), 222; and Adele Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia: The Norfolk Area and the Eastern Shore* (Studies in American History and Culture, No. 34, Ann Arbor, MI, 1982), 112.

the founders of its settlements and institutions, declare the historians of Nova Scotia.[5] The purpose of this article is to identify Rowland by presenting and analyzing the known biographical information of him, thereby shedding light on both his career and times.

Of Rowland's early life virtually nothing is known. He mentioned only that he was born in Great Britain, that he came to America in 1768, and that he returned to the land of his birth for ordination to the Anglican ministry. The historian of St. Andrew's Church on Staten Island states that the ordination took place in 1771, that Rowland was born in Wales about 1746, and that he was educated at Oxford, but the published lists of students and graduates of that university do not include Rowland's name. In America his name first appears in the Pennsylvania records for 24 February 1770, when he married Mary Boulby in St. Paul's Church in Philadelphia.[6]

Obtaining ordination to the ministry proved to be difficult for Rowland. Since there was no bishop in America, candidates had to hazard the voyage to England for consecration by the Bishop of London, the diocesan of the Anglican churches in the colonies. An ordinand had to present testimonials from clergymen to the bishop, certifying that he was tentatively qualified and that his life and morals had been beyond reproach. The clergy of Pennsylvania refused to give Rowland the necessary recommendations. In the following letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the SPG), William Smith, noted educator and churchman of Philadelphia, revealed the clergy's objections and how Rowland circumvented them:

> We are still plagued and the Church hurt by irregular preachers that come out. One Rowland has just arrived here, of a very bad character, to whom we had refused recommendations & therefore he went to Wales, got recommended as a Curate, and was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of St. Asaph

5 See, for example, T. Watson Smith, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," Nova Scotia Historical Society *Collections*, VI (1888), 61-62; Robert R. McLeod, "Historical Sketch of the Town of Shelburne, Nova Scotia," *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region*, VIII (1908), 35-38; Joseph P. Edwards, "The Shelburne That Was and Is Not," *The Dalhousie Review*, II (1922), 181-183.

6 Rowland's oral evidence before the Loyalist Claims Commissioners, 3 July 1786, AO 12/55, 97, Public Record Office, London [hereafter PRO], microfilm at Universityy of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA; Burch, "History of Saint Andrew's," 19; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses. . .*, repr. ed. (Lessing, Germany, 1968), 4 vols.; John B. Linn and William H. Egle, eds., *Pennsylvania Archives: Second Series*, IX (Harrisburg, PA, 1896), 472.

> & Priest by the Bishop of Hereford; and then immediately embarked for this Place. For God's sake, let him have no appointment; for no Mission in this Province will receive him and we must even write to our Brethren in other Provinces to make known his character. How long shall we groan under this hardship of bad people going from America and imposing on our Bishops, all which might in a great measure be prevented if we had a Bishop here.[7]

While Rowland was in Great Britain in 1771, his recent bride, whom he had left behind in Philadelphia, gave birth to their first child. The obstacles he surmounted to achieve ordination and the separation from his family indicate that Rowland was most determined in his quest to be an Anglican minister.

Smith did not state the clergy's specific objections to Rowland, but his subsequent successful clerical career belies the charge made against his character. As Smith noted in his letter, he and his colleagues may have tried, too zealously perhaps, to use Rowland's candidacy as an opportunity for demonstrating the need for a bishop in America. Ordination meant that Rowland had met the Church of England's standards of character, orthodoxy and knowledge, to the satisfaction of the bishops of St. Asaph and of Hereford. He had apparently obtained British clerical recommendations that left no doubt about his character; he had passed the several examinations on secular knowledge, church doctrine and theology; and he had taken the oaths of allegiance and canonical obedience to the King and the Church of England. From these vows Rowland would never shrink.[8]

In spite of the clergy's opposition, Rowland may have served in some clerical capacity for a few years in Pennsylvania after his ordination in 1771. William Stevens Perry, the nineteenth-century church authority, stated that Rowland "passed a useful and honored ministry in Pennsylvania" before the Revolution. But by 1774 Rowland is known to have been in Virginia. Due to the death of the Reverend James Pasteur, St. Bride's Parish in Norfolk County was vacant. Sometime in 1774, at the invitation of the vestry,

---

7 Smith to the SPG, 2 May 1774, printed in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, II: *Pennsylvania* (Hartford, CT, 1870), 466, 582n-583n.

8 Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775* (New York, 1962), 238-340; James B. Bell, "Anglican Clergy in Colonial America Ordained by Bishops of London," American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, LXXIII (1973), 131.

Rowland began officiating in St. Bride's and, after the vestry had presented him to Governor Lord Dunmore, the latter inducted him into the benefice on 23 January 1775. Basic salary for Virginia clergymen was 17,280 pounds of tobacco annually. A minister was also entitled to the use of a glebe of about two hundred acres, with a manse and appropriate out-buildings for agricultural production. He also received fees called perquisites for officiating at baptisms, marriages and funerals.[9]

Soon Rowland became involved in Revolutionary difficulties. When Governor Dunmore came to the nearby town of Norfolk in the fall of 1775, Rowland gave him "undoubted Proof. . .of his determined attachment to the British Government." After the governor published his proclamation, inviting all to rally to the support of the Crown, Rowland gave him a list of names of probable Loyalists in the area, and advised him about circulating the proclamation for signatures. Thinking that Rowland had custody of one of the circulating copies, the Norfolk County committee of safety demanded from him the document with signatures, in order that the patriots might know Dunmore's intentions and the identity of the signers, "the enemies to this country." If Rowland refused the request, the committee warned, he would "most assuredly be considered as an enemy" himself. Possibly Rowland successfully disavowed all implications, or was otherwise able to satisfy the committee, for thereafter he was able to continue "quiet" until the fall of 1776, although he received no tobacco after June 1775.[10]

Rowland's problems with the patriots in 1776-77 concerned the Revolutionary test oath which he refused to take. The new Virginia state government required each free, adult male to renounce his allegiance to the King and to swear fidelity to the Commonwealth. On 19 September 1776 the

9 Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 582n-583n; Rind's *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 27 Jan. 1774; AO 12/55, 97; William W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619* (Richmond, 1810-1823), III, 151-153, IV, 204-208, VI, 88-90. In Virginia the vestries were the patrons of the livings and chose the ministers and presented them to the governor for induction, which ensured the incumbents of a legal right to their offices during good behaviour. Only when a parish remained vacant for more than a year, an infrequent occurrence, could the governor collate the benefice by appointment; see Otto Lohrenz, "The Virginia Clergy and the American Revolution, 1774-1799," Ph.D. diss., The University of Kansas, 1970, 7.

10 Rowland's account of his problems with the patriots, interspersed with a few letters and documents, is found in the written memorials to, and oral testimony before, the Loyalist Claims Commissioners; see 9 Nov. 1783, AO 13/58, 270-271; and 3 July 1786, AO 12/55, 94-97.

committee of safety resolved that Rowland be summoned to appear at the next meeting "to shew cause why he should not take the oath." He appeared before the committee on 9 April 1777 and, according to his words, declared himself "a subject of King George's and refused to take the oath to them or their state." Thereupon the committee proclaimed him an enemy of American liberties, deprived him of his parish and glebe, and ordered him "to leave the Country, or to go to the back parts of the Country." Within a few months, he chose "to leave the Country." [11]

It is not surprising that Rowland became a tory and a refugee. He had only recently come from Great Britain, presumably leaving behind family and friends. His ordination vow to the King as supreme governor of church and state was fresh in his mind. After the Revolution had already begun, he and his family came to Virginia, which to them was a new land and where they had no ties of kinship or friendship. There was little time to become integrated into the whiggish social mainstream of the Commonwealth. Instead, many of Rowland's initial social contacts were with tories. Norfolk County had a high incidence of those sympathetic to Great Britain and was "the only place in Virginia congenial" to them. There, in 1775-76, he was also under the influence of Governor Dunmore, to whom he was beholden for the induction into his benefice. This social environment reinforced his predisposition to loyalism. In remaining loyal to Britain and in fleeing from Virginia, Rowland did not represent the clergy of the Old Dominion. A careful check of the records has shown that only twenty-two percent of Virginia's Anglican ministers were Loyalists and only nine percent became refugees.[12]

Since he no longer had a means of subsistence, and since he was the object of "a variety of insults and threats," Rowland decided to leave Virginia and seek a chaplaincy with the British army. In the latter part of 1777 he departed "privately," going first to New York and then to Philadelphia, cities occupied by British troops. His wife and children, whom he had left behind, joined him in Philadelphia, and the family followed the army to New York

11 AO 13/58, 271-272; AO 12/55, 97-98; Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX, 281-283.

12 Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, RI, 1965), 179, 181; Lohrenz, "Virginia Clergy," 21-220.

upon the evacuation of Philadelphia. Most of the stock, furniture, books and other personal property which were left in Virginia was appropriated by "rebel" plunderers. Rowland obtained the desired chaplaincy, for on 1 January 1778 General William Howe appointed him chaplain to Lieutenant-Colonel John Morris's Second Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers. His salary was £120 sterling per year, which was insufficient for the support of his now large family. In 1779 he applied to the British Treasury for relief, as many other Loyalists had done, and was awarded an annual allowance of £50 sterling. This allowance, renewed in 1783, lapsed in 1785.[13]

Of his experiences as chaplain little is known. His duties were evidently nominal or minimal, for he remained near the British army in Philadelphia and New York throughout his period of service. According to the Reverend William Walter of Boston, who was also a Loyalist refugee in New York, Rowland "accepted the invitation" of the people of Huntington on Long Island in the spring of 1780 to act as minister of St. John's Church. The church there "cannot be better supplied," Walter informed the SPG. In June Rowland sent his property, which included a slave, to the location in a sloop, but American forces captured the vessel and confiscated the slave and property. Rowland assigned a value of £100 sterling to his lost property and complained that this "stroke of adversity stript him almost bare of all worldly Goods." St. John's Church had been "Greatly abused and damaged" by the British army, Walter reported, but the parsonage was "in tolerable repair," and the Rowland family apparently lived in it. Rowland remained in Huntington for over a year, "to the perfect satisfaction both of the people and himself," as Walter stated.[14]

Rowland's battalion was disbanded on Staten Island in 1781 and his salary was reduced to half pay, putting additional stress upon the family's

13 AO 13/58, 272; AO 12/55, 98; AO 13/27, Va. Claims A (II); AO 12/109, 262; AO 12/106, 30; T 50/6, 50/8-10, PRO; William O. Raymond, "Roll of the Officers of the British American or Loyalist Corps," New Brunswick Historical Society *Collections*, II (1904), 231.

14 Rowland to the Claims Comms., 9 Nov. 1783, AO 13/58, 272; William Walter to the SPG, 18 May 1780, ca. June 1780, and 24 Feb. 1781, SPG Archives, 1779-1782, Reel A-156, 125, 163, 243, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa [hereafter PAC].

resources.[15] Soon Rowland applied to Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander, for a chaplaincy in the garrison in the Bahama Islands. With the application, Rowland included three supportive notes from British army officers who knew him and who had heard him preach, all vouching for his merit and abilities. A new chaplaincy, however, did not materialize.[16]

After his unit was dissolved Rowland continued to reside on Staten Island, with some interruptions, until 1778. After the death of the Reverend Thomas Feilde in February 1781, St. Andrew's Church on Staten Island was without a minister, and by September 1781, according to Walter, Rowland had become acting rector of that congregation.[17] He had no presentation to the parish, but "officiated from being there accidentally." The SPG gave him no allowance, as it formerly did to inducted rectors of St. Andrew's, but each year parishioners voluntarily contributed to his support, and Rowland's family "had the Privilege of the Glebe House." He had "not constantly" lived on Staten Island, but "had sometime been in Pennsylvania," he wrote in 1786.[18] Several early Nova Scotian annalists wrote that Rowland was "from Pennsylvania," but his location, purpose and length of stay there have not been determined.[19] While serving at St. Andrew's as acting rector, Rowland also assisted churches in New Jersey. At the request of the vestry of St. Peter's Church in Perth Amboy, he officiated there occasionally from 1784

15 Rowland was quoted as saying that his battalion was disbanded in 1783; see AO 12/55, 98. Two authorities, however, state that it was in 1781; see Edward Alfred Jones, "The Loyalists of New Jersey in the Revolution," New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, XII (1927); and William O. Raymond, "Loyalists in Arms," New Brunswick Historical Society *Collections*, II (1904), 208-209.

16 Rowland to Carleton, with enclosures, 29 July 1783, British Headquarters Papers, 8551, photocopy supplied by Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

17 Otto Lohrenz, "The Reverend Thomas Feilde, Loyalist Acting Rector of St. Andrew's: An Identification," *Staten Island Historian*, New Series, II (1984), 18; William Walter to the SPG, 27 Sept. 1781, SPG Archives, 1779-1782, reel A-156, 334.

18 AO 12/55, 98; AO 13/32, Va. Claims R (II); Clute, *Annals of Staten Island*, 265; Burch, "History of St. Andrew's," 19; William T. Davis *et al.*, *The Church of St. Andrew, Richmond, Staten Island: Its History, Vital Records, and Gravestone Inscriptions* (Staten Island, 1925), 108.

19 M. Allen Gibson, "Churches by the Sea," *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, 2 Nov. 1957, photocopy supplied by the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax [hereafter PANS]; Eaton, *Church of England in Nova Scotia*, 139; Smith, "Loyalists at Shelburne," 72.

to 1787. He also assisted the Reverend Abraham Beach by conducting services from time to time in St. James' Church in Piscataway.[20]

Rowland was an active participant in the organizational conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, after the treaty of peace confirmed American Independence. He represented St. Peter's of Perth Amboy in New Jersey's first, second and fourth state conventions in July 1785, May 1786 and June 1787. He was also a delegate, representing St. Andrew's, at the New York state convention held in June 1785. He was a deputy from New Jersey to the first and second general conventions of all the churches in the United States, which convened at Christ Church, Philadelphia in September 1785 and June 1786. Rowland was apparently most cooperative and congenial in working with his associates in reorganizing their church. The Reverend Abraham Beach, an energetic co-worker in New Jersey at the time, later told a correspondent that Rowland was "a very worthy Clergyman, whom, if you know, you could not but *love*." [21]

Rowland opened the first New Jersey convention with a sermon, which was published at the request of the convention. It is apparently his only extant sermon. His text was drawn from First Corinthians, XIV, 40: "Let all things be done decently, and in order." Rowland emphasized the importance for the Protestant Episcopal Church to retain--as closely as was consistent with American Independence and the several state constitutions--the doctrines, liturgy, discipline and organization of the Church of England. He endeavoured "to inculcate. . . *A Veneration for that Church*." He cautioned the delegates about change, warning that "a too forward Reformation in Things" was "dangerous where religion is concerned," and calling for the "handing down to future generations. . . that System of Divine Worship, which our Fore-Fathers so wisely planned." He spoke against the "Enthusiasm of the present Day," and the "extravagent Sallies of a warm Imagination," thereby opposing all accommodations with the Methodists. He stressed

20 Burr, *Anglican Church in New Jersey*, 492, 521; Abraham Beach to the SPG, 29 Sept. 1784, SPG Archives, 1782-1784, reel A-156, 432.

21 Burr, *Anglican Church in New Jersey*, 429-443; Hugh Hastings, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York*, VI (Albany, 1905), 4325; Abraham Beach to Samuel Peters, 7 Nov. 1787, Papers of Loyalist Samuel Peters, II, 57, photocopy supplied by Archives of the Episcopal Church, Austin, TX; see also Kenneth Walter Cameron, comp., *The Papers of Loyalist Samuel Peters; A Survey of the Contents of His Notebooks--Correspondence During His Flight to England, Exile, and the Last Years of His Life* (Hartford, CT, 1978), 55.

the importance of morality and upright living for both preachers and hearers; the profession of faith in Christ, he insisted, could not be separated from the practice of Christ's "divine Precepts." [22]

During his tenure at St. Andrew's, Rowland prepared his memorial for presentation to the Loyalist Claims Commissioners whom Parliament had appointed in 1783 to inquire into the losses and services of the Loyalists and to recommend appropriate compensation. He dispatched a sworn petition, dated 9 November 1783, to London, but since the attendance of the claimant was required, his case could not be considered there. To accommodate the many Loyalists in British North America, two commissioners came to Quebec and Nova Scotia a few years later. Rowland appeared before Commissioner Jeremy Pemberton in Halifax on 3 July 1786 and, under oath, defended his memorial and responded to questions.[23]

He claimed property losses of £242 sterling in Virginia and of £100 in New York; he insisted his lost income as rector amounted to £240 per year. For his property losses Rowland acquired £150 sterling in compensation. Pemberton placed his loss of income as rector at £200 per year, which was in line with the awards to other Virginia clerical claimants. According to policy, Rowland was entitled to an annual pension of £100 sterling, i.e. half of the accepted annual professional income. But since he was still drawing £59 in half pay for his chaplaincy, his pension was reduced to £41. Treasury records indicate that Rowland received the pension from 1790 until his death in 1795.[24]

Had Rowland chosen to do so, he could apparently have continued to reside on Staten Island and to officiate at St. Andrew's. He did not face expulsion for his loyalism, for he had not been an outspoken or contentious tory, and was able to live undisturbed among the Americans until

22 Rowland, *A Sermon, Preached Before the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at New Brunswick, in the State of New Jersey, on Thursday, 7th July, 1785* (New York, 1785), 3-20.

23 Rowland's memorial of 9 Nov. 1783 is in AO 13/58, 270-273; the memorial, with a few amendments, and the oral testimony is in AO 12/55, 94-99; the oral testimony can also be found in Alexander Frazer, ed., Ontario, Bureau of Archives, *Second Report*, 1904 (Toronto, 1905), 666-668; see also Mary Beth Norton, *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789* (Boston, 1972), 192-211.

24 AO 12/70, 11; AO 12/109, 262; Rowland to the Claims Comms., 15 Nov. 1788, AO 13/83, n.p.; T 50/10, 50/32-34; Lohrenz, "Virginia Clergy," 28-43, *passim*.

1788. The parishioners were willing to support him as best they could. According to their subscription agreement in 1787, 126 individuals pledged a combined total of £106.17s.4d. for his support. The pledges were an earnest sign that the Staten Islanders wanted to retain Rowland as rector. The total, however, was insufficient for his family's maintenance, and stipends from local tax sources and subsidies from the SPG were no longer forthcoming in New York. It appears, moreover, that Rowland could not qualify for his two pensions from the English Treasury as a resident of the United States.[25]

As early as 1783 it was reported that Rowland wanted "to go to Nova Scotia." Not only were the early economic prospects brighter there, but the social and political environment promised to be more attractive. During his interrogation by Commissioner Pemberton in Halifax in July 1786 he stated that he intended to settle at Shelburne, formerly known as Port Roseway; that he had applied to Governor John Parr of Nova Scotia--probably in person--for a church living there; and that he had received a very favourable response from Parr. He could live and officiate under the rule and flag of his sovereign and associate with fellow Loyalists in Shelburne, where over ten thousand refugees, many from New York, had settled in 1783 with great hope and enthusiasm. In the meantime, some of the political and religious leaders in Shelburne, including especially Judge Isaac Wilkins, hoping to promote conciliation among the quarreling Anglicans in the community, had applied to Rowland to accept a recently vacated rectorate.[26]

Controversy plagued the Anglican Church in Shelburne during its early years. In late 1783 some inhabitants, insisting that they were proceeding according to the laws of the province, organized Trinity Church, elected a vestry, chose the Reverend William Walter--formerly of Trinity Church in Boston--as rector, and presented him to Governor Parr for induction. The governor, however, considered himself the patron of the churches, divided Shelburne into three parishes--St. George's, St. Patrick's and St. Andrew's--and inducted the Reverend George Panton, minister in Trenton,

25 "St. Andrew's Vital Records," Davis *et al.*, *The Church of St. Andrew*, 130-132; Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791* (Kingston, Ont., 1986), 170.

26 Thomas Bradbury Chandler to the Treasury Commissioners, 1 Oct. 1783, AO 12/106, 30; Ontario, Bur. of Arch., *Second Report*, 666; Raymond, "The Founding of the Church," 290-291.

New Jersey before the Revolution, as rector of St. Patrick's parish. Panton also had the blessing and salary from the SPG, but Walter could get no "enthusiasm for his claim" from either the governor or the SPG. Each minister had his own local constituency and claimed he was the lawful, official rector. The extant SPG papers reveal that the dispute between the two divines and their followers became bitter and acrimonious. Walter and Panton officiated at separate worship services for their rival congregations; and they competed with each other for the opportunity of conducting baptisms, marriages and burials.[27]

William O. Raymond, the early twentieth-century scholar, wrote that "to some extent the struggle lay between the classes and masses," with Panton representing the former and Walter the latter. Neil MacKinnon supports this view in his recent study; he found that "the struggle . . . revealed a basic cleavage between the appeal to democratic principle and the appeal to authority." A bishop of Nova Scotia--who could have prevented or resolved the quarrel--would not materialize until 1787. Contention continued until 1785 when Panton, in the interests of peace, retired and soon departed for England. Walter declined to follow Panton's example, and remained until 1791. In 1786 the governor and local authorities officially compromised their differences, reduced the parishes to two--St. George's and St. Patrick's -- and named Walter rector of the first and Rowland of the second parish. There was to be "one common church." The SPG accepted both ministers as missionaries.[28]

---

27 See the correspondence by Panton and Walter to the SPG, vestry minutes, petitions and related materials in the SPG Archives, 1782-1784, reel A-156, 285-286, 426-427; SPG Archives, 1785-1787, reel A-156, 52-69, 107-110, 125-131, 197-200, 231-241, 273, 427-428; MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil*, 77-78. MacKinnon thought the governor had appointed Walter to the rectorate of St. George's in 1784; see his "George Panton," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1983), V, 657. Walter's letter to the SPG of 4 Aug. 1786 indicates that the appointment did not occur until 1786, after Panton had withdrawn from the contest, and Rowland had entered the picture; see SPG Archives, II, Series B, 881-883, photocopy supplied by PAC.

28 Raymond, "The Founding of the Church," 281; MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil*, 77-78; Bishop Charles Inglis to Rowland, 14 May 1788, Journal, Memoirs, Letters, etc. of Bishop Charles Inglis, typescript copies supplied by PANS. For the settlement of the dispute, see especially William Walter to the SPG, 4 Aug. 1786, SPG Archives, II, Series B, 881-883; and William Walter to the SPG, 20 Apr. 1787, SPG Archives, 1785-1787, reel A-156, 418-419.

Rowland asserted that he had been instrumental in working out a solution to the dispute in Shelburne. He asked the SPG to begin his stipend before his arrival with his family, because he "thought himself entitled to some indulgence for his time and expense in establishing peace and harmony in the settlement, and the Governor and vestry thought so too." Both vestry records and private correspondence reveal that Rowland spent some time in Shelburne in 1786-87--possibly in conjunction with his appearance before Pemberton in Halifax--when he probably helped work out an agreement between the two local factions. The compromise "plan" and the two ministerial appointments were first reported by Walter on 4 August 1786. "We have been Old Acquaintances and have lived in Habits of Friendship," Walter wrote, and "it is therefore probable we shall continue in those Habits." Rowland and Walter had become acquainted while both were Loyalist refugees in New York and their good relationship may have contributed toward concord between the two parties.[29]

After his appointment to Shelburne, Rowland needed time to bring his large family and to "arrange his Affairs at New York." According to one letter, his affairs also involved "recovering his Property in the Jersies," which authorities may have confiscated. He therefore requested a "leave of absence" from the SPG and the governor; friends and colleagues interceded for him and the leave was granted. He arrived in Shelburne with his family in late March 1788. His good name had preceded him to Nova Scotia, for not only had he already established himself as a peaceable clergyman and tactful peacemaker, but--as the Reverend William Clark, rector of Digby in the same province reported in 1787--Rowland was reputed to be a popular preacher.[30]

On 1 May 1788, only a month after Rowland had arrived with his family, the two rectors with their respective vestries met for a final peace-making session. Both parties agreed to a resolution of thanks to the SPG for the

29 Rowland to the SPG, 30 Apr. 1788, 14 June 1788, 10 Aug. 1788, SPG Archives, 1787-1792, reel A-157, 98-99; Walter to the SPG, 4 Aug. 1787, SPG Archives, II, Series B, 882.

30 Rowland to the SPG, 2 Nov. 1787, 30 Apr. 1788, SPG Archives, 1787-1792, reel A-157, 40, 98-99; Bishop Inglis to Rowland, 14 May 1788, Journal, Memoirs, Letters, etc. of Bishop Charles Inglis; William Clark to Samuel Peters, 24 Jan. 1787, Abraham Beach to Samuel Peters, 7 Nov. 1787, Samuel Peters to [Abraham Beach], 16 Jan. 1788, Papers of Samuel Peters, III, 6, 57, 63.

society's "munificence and condenscension [*sic*] in granting to the town a mission for each of the gentlemen settled there as rectors of the two parishes, by means of which those differences which formerly did exist among the members of the church are happily done away, and union and harmony restored." The following Sunday, according to Raymond, both groups worshipped jointly in the temporary Anglican church and Rowland preached an admirable sermon on the text from Psalms LV, 14: "We took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends." The two ministers got along well; Rowland first reported that he was "well received" by Walter and later stated that he lived in "strict harmony" with his colleague.[31]

At first, Anglican services in Shelburne were held in many places, including the Methodist chapel, the Presbyterian church, the court-house, and the temporary Anglican church. On 6 June 1788 the two ministers and their vestries agreed with contractors for the construction of a permanent church to serve both parishes. According to Walter, £400 sterling for the cost of the church came from the English government and £200 was raised by voluntary subscription. On Christmas Day 1789 the two rectors conducted the first services in the new building, with Rowland reading prayers and Walter preaching "to a large congregation." On 31 July of the next year--after Rowland, at the diocesan's request, had preached an appropriate sermon--Bishop Charles Inglis consecrated the structure as Christ Church. Inglis was impressed with "the size of the Edifice and Masterly manner in which the work" was executed, and concluded that "the Money so munificently bestowed by Government" and by voluntary contributors, had "been faithfully and judiciously applied." The church is in use today although it has been considerably altered from its original appearance. When Walter returned to Boston in 1791 to become minister of Christ Church there, Rowland took charge of both parishes. Thereafter the church in Shelburne

31 Rowland to the SPG, 15 Nov. 1788, SPG Archives, 1787-1792, reel A-157, 136-137; Extracts, Vestry Minutes of Christ Church, typescript supplied by PANS; Joseph Peters to Samuel Peters, 7 Sept. 1787, Papers of Samuel Peters, III, 42; Raymond, "The Founding of the Church," 291. MacKinnon, "George Panton," 658, states that Rowland "remained at odds with Walter until 1788, when the rival parishes of St. Patrick and St. George merged." Both priests mentioned a good relationship in their letters to the SPG; moreover, Rowland did not assume duties in Shelburne until 1788. There were two distinct vestries in Shelburne as late as 1791. See Rowland to the SPG, 26 Mar. 1791, SPG Archives, 1787-1792, reel A-157, 362. Raymond, "The Founding of the Church," 293, found that the two parishes "were joined" on 10 May 1793.

was properly known as Christ Church in the United Parishes of St. George and St. Patrick.[32]

Rowland's appointment to Shelburne in 1786 was "very agreeable to him," but that antedated the beginning of the town's rapid decline in population. In 1783 Port Roseway was a small hamlet, but the coming of thousands of Loyalists in the next few years suddenly made Shelburne, the location's new name, the largest city in British North America. All social classes, including aristocrats who brought slaves with them, were represented among the immigrants. These United Empire Loyalists built stately homes, fine shops and public buildings; published newspapers; held spirited elections; and entertained each other with teas, parties and balls. They expended seven million dollars in the creation of Shelburne, according to Daniel Owen. The city looked impressive, prospects were bright, optimism was everywhere, and indeed a "Tory Utopia" emerged. "The investment of so much capital in life-style rather than livelihood," repeatedly mentioned by observers and recently noted by MacKinnon, "was a grievous blow to Shelburne's chances of survival." Soon the cash brought from the states dried up; British government rations ceased in 1787; the soil was barren and no agricultural hinterland developed; whaling and commercial fishing were unsuccessful; and commerce, partially because of Shelburne's geographic isolation, utterly failed. Gradually people began to leave and then it was as if a panic had been created. In a few years Shelburne became a virtual ghost town. "Never did a city rise so grandly and fall so miserably," according to Daniel Owen's citation.[33]

In 1788 Walter estimated that four-fifths of the people had "returned to the states." In his notitia to the SPG on 17 November 1788, Rowland stated

32 16 Dec. 1789, 28 July 1790, Extracts, Vestry Minutes of Christ Church; Walter to the SPG, 5 Jan. 1790, SPG Archives, 1787-1792, reel A-157, 263; Gibson, "Churches by the Sea;" Raymond, "The Founding of the Church," 291-293.

33 Abraham Beach to Samuel Peters, 7 Nov. 1787, Papers of Samuel Peters, III, 57; Smith, "Loyalists at Shelburne," 53-89, esp. 83-87; Will R. Bird, *This Is Nova Scotia* (Philadelphia, 1950), 147-153; A.G. Bradley, *The United Empire Loyalists: Founders of British Canada*, repr. ed. (London, 1971), 122; Ruth Kedzie Wood, *The Tourist's Maritime Provinces, with Chapters on the Gaspé Shore, Newfoundland and Labrador and the Miquelon Islands* (New York, 1915), 173-174; George Graham Campbell, *The History of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1948), 170; MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil*, 151-153; Daniel Owen, "Loyalist Shelburne," *Canadian Magazine*, XXXVII (1911), 67-71.

that there were about eight hundred inhabitants in St. Patrick's parish; presumably the population of St. George's was about the same. Shortly after Rowland's death in 1795, his successor thought the number of people in the combined parishes was between seven and eight hundred. A decade later the population had dwindled to three hundred. The exodus directly affected Rowland's immediate income and professional future. Whether he considered joining the flight is not known, but his large family and his own declining health probably discouraged another move.[34]

Fortunately Rowland had income from non-local sources to sustain himself and his family. Each minister received an annual stipend of £50 sterling from the SPG, and the English government subsidized the parishes with £75 each year, which was to be divided between the two rectors. At first, through bureaucratic error, each received £75. After Walter left in 1791, Rowland was the sole recipient of the government grant. Of course, he also received £59 in half pay and £41 as his pension. Local subscriptions and the income from the pew rent supposedly yielded each minister £50 per annum, but sometimes that income amounted to "little or nothing," according to Rowland. He may have received small fees for conducting baptisms, marriages and funerals, but Rowland had to provide his own residence, for there was no glebe or manse during his lifetime.[35]

His letters to the SPG, which included his biannual notitiae, reveal considerable information about Rowland's ministry in Shelburne and identify him as an energetic, dedicated clergyman. Most of the inhabitants attended the Church of England and he always had "a decent congregation on Sundays" of three to four hundred people, he noted in 1790. Three years later he stated that his congregation was "considerably increased." The communicants varied from forty to eighty-five during his seven-year tenure, and shortly before his death there were seventy-two partakers of the sacrament on one occasion. He catechized from sixty to seventy children during the week and he often requested tracts and materials from the SPG

34 Walter to SPG, 24 Apr. 1788, Rowland to the SPG, 15 Nov. 1788, SPG Archives, 1787-1792, reel A-157, 97, 136-137; Thomas Boulby Rowland to the SPG, 27 Oct. 1795, SPG Archives, 1792-1795, reel A-157, 417.

35 SPG Archives, 1785-1787, reel A-156, 418-419; Rowland to the SPG, 30 Mar. 1789, SPG Archives, 1787-1792, reel A-157, 312; Thomas Boulby Rowland to the SPG, 27 Oct. 1795, SPG Archives, 1792-1795, reel A-157, 417; Rowland to the Claims Comms., 15 Nov. 1788, AO 13/83, n.p.

to facilitate this aspect of his work. Many times he deplored the shortage of educational opportunities for children in Shelburne, and begged the SPG to subsidize a schoolmaster for the settlement.[36]

Every half year he reported having baptized from thirty to sixty infants and a few adults, buried from five to ten people, and married from ten to fifteen couples. He regularly visited the church and school in Birchtown, the black community a few miles from Shelburne, and once a year, with one or two exceptions, he made the difficult, thirty-mile journey to the "Western Settlements" in the vicinity of Yarmouth to conduct services there. Although Rowland had reason to be sorely disappointed with the rapid depopulation of his benefice, his letters displayed no disillusionment, but rather exhibited a positive tone and breathed a spirit of hope and progress.[37]

Early in 1795, Rowland informed Bishop Charles Inglis that "several severe attacks of asthma" had disabled him and that there was "little prospect of his speedy recovery." He "earnestly requested" the bishop to ordain his eldest son, Thomas Boulby Rowland, deacon so he could serve as his curate. The son, who was nearly 24, was a student at King's College in Windsor, Nova Scotia, preparing for the Anglican ministry. The bishop acquiesced and ordained him deacon on 8 February 1795 and the new clergyman assumed his curacy immediately. On 26 February the father died "after a long, painful illness," and the son officiated at his funeral a few days later. Rowland was 48 and left a pregnant widow and seven children.[38]

That Rowland had earned the esteem and affection of his parishioners by his competent, faithful service is shown by their reaction to his death. Two days after his passing, the church wardens and vestrymen informed the bishop that

36 Rowland to the SPG, 10 Dec. 1788, 28 Mar. 1789, 30 Sept. 1789, 30 Mar. 1790, 3 Dec. 1790, 26 Mar. 1791, SPG Archives, 1787-1792, reel A-157, 164, 184, 218, 229, 312, 340, 362; Rowland to the SPG, 5 Oct. 1792, 26 Mar. 1793, 2 Apr. 1794, 1 Oct. 1794, SPG Archives, 1792-1795, Reel A-157, 75, 158, 269, 299.

37 Rowland to the SPG, 15 Nov. 1788, 10 Dec. 1788, 28 Mar. 1789, 30 Sept. 1789, 7 Oct. 1789, 30 Mar. 1790, 3 Dec. 1790, 26 Mar. 1791, SPG Archives, 1787-1792, reel A-157, 136-137, 164, 184, 218, 229, 312, 340, 362; Rowland to the SPG, 2 Apr. 1792, 5 Oct. 1792, 26 Mar. 1793, 30 Sept. 1793, 2 Apr. 1794, 1 Oct. 1794, SPG Archives, 1792-1795, reel A-157, 68, 75, 148, 226, 269, 299.

38 Inglis to the SPG, 25 Mar. 1795, SPG Archives, 1792-1795, reel A-157, 337-338; Eaton, *The Church of England in Nova Scotia*, 142.

> With the deepest concern we have to acquaint you of the great loss these Parishes, and the Church in general have sustained in the death of our late worthy, and much lamented Rector. . . .
>
> It is but justice to say that he performed every duty with truest sincerity, and zeal, at once being an ornament, and example in the Christian character.

The bishop responded by expressing his condolences to the parishioners "on the loss you have all sustained by the death of your late exemplary and faithful Pastor." [39]

One unidentified parishioner called Rowland "one of the best of men," and eulogized him as follows:

> Never, perhaps, was man more lamented, nor could the cause of religion in general, or this place in particular, have met with a greater loss. . . . Would to God, I were able to give the praise due to the merits of our departed friend; suffice it for me to say, that--the good, the exemplary citizen--the tender husband and father--the sincere friend--were particular characteristics that will ever do his memory honour, and which with the charity and the purity of his sacredotal character, attached to him in a peculiar manner, not only the warm affections of his own congregation, but of every sect and class of people here.[40]

The parishioners also evinced their respect for Rowland by their concern for the welfare of his family and by their sincere desire to have his son succeed him as rector. Immediately after Rowland's death, the church wardens and vestrymen beseeched Bishop Inglis to ordain Thomas Rowland priest and to name him their minister. "We pray that you would ratify the unanimous, and earnest wishes of the Parishioners," they wrote. "The sole care of our late worthy Rector's large family devolves upon him," they continued, "a family for whom we have the highest esteem, and whose welfare we have much at heart." Before the end of 1795 the bishop complied with their wishes, consecrated him to the priesthood, and appointed him rector of the combined parishes. The SPG gave its blessing by accepting young

39 The church wardens and vestry to Bishop Inglis, 28 Feb. 1795, Bishop Inglis to Thomas Boulby Rowland, 19 Mar. 1795, Extracts, Vestry Records of Christ Church.

40 "Extract of a Letter from Shelburne, 14 Mar. [1795]," *Halifax Gazette*, 24 Mar. 1795, photocopy supplied by PANS.

Rowland as missionary in Shelburne. Thomas Rowland served Christ Church as minister for 51 years before his retirement in 1846.[41] The son's long ministry in Shelburne is not only much to his credit but also reflects favourably upon his father's influence and example.[42]

Rowland possessed considerable property at the time of his death. Apparently he acquired land from fleeing residents, probably at bargain prices and possibly by bequest. He died without a will and in 1798 both his personal property and real estate were inventoried and appraised. His personal property added up to a value of £279 sterling. It consisted of three slaves, livestock, tools and furniture; the livestock included three pair of oxen, which suggests that Rowland was engaged in agriculture or in the lumber business. His real estate comprised sixty town lots, some with houses and buildings; a water lot; eight different acreages, from two to fifty acres in size; and four farms, varying from two hundred to 350 acres, with buildings. The real estate totaled £729.5s. sterling in value. His widow received one-third of the real estate and personal property, and the remaining two-thirds was equally divided among the eight children, who were Thomas Boulby, John, Charlotte Virginia, George, William, Mary Ann, Charles Nova Scotia, and Martha. Thus the value of Rowland's estate, including both personalty and realty, came to over £1,000 sterling, making him moderately well-to-do at the time of his death.[43]

In his career, shortened to little more than a score of years by his early death, Rowland gave ample testimony of his dedication and ability as a minister of the Church of England. He served his church well and faithfully as rector and chaplain in Virginia, New York, New Jersey and Nova

41 Church wardens and vestry to Bishop Inglis, 28 Feb. 1795, Extracts, Vestry Records of Christ Church; Thomas Boulby Rowland to the SPG, 27 Oct. 1795, SPG Archives, 1792-1795, reel A-157, 417.

42 Thomas Boulby Rowland's long tenure was not without unpleasant incidents. In 1803 he was accused of an unspecified form of misconduct. See Stephen Skinner to Gideon White, 21 Jan. 1803; four Justices of the Peace to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, 18 Apr. 1803; the Bishop of Nova Scotia to four Justices of the Peace, 24 June 1803; Samuel Campbell to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, 5 July 1803; Joseph Prescott to Gideon White, 19 July 1804; all noted in Margaret Ells, comp., *A Calendar of the White Collection of Manuscripts in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1940), #750, #761, #766, #768, #798.

43 Probate Court, Shelburne County, Estate Papers of John Hamilton Rowland, photocopies supplied by PANS.

Scotia. No negative evidence about his character or clerical service can be found in the records, except of course the objection to his loyalism by the patriots of Virginia. On the contrary, both his parishioners and ministerial associates registered their approval and respect. Posterity has also held him in high regard, for in the late nineteenth century, the Reverend Thomas H. White, rector of Christ Church in Shelburne, referred to Rowland as "a learned man and a good preacher." [44] William Smith's critical evaluation of his character and prospective career in 1774 was therefore not only injudicious but also may even have been mischievous. Certainly, the events of his career in no way bore out the implications of Smith's complaint.

44 Eaton, *The Church of England in Nova Scotia*, 144.

"Soul-chearing doctrines" : Universalism in Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia

Heather M. Watts

On a cold winter afternoon in 1859, the Reverend James Cochran set out to visit the homes of his flock. He had been sent by the Anglican bishop, the Right Reverend Hibbert Binney, to warn the parishioners of the Bishop's Chapel on Argyle Street against a pernicious threat to their spiritual well-being--the doctrines of universal salvation which were causing much talk in the town. He plodded from house to house, pleading with the occupants (with tears in his eyes, it is said) not to attend any of the services at the Universalist Church on Hurd's Lane, not even to allow their boarders to read Universalist tracts, lest the contagion of these new ideas be spread to Church of England households. He then visited all the printing houses of the city to entreat them not to insert notices of the Universalist services in the newspapers.[1]

The controversy had begun the previous June when the Reverend Nathaniel Gunnison, pastor of the Universalist Church, had preached a sermon entitled *The Coming of Christ, the End of the World and Everlasting Punishment*, which was printed and circulated in the city by the printing firm of James Bowes and Sons, whose proprietor was a staunch Universalist. In October, Gunnison began a series of sermons on Universalist doctrine, causing such a stir that he was immediately challenged from their pulpits by the Reverend Mr. Hunter of Chalmers (Presbyterian) Church and Bishop Binney. In an age when there was little Sunday entertainment, it was not hard to fill the church each Sunday night to hear the eloquent Mr. Gunnison, skilled in the debating tradition of his denomination, attempt to demolish the arguments of the establishment clergy. Notices of the verbal battle continued to appear in the *British Colonist*, whose editor, Alpin Grant, also a Universalist, refused to be intimidated by the bishop's threat to cancel his subscription.[2]

What were these dangerous ideas that so threatened the religious orthodoxy of Halifax in the mid-nineteenth century? Surely they must have been fearsome indeed to arouse such opposition. Yet to a twentieth-century mind they do not seem so. The Universalists' main heresy was that they

1 Nathaniel Gunnison, in the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, 2 Apr. 1859, p. 175.

2 *British Colonist*, 26 Feb. 1859. Andrew S. Wolfe mentioned the incident in "A Sketch of Universalism in Halifax, Nova Scotia," *Universalist Leader*, 9 July 1901, but placed it two years later and confused Grant with his brother-in-law, Joseph Crosskill, the Universalist editor of the *Halifax Reporter*.

did not believe in hell. The certainty of everlasting torment seemed out of keeping with their idea of a just and loving God, and they refused to accept such a doctrine. Some believed that sinners created their own hell on earth, others that there would be a period of punishment for sin after death, but both groups agreed that eventually mankind would be reunited with a loving Father in heaven.

Belief in universal salvation goes back to the very early years of the Christian church. Despite its condemnation as heresy in the fifth century, small groups and individuals kept the idea alive, and in the eighteenth century, immigrants from England and Germany brought Universalist doctrines to the New World. No formal Universalist movement existed in North America before the arrival in the colonies of the former English Methodist, John Murray. Men like George de Benneville of Philadelphia, Dr. Benjamin Rush (a signer of the Declaration of Independence) and Elhanen Winchester had held and preached Universalist ideas, but it was Murray who, after a period of successful itinerant preaching, founded the first Universalist Church in America at Gloucester, Massachusetts in 1780. Universalism remained New-England based, but settlers and itinerant preachers carried the doctrines westward and north, into the British provinces.[3]

Although there had been many educated and socially prominent people in Murray's congregation, later Universalist converts tended to be simple folk--rural, staunchly independent and often self-educated. In contrast to their closest theological allies, the Unitarians, who often remained part of the urban establishment,[4] Universalists were "come-outers"--driven from Congregationalist, Methodist or Baptist congregations by their heretical views. Individualistic and free-thinking, they resisted organization and regulation, even by their own Conventions, a characteristic which remained an impediment to growth.

3 Russell E. Miller, *The Larger Hope: the First Century of the Universalist Church in America 1770-1870* (Boston, 1979).

4 The name "Unitarian" was given to those who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, adopted in 325 A.D. Many Unitarians suffered for their heretical beliefs, but Unitarian movements existed in Italy, Switzerland, Hungary and Great Britain. In England, many prominent thinkers and social reformers like John Milton, Isaac Newton and Florence Nightingale were Unitarians. Joseph Priestly, the discoverer of oxygen, was a Unitarian minister who fled persecution in England and founded the first Unitarian Church in America in Philadelphia, 1794.

Another impediment was the rabid opposition that Universalism met with from the orthodox religions, wherever it appeared. It is difficult today to understand the fury with which it was attacked. The clergy in Halifax, for example, were convinced that this was "the Devil's doctrine" and that without the prospect of hell to deter them, their parishioners would give themselves over to unlicenced depravity and evil.[5] Universalists pointed out that in fact they were unusually moral, law-abiding and charitable, but to no avail. They continued to be hounded as infidels and prayers were offered for their conversion.

One of the greatest Universalist leaders, and the inspiration of many Nova Scotian Universalists, was Hosea Ballou (1771-1852). With no formal education or training he had read, thought and prayed his way to the Universalist position, and was subsequently excommunicated from the Baptist church by his own father. He possessed enormous abilities as a preacher, writer and theologian, and utilized them throughout his long life. His publication of *A Treatise on Atonement* in 1805 gave the Universalists a theological base and influenced Universalist thought in North America, carrying it further from the original beliefs of John Murray. Ballou was the first nineteenth-century Universalist theologian to join Unitarian ideas of the nature of God to Universalist doctrines and to declare Jesus to be fully human. Like all Universalists, he rejected the Calvinist doctrines of everlasting happiness for a handful of the elect and everlasting punishment for the rest. God's justice, he taught, was not shown in the wrathful damnation of sinners, but by His infinite love and desire to restore them to holiness and happiness. Ballou was always willing to allow full and free discussion of these new ideas, and patient in his exposition of them. In an age of hell-fire-and-damnation sermons, it was a gentle doctrine which brought solace to many.[6]

Seated in the pew of a Boston church, listening to Hosea Ballou expound these doctrines one Sunday in 1810, was a Dartmouth matron, Mrs. Sarah

5 In October 1844, the Reverend Patrick Miller referred to Robinson Breare as "the Devil's child going about speaking lies." In 1845, the Reverend Charles DeWolfe called him "a creature who preached the Devil's doctrine for a morsel of bread." MG4, Vol. 191, pp. 22, 39, Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS].

6 Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-105.

Allen. Her family, the Kings, and that of her husband, Ebenezer Allen, were of Loyalist Sandemanian stock, a sect used to independent religious thinking.[7] The Sandemanian belief, inscribed on the founder's tombstone--that "the bare death of Jesus Christ, without a deed or thought on the part of man is sufficient to present the chief of sinners spotless before God" [8] -- agreed with the Universalist sentiments she was hearing. She was won over by the power and logic of Ballou's sermon, and she returned to Dartmouth determined to work for the spread of these new ideas among her friends and neighbours.

Universalism was subsequently adopted by several Dartmouth families--the Fosters, the Allens, John Chamberlain, the Elliots and later Benjamin Russell--families who were already linked by marriage or by their Sandemanian roots. George MacDonald, a Scots stonemason who was another of Mrs. Allen's converts, carried his Bible with him wherever he went and was quick to seize the opportunity to prove the truth of Universalism by quoting biblical texts to any interested person he might meet.[9] Across the harbour in Halifax, James Crosskill Sr. came back from a trip to New England filled with the ideas of John Murray, whom he had heard preach.[10] Other free-thinking individuals in the local area reached Universalist views by personal study of the scriptures, or by reading Universalist books and pamphlets.

By 1837 there was enough interest in Halifax-Dartmouth for notice to be given of a meeting of enquiry "for the discussion of the views known as Universalist." [11] The meeting was held in the former Independent Methodist building known as Providence Church on Brunswick Street, a building which had often been the centre of controversial theology.[12] Provi-

7 Charles St.C. Stayner, "The Sandemanian Loyalists," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIX (1951), 78.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Wolfe, *op. cit.*

10 Costello Weston, "Universalism in Halifax," *The Universalist Quarterly* (July 1879), 322.

11 MG4, Vol. 191, p. 8, PANS.

12 R.M. Hattie, "Old Time Halifax Churches," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXVI (1945), 90-99.

dence Church was no stranger to jeering, unruly mobs and the Universalists who gathered there on that late November evening were treated to the same tactics. It became clear that dignified retreat was the best plan. At least a large number of people had turned out and the Universalists had been made aware of one another. Before they left, they agreed to meet at a private home the following Sunday to read Universalist literature and study the scriptures.[13]

Before the week was out, they had been approached by a former Methodist physician from London, England, Dr. William F. Teulon, who was practising locally and whose family was involved with both Universalist and Unitarian movements in London and Montreal. He offered his services as a lay preacher, and as John Chamberlain, the little group's first secretary recorded, "We were overjoyed that a person of Dr. Teulon's piety and learning had taken part with us." [14] The first Universalist sermon in the area was preached by Dr. Teulon in the Dartmouth schoolhouse--despite the protest of the Anglican rector--in December 1837. In Halifax, McIntyre's Hall on Gottingen Street was hired and Sunday services were held there morning and evening for the next six years.[15]

Here as elsewhere, the orthodox looked with horror upon the heresy in their midst, and fought it by fair means and foul. An article in the Methodist journal, *The Wesleyan*, commented on the new doctrines being disseminated from McIntyre's Hall:

> We are sorry to perceive by an advertisement in a late Halifax paper that a place is opened there for the distribution of this anodyne for the pangs of an awakened conscience. Viewing that system as opposed to the spirit and letter of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and sapping the very foundations of Christian holiness, we cannot but hope that plans for its introduction into Nova Scotia may prove abortive and die in their birth. We have 'false doctrines, heresy and schism' enough already, with the usual accompaniments of contempt of God's word and commandments.[16]

13 MG4, Vol. 191, p. 8, PANS.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

16 *The Wesleyan*, I, 6 (May 1838), 69.

Undeterred, Dr. Teulon engaged in a flurry of activity designed to make Universalism better known in the area. In addition to his medical practice and his frequent scientific lectures at the Mechanics' Institute, he preached twice in Halifax and once in Dartmouth each Sunday, for which he received the collection money. He published a book entitled *Sacremental Exercises*, and for two years was the most frequent local contributor to *The Pearl*, a literary periodical edited in Halifax by Thomas Taylor, a Methodist clergyman with Universalist leanings.[17] Many of Teulon's literary efforts published in *The Pearl* had a religious theme.

By coincidence, just as Teulon was beginning to tire of his busy schedule, the Methodist community of Halifax was about to lose a prominent member. The Reverend Robinson Breare, a missionary of the Wesleyan Association of Scotland, and pastor of the Protestant Methodist (Ebenezer) Church on Gerrish Street, had been reading a life of John Murray, but instead of preaching against the Universalist doctrines as he had intended, he announced from his pulpit in 1841 that he had been converted by them, and left to join the Universalists.[18] Teulon gladly relinquished his preaching duties to Breare, who insisted on a regular salary and a more formal organization. In the autumn of 1842 Breare set off for New England, where he was ordained into the Universalist ministry in Boston, and then conducted a fund-raising campaign as far south as New York and Pennsylvania to assist with the building of a church in Halifax.[19]

Breare also conducted a local missionary journey early in 1842 and reported that he found the doctrines doing well, especially in Cumberland County; much of the credit for this can be given to another rugged individualist, Amos Peck Seaman (1788-1864) of Minudie. Seaman had a thriving trade in grindstones and an office in Boston to facilitate his business. On one of his trips there about 1830, he too had come into contact with Hosea Ballou and been converted. Although described as a man "not eloquent in words," Seaman imported boxes of Universalist books and pamphlets

17 Nancy W. Fraser, "Two Nova Scotia Literary Periodicals of the 1830s, *The Halifax Monthly* and *The Pearl*," unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1977, pp. 47-48.

18 Weston, *op. cit.*

19 MG4, Vol. 191, p. 11, PANS.

from Boston for distribution throughout Cumberland County. Itinerant Universalist preachers from the United States who occasionally visited in the 1830s and 1840s were entertained and encouraged by the hospitable "Grindstone King." [20] Ministers from the Halifax congregation also came whenever they could, to preach in the Universalist church that Seaman had built at Minudie. In accordance with the old King's wishes and in keeping with Universalist principles of tolerance, the church was always available to clergymen of any Protestant denomination; a large etching of Hosea Ballou was prominently displayed on the wall. For a few years a Universalist church also existed in Pugwash, but financial difficulties caused the congregation to disband, and their building was sold to the Church of England.[21] In 1871 there were still 152 declared Universalists scattered in villages throughout Cumberland County, even though they had never had a settled pastor.[22]

The Halifax Universalists built their first church building on the corner of Hurd's Lane and Starr Street in 1843, using the small amount raised by Breare, together with their own contributions and a mortgage of $10,000 offered by Conrad West, the only member with substantial monetary resources.[23] Solid merchants and tradesmen formed the bulk of the membership, with a sprinkling of the professional classes, but few of the city's social élite. There was much intermarriage among the young people--fostered partly by community disapproval of the new sect--and this added to the close family feeling of the congregation.

The church they had created was unique. It was the only urban congregation in the British provinces and had been founded without professional leadership by local Halifax-Dartmouth families. It was located at least 500 miles from the nearest Universalist group, which made its situation even more precarious. Yet to the Universalists, the occasion of the opening service, on the first Sunday in January 1844, was a promise of a more stable future:

---

20 Nathaniel Gunnison, in the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, 3 Sept. 1859, p. 55.

21 James F. Smith, *History of Pugwash* (North Cumberland Historical Society, 1978), p. 57.

22 Census returns, 1871.

23 Conrad West to Committee of the Universalist Church, 6 Sept. 1848. MG4, Vol. 215i, No. 5, PANS.

"Now that we have a commodious and respectable church," commented John Chamberlain, "there is a very fair prospect that our glorious and soul-chearing [*sic*] doctrines will spread rappidly [*sic*]." [24]

It was during the pastorate of Nathaniel Gunnison (1811-1871) from 1857 to 1865 that the most evident spread of Universalism in Nova Scotia took place. A native of New Hampshire, Gunnison had served several small New England parishes before coming to Halifax. His first impressions of the religious life of the city were not favourable, as he confided to his diary:

> In theology the clergy are about fifty years behind the clergy of New England. The English church is the state church; that is, all the officers are appointed by the Queen and must swear to support this church. The bishop and clergy are very bigoted and sectarian. Their theme upon almost all occasions is the Trinity, which they prove not from the Scriptures, but from the ritual and church decrees. . . . Liberal sentiments cannot make much progress in this old city. The people generally are not educated, and those who might be supposed to break away from the old creed are kept in subjection by social and priestly influences.[25]

Gunnison at once set about supplying an alternative to the "partialist" [26] creed he complained of. He believed that the preaching in Halifax, where Universalist ideas were so little understood, had to be doctrinal. Hardly a Sunday passed without someone from the country--up for the court, market or the Assembly--slipping into one of the free back pews at Hurd's Lane to hear a spirited defence of the optimistic doctrines of universal salvation.

Gunnison was a huge man--genial, self-confident, burning with zeal for the cause--and he thrived on controversy. He delighted in taking on the unsuspecting clergy of the orthodox churches and reducing them to silence by the power of his logic and formidable biblical knowledge. He frequently challenged his fellow ministers to public debate, but usually was refused and had to reply to their pulpit attacks on Universalism from his own church. His sermon duel with the Reverend Mr. Hunter of Chalmers Presbyterian

24 MG4, Vol. 191, p. 17, PANS.

25 Nathaniel Gunnison, *An Autobiography of the Reverend Nathaniel Gunnison* (Brooklyn, 1910), pp. 28-32.

26 "Partialists" were those who believed that only a part of mankind would be saved.

Church and Bishop Binney was widely publicized, and attracted so many new adherents that an addition had to be made to the Hurd's Lane church in the summer of 1859.[27]

At the height of Gunnison's ministry in 1861 there were 846 Universalists reported in the province, 363 of whom were in Halifax County.[28] What was needed now was for someone to follow up the initiative in other parts of the province, and Gunnison pleaded in Universalist papers in the United States for a young man who could travel the rural areas, doing missionary work and distributing literature.[29] But the brethren in New England had neither the money nor the personnel to give to such an unknown mission field, and eventually Gunnison coped as best his health and his other committments would allow. He travelled annually to Minudie, preaching at Amherst and several New Brunswick border towns, visited Truro and Falmouth several times, and offered to debate with two orthodox ministers in Yarmouth who failed to turn out to challenge him in person, but delivered blistering attacks on Universalism after he left.[30]

Gunnison also lectured and travelled for the Sons of Temperance, and twice served as temporary United States Consul in Halifax during the American Civil War. His involvement in the "Second Chesapeake Affair," an international incident of major importance involving piracy, murder and the violation of neutral British territory by American warships, brought him into direct conflict with the civil and military authorities of the province.[31] Many prominent Halifax citizens were strongly sympathetic to the Southern cause and Gunnison was provoked into some outspoken remarks which he felt damaged his effectiveness as a minister. Although he never lost the loyalty of his congregation, he felt his usefulness was at an end, and he resigned in 1865.

---

27 Gunnison, *Autobiography*, p. 30.

28 Census returns, 1861.

29 Nathaniel Gunnison, in the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, 29 Apr. 1858.

30 Gunnison, *Autobiography*, p. 32.

31 See Robin Winks, *Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years* (Baltimore, 1960), pp. 244-263; and R.H. McDonald, "Second Chesapeake Affair 1863-64," *Dalhousie Review*, 54 (4), 674-684.

Money earned in the lucrative West India trade continued to pour into the Universalist Church as Conrad West's six sons and two of his daughters, with their families, took an active part in church affairs. Brunswick Street, the site of the first abortive Universalist meeting in 1837, was now lined with the mansions of Nathaniel, William, James, John, Augustus and Margaret West. The family prospered during Nova Scotia's Golden Age of Sail and was respected in Halifax mercantile circles for its honesty and integrity. Conrad West served on the City Council and was a close friend of Joseph Howe. Interest on the $10,000 mortgage on the Hurd's Lane building was forgiven in his will,[32] while West money from his sons Nathaniel and William built the prestigious new Church of the Redeemer on Brunswick Street in 1874. The best organ in the city was installed, and was played at the dedication service by its Boston builder. An elegant brick manse adjoining the church, a double brick residence to provide rental income, and a small sexton's house in Brunswick Court were added at William West's suggestion, and paid for by him when the vestry demurred.[33] $28,000 came to the church at Nathaniel's death in 1877, and William left a trust fund of $40,000 for the spread of Universalist doctrines in the Dominion of Canada when he died a few years later.[34]

At last, with ample funds, vigorous and talented ministers, an attractive property in the best part of town, endowment funds to help with missionary work, and a large congregation which included several prominent people,[35] Universalism seemed poised for a period of unprecedented success and expansion. Even before the doors of the new church had opened, however, its young minister, Costello Weston, found himself embroiled in one of the most bitter periods of controversy with the Methodists and Presbyterians. Weston was only thirty when he came to Halifax in 1873, to take on the

32 MG1, Box 946, Folder A, PANS.

33 MG4, Vol. 192, p. 55, PANS; Vol. 194, 20 Nov. 1874, 4 June 1975, 21 Oct. 1875.

34 MG1, Box 946, Folder C, PANS.

35 Businessmen Luther Sterns, C.C. Vaux, James Hillis; Dartmouth mayor J.C.P. Frazee and town clerk Alfred Elliot; lawyer Benjamin Russell; architects Henry and Edward Elliot; and several members of the Bowes publishing family all served on the vestry of the Church of the Redeemer at various times between 1875 and 1895.

largest parish he had yet served. He was born in Maine and was a graduate of the Canton Theological School in New York State. It was he who started the feud by issuing a challenge, in the spring of 1874, to any orthodox minister willing to debate with him publicly on the truths of Universalism. He did not realize the hornet's nest he was provoking. Universalists were often accused of being controversialists--of stirring up discord and dissention for its own sake. They, of course, simply looked upon public debate as an easy and effective way of presenting their ideas to a large number of people.

Weston's challenge was taken up by the Reverend A. Stewart Desbrisay, a Methodist clergyman in Windsor. On 7 April 1874, a delegation from the Church of the Redeemer travelled to the Valley town where the debate took place in the Temperance Hall. The newspaper accounts of which side triumphed differed according to the religious sympathies of the writers, but there was general agreement that the audience was large and politely attentive, and that the debate had been fairly conducted.[36]

Mr. Desbrisay was invited by Weston to make a return visit, and on 15 May he gave a lecture on the errors of Universalism in the Temperance Hall in Halifax, to which discourse the Universalist minister replied the following week. Weston's theme was the Fatherhood of God, and the doctrine that God would finally restore all souls to Himself. He met Desbrisay's charges that the Universalist Church did no Christian work, had no spiritual power, and lived on negations and controversial excitement, by citing the statistics of a church less than one hundred years old, which had 180,000 souls, seven hundred ministers, nine regular publications, eight million dollars in church property, five colleges, seven academies and two theological schools educating 1,200 students, as proofs of Universalist vitality and loyalty to Christian duty.[37]

Weston's lecture was published and circulated in the city, starting a full-scale sermon and pamphlet war over Universalist doctrines. Judge John George Marshall, "with extraordinary vigor of mind for his age" --he was then nearly ninety--led off with a 33-page *Scriptural Answer to. . .The Teaching*

36 *The Wesleyan*, 13 Apr. 1874, p. 2.

37 Costello Weston, *The Teaching of the Universalist Church* (Halifax, 1874).

of the Universalist Church (Halifax, 1874), and was followed by the Reverend John Campbell of St. Andrew's Scotch National Church, who published his *A Sermon on the Doctrine of Everlasting Punishment* (Halifax, 1875).

The Reverend John Lathern of Brunswick Street Methodist Church, in a further attempt to discredit Universalism, chose to preach concerning a rumour he had heard which reflected on the courage, sincerity and parental concern of the Universalists' popular former minister, Nathaniel Gunnison. A charge often made against Universalists was that they were liable to deny the faith on their deathbed, and from the pulpit Lathern told his congregation that when Gunnison's nineteen-year-old daughter Anna was dying of smallpox in 1861, her father had refused to visit or comfort her, even though she had pleaded with him that she was "afraid of the judgment." The vestry of the Church of the Redeemer attempted to get Lathern to retract this slanderous story, and finally, when they could get no satisfactory response, published an open letter to the congregation of Brunswick Street Methodist Church in the *Morning Chronicle*.[38] Although Gunnison himself had since died, his son Almon, now minister of a Universalist Church in Brooklyn, New York, and the medical doctor who had attended Anna Gunnison, both wrote to the *Morning Chronicle*, giving the true account of her death and of the elder Gunnison's honourable and loving conduct towards her.[39]

The *Presbyterian Witness* next printed in its issue of 27 March 1875 a lengthy parable entitled "The Oldest Sect," in which the author noted that

> In the year 1, there is evidence of the starting of a sect, and I think it is still in existence, and I am inclined to believe it has recently erected a fine new chapel in Halifax. . . . Satan was the first pope of this church, and the Serpent was the first Bishop. At that time he couldn't get a man to preach for him, so he had to employ a serpent. . . . Now he has thousands of men ready to do his bidding. When he wants a minister he takes the cleverest scoundrel he can find, educates him, licenses him to preach, hunts up a congregation for him, ordains him as its pastor, dresses him in the best of broadcloth and gives him a white choker. The object is to deceive, and

38 The newspaper clippings are pasted into MG4, Vol. 194, PANS, following the entry for 10 Mar. 1875.

39 *Ibid.*, following the entry for 2 Apr. 1875.

> therefore he must appear as an angel of light. He does not call his church "The Church of the Devil" for then nobody would go to it; but he calls it "The Church of the Redeemer," and some who are not very smart at "trying the Spirits" are deceived thereby.

Although the editor disclaimed any intention to libel either Weston or his church, the Universalists remained unconvinced, and the church's solicitors extracted a grudging apology in the issue of 10 April.

During the same period, the elders of St. James' Presbyterian Church across the harbour were concerned at the "unscriptural opinions so extensively prevalent in Dartmouth" that spring, where Universalism was thought to be "numerically stronger. . . in proportion to its population, than in any other part of the Province." [40] They persuaded their minister, the Reverend Alexander Falconer, to publish his sermon, *Universalism Antiscriptural*, and the Reverend C.B. Pitblado followed with "God a Righteous Judge," which was printed in the *Morning Chronicle* on 3 April. Weston again published a reply in pamphlet form.[41]

Personal tragedy struck Weston the following year with the death of his two young daughters, and he took a three months' leave of absence from the church. Before long, the clergy of the city were distracted from their concern with Universalism by another threat to Christian living. When the Academy of Music opened early in January 1877, the venerable Judge Marshall and the orthodox clergy were soon in full cry against theatrical performances, which were deemed "antagonistic to the religion of Christ, a waste of time and money and injurious to morals." [42] Weston replied with a sermon based on Galatians 5:1: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." [43]

True to their liberal mandate, successive late nineteenth-century ministers in the pulpit of the Church of the Redeemer espoused progressive ideas,

---

40 Alexander Falconer, *Universalist Antiscriptural* (Halifax, 1875).

41 Costello Weston, *A Review of a Sermon by Rev. C.B. Pitblado Entitled "God a Righteous Judge"* (Halifax, 1875).

42 Quoted in Janet A. Maybee, "Theatre in Halifax 1850-1880," unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1965, p. xxxvi.

43 *Ibid.*

promoted higher criticism of the Bible,[44] and preached Darwin's theory of evolution.[45] In the early years of the church's history, local ministerial talent had been encouraged whenever possible. Despite a chronic shortage of funds, the congregation contributed to the ministerial training at Canton, New York, of Samuel Ramsey in 1846, and Alexander Kent of Truro during Gunnison's pastorate. Three Maritimers--Kent, Alexander McArthur, a convert from Presbyterianism living in New Annan, Colchester County, and Ephraim Reed of Prince Edward Island--followed Gunnison in the Hurd's Lane pulpit. Most of the church's ministers, however, came from the United States and returned there when their time in this isolated outpost of Universalism was finished. When the West bequests became available, money was no longer a problem and men like Dr. Henry Rugg, George W. Kent and Thomas B. Gregory filled the pulpit with distinction.

The West trustees, chosen from among the businessmen of the congregation, at once set about distributing the interest from the West money to Universalist causes across the country. Every existing Universalist church in Canada received financial aid from the fund, some for many years. Missionaries were sent out to promising areas, and a denominational paper, *The Liberal Christian*, was edited and published in Halifax. Increasingly, however, the congregation at the Church of the Redeemer dwindled. The number of Universalists in Nova Scotia declined in the last decades of the century from 673 in 1881 to 326 in 1891 and 308 in 1901.[46]

There were several reasons. The closing decades of the century were years of economic depression in Nova Scotia, brought on by the protectionist National Policy. Shipping and trading empires, that had made families like the Wests rich, were ending, and the Boston steamers were crowded with emigrants. Young people from the Church of the Redeemer enriched Universalist congregations in many parts of the United States, as their letters home show.[47] Unlike other denominations, the Universalists had no small

44 Andrew S. Wolfe, "The Universalist Church in Halifax, Nova Scotia," (n.d.), p. 5. Typescript in church papers.

45 Thomas B. Gregory, "All About Aristocracy," *Daily Echo* (Halifax), 13 Apr. 1891.

46 Census returns, 1881, 1891 and 1901.

47 Letters from the Reverend Alexander Kent and John Whytal, published in *The Liberal Christian*, Apr. 1897.

feeder churches in the towns and villages of Nova Scotia, from which the city church could recruit new members. Furthermore, Unitarians who moved to Halifax tended to give their support to more socially acceptable congregations.

Another reason for the decline was the broad and inclusive statement of faith used by the Universalists. New members were often received informally, and did not necessarily disassociate themselves from their old church affiliations. Benjamin Russell, founder of the Dalhousie Law School, federal member of Parliament and justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, was a member of the Church of the Redeemer for many years, served on the vestry and represented the church at denominational meetings. There is no doubt that his beliefs were Universalist, but with true Universalist tolerance he saw no reason to deny his family and social connections to the Methodist Church, and was officially regarded as belonging to that denomination.[48]

Social ostracism was perhaps the most potent of the forces working against the Universalists in Halifax. The editors of *The Wesleyan* and the *Presbyterian Witness* made vicious personal attacks on individual Universalist ministers, as well as regularly sumitting their beliefs to sarcasm and ridicule.[49] Universalists were preached against and prayed for in Halifax-Dartmouth churches from the year of their first appearance in the area, and it is not surprising that the average person was afraid to be associated with them. Well into this century, rumours circulated of secret rites conducted by hooded black figures,[50] and little boys were dared to sing "No- 'ell, No- 'ell" outside the arched portico of the Church of the Redeemer.[51]

Yet the optimism of their faith never failed the Halifax-Dartmouth Universalists. By the end of the century, they could see the beliefs they had held and promoted being quietly adopted by their orthodox opponents. The Calvinists were putting less emphasis on the harsh and uncompromising

48 H.J. Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto, 1912).

49 For examples, see *The Wesleyan*, 21 May 1838, p. 88, *Presbyterian Witness*, 26 Oct. 1867, p. 329.

50 Helgi Borgford, *The Universalist News*, June 1937.

51 Interview with David Roe, Dec. 1986.

doctrines of predestination and eternal punishment. In many churches there was an admission that the Bible should not always be read literally. The numerous controversies in which the Universalists were involved decreased their numbers, but such public attention also helped to spread their ideas and make them widely known. The intolerant and unchristian manner in which they were often treated may have had the reverse effect to that intended, as the man in the orthodox pew assimilated Universalist ideas and made them his own.

As they celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of Universalism in Halifax-Dartmouth on a stormy night in 1897, those gathered in the Church of the Redeemer looked back on their turbulent history, but they also looked forward with hope to the new century. R.R. McLeod, Queens County writer, naturalist, former Unitarian minister and staunch friend of the Church of the Redeemer, warned them against complacency in his typically outspoken way:

> As liberal christians we find ample room for work. We are encouraged by the thought that more and more the churches will fall into line with our beliefs and our methods. The church of the far future will be a liberal church. Its foundation will not rest on the shifting shoulders of any apostle, but they will be built into the depths of human love and devotion. . . . Our mission as liberal christians is not ended as some would have us believe. We were the first to enter this land of promise and get, as best we could, a bit of standing ground from the hostile Philistines of orthodoxy. Because other churches in other denominations are now preaching Universalism, we are not going to consider it a "notice to quit." The business will be continued at the old stand. Because Evangelical churches are accepting the higher criticism, and giving up Jonah and Genesis, as history, we are not to consider our "occupation gone". There will long be need of religious scouts to advance along the line of march and chase away the bugbears, that rouse the fears of timid souls.[52]

The nineteenth-century Universalists brought the leaven of religious liberalism to Nova Scotia. Though their task must often have seemed overwhelming, they could see by the end of the century a shift in religious thinking that made it justified. Their former pastor, Thomas B. Gregory, urged them on:

52 *The Liberal Christian*, Apr. 1897, pp. 4, 5.

Be not discouraged if your visible church continue to be small. No matter how small the nucleus is, if from it there goes the kindling ray of truth! No matter though the lump of leaven be very small, if it succeed in leavening the meal! Truth does not depend upon an army with banners. A few souls with the truth to proclaim, can work wonders, if they will only be true to that which is committed to them.[53]

53 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Jacob Norton: The Forgotten Christian of Atlantic Baptist History

Roland K. McCormick

The Atlantic United Baptist Convention has been well served by its historians. Three large volumes discuss the history of the Calvinistic Baptist Churches, and in recent years the Baptist Historical Committee has published a number of volumes on the New Light origins of the denomination. Unfortunately there is one of the founding groups that has so far been ignored: the Free Baptists. One chapter on Nova Scotia Free Baptists is found in Saunders' history,[1] and one in Levy's. We see how inadequate these chapters are when we note that Levy mentions Jacob Norton only once, and then gets his name wrong, calling him "Joseph" Norton.[2]

Jacob Norton came to Nova Scotia from Swansville, Maine, in 1817, an ordained minister of a small group known as "the Christian Band." He did not call himself a Baptist before 1837, preferring the simple title "Christian," the only name which he found in the New Testament. Some called the group "Christian Baptists," which is a good description of what they really were.

Norton landed at Shag Harbour in Shelburne County in 1817. It was new territory for him, but well known to his wife. She had grown up on Sherose Island in Barrington Passage. Her mother was a sister of the Reverend Thomas Crowell, and her father, John Lewis, was a half-brother of Elizabeth Doane, the wife of Thomas Crowell.[3]

A year after he arrived in the province, Norton organized the first Free Baptist Church in Nova Scotia at Lower Argyle in 1818, from a previously existing New Light Baptist Church. The next year he organized two more churches in the Barrington area, after which he was invited to Falmouth to assist in the ordination of a New Light preacher named Curry. While there he met a Free Will Baptist preacher named Asa McGray, who had been engaged in secular work, but had been led to rededicate himself to the work of the ministry. A revival having broken out in Horton, Norton organized a church there in 1819, and since he wished to remain in the

1 E.M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, 1902).

2 George Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946* (Saint John, 1946), p. 238.

3 Edwin Crowell, *The History of Barrington Township* (Yarmouth, 1923); for the genealogy of John Lewis, see p. 515.

area for a time, he asked McGray to go to Barrington and preach in his churches. Thus McGray first came to Barrington in 1819 at the request of Jacob Norton.[4]

On his way from Falmouth to Barrington, McGray passed through Brookfield, Queens County, and reorganized a church there in 1819. This had been a congregation started by William Archer in 1811.[5] W.W. Ashley had formed the church into a "Christian Band," that is, a Free Baptist Church, earlier in 1819.[6] He then appears to have turned the church over to a lay Methodist preacher, who was unacceptable to many of the members. McGray helped them to re-organize, and told them to get a copy of "Payzant's Articles." This would be the statement of faith of the New Light Church at Liverpool, given to them by Henry Alline in 1782.

This information is all contained in a letter from Thomas Ansley to Edward Manning in 1828.[7] Edward Reynolds, a Free Will Baptist minister, was preaching in the church at that time.[8] Ansley was in the area for a funeral, and he had some of the members write a letter of dismission to Reynolds, whereupon Ansley organized a Calvinistic Baptist Church. This does not mean that the Free Baptist Church ceased to exist in the area. Those who continued to be Free Baptists became part of the Free Christian Baptist Church

4 The information in this paragraph comes from a history of the Free Baptists of Nova Scotia, written by Ezekiel McLeod, editor of the *Religious Intelligencer*. For a copy of the article, see R.K. McCormick, "The Free Baptists of Nova Scotia: An Anthology," p. 175ff, unpublished manuscript at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax [hereafter PANS], and at the Maritime Baptist Archives, Acadia University, Wolfville.

5 William Archer was a stone mason who professed to be a Baptist minister ordained at Ragged Island. He is mentioned by Payzant as a troublemaker preaching at Liverpool in 1810. See B.C. Cuthbertson, *The Journal of the Reverend John Payzant* (Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada Series; Hantsport, 1981), p. 123.

6 W.W. Ashley was something of a butterfly, jumping around from the Christian Connection to the Campbellites, then the Methodists, Free Christian Baptists, Free Will Baptists, and finally the Calvinistic Baptists. A number of his letters written to his son about 1850 while he was a pastor at Barrington are found in PANS.

7 For a copy of this letter, see McCormick, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

8 Edward Reynolds (spelled Runnils by Ansley) was from Cornwallis, and was ordained by McGray and Crowell at Centreville in 1825. He founded the church at Port La Tour in 1835, and preached the funeral sermon for McGray in 1843.

organized in 1838 at Harmony, about ten miles from Brooklyn.

McGray stayed in Barrington on his first trip about three months, preaching at Barrington Head, Sherose Island, Cape Sable Island, Shag Harbour, Wood's Harbour and Lower Argyle. He received a warm welcome, especially on Cape Sable Island, where Thomas Crowell had preached occasionally for a number of years, and where many of the people were members of the Sherose Island Church.[9] At that time there was no settled minister on Cape Sable Island, and the people urged McGray to come and settle among them. He did this in May 1820, and in 1821 organized the first Free Will Baptist Churches in Nova Scotia at Centreville and at Wood's Harbour.[10]

Between the first and second visits of McGray, Norton returned to Barrington for a short time to carry out the ordination of Thomas Crowell as an itinerant minister.[11] Crowell continued to travel and preach in the whole area from Yarmouth to Liverpool, including Cape Sable Island, and when McGray organized his church there, Thomas Crowell was named as an assistant pastor.

In the meantime Norton returned to the Horton-Cornwallis-Falmouth area. His central preaching point was at Greenwich, but we know from the *Journals* of Edward Manning that he travelled extensively all over the area. Manning not only wrote letters to New England, but searched everywhere for scandal, and spent most of his time between January and May of 1822 travelling around Cornwallis spreading gossip about his enemy. His favourite name for Norton was "that imposter," which he used ten times. He also called Norton depraved, wretched, unrepentant, a villain, barefaced, horrid, scandalous, a bad character, a runaway from his own country, troublesome, unclean, misguided, a deceiver, strange and wicked. Since no one else questioned the moral standards of Norton over a ministry of

9 The article by Ezekiel McLeod mentioned above says the first church on Cape Sable Island was a branch of the church at Sherose Island. See McCormick, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

10 Church records for Cape Sable Island compiled by McGray are found in the Maritime Baptist Archives, Acadia. They are identified as the records of a Free Will Baptist Church at Barrington. It should be remembered that Barrington Township covered about half of Shelburne County, including Cape Sable Island.

11 Two letters with the Yarmouth Church records at the Maritime Baptist Archives, Acadia, shed a great deal of light on the ordination of Thomas Crowell. One of them is found in McCormick, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

fifty years, it would seem these remarks were more of a reflection on Edward Manning than they were on Jacob Norton.[12]

In the meantime, problems had arisen for Norton in his church at Greenwich. The congregation there had been started during the three years Theodore Harding had been away preaching in Fredericton. For a time it looked like Norton might take the whole Horton church into the Free Baptist camp. But two things happened: first, Harding returned and things became more settled in the Calvinistic Church; and second, a dispute arose between Norton and some of his members at Greenwich, and many left and joined the Methodists. Apparently there were enough that they gained control of the proprietors' meeting house, and Norton left and returned to Yarmouth and Barrington.[13]

At Yarmouth, Norton founded a church at the Ponds (Lake Milo), which probably included members from Brooklyn and Session Hill (Chegoggin), where Charles Knowles founded Free Baptist Churches some years later. Norton also began to preach again at Lower Argyle and Barrington. Between 1825 and 1827 he baptised about 250 people in Barrington alone. One of those converted was Charles Knowles. Encouraged by Norton to preach, Knowles founded a church at Lower East Pubnico in 1830, was ordained at Lower Argyle in 1831, and during the next forty years baptised over a thousand people and organized at least fifteen Free Christian Baptist Churches in Yarmouth County.[14]

In the meantime, Norton settled at Barrington and preached until 1839 at Lower Argyle, Bear Point, Sherose Island, and the Old Meeting House in Barrington. In 1839 he received a letter from the New Light Church at Habitant (Canning), begging him to come and be their pastor.[15] For the next thirty years he made Canning his home, and kept the Free Baptist witness alive in the heart of Calvinistic Baptist country, organizing churches

12 Laurie D. Fennerty, "Edward Manning's Journal: A Partial Decoding," unpublished B.D. thesis, Acadia University, 1962.

13 See "Historical Sketch of the 1st. Horton Baptist Church, Wolfville & etc.," quoted in McCormick, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

14 "Charles Knowles: Bishop of Yarmouth," in McCormick, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-73.

15 McCormick, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

at Habitant, Scott's Bay, Hall's Harbour, Black Rock and Mount Denson. In 1854 he founded a Free Baptist Church in the Bridgewater area, and in 1861 conducted the funeral service for Elder Douglas Thorpe, beloved pastor of the Free Christian Baptist Church of North Queens, which met at the Harmony Meeting House.[16] Norton died and was buried at Habitant in 1869, after a ministry of fifty years among the Free Baptists. In fact, Norton and his most famous convert, Charles Knowles, between them organized over half of the Free Baptist churches in Nova Scotia.

The importance of Jacob Norton in Free Baptist history is further seen when we consider his relationship with the other three "fathers" of the denomination. We remember that it was Norton who arranged for the ordination of his uncle, the Reverend Thomas Crowell. He was also the one who was instrumental in the conversion of Charles Knowles, and his subsequent entrance into the Christian ministry. And it was Norton who arranged for McGray to make his first visit to Barrington Township and to Cape Sable Island, where he spent the rest of his life.

In 1839 Norton and McGray had a falling out, and when the majority of the Conference supported Norton, McGray left the Free Christian Baptists and started the Free Will Baptist denomination. This was never a large group, and at no time did it have more than seven churches.[17] McGray's influence was confined mostly to Cape Sable Island, where he reigned supreme with the only church on the island during his lifetime.

All things considered, there is no question but that Norton was the most prominent of the Free Baptist fathers during the early years of the denomination. This being true, it is time he was rescued from obscurity, and given his rightful place in Atlantic Baptist history.

16 The death of the Rev. Douglas Thorpe was noted in the *Religious Intelligencer* (Saint John), 13 Dec. 1861. The founding of a church in Bridgewater was noted in the report of the Free Baptist Conference held at Barrington, July 1858.

17 The seven churches were: Cape Sable Island, Port La Tour, Barrington (Bethel: Brass Hill), Central Wood's Harbour, Cranberry Head (Sandford), Beaver River and Bridgetown. For a list of the churches in 1848 and the names of their ministers, see McCormick, *op. cit.*, p. 210. Note that Bethel Church (Barrington) is not listed because this church was organized three years later by W.W. Ashley and Sam McKeown as a split from the Sherose Island Church.

When Norton first came to Nova Scotia in 1817 he called himself simply a "Christian." And while he helped form the Free Christian Baptist Conference in 1837, there is no doubt but that it was the name "Christian" that meant the most to him throughout his ministry. It is for this reason that it seems appropriate to call him the "forgotten Christian" of Atlantic Baptist history.

The Barto Families: From "Up the Bay" and Passamaquoddy Areas of the Bay of Fundy

Marion D. Oldershaw

The Tide Rises, The Tide Falls

The tide rises, the tide falls,
The twilight darkens, the curlew calls;
Along the sea-sands damp and brown
The Traveller hastens toward the town
And the tide rises, the tide falls.

Darkness settles on roofs and walls,
But the sea, the sea in the darkness calls,
The little waves, with their soft, white hands,
Efface the footprints in the sands,
And the tide rises, the tide falls.

The morning breaks, the steeds in their stalls
Stamp and neigh as the hostler calls;
The day returns, but nevermore
Returns the traveller to the shore
And the tide rises, the tide falls.

— Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

There appear to be two distinct Barteaux/Barto families in Nova Scotia. The Annapolis Valley line begins with Philip Barteaux who was in Annapolis Royal at least by the time of the Acadian Expulsion. The Hants/Cumberland line, which is the subject of this article, begins with one John Barto, who lived in Kempt Township, Hants County, in 1825. These two families share the same name and French Protestant heritage, but no link has yet been established between them in Nova Scotia.

A record of the Annapolis Valley line is found in W.A. Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto, 1897), and the *Supplement* to this history, published in 1913 by A.W. Savary. Philip Barteaux/Berteaux was born in the town of St. Helier, on the Island of Jersey, and died in Annapolis Royal, 1794. He was the son of Sir Walter Barteaux, a Huguenot who fled from France to Jersey after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Philip was commissioned as a Master Carpenter by the Board of Ordnance in London, England, and sent on service to Annapolis Royal, where he was present sometime before the Expulsion of the Acadians in 1755. He was married twice, possibly three times. Known issue of Philip Barteaux:

1. William, d. 16 July 1838, aged 88; m. Ann **Spurr**, daughter of Michael and Ann (Bird) Spurr. William watched the destruction of Acadian homes and farms in 1755. Issue.
2. Philip Thomas, bapt. 13 Sept. 1770. No further information.
3. Thomas Edward, m. 12 Nov. 1793, Mary **Baltzar**, daughter of Foster Baltzar. Issue, including a son, born 13 December 1797, who married, 1824, Elizabeth **Baltzar**, daughter of Peter Baltzar, and remained in Annapolis County.
4. Susan, d. unm.
5. Margaret, d. unm.

This current presentation, however, is concerned with the genealogy of John Barteaux/Barto Sr., of the Hants/Cumberland line, to the third and fourth generations of his progeny. The name has been spelled both ways in both families, but for clarity and simplicity, the latter form will be used here.

This family lived along the shores of the Bay of Fundy and the Minas Basin during the so-called "Golden Age of Sail," and its fortunes seemed to grow with the shipbuilding industry, prosper from the resulting trade, and ultimately decline with the passing of the wooden ships.

The story of John Barto Sr., as it is known, begins on the Kempt Shore of Nova Scotia in the winter of 1825. On 25 January, John, along with 21 others, petitioned the House of Assembly in Halifax for financial assistance toward opening a newly laid-out road

> from the part of the said Township [Kempt] where your Petitioners now reside to the Cockmagum [*sic*] Bridge a distance of upwards of Eight miles through a part of the Township which is quite unsettled. That the former road runs along the shores of the Basin, but that the New Road shortens the distance by several miles to the main road from Cockmagum Bridge leading to Halifax and being through a very level country will enable your Petitioners to pass without difficulty in the winter, whereas the shore road is always obstructed during that season by snow drifts. That the said road will also open a large portion of unsettled land for new settlers and be otherwise greatly beneficial to the interests of the Township. That your Petitioners being generally poor and having large families are unable to contribute much towards the opening of the said road but that they have contributed in Labour as much as lay in their power towards the same. . . .

John Barto Sr.'s signature on this petition is the earliest documented evidence of his existence in Hants County. Of the several theories pertaining to his origins, the three that seem most plausible are that:

1. He was a son of Philip Barteaux of Annapolis Royal, particularly since the latter was married more than once, and there are wide spaces between the birthdates of his known issue; a birth record for John, however, has not yet been found.
2. He or his antecedents came to Nova Scotia as part of the entourage of one of the settlers from the French-speaking section of Switzerland; several of these immigrants were in the Pisiquid (Windsor) area before the coming of the New England Planters in 1762.
3. He was of Loyalist extraction. Esther Clark Wright, in *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1955), notes one John Bartow, a Loyalist settler at Beaver Harbour; his place of origin is not given.

Further details concerning the life of John Barto Sr., and his possible movements around the Minas Basin and the Bay of Fundy remain obscure. Neither is the identity of his wife known at this time. In the 1891 census for Spencers Island, Cumberland County, Daniel Barto, a son of John Sr., stated that his father had been born in Nova Scotia, and his mother in the United States. In the same census, another son, Walter Barto, gave his mother's place of birth as Nova Scotia. This leaves open the possibility that John Sr. may have been married more than once. Some additional unresolved issues concerning the ancestry of John Barto Sr. are raised in the appendix to this genealogy (see below).

John Barto Sr. and his wife or wives raised a large family--at least ten children. There were sons Frederick, twins James and John Jr., Walter, David and Daniel; and daughters Rachael, Louisa, Eleanor and Matilda. All of the sons except David answered the call of the sea, either as ship's captains and seamen, or as shipbuilders and owners. John's daughters, too, were involved with the sea through their marriages into seafaring families. Some, it is said, went to sea with their husbands.

By the 1850s, the surname Barto had disappeared from the records of Hants County. Land transactions show that Frederick, Walter, David and Daniel were by then living across the Minas Basin on the Parrsboro Shore of Cumberland County, where there was a thriving shipbuilding industry. This supports the oral tradition recited by the wife of a great-grandson of John, as she recounted the names: "There were four men in all who

came--Walter and his three brothers, Fred, Dan and David . . ." James and John Jr., on the other hand, established their homes and families in the West Isles of Passamaquoddy Bay, New Brunswick.

The genealogy of John Barto Sr. has been painstakingly pieced together by evidence gathered from various sources, including church registers, deeds, probate records, petitions, vital statistics from newspapers, genealogies of allied families and family papers. Birth, marriage and death dates and places are given where they are known.

Issue of John Barto, Sr.: (possibly incomplete, order uncertain)

1. Frederick, b. ca. 1802, in Falmouth, Hants Co., N.S.; d. 12 Feb. 1877 at Harbourville, Kings Co.; m. (1) Elizabeth Allan **Porter**, at Lubec, Maine, 30 June 1825; m. (2) ca. 1859, Francis (Fanny or Fannie) **Dowe**, bapt. 24 Sept. 1823, daughter of William and Mary (Lamb) Dowe, of Parrsboro, Cumb. Co. For the greater part of his life, Captain Frederick Barto was active in the coastal schooner trade between seaports of New England, the Bay of Fundy and the Caribbean Sea, carrying such cargo as lumber, fish, salt and plaster. Frederick gave his place of residence as West Isles, N.B., when he and his brother John purchased the Pinky schooner *Fly* in 1827. The *Fly*, well known in the area, was built in Campobello, N.B. in 1824, and was lost at Shediac, N.B. in 1828. In 1829 he was master of the schooner *Mary Ann* of Deer Island, N.B. By 1833 Frederick and Elizabeth were living in Walton, Hants Co., then called Petit. Frederick bought land there in 1834, sold it in 1836 to the Petit Plaister and Mills Co., and then moved across the Minas Basin to Spencers Island, near Advocate on the Parrsboro Shore. From 1845 to 1847, Frederick was owner and master of the brigantine *Alexander*, built in Windsor in 1835. He and his brother Walter then bought the schooner *Temperance*, with Frederick as the captain.

   The name of Eliza A. Barto appears on the roll of the Baptist Church in Advocate, but was removed from the list in 1859. This was the same year that Frederick sold his land in Spencers Island, later to appear in the 1861 census in Yarmouth, N.S., with his second wife, Fannie, and their first child. It is said that Fannie travelled with Frederick during their early years together, and this is evident from the birth records of their children. Their eldest child was born in

Yarmouth ca. 1860. They returned to Spencers Island for the birth of their second child in 1861. The third child was born on Campobello Island in 1863, and their youngest at Spencers Island in 1865. The three youngest children were baptized 2 April 1866 at Spencers Island. Frederick bought land on North Mountain near Harbourville, Kings Co. in 1871, but the family does not appear in the 1871 census in either Spencers Island or Harbourville.

Frederick d. 12 Feb. 1877 at Harbourville. His obituary appeared in the *Christian Messenger*, 14 Mar. 1877, and read:

> Captain Frederick Barton [*sic*] departed this life on the 12th day of February, 1877, aged 75 years. Our aged brother was a native of Falmouth, N.S. He had been accustomed during the greater part of his life to follow the sea. Two years ago he was baptized at Harbourville, in the neighbourhood of which he has resided for many years, and has since been sailing heavenward, and it is believed, has reached in safety his destination. He was a great sufferer, but his troubles were born with submission to the Divine Will. He leaves a wife and five children to mourn his death. May the Lord graciously sustain and comfort them.

In his will, Frederick mentioned his wife Fanny, his daughter Elizabeth Walley, his only son Frederic John, and his two daughters Anna, Janie and Lydia.

Issue of Frederick and Elizabeth Barto: (probably incomplete)

(1) Sarah Elizabeth (Elizabeth), b. 20 Oct. 1833 at Petit (Walton); d. 2 Dec. 1900; m. 3 Oct. 1850 at Spencers Island, Joseph **Walley**, son of John and Lydia (Burgher) Walley. Both are buried in Scotch Village, Hants Co.

Issue of Joseph and Elizabeth Walley:

(1a) Frederick, b. ca. 1851, d. 1917; m. 23 Oct. 1871, Frances **Harvie**, daughter of Stephen and Grace Harvie, Newport. At a Court of Probate held in Windsor, 22 Aug. 1917, re the estate of Frederick L. Walley, late of Newport in the County of Hants, master mariner, deceased, it was stated: "Frederick L. Walley, the said deceased, sailed from Pernambuco, Brazil, on the 27th day of January A.D. 1917, bound for Barbadoes [*sic*] in the West Indies, since that time nothing has been heard from him, and he is supposed

to have been the victim of a German Raider or Torpedo boat." Frederick had left Windsor in Oct. 1916 with a load of fish from Newfoundland for Brazil on the schooner *Bessie A. Crooks*. Issue.

(2a) Otto G., b. 1854; d. 1926; m. 15 Nov. 1888, Sarah M. **Dimock**, daughter of Shubael and Sarah Dimock, of Newport. Otto was also a mariner.
Issue of Otto and Sarah Walley:
(1b) Florence, m. _____ **Talbot**, lived in Lombac, California.
(2b) Grace, m. Clarence **McCully**, lived in Châteauguay, Quebec.
(3b) Harry.

(3a) Edward, b. ca. 1858; no further information.

(4a) Florence J., b. 1859; d. 6 Oct. 1884; bur. Scotch Village.

(5a) Eva, b. 1872; no further information.

Issue of Frederick and Fannie Barto:

(2) Anna or Annie, b. ca. 1860, Yarmouth; d. 20 Dec. 1942, Advocate; m. (1) _____ **Wood**; m. (2) 16 Oct. 1907, Isaac Watson **DeWolfe**, son of Colin and Lucy (Sanford) DeWolfe of Gaspereau, Kings Co.; settled in Advocate, and lived on the shore in a house built by Isaac, who was a shipsmith by trade. He d. 30 Sept. 1928. d.s.p.

(3) Frances Jane (Jane), b. 13 Oct. 1861, Spencers Island; d. 1925; m. 1 Jan. 1886, George Emmerson **Barto**, b. 1859, son of David and Anne (Ward) Barto. Emmerson and Jane were first cousins, and the marriage was bitterly opposed by both families. Perhaps for this reason they were married in Berwick, Kings Co., across the Minas Basin from their homes. For issue, see below.

(4) Frederick John, b. 1 July 1863, at Campobello, N.B.; d. 1920; m. 10 Feb. 1892, Advocate, Carrie Maud **Smith**, daughter of William and Mary (Barto) Smith, his first cousin, once removed (see below). Frederick did not follow the sea as his father, but was a stevedore, and worked along the Parrsboro shore. He and Carrie lived in Advocate.
Issue of Frederick and Carrie Barto:
(1a) Vance Frederick, b. 1893, Advocate; d. 19 Sept. 1971,

Advocate; m. 19 April 1919, Liverpool, England, Sinar **Gallagher**, b. Oct. 1895, Liverpool, Eng. Issue.

(2a) Florence Juanita, b. 15 Nov. 1894, Advocate; d. 23 Feb. 1969, Liverpool, N.S.; m. (1) 2 July 1918, Advocate, Charles Alpin **Donkin**. He was b. 1 Sept. 1890, Amherst, N.S., son of William and Elizabeth (Lizzie) Trueman (Avard) Donkin; d. 21 Dec. 1949, Kentville, N.S. Issue. She m. (2) Sept. 1953, Amherst, William Henry **Seldon**, of Berwick, Pennsylvania. No issue by second marriage.

(5) Lydia Emma, b. 4 July 1865, Spencers Island; m. 22 Dec. 1891, Advocate, Charles H.M. **Hunniwell**, b. 1860, son of Charles and Olive Hunniwell, of Cambridge, Mass. d.s.p.

2. James Furnald, b. 27 Feb. 1804, Falmouth, N.S.; d. 31 Jan. 1886, Leonardville, Deer Island, N.B.; m. (1) 30 Oct. 1830, Jane **Conley** (1812-1833), daughter of Joseph Conley, of Digby, N.S., and Deer Island; m. (2) 25 Mar. 1836, Frances Ann **Sirles** (1806-1883), daughter of William and Elizabeth (Batson) Sirles, of Campobello Island. In the 1871 census James described himself as a seaman. An article commemorating the "1886 Centennial of West Isles," written by Leonard Dale Barteau in March 1981, reads:

> On the last day of January at the ripe age of 82 and 4 mos. the writer's great-great-grandfather James Furnal Barto died in the village of Leonardville, Deer Island. He lived on property purchased from the heirs of Patrick Flinn who had lived there since 1783, or the same year West Isles became a parish of the newly formed Province of New Brunswick.

Issue of James and Jane Barto:

(1) Ellen Jane, b. 12 Mar. 1831; d. after 1901; m. 11 Aug. 1854, Eastport, Maine, John **Diggins**, b. 4 May 1833, Halifax. John and Ellen Jane made their home in Eastport.

Issue of John and Jane Diggins:

(1a) Sumner John, b. 13 Oct. 1858; d. after 1888; unm.

(2a) Ada A., b. 10 June 1860; m. 25 Oct. 1883, George W. **Norton**, at Eastport.

Issue of George and Ada Norton:

(1b) Nellie, m. Edson **Baston**.

(2b) Marjorie, m. Haken **Holmes**.
(3b) Charles, m. Marcia _____ , of Lubec, Maine.
(3a) Sarah Emma, b. 25 Dec. 1861; d. 1871.
(4a) Nora Jane, b. 25 Jan. 1864; m. 25 Oct. 1891, Clinton Howard **Cummings** (1850-1912); d.s.p.

(2) William H., b. 1833; d. 1835.

Issue of James and Frances Barto:

(3) John Warren, b. 25 Dec. 1836; d. 19 April; m. 18 Feb. 1866, Mary Elizabeth **Whalen**. She was b. 11 Apr. 1843; d. 14 Mar. 1915. John Warren Barto was a pilot and a fisherman.

Issue of John and Mary Elizabeth Barto:

(1a) Flora Lee, b. 1 Apr. 1867; d. 16 Oct. 1957; m. 26 Feb. 1896, Melvin **Eldridge** (1869-1926).
(2a) William Edward, b. 21 Apr. 1869; d. 29 May 1961; m. 1897, Sarah Isabel **Lord** (1874-1960).
(3a) Arthur Gordon, b. 15 Apr. 1871; d. 1945; m. 26 Feb. 1895, Alice **Conley** (1875-1930).
(4a) Nellie Maude, b. 16 July 1873; d. 24 Feb. 1922; m. 1894, Edward **Leeman**, b. 1862.
(5a) Viola Adele, b. 12 Apr. 1875; d. 25 Mar. 1938; m. 1897, Ernest **Morong**.
(6a) Addie Hanson, b. 7 Oct. 1877; d. 1954; m. 1904, Robert **Barry**.
(7a) Myra Brooks, b. 1 May 1880; d. 1954; m. 21 Oct. 1902, Frank **Cross** (1874-1959).
(8a) Sadie Journeay, b. 25 July 1882; d. 1973; m. (1) 19 Mar. 1904, Joseph **Stone** (d. 1928); m. (2) 19 Aug. 1933, Gordon **MacNeill** (1885-1971).
(9a) John Cleveland, b. 28 Feb. 1885; m. 1909, Eliza (Lida) **Hooper** (1887-1976).

(4) James Furnald Jr., b. 1839; unm.

(5) Marianne, b. 1841; d. 1881; m. 26 Aug. 1861, John **Doughty** Jr. (1834-1881).

Issue of John and Marianne Doughty:

(1a) Elmer, b. 1862; d. 1895.
(2a) Alberta, b. 1865; m. William **Sawyer**.

(3a) Loring, b. 1868; d. 5 May 1932; m. 24 Dec. 1892, Lizzie Ardella **Johnson**, b. 1867.
(4a) Ida, b. 1872; d. 1892; m. Charles **Shaw**.
(5a) John Theodore, b. 1873; d. 1954; m. 24 Dec. 1895, Cora **Rogerson** (1867-1964).
(6a) Sumner, b. 1875; unm.
(7a) Amy, b. 1878; d. 1964; m. 2 Dec. 1898, Frank **Varney** (1871-1944).
(8a) Goldy, b. 1881; d. 1881.

(6) Suretta, unm.
(7) Matilda A., b. 1846; m. 16 Dec. 1864, Thomas **Welch** (1835-1919). Matilda died of smallpox before her child was born. Death date unknown.
(8) George Henry, b. 1849; unm.

3. John Jr., b. 27 Feb. 1804, Falmouth, N.S., was the twin brother of James Furnald Barto. John was lost at sea about 1833. The Ship's Registry at St. Andrews, N.B. lists: "Reg. vessel *Mary*, 1830, John Barto, Master--totally lost." The date of the tragedy is given, but it is difficult to determine from the record if the date was 1833, or after 1833. An item from a scrapbook found in an attic in Leonardville, Deer Island, says that John "drowned in L'etite [*sic*] passage when a small schooner loaded with wood overturned in a squall." John m. 11 Dec. 1825, Lubec, Maine, Priscilla Y. **Porter**. She m. (2) Blackmore Nichols of Parrsboro, 2 Jan. 1838; David B. Nichols and family were listed in the 1861 census for Parrsboro.

Issue of John and Priscilla Barto:

(1) James Furnald, b. ca. 1830, in N.S.; d. in California; m. 27 Sept. 1850, Roxannna Merril **Hatch**, daughter of Sylvanus and Margaret (Palmer) Hatch of Chester, Maine. She was b. 27 Sept. 1833; and d. 5 Feb. 1926, and is buried in Presque Isle, Maine. James is not buried with her. James and Roxanna raised a family of ten children, all born in Presque Isle (Mayville).

Issue of James Furnald and Roxanna Barto:

(1a) Rose Ellen, b. 14 Sept. 1851; m. James Waldo **McLure**.
(2a) Loren Weston, b. 27 Feb. 1854; m. (1) Susan **Porter**. They had one child, Estelle; m. (2) Nellie E. **Pelkey**.
(3a) Harvey LeRoy, b. 27 Jan. 1856. No further information.

(4a) Flora Lilly, b. 3 Jan. 1858; m. Oct. 1873, Charles **DeWitt**.

(5a) Frederick Walter, b. 3 Jan. 1860; d. 8 May 1911; m. 11 May 1883, Cora **Goodhue**, b. 30 Nov. 1862, daughter of Freeman and Susan (Martin) Goodhue, Presque Isle. Their children were all born in Presque Isle.

Issue of Frederick and Cora Barto:

(1b) James Freeman, b. 1884; d. 12 Feb. 1942, in Bridgeport, Conn.; m. Ann **Marquis**. Issue included Alanda and Frederick.

(2b) Susan, b. 5 May 1893; d. 23 Nov. 1972; m. Antoine **Oleson**, son of Arnie Oleson, Norway. They had one child, Doris Barto.

(3b) Ruth, m. William **Seaborn**, and had four children: Gilbert, James, Don and William.

(4b) Margaret, b. 7 June 1898; d. 10 Feb. 1894; m. Owen **Blackden**.

(6a) Charles Albert, b. 30 Aug. 1862; d. 7 July 1940, Bangor, Maine; m. 14 Mar. 1886, Edith **DeWitt**.

Issue of Charles and Edith Barto:

(1b) Beryl.

(7a) Clara Alvin, b. 13 Sept. 1864; d. 11 Nov. 1897; m. Russell C. **Howard**.

(8a) Leonara Orilla, b. 24 Dec. 1868; m. Zodac **Shaw**.

(9a) Gertrude, b. 10 Feb. 1871; m. Andrew Foye **House**.

(10a) James Waldo, b. 16 Dec. 1874; m. 11 Sept. 1899, Laura **Peakes**.

4. Walter William, b. 10 July 1805, N.S.; 10 May 1891, at Cape D'Or, Cumb. Co.; m. 22 Sept. 1830, at Windsor, Rebecca **Crossman**, b. 11 June 1808, in Prince Edward Island. Walter signed the road petition of 1825 along with his father. Walter and Rebecca were living on Cape D'Or when they bought land there in 1836. Their holdings included part of Horseshoe Cove, and it was above the cove that Walter and Rebecca cleared land, built their farm, and raised their children. Although Walter was primarily a farmer, he was also active in the thriving shipbuilding industry in Advocate and Horseshoe Cove. He shared ownership of at least two schooners with other members of his family.

Old records suggest that the headland was named Cap d'Or ("Cape of Gold") by early French explorers, who were led to the area by Indians to what turned out to be copper deposits, not the anticipated gold bonanza. Walter leased part of his land to entrepreneurial miners, but was never able to make a profit on the leases. After his death, his widow and children sold their inheritance to the Colonial Mining Co., of New York. The copper ore that was readily available ran out in a few years, and the mines were abandoned.

Issue of Walter and Rebecca Barto:

(1) Eliza Ann, b. 2 June 1833; m. James **Dawson**, a miner, b. in Miramichi, N.B., son of Thomas Dawson. James d. 7 Dec. 1870, aged 30 years, of intussusception. In the 1881 census, Eliza described herself as a weaver. d.s.p.

(2) Eleanor, b. 5 July 1834; m. Alexander **Coffill**, a sea captain. Alexander and Eleanor did not have children, but their grand-nieces and nephews were intrigued by stories that "Aunt Eleanor wore a long black dress, and smoked a clay pipe!"

(3) Mary Maria, b. 26 Apr. 1837; m. 15 Sept. 1855, Captain William **Smith**, b. 22 Aug. 1830. In 1862 William was master of the schooner *Plymouth*, built at Advocate, in which his father-in-law Walter Barto held part-ownership. William Smith's family were Loyalists who came to Wilmot, Anna. Co. in 1783.

Issue of William and Mary Smith:

(1a) Rebecca L., b. 1859; d. before May 1944; m. 8 Jan. 1877, John Hibbert **Morris**, a sea captain, b. 1854, son of William and Janet Morris.

Issue of John and Rebecca Morris:

(1b) Winona, b. 1877; d. 10 Apr. 1905, after a long illness, the result of a bicycle accident.

(2a) John Inglis, b. 1862; d. 1883.

(3a) Walter Austin, b. 10 May 1863; d. 1936; m. (1) 24 Aug. 1884, Sadie Elvira **McPhee**, daughter of George and Roxanna (Rand) McPhee, a millwright. Sadie was b. 15 Sept. 1865, Shediac, N.B.; d. 1897, Cape D'Or. Walter m. (2) Laura **Kirkpatrick**, daughter of George and Rebecca Kirkpatrick, East Boston, Mass. She came to Advocate as a bride in 1919. Walter and Laura operated a small grocery

store, near the bridge. Laura d. Mar. 1971, aged 97 years. She and Walter had no children.

Issue of Walter and Sadie Smith:

(1b) Huldah Roxanna, b. 30 June 1885; m. 8 Feb. 1904, Andrew **Smith**, b. 1869, son of Dennis and Eliza Smith, a farmer from Chezzetcook, N.S.

(2b) John Harold, b. 27 Oct. 1887. No further information.

(3b) Maude Carrie, b. 25 Mar. 1889; d. May 1931; m. 22 Jan. 1908, Alfred **Colford**. He was b. 1 Aug. 1885, and d. 21 July 1961, son of Dennis and Euphrosyne (Dunphy) Colford, of Chezzetcook, N.S. Issue.

(4b) Horace McPhee, b. 1890; d. 19 May 1919, at the Nova Scotia Sanatorium, Kentville, N.S. He served with the 25th Battalion in France, 1916 and 1917; was invalided home in 1918.

(5b) Guy Inglis, b. 28 Feb. 1891; d. 16 Dec. 1894.

(6b) Georgie Leona, b. 1894; d. 5 Nov. 1984; m. David **Kennedy** (1881-1955). Issue.

(7b) Mary Sophia. No further information.

(8b) Herbert LeBaron. No further information.

(9b) Dorothy Rebecca. No further information.

(4a) Maria (Rye), b. 1865; m. 6 Sept. 1883, John **Tupper**, shipwright, b. 1856, Bucksport, Maine, son of Thomas and Ellen Tupper, shipwright. Issue.

(5a) William, b. 1867. No further information.

(6a) Ammie, b. 1870; m. 16 June 1896, Lizzie A. **Cotter**, b. 1878, Centerville, N.S., daughter of Edward and Caroline Cotter, farmer. Ammie also followed the sea.

(7a) Carrie Maude, b. Oct. 1872; d. July 1964; m. (1) Frederick John **Barto**, son of Frederick and Fannie Barto, her first cousin, once removed (see above); m. (2) James **Macdougal**.

5. Louisa, b. ca. 1806; m. 14 Sept. 1826 to a Captain **Wilson** at Kemptown [*sic*]. No further information.

6. David Whetton, b. 1809; d. 1885, at Advocate; m. 6 Nov. 1838, Anne **Ward**, b. 1820, daughter of Moses Ward of Parrsboro Township. Moses Ward was a Loyalist who came to the area in 1785. On 24 Jan. 1834, in Kempt, David Barto and seventy other inhabitants of the townships of Newport and Kempt petitioned the General Assembly of Nova Scotia for £50 to repair a part of the road from Petit (Walton) to Newport. The signatories had pledged £17.0s.6d; David Barto's share was 4s. David and Anne were married at Parrsboro, and at that time David stated that he was from Kempt. He was actually living in Walton, however, with his sister Rachel (see below), on land owned by the Petit Plaister and Mills Co. Six weeks before his marriage, David purchased the property. In 1854 David and Anne sold this land, having moved across the Minas Basin to Advocate several years previously, where they settled, and where they raised their family. David listed his occupation as a farmer on the census records of 1871 and 1881.
   (1) Louisa Ann, b. 13 Mar. 1846; d. 15 Sept. 1865, of consumption.
   (2) Norman, b. 28 June 1848, Advocate; d. 25 Sept. 1909; m. 7 Aug. 1873, Sophia **Morris**, daughter of William and Janet Morris, and sister to John Hibbert Morris, the husband of Rebecca Smith (see above). Sophia was b. 1851 and d. 1930. "Aunt Soph," as she was known to the community, became almost totally deaf in her later years, and used an earhorn into which people had to shout in hopes of making themselves understood. Norman was a hatter by trade.
      Issue of Norman and Sophia Barto:
      (1a) Daisy, b. 1884; m. 11 Mar. 1903, Bliss A. **Morris**, sailor, son of James and DeMaris Morris, ship's carpenter.
   (3) Wesley, b. 1853. He was listed in the 1871 census with his parents, but there is no further information.
   (4) Harriet, b. 1857; m. 24 Aug. 1893, Russell **Ayer/Ayers**, ship carpenter, son of Andrew and Amelia Ayer, of Port Greville.
   (5) George Emmerson (Emmerson), b. 1859; d. 30 July 1945; m. 1 Jan. 1886, Frances Jane **Barto**, daughter of Frederick and Fannie Barto, his first cousin (see above).
      Issue of Emmerson and Jane Barto:
      (1a) Annie, b. 1886; d. 1910, of diptheria.

(2a) Karmon Eva, b. 1891; d. 25 Feb. 1968; m. Walter **Chave**, and lived in Long Island, N.Y.

(3a) George, b. 1892; d. 14 Oct. 1970; m. Eva **Morris** (1894-1975). d.s.p.

(4a) Charles, b. 1894; d. 1961. Charles spent many years in the far north, and lost both his legs to freezing. He wore two very heavy and clumsy wood and leather artificial legs, which creaked when he walked. One leg also contained a trapdoor, inside which Charles kept his spirits--likely rum! unm.

(6) LeRoy, b. 1881. His relationship to the family of David and Anne has not been clarified.

7. Rachael, b. ca. 1811; m. Joseph **Sanford**, b. 1 Mar. 1800, son of John and Rachael (Bentley) Sanford, of Newport, N.S. Joseph was the grandson of Joshua Sanford, one of the original grantees of Newport Township in 1760. In 1838 Rachael Sanford, probably a widow, was living in Walton with her brother David.

Issue of Joseph and Rachael Sanford:

(1) Joseph Albert, b. 1835. In later years he lived in Everett, Mass.

8. Matilda, b. ca. 1813; m. _____ **Lordley**. No further information.

9. Eleanor, b. ca. 1815; m. 21 Aug. 1834, John **Nelson**, at the home of her mother, in Petit (Walton). Eleanor was a widow by 1871, and was living in Scotch Village.

Issue of John and Eleanor Nelson: (probably incomplete)

(1) Louisa, b. 1838. No further information.

(2) Thomas, b. 1848. No further information.

10. Daniel A., ship-rigger and mariner, b. ca. 1817; m. 5 May 1857, Rebecca **Porter**, b. 1839, Spencers Island. Daniel's early life has been particularly difficult to trace. In 1841 his name was included with 54 others in a petition by Frederick Barto to the Province of Nova Scotia for money to build an oat and wheat mill at Spencers Brook, to serve the inhabitants of Advocate and Spencers Island. Walter Barto was also named in this petition. When Daniel bought land at Walton in 1845, he gave Kempt as his place of residence. He gave Walton as his home when he married Rebecca in 1857. When he and Rebecca sold this land in 1858, they were living in Parrsboro. By 1861, according to the census, the couple were settled in Spencers Island, and it was

in that community that they purchased land and raised their family.
Issue of Daniel and Rebecca Barto:

(1) Nathan, b. 1860. He was twice married. The record of his first marriage has not been found, but by his first wife, May, he had at least one child. He m. (2) 5 Sept. 1906, Annie Marie **Turple**, b. 1854, daughter of William and Marie Turple of Advocate. Nathan was a carpenter and driver.
Issue of Nathan and May Barto:
(1a) Norman, b. 1889.

(2) Mary Miller, b. 1862, m. 10 Nov. 1875, Frederick O. **Strong**, son of _____ and Cynthia Strong.
Issue of Frederick and Mary Strong:
(1a) Oscar, b. 1877.
(2a) Lucy, b. 1879.

(3) Duncan P., b. 1864. No further information.

(4) Daniel Albert, b. 1867. No record of Daniel Albert's marriage has been found, but an obituary in *The Truro News* of 31 Jan. 1923 lists the survivors of Mrs. Albert Barteaux, including her husband and several children. In 1890 Albert signed a bond with his older brother Nathan, in which he, Albert, promised to pay Nathan $1500; Nathan, in return, signed over to Albert the family homestead, where Albert then lived with his parents. As part of the agreement, Albert was to provide for Daniel and Rebecca "without being any expense to the said Nathan Y. Barteaux, or becoming a burden to the said Nathan Y. Barteaux, during the time of their or each of their natural lives. . . ."
Issue of Daniel Albert Barto: (possibly incomplete)
(1a) Willie.
(2a) Lee.
(3a) Oscar.
(4a) Roy.
(5a) Susie.
(6a) unidentified daughter, later Mrs. Horace **Hall**.

(5) Robert, b. 1871. No further information.

(6) Susan, b. 1880. No further information.

(7) John, b. 1883. No further information.

Appendix

The following data has been gathered from various sources, and is tantalizing in its applicability to the theories surrounding the origins of John Barto Sr.:

1. The 1769 census for Annapolis Township (published in *Report* of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1934) includes: Philip Bertaux, 4 males, 2 females; 1 foreign [birth], 4 American [birth]; 1 girl born this year; 1 male left the province.
2. The assessment rolls for Annapolis Township, 1792 (RG12, PANS), list a John Bartaux, as well as Philip and William.
3. The vital statistics for Westmorland County, N.B. show David Whettan and Mary Barter [*sic*], married 25 November 1793. John Barto Sr. named a son David Whetton, thereby suggesting that this Mary Barter was a sister to John.
4. St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, registers for Windsor/Falmouth/Newport, include the following:
   Baptisms: 10 Mar. 1769, Frances, of John and Sarah Barto.
   21 Dec. 1774, Rebecca, of John and Sarah Barto.
   Marriages: 4 May 1785, John Barto to Ann Kennedy, Falmouth.
   Marriage Licences: 12 June 1784, Titus Smith, widower, to Liddy Bartow.
   Burials: 4 Sept. 1760, Frederick Burtow.
   13 Mar. 1769, Frances Barto.
   25 Dec. 1774, Rebecca Barto.
   19 Apr. 1778, John Thomas Barto.
   16 June 1782, John Barto.
5. St. Matthew's Congregational/Presbyterian/United, Halifax: Married, 9 May 1794, David Hay, Royal Artillery, and Lydia Barto.

Select Bibliography

Mrs. Sinar Barteaux, Advocate, N.S.
Mrs. Martha Ford Barto, Deer Island, N.B.
Dr. H.B. Colford, Halifax, N.S.

MG4	Christ Church Anglican, Windsor.
	St. George's Anglican, Parrsboro.
	Trinity Methodist/United, Parrsboro.
	St. James' Presbyterian, Parrsboro.
	Grace Methodist Circuit, Port Greville.
	Advocate Baptist, Advocate.
	Trinity St. Stephen's Methodist/United, Amherst.
	Newport Presbyterian/Methodist/United, Newport.
	St. Paul's Anglican, Halifax.
	St. Matthew's Congregational/Presbyterian/United, Halifax.
MG5	Advocate Cemetery, Advocate.
RG5	Petitions to the Nova Scotia Assembly, Series A.
RG12	Cumberland County Census, 1838, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891.
	Hants County Census, 1817, 1838, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891.
	Yarmouth County Census, 1861.
	Kings County Census, 1871, 1881.
RG32	Marriage Registrations, Cumberland County, 1864-1913.
	Marriage Registrations, Kings County, 1864-1909.
RG47	Registry of Deeds, Cumberland County.
	Registry of Deeds, Hants County.
	Registry of Deeds, Kings County.
RG48	Probate Court, Cumberland County.
	Probate Court, Kings County.

Barto, Martha. *Passamaquoddy, Genealogies of West Isles Families*. 1975.
Calnek, W.A. *History of the County of Annapolis*. 1897.
Duncanson, John V. *Newport, Nova Scotia: A Rhode Island Township*. 1983.
Eaton, A.W.H. *The History of Kings County*. 1910.
McCreath, Peter L. and Leefe, John G. *A History of Early Nova Scotia*. 1983.
Savary, A.W. *Supplement to the History of the County of Annapolis*. 1913.
Shand, G.V. *Historic Hants County*. 1979.
Spicer, Stanley T. *Sails of Fundy*. 1984.
Acadian Recorder (Halifax).
Nova Scotian (Halifax).
Christian Messenger (Halifax).
The Weekly Chronicle and Nova Scotian (Halifax).
Hants County Journal (Windsor).

Amherst Daily News.
The Citizen (Parrsboro).

The author welcomes any comments, queries, corrections or additions; such correspondence should be addressed to:

Marion D. Oldershaw, C.G. (Can.),
Box 49, Seabright,
Halifax County, Nova Scotia,
B0J 3J0.

A Tory-Loyalist Doctor's Prescription for Nova Scotia, 1784

In June 1784, John Halliburton, the surgeon and agent of H.M. Naval Hospital at Halifax, went to England to seek the restoration of his salary, which had fallen from £365 to £200 as a result of the postwar reduction of the naval establishment.[1] His journey had been undertaken at the suggestion of both the dockyard commissioner and the station commander, and he was carrying public dispatches from Major-General John Campbell, the officer commanding the Nova Scotia military district.[2] Halliburton was granted an audience with Secretary of State Lord Sydney, to whom he gave a verbal "Account of the Deranged State of the Province" of Nova Scotia[3]-as it was perceived by those Loyalists of the professional and mercantile class who had thus far been excluded from political power. His account assumed a more tangible form when he submitted to the undersecretary of state a fifteen-page manuscript entitled "Some Remarks on the present Situation of the Province of Nova Scotia . . . by John Halliburton, for some Time a Resident in that Province."[4]

The time involved was actually just over two years. Halliburton took up his duties as surgeon of the Naval Hospital at Halifax in April 1782. He came from New York, whither he had been forced to flee the previous February when his position as a spy for the British in occupied Rhode Island had been compromised. As a reward for his services, and in view of the fact that he had formerly been surgeon of the Naval Hospital at Newport, the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, used his influence with

1 See Halliburton's Loyalist claim in AO 13/24/241-250, Public Record Office [hereafter PRO].

2 Campbell to Sydney, 14 June 1784, CO 217/41/104, PRO.

3 Halliburton to Clinton, 16 July [1784], Clinton Papers, William Clements Library, University of Michigan (Ann Arbor).

4 CO 217/35/335-342, PRO. It is quoted in Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816* (London, 1972), pp. 16, 32-33. Professor Fingard was mistaken in accepting the conjectural contemporary endorsement ("With 1783 Nova Scotia") as correct with regard to date. From internal evidence, it is clear that the "Remarks" could not possibly have been written before July 1784 at the earliest. The assumption that Halliburton's essay was written in 1783--i.e. during the lifetime of the Fox-North Coalition Ministry, which had favourably received the original proposals of the eighteen Loyalist clergymen for an episcopate in Nova Scotia (see below)--leads one to misinterpret the changed political context. When Halliburton made his "Remarks," the ministry of William Pitt, in which Lord Sydney was secretary of state for the Home Department, had been in office for some seven months.

his naval opposite number to obtain for Halliburton the post of surgeon of the Naval Hospital at Halifax.[5]

Like other Loyalist refugees, many worse off than himself, Halliburton passionately believed that the new governor, John Parr, and his Council were not doing enough to accommodate the refugees. Loyalist frustration manifested itself in the ongoing attempt to undermine the government in Halifax by petitions and personal representations at Whitehall in London. John Parr sent Andrew Finucane, the chief justice's brother, to London to state the government's case, but, as Thomas Aston Coffin wrote with alacrity to Edward Winslow on 4 August, Halliburton "having arrived first stated the whole business before the other one got into Town."[6]

Apart from redistributing seats in the House of Assembly among areas densely populated by refugees; displacing absentee or "republican" councillors with Loyalists; and encouraging disaffected Americans to immigrate to Nova Scotia--Haliburton strongly recommended establishing an episcopate. If one accepts the family tradition that Halliburton was the son of a reformed clergyman,[7] then it is ironic that a convert from the Church of Scotland should have embraced the Church of England so wholeheartedly; less so, perhaps, in view of the fact that Halliburton in 1767 had married into one of the oldest, most influential and most conservative Rhode Island families, the Brentons, pillars of the so-called "Newport Junto."[8]

In March 1783, in any case, a group of eighteen Loyalist clergymen, headed by Dr. Charles Inglis, the rector of Trinity Church in New York, submitted to Sir Guy Carleton, Clinton's successor as commander-in-chief, a plan for the appointment of a bishop in Nova Scotia.[9] Carleton forwarded the

5 See Note 1 above.

6 Coffin to Winslow, 4 August 1784, in W.O. Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers A.D. 1776-1826* (St. John, New Brunswick, 1901), p. 219.

7 G.W. Hill, *Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton, Late Chief Justice of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1864), p. 3.

8 John Halliburton was married to Susannah Brenton, daughter of Jahleel Brenton and his second wife, Mary Scott, on 4 January 1767 at Trinity Church in Newport.

9 Inglis *et al.* to Carleton, 21 [24?] March 1783, RG 1, Vol. 369, No. 115, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

plan to the secretary of state, with a high recommendation for its acceptance. The ministry had already changed twice--in April and again in December--when Halliburton put forward his arguments in favour of the proposal, which was nevertheless still under consideration.

However odd it may seem that a Presbyterian convert to Anglicanism should speak favourably of Roman Catholicism, Halliburton's opening statement shows plainly enough that he was motivated less by religious or theological considerations, than by political ones. He sets up a polar dichotomy between Roman Catholicism, which is the ecclesiastical analogue of absolute monarchy, and Congregationalism, which is the ecclesiastical analogue of republican democracy. The *via media*, of course, is the Church of England, "as by Law Establish'd," which corresponds to a constitutional or limited monarchy.

Halliburton's apology for Anglicanism--he betrays the zealousness of the convert--is linked to an etiology of the American Revolution, for which he holds New England Congregationalists ultimately to have been responsible. Halliburton goes on to explain the loyalism of New England Anglicans as a reaction against the persecuting tendencies of the Congregationalists. The latter went hand in hand with the tendency towards republicanism and rebellion. He also endeavours to explain the phenomenon of Congregationalists who remained loyal to the Crown as a reaction against the violence of the patriots. Their conversion to Anglicanism was a natural corollary of their loyalism. In Halliburton's mind, the distinction between political conservative and "national" churchman was a purely theoretical one.

An unchanging political allegiance not only caused many Congregationalists to change their religious affiliation, but also brought them as Loyalist refugees to Nova Scotia. A device had to be found which would retain these new converts for the Established Church, lest by coming into contact with the strong Congregational tradition of Nova Scotia's planter families, they should revert to their old ways. For Halliburton, retaining both for Church and Crown the loyalty of those ex-Congregationalists who had immigrated was a desirable end, and episcopacy the means thereto.

As an exercise in *realpolitik*, the appointment of a bishop was principally a means to enhance the prerogative; to confirm those ex-Congregationalists in their tory-loyalism and Anglicanism; and to preserve them against the alleged republican or "democratical" tendencies of the government and

people of Nova Scotia. A mere two years' residence in Nova Scotia, moreover, had convinced Halliburton that the Established Church would greatly strengthen its position relative to the dissenting churches if a bishop were appointed to manage it.

The bishop was to be a Loyalist for Loyalists. Little thought was given to the views of the indigenous clergy and people. Naturally, every clergyman, such as the Reverend John Breynton, the venerable rector of St. Paul's in Halifax, aspired to the mitre,[10] but the prospective appointment of a Loyalist bishop was not popular with the powers that were in Nova Scotia. Governor John Parr, for example, was fearful of losing his right of patronage over clerical benefices.[11]

Apart from his desire to see a bishop appointed, however, Halliburton had also a very clear concept of the character of the right man for the job. So vivid is his description of episcopal virtues that one cannot help wondering whether Halliburton had a particular candidate in mind. The near unanimous choice of the Loyalists, clergy and people, had been Thomas Bradbury Chandler,[12] longtime S.P.G. missionary at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and the leading advocate of episcopacy in America. Chandler, however, was old and ill and had to decline the position when it was offered to him in 1786. It was subsequently offered to and accepted by Charles Inglis, the first of the signatories to the 1783 plan for an episcopate for Nova Scotia.

Coincidentally, also in 1787 another of Halliburton's wishes was granted in the appointment of the first Loyalist to the Council of Nova Scotia. The choice fell on Halliburton himself--an indication, perhaps, of the cumulative effect which the lobbying of a determined and articulate Loyalist, who could obtain an entrée at Whitehall, might have not only on his own future in the colony to which he had immigrated, but also on the future of an idea whose time had come. The irony in Halliburton's case is that he did not accomplish what he had purportedly set out to do: the restoration of his

10 James Brenton to John Breynton, 4 June 1786, CO 217/58/313, PRO.

11 For this, and the subject generally, see the Index to Fingard, *Anglican Design*, s.v. "Parr, John."

12 Concerning whom, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 616; E. Alfred Jones, "The Loyalists of New Jersey. . .," *Collections* of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vol. 10 (1927), pp. 41-43; and Mary Beth Norton, *The British-Americans. The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789* (Boston and Toronto, 1972), *passim*.

salary as naval surgeon at Halifax to its original figure. Unlike the appointment of colonial councillors and bishops, that was a matter not for the secretary of state for the Home Department, but for the First Lord of the Admiralty--Viscount Howe, who was a ruthless economizer.

> . . . I am so thoroughly convinced of an Episcopal Appointment in that Country [Nova Scotia], being attended with the happiest Consequences to it, & to the Rights & Interests of the Crown, that I cannot forbear Entering somewhat minutely into the Subject. I have ever (& I believe it is generally) considered, that the Roman Catholic Religion is the most Effectual and durable Support which Absolute Monarchies in the present advanced State of Science throughout Europe has ever had, or can have. Mere Congregational Establishments, or rather Congregational Appointments, I have long since been Instructed to consider, & which has been Confirmed by Observation & Experience, as Leading gradually, but surely, to Republicanism. The Church of England, as by Law Establish'd forming the happy Medium, between the Hierarchial Excess of the first, & the Levelling Principles of the Latter has a natural Tendency towards supporting that Form of Government which subsists between two Political Excesses. I mean a Limited Monarchy.
>
> During my long Residence in New England,[13] I took Notice, that those of the National Church, were with very few Exceptions, Disciples of Monarchical Government, & even those few, who forsook their Allegiance & Loyalty, were Apostate Merchants, who had been Unfortunately Seduced with the hopes of getting Rid of Taxation, just before the Rebellion became open & avowed. I can scarce Recollect a Single Instance of a Land-Holder, whose Religion was the National one, having cancell'd, or attempted to cancel, the Obligations of his Allegiance. I also took Notice, that from the Southward & Westward of Connecticut, even to Charlestown in South Carolina the preceeding [*sic*] Observation was attended with many more exceptions, very many of the Establish'd Church being found among those who had so fatally Oppos'd themselves to the Government of the Mother Country. To one who has never Resided, for any length of Time in New England, & who is Unacquainted with the different Descriptions of Men in the Southern & Northern Provinces, the above Observations may wear too much the Appearance of a Paradox, but the Way I would Account for this Soundness of Political Sentiment in the real Churchmen of New-England, & for the many

13 Halliburton lived in Newport from 1766, when he apparently retired from active service in the Navy, until February 1782, when he escaped to British-occupied New York.

instances of defection in Men of the same Religious Profession to the Southward, is this: the Members of the National Religion in New England might always be considered as in a State of Self Defence, so [?] nearly bordering on absolute Persecution; for a Non-Conformist to their Congregational System, was always a hateful Character among them; this Non-Conformist, therefore perceiving & even feeling the Intolerant Temper, & oppressive Disposition of his Enemies, would naturally hold in extreme Contempt everything that should appear to be the Product of so Illiberal a Religion. I shall say nothing of the compelling Motives of the Southern Episcopalian for turning Rebel, as these Observations are only Intended to Set forth such Regulations as will be of Public Utility to the New forming Provinces.

While Matters were hastning [*sic*] fast towards open Resistance in New England, many of the Congregationalists, who saw & feared the fatal Tendency of such Violent Measures, attach'd themselves firmly to the Royal Cause: and I have always observed this Change of Political Sentiment, to be soon followed by a Change in the Religious one also. Had therefore a Successful Period been put to the Rebellion, which was an Object very often within Reach, during the Continuance of it, Good might then truely have been said to Spring out of Evil: for every Political Convert, (& there were not a few of them) would have added to the National Church a new Friend, & to the State a good Subject. In the Province of Nova Scotia there are a Vast Number of Loyalists who were Bred & Educated in the Congregational Faith, & all of them may be said to be Converts to the Establish'd Religion. It is not therefore difficult to be seen, that the Church, under Wise and temperate Management, may very soon establish herself there with all her Spiritual & Legal Authority.

However, should his Majesty in his Paternal Care & Attention to the Welfare of the New Settlers, make such an Appointment, it will be a matter of much Importance to consider well the Character of the Man destined for that Office; for as these New Converts have been formerly accustomed to a certain Appearance of Sanctity of Manners in their Pastors or Preachers, so the Style and Deportment of many of our Clergy would be rather offensive to them & they would be apt to give the name of Levity to such Sort of Conduct & Demeanour. Indeed I am inclined to believe, that a small Tincture of Enthusiasm in the general Character of the Bishop, might not be Amiss, & what leads me to think so is, the universal Preference which People of the National Religion in New England, seldom faill [*sic*] of giving to Missionaries of that Turn of Mind.

I have not the Presumption to think that it is in the Power of so Obscure an Individual as myself, to give much Information on any Subject, to Men of such exhalted Abilities, such spendid Talents, & profound Wisdom: but there are certain Local Situations, which put it in the Power of Men of very moderate Capacities to thro' some Light on particular Subjects, & as I have paid much Attention to the Causes of the Rise & Progress of the late Rebellion in America, I think every Measure which Wisdom & past Experience can suggest, should now be adopted to prevent such fatal Consequences in future. The Inferences to be drawn from what has been said are plain & Easy, & if they can Contribute in the smallest Degree towards Restoring the Province from Confusion into Order, & from Discord into Peace, it will make me very happy. . . .

Book Reviews

Chéticamp, History and Acadian Traditions, by Anselme Chiasson; translated by Jean Doris LeBlanc. ISBN 0-919519-96-2. Breakwater Books Ltd., St. John's, 1985. 332 pages, softcover, $9.95. Available from the publisher, Box 2188, St. John's, Nfld., A1C 6E6.

This work in its French version, *Chéticamp: histoire et traditions acadiennes*, appeared first in 1962, and won the Champlain Prize that year from Le Conseil de la Vie Française en Amérique. The combination of its being written in French and the passage of a quarter century tended to limit its usefulness and availability to a wider audience. Through the initiative of Jean Doris LeBlanc, we now possess an English translation of this valuable work.

Father Chiasson's study is divided into eleven chapters, the most significant of which are those recounting the founding of Chéticamp, its economic life, religious life, education, health and social life. Of particular interest to genealogical students are sections about consanguinity, founding families and social life. The entire gamut of village life is represented somewhere within this very comprehensive book. A supplementary chapter has been added to carry the story from 1961 to 1982, so that the work is contemporary with our own times.

There is a bonus in this book in the form of six appendices. Two of them, B and C, give the places of origin for the pioneers of Chéticamp and Margaree, and Father Lejamtel's census of that area in 1809. These alone would render this book a bargain at the price, and not just for the Chiasson, LeBlanc, Poirier, etc. content.

If one reads the book as a local history and tries to absorb its portrayal of an Acadian village or district in the post-Expulsion era, the ambiance should come across quite effectively. The strictures about conversions are dated, but authentically those that would have been felt 25 years ago. Jean Doris LeBlanc has assisted her anglophone confrères with this translation.

Terrence M. Punch

Gentlemen and Jesuits: Quests for Glory and Adventure in the Early Days of New France, by Elizabeth Jones. ISBN 0-8020-2594-3. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1986. xiv + 293 pages, hardcover, $24.95.

There are those who would have us believe that solidly-researched history can never be lively enough to appeal to the non-specialist. Conversely, it is often assumed that histories written for the general reader will neces-

sarily be too superficial to stand up to critical scrutiny. Elizabeth Jones's scholarship, and the vitality of her writing, have combined to produce a book which offers a convincing rebuttal to these dismal propositions. *Gentlemen and Jesuits* is no mere retelling of an often-told story. It is a skillful narrative treatment of a complex and important series of events, and one from which -- in accordance with the hope all too modestly expressed in the preface -- "an interpretative element" (p. xi) is not lacking.

Gentlemen and Jesuits deals with the French efforts to launch colonial settlement in Acadia between 1604 and 1613. The first part of the book traces the attempts made by the Sieur de Monts and Samuel de Champlain on Ste. Croix Island and at Port Royal, which were finally frustrated by the cancellation of de Monts' fur-trading monopoly in 1607. Part II examines the return to Acadia in 1610 of the Biencourts de Poutrincourt, father and son, accompanied by potential colonists and joined in 1611 by Jesuit missionaries with whom the Biencourts had a troubled relationship for the next two years. Both Port Royal and the Jesuits' short-lived breakaway colony of St. Sauveur were burned by English raiders in 1613, and yet the French presence was to endure. None of the French endeavours of these years, as Jones notes (p. x), could properly be described as successful, but their consequence was the establishment of Acadia as a colony and ultimately of the Acadians as a people.

Securely based on a foundation of research that encompasses printed primary sources, manuscript materials when needed, and appropriate secondary studies, *Gentlemen and Jesuits* easily carries conviction as an accurate narrative account. Where the book contributes most clearly to scholarship in an interpretive sense is in its treatment of the personal interactions of the major protagonists: the colonial promoters and the missionaries. The preface serves notice that the author has no interest in perpetuating heroic stereotypes, and that "flashy romantic colour" will be abandoned in favour of "the density and bewilderment of real experience" (p. xi).

This promise is kept. Complexities of character are thoroughly explored, whether it be the combination of religious zeal and anti-clericalism in the Biencourts' friend, Marc Lescarbot (pp. 73-4), or the keen intellect of the Jesuit, Pierre Biard, for whom "charity. . .was a carefully assumed mantle and not a natural skin" (p. 167). Underlying all is the truth that these first blundering attempts to colonize Acadia were difficult and dangerous for those involved, and that the resulting stress frequently led to the embit-

terment of internecine disputes. Scrupulously portrayed too are the other important participants in the events described. The rank and file of the colonists, never numerous in this period, appear insofar as surviving evidence permits. The Micmac and other native people, and the French investors and patrons who supported colonization, are prominent also, although the focus of the book unmistakably remains upon the gentlemen and Jesuits who are its prime and avowed subjects.

Within this chosen frame of reference, there are inevitably questions that can be raised. The author has elected, for example, to steer a middle course in her assessment of the role of Champlain (pp. 5-6, 45-6), avoiding the hero-worship of previous generations of historians, but not adopting the scepticism of more recent critical appraisals. The steady, competent Champlain who emerges is not quite as convincing a character as are the more complex Lescarbot and Biard, or the impulsive but tenacious Charles de Biencourt. Some readers may also find the account of the disputes between the Biencourts and the Jesuits (pp. 179-223) so detailed that even vigorous writing is unable to keep this part of the narrative moving at the same pace as the earlier parts of the book.

Yet ultimately these are minor quibbles. They weigh little in the balance, when set against the virtues of *Gentlemen and Jesuits* as popular history and also, quite simply, as good history. The University of Toronto Press is to be congratulated on producing an exceptionally handsome volume. Elizabeth Jones is to be congratulated on writing a fine book. John G. Reid

True Blue: The Loyalist Legend, by Walter Stewart. ISBN 0-00-217468-5. Collins, Don Mills, Ontario, 1985. 275 pages, hardcover, $24.95. *Understanding the Loyalists*, by J.M. Bumsted. ISBN 0-8882-047-5. Mount Allison University, 1986. 51 pages, softcover, $4.95. "The Development of Nova Scotia, 1782-1812," by Margaret Ells. Unsubmitted doctoral thesis for the University of London, ca. 1948, typescript, 447 pages.

True Blue is a largely anecdotal story of the Loyalists -- "The Damndest People Canada Has Ever Seen," as Stewart calls them. Based almost entirely on published material, *True Blue* is designed for the general reader interested in history, and particularly that of the Loyalists. This is both its strength and its weakness. Its strength lies in the racy prose and fast pace which makes it an easy and good read. It weakness is that Stewart, not having immersed himself in original sources, rushes into judgments of men and

events with only a cursory understanding. As a result, little confidence can be placed in his judgments and he is often factually wrong. Nova Scotians, for example, would be interested in knowing that Windsor, Truro and Dartmouth were among the new communities founded by the Loyalists. Little of what he says about Sir John Wentworth is correct. *True Blue* can only be unfavourably compared to two other recent books on the Loyalists: *Victorious in Defeat: The Loyalists in Canada* (reviewed in Vol. 5, No. 1 of the *Review*) and *The Loyalists: Revolution, Exile and Settlement* (reviewed in Vol. 4, No. 2 of the *Review.*)

Margaret Ells's "The Development of Nova Scotia, 1782-1812" incorporates the story of Loyalists in Nova Scotia with the history of Nova Scotia from their arrival to the War of 1812. For many years an archivist at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, she is well known for her early research into the Loyalists, and several resulting articles which were published during the 1930s. Not until after her death was this thesis discovered by her family and turned over to the Archives for microfilming so that it could be made available to the public. It is a massive and comprehensive study based on a detailed examination of original sources. If it had been turned into a book, it would have been both a successor and an equal to J.B. Brebner's *New England's Outpost.* Although weighted towards political history, the research on settlement, trade and social history stands out; even forty years later, this research must be considered as still the standard reference.

In *Understanding the Loyalists,* Bumsted comments on the "gulf between history written by academics and history as received by the public." There could be no better example of this gulf than the contrasting examples of historical research in every aspect between *True Blue* and "The Development of Nova Scotia." Bumsted's intention, however, is not to examine this gulf, but to review past and present writings on the Loyalists. His primary thesis is that the formative event was not so much the rejection of the American Revolution as the confirmation of British allegiance among both Loyalists and -- significantly -- those in the colonies of Quebec and Nova Scotia who did not join in rebellion. It follows from this that the often maligned pre-Revolutionary population of Nova Scotia -- and, for that matter, the disbanded British and German soldiers who were later settled in the province -- should also be considered as "loyalists." B.C. Cuthbertson

Old Sydney Town: Historic Buildings of the North End, by Debra McNabb and Lewis Parker. Old Sydney Society, distributed by University College of Cape Breton Press, 1986. 102 pages, softcover (ISBN 0-9692642-1-6), $12.95; hardcover (ISBN 0-9692642-0-8), $24.95.

The publication of *Old Sydney* indicates the growing interest in the study and preservation of Atlantic Canada's built environment. Originally planned as a guidebook for walking tours, this volume's main aim is to foster an awareness of the historic buildings still standing in the North End--the oldest neighbourhood in the city of Sydney. The work primarily consists of pen and ink drawings of the exteriors of specific buildings, accompanied by brief historical descriptions of selected structures. Lewis Parker, a well-known Canadian illustrator, drew the fine line drawings while Debra McNabb, a Cape Breton geographer, has researched and written the accompanying text. Ken Donovan, historian at the Fortress of Louisbourg, and a former president of the Old Sydney Society, provides a short historical sketch of the development of Sydney in the introduction.

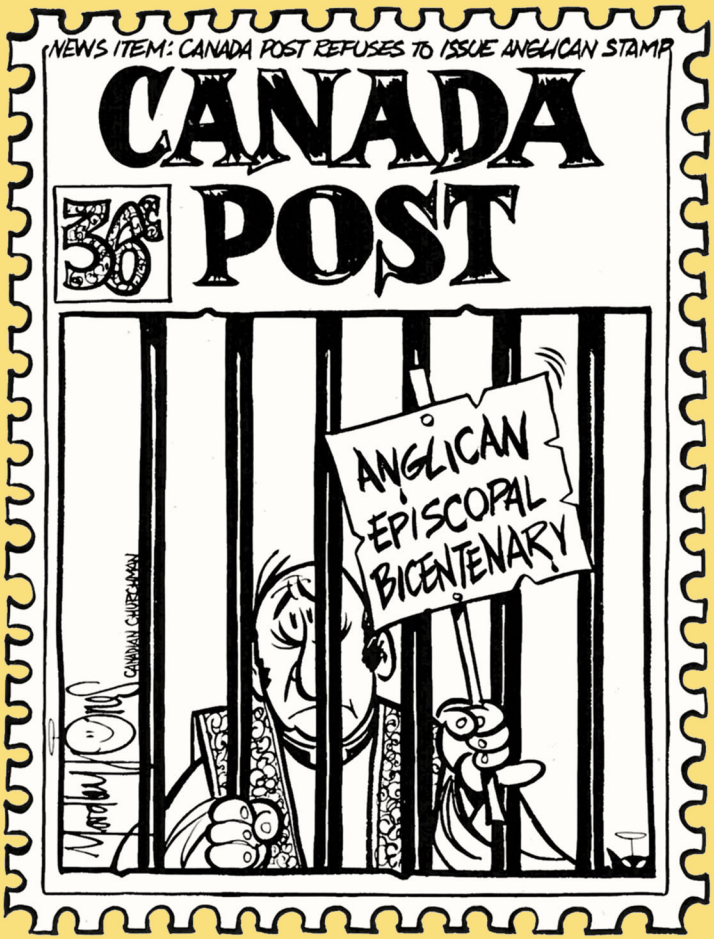
My criticisms of the work are few, considering its stated main objective. While most buildings in the book have been drastically altered or renovated with the passage of time, there has been little attempt to document and analyze these major changes. Likewise, the inclusion of measured floorplans, at least for the dwelling houses, would move the reader from the façade of the house to the interior--the core--where everyday life was lived, revealing more about the actual people who resided behind the façades. Lastly, there is a high proportion of substantial buildings, ranging from churches and banks to the homes of political, merchant and religious leaders. More attention could have been paid to the more ordinary dwelling houses and outbuildings of the community. Such bias suggests that only public buildings and the houses of wealthy or important personages are the ones worth saving.

These are quibbles. The book is well worth the money and will be useful for architecture enthusiasts on and off the island. While the book fills a gap in our knowledge about Sydney's architecture, it is only the first of many steps which need to be taken if we are to record properly the architectural heritage of Cape Breton Island. The future will tell whether others will be sufficiently interested and concerned to follow the fine precedent set by the authors and illustrator of this book.

Richard MacKinnon

Nova Scotia
Department of
Culture, Recreation
& Fitness

ISSN 0227-4752


NEWS ITEM: CANADA POST REFUSES TO ISSUE ANGLICAN STAMP
CANADA
POST
36¢
ANGLICAN
EPISCOPAL
BICENTENARY
CANADIAN CHURCHMAN