

“For Christ and Covenant:”
A Movement for Equal Consideration in Early Nineteenth Century Nova Scotia.

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Abstract

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Reverend Dr. Thomas McCulloch is a well-documented figure in Nova Scotia’s educational historiography. Despite this, his political activism and Presbyterian background has been largely overlooked. This thesis offers a re-interpretation of the well-known figure and the Pictou Academy’s fight for permeant pecuniary aid. Through examining Scotland’s early politico-religious history from the Reformation through the Covenanting crusades and into the first disruption of the Church of Scotland, this thesis demonstrates that the language of political disaffection was frequently expressed through the language of religion. As a result, this framework of response was exported with the Scottish diaspora to Nova Scotia, and used by McCulloch to stimulate a movement for equal consideration within the colony.

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INTRODUCTION FROM SCOTLAND TO NOVA SCOTIA

“We find that wherever a great piece of work is being done a Scot is at the back of it, and whenever there is an ecclesiastical dispute a Scot is at the bottom of it.”¹

This thesis examines the exportation of Scottish Presbyterian political theory to Nova Scotia and the influence that adherents of the Associate Presbytery of Pictou, and the later Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, had on agitating early constitutional reform. Nova Scotia’s pre-Confederation political history, as observed by Valerie Wallace, has focused extensively on the career of Joseph Howe, the man credited with establishing responsible government.² While the impact of Scottish emigration and enterprise has been demonstrated both culturally and psychologically, the influence of the Presbyterian dissenters on colonial politics has been marginalised.³ Owing to the dissolution of their campaign after three decades of struggle against exclusive governmental practices, their fight to secure representation and equal consideration has been reduced to an examination of their impact on Howe’s political vision. Although Wallace has criticised previous works for concentrating on the distinctive features of each colony and highlights the necessity of a comparative analysis, this thesis aims to demonstrate that a regional study will not prove myopic.⁴ While Michael Gauvreau has unravelled the complexity of Scottish theological history to illustrate the influence of

¹ Lord Sands, “Historical Origins of the Religious Divisions in Scotland,” *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 3, (1929), 94

² Valerie Wallace, *Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America, c.1815-c.1850*. Glasgow University. PhD thesis. 2010, 178

³ David S. MacMillan, ‘Scottish Enterprise and Influences in Canada, 1620-1900,’ in R. A. Cage. *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital Enterprise, 1750-1916* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 2

⁴ Valerie Wallace, *Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America*, 178

the Scottish Presbyterian Secession Church on radical politics, he focused exclusively on Upper Canada.⁵ Likewise, Michael E. Vance has highlighted the trend in Canadian historiography to ignore the presence of transatlantic radical influence on early reformist politics.⁶ Although he examines the impact of Scottish immigration on reform movements, Vance's work is also situated in Upper Canada and focuses on their trades background rather than their religious affiliation. In comparison to the wealth of information on Upper Canadian politics, Nova Scotia has been left wanting. With the exception of Wallace's thesis, Gordon M. Haliburton and to an extent William Hamilton's work, the impact of Scottish Presbyterian political values has been overlooked.⁷ Through relocating Gauvreau's argument to Nova Scotia, this thesis will build on the work of Valerie Wallace to show that early reform agitation began with dissenting Scottish Presbyterians in Pictou, not Howe, and demonstrate that in comparison to Upper Canada, the Maritime colonies were not "ideologically bankrupt."⁸

The primary focus of this thesis is the Pictou Academy established by the Paisley-born Reverend Dr. Thomas McCulloch, from his arrival in 1803 until 1832. The history of McCulloch and the Academy has accrued an extensive historiography, beginning as early as 1877.⁹ The rich collection of literature has focused predominately

⁵ Michael Gauvreau, "Covenanter Democracy: Scottish Popular Religion, Ethnicity, and the Varieties of Politico-religious Dissent in Upper Canada, 1815-1841", *Histoire sociale/Social History*, Vol. 36, No. 71 (2003): 55-83.

⁶ M. E. Vance, 'Scottish Chartism in Canada West?: An Examination of the "Clear Grit" Reformers', *Scottish Tradition*, 22 (1997): 56-104.

⁷ Gordon M. Haliburton, 'For their God – Education, Religion and the Scots in Nova Scotia. *Ethnic Heritage Series*, Vol. 1. (Halifax: Halifax International Center, 1980); W. Hamilton, *Education, Politics and Reform in Nova Scotia, 1800-1848*. University of Western Ontario. PhD thesis. 1970.

⁸ Valerie Wallace, "Preaching Disaffection" in the Presbyterian Atlantic: Jotham Blanchard and the Reform Crisis in Scotland and Nova Scotia, c. 1827-37. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. Vol. 42. No. 3. (2014), 377-399, 380

⁹ George Patterson, *A History of Pictou County Nova Scotia* (Montreal: Dawson, 1877)

on McCulloch's use of science in promoting a liberal education, the struggle to secure permanent pecuniary aid and the impact students of the Academy have had in Canadian politics.¹⁰ Through offering a politico-religious interpretation of the Pictou Academy, this thesis aims to offer a re-evaluation of Thomas McCulloch as a political figure, and demonstrate the influence that Scottish Presbyterian political theory had on his colonial vision. B. Anne Wood in her thesis evaluated the impact of McCulloch's Presbyterian background and in published works, she analysed the impact of Scottish Evangelical religion on the transition to state schooling in Nova Scotia.¹¹ This thesis seeks to act as an introduction to Wood's thesis, to provide an early account of Scottish Presbyterian religion and the impact the secessionist churches had on Nova Scotia's early intellectual climate. The introduction to this thesis provides the necessary background on Scottish ecclesiastical history. It delineates the root of Presbyterian political theory from the Reformation, through the Covenanting crusade, concluding with the first disruption of the Secession Church. This is important for McCulloch believed that he was waging a war against Anglican supremacy in Nova Scotia, similar to that of the seventeenth century Covenanters. Following this, an overview is given of the politico-religious landscape of the colony. Nova Scotia was formed from a tapestry of nationalities and ethnicities and thus, the Church of England wielded its authority with caution.

¹⁰ Susan Buggey, "Churchmen and Dissenters, religious toleration in Nova Scotia, 1754-1835," Dalhousie University. M.A. Thesis. 1981; W. Hamilton, *Education, Politics and Reform in Nova Scotia, 1800-1848*. University of Western Ontario. PhD thesis. 1970; D. C. Harvey, "Dr. Thomas McCulloch and Liberal Education", *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1943), 352-62; S. E. McMullin, *Thomas McCulloch: The Evolution of a Liberal Mind*. Dalhousie University. PhD. 1975; Marjory Whitelaw, *Thomas McCulloch: His Life and Times* (Halifax, 1985); B. Anne Wood, "Thomas McCulloch's Use of Science in Promoting a Liberal Education," *Acadiensis*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1987): 56-73; B. Anne Wood, Schooling/ Credentials for Professional Advancement: A Case Study of Pictou, found in C. H. H. Scobie and G. A. Rawlyk, *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 54

¹¹ B. Anne Wood, "The Significance of Evangelical Presbyterian Politics in the Construction of State Schooling: A Case Study of the Pictou District," 1817-1866," *Acadiensis*, 20: 2 (1991): 62-85

The first chapter engages with themes of networking and agency as a way of demonstrating how questions of loyalty, religion and education were as relevant in Nova Scotia as they were in Scotland and England. Following an examination of the tension between the Episcopalian-dominated King's College, and the Scottish Presbyterian-led Pictou Academy, chapter two will show that the Academy debate was not simply a question of religious division in the colony but rather a demonstration of growing politicisation. As revealed in the work of Gauvreau and the political historian Gordon Pentland, dissatisfaction with both ecclesiastical and political units was expressed within a shared language; chapter two seeks to contribute to this research.¹² The final chapter moves away from the Pictou Academy and examines how the Pictou-based Presbyterians used the 1830 election of the Legislative Assembly to criticise the Episcopalian dominated Council. Building on the work of Brian Cuthbertson, the increasing role of the press will be examined.¹³ Using the Pictou-based *Colonial Patriot*, Rev. Dr. McCulloch, led the charge and promoted radical democratic principles, which were influenced by the legacy of Covenanting ideology. Indeed, McCulloch's connection to the Covenanters was personal, for he claimed kinship with the movement, maintaining that an ancestor fought with "honour" at the battle of Bothwell Brig.¹⁴ While this thesis aims to contribute to the existing literature on Nova Scotia's politico-religious history, it does not claim that the Pictou radicals achieved responsible government. Rev. J. P. McPhie argued that it was over the Academy that the fight was "waged and won" for responsible government; however, by overextending

¹² Michael Gauvreau, *Covenanter Democracy: Scottish Popular Religion, Ethnicity, and the Varieties of Politico-religious Dissent in Upper Canada, 1815-1841*, 58; Gordon Pentland, *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity in Scotland, 1820-1833* (New York: The Boydell Press, 2008), 46

¹³ B. C. U. Cuthbertson, "Place, Politics and the Brandy Election of 1830," *CNSHS*, 41, (1982); Cuthbertson, *Johnny Bluenose at the Polls: Epic Nova Scotian Election Battles 1758-1848* (Halifax: Formac, 1994)

¹⁴ William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch D. D.* (n. p., 1920), 7

the reach of the Pictou radicals their influence becomes questionable.¹⁵ Thus, by focusing exclusively on the period of heightened disaffection, this thesis aims to achieve the recognition the Pictou radicals deserve for their campaign.

Before exporting Scottish Presbyterian political theory to Nova Scotia, it is necessary to outline the growth of radical dissent in its national context. The Scottish Reformation in 1560 has been labelled by Alec Ryrie, historian of Protestant Christianity and specialist in the history of England and Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the “first modern revolution.”¹⁶ Although Scotland and England succeeded in establishing Protestantism as the dominant religion, the Reformation occurred more quickly in Scotland and has been considered as more pure in its achievements than its sister establishments.¹⁷ Ryrie, however, rejected the claim that the Scottish Reformation was uniquely pure, and opted instead to describe its success as “uniquely thorough.”¹⁸ In Scotland, the Reformation was a popular movement against the influence of Catholicism and the imposition by the Crown. Instead of looking towards England for influence, the Scottish reformers rejected Canterbury and the Henrician model in favour of John Calvin’s Geneva.¹⁹ Calvinistic theology emphasises the sovereignty of God and His will, and that only He has the sole authority to predestine His creations into salvation. In his comparative study of the

¹⁵ Rev. J. P. MacPhie, *Pictonians at Home and Abroad: Sketches of Professional Men and Women of Pictou County – Its History and Institutions*. (Massachusetts: Pinkham Press, 1914), 135

¹⁶ Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 1

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 3; Barry Coward and Peter Gaunt, *The Stuart Age: England 1603-1714*, Fifth Edition (London: Routledge, 2017), 115; Thomas McCrie, *Lives of the Scottish Reformers containing the Lives of Knox and Melville together with a Memoir of William Veitch and Narratives of the Risings at Bothwell and Pentland* (The Board of the Calvinistic Book Concern, 1846), 152-154

¹⁸ Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 3

¹⁹ Stewart J. Brown, “Religion in Scotland,” in H. T. Dickinson, *A Companion to Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 260; Margaret Steele, “The ‘Politick Christian,’ Found in John Morrill, *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990)

influence of Calvinism in Scotland, Ryrie demonstrated how the theological concept was imbedded.²⁰ In England, despite sharing a Protestant doctrine with the Scots, Calvinism was viewed with suspicion, and rather than nurture the theology as the Scots did, it was greatly restricted. Where France and Hungary failed to channel the widespread support into political dominance, Scotland succeeded. Lastly, in comparison with the Netherlands, the Protestant Church of Scotland was able to secure the allegiance of the population. The Church of Rome was almost extinguished in Scotland as Presbyterianism became entrenched in the Lowlands, and most of the Highlands.

Director of Strathclyde's Research Centre in Scottish History, Richard J. Finlay, has highlighted two primary reasons why religiosity was symbolic of the distinctiveness of Scottish society.²¹ Firstly, religion was considered a "national project." Secondly, the Church of Scotland was an authoritative presence which was well-established in daily life, and unparalleled by any other institutional body. It was organised as a territorial ministry where each community had a church *in situ* and a clerical living maintained through property tax.²² The Church of Scotland also supported and directed education through establishing a system of parish schools, and overseeing the instruction of the universities. The most distinguishable characteristic of Scottish religion was the structure and organisation of its national Church, which had been established since the Reformation. It was unlike any other state Church in the British Isles and stood in direct opposition to the Anglican model.²³ Although the Church of

²⁰ Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 3

²¹ Richard J. Finlay, "Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity," in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young, *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 123

²² Johnston McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom: A Century of Tension in Scottish Social Theology, 1830-1929* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 112

²³ Callum G. Brown, "The People in the Pews: Religion and Society in Scotland since 1790," *Studies in Scottish Economic and Social History*, No. 3: 1993, 9

Scotland was theologically similar to the English Protestant Church, the triumph of Presbyterianism in Scotland over Episcopacy, brought the two kingdoms into frequent and violent conflict.

The English Reformation favoured the top-down structure of Episcopacy where the supreme governor, the Sovereign, managed the church through appointing and directing archbishops and bishops. The theological doctrine of the Church of England was expressed through the Book of Common Prayer and a collection of short summaries, the Thirty-Nine Articles, which were first issued by Convocation in 1562, and finalised in 1571. Ecclesiastical historian, Stewart J. Brown, explains that the articles were open to interpretation and created from “different shades.”²⁴ The Church of England’s doctrine contained three main strands: Trinitarianism and the uncomfortable bedfellows, Calvinism and Arminianism. Trinitarian belief is monotheistic and promotes the philosophy that God exists in three forms, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Arminianism rejected Calvinism, upholding that Christ died for all men but only believers could seek salvation; that God selects and admonishes man on the basis of divined faith or scepticism; and that man is so immoral that divine grace is necessary irrespective of faith or good deeds. Lastly, contained within the Thirty-Nine Articles is the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. Additionally, the Church of England was not established as a confessional Church, as were the other Reformed Churches in the region. In this context, confession is not about sin but rather confessing faith. Although the Thirty-Nine Articles can loosely be considered confessional, it is more accurate to view them as a tool for church government. As highlighted by Paul Avis, the Articles do not provide a comprehensive

²⁴ Stewart J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801-46* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 5

account of the teaching and practice of the reformed English Church, they are selective and have no liturgical function.²⁵ As a result of this doctrinal difference, Stewart J. Brown has argued that that the reformed Church in England was a “distinctively English national Church.”²⁶

The doctrinal influence in the Church of Scotland was expressed through the Westminster Confession of Faith of 1643, which provided a well-defined account of Calvinism.²⁷ Unlike the Church of England, the Scottish Church had no prayer-book. Instead it called for a strict adherence to the liturgy of a community church and informal prayer, family worship and the Holy Fair.²⁸ In rejecting Episcopacy, the Scottish Church opted in favour of the bottom-up structure of Presbyterianism. The Church of Scotland was not governed by bishops but rather by a system of four Church Courts. At the civic level, or kirk-session, the parish minister and the church elders shared authority with magistrates and the burgh council, and the elders were elected by the parish congregation and served for life, unless removed by the people. The minister and the elders oversaw the moral and spiritual regulation of their parishioners and supervised education and poor relief. The second court was the Presbytery, composed of a minister and one ruling elder from each parish that was under its territorial jurisdiction. The Presbytery heard the appeals from the kirk-sessions and examined,

²⁵ Paul Avis, *Reshaping Ecumenical Theology: The Church made Whole?* (London: T&T Clark International, 2010), 100-109

²⁶ Stewart J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801-46*, 5; G. Rowell, “Church Principles” and “Protestant Kempism:” Some Theological Forerunners of the Tractarians,” in P. Vaiss, *From Oxford to the People: Reconsidering Newman and the Oxford Movement* (Herefordshire: Gracewing, 1996), 20

²⁷ Stewart J. Brown, “Religion in Scotland,” in H. T. Dickinson, *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 262

²⁸ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989); Michael Gauvreau, “Covenanter Democracy: Scottish Popular Religion, Ethnicity, and the Varieties of Politico-religious Dissent in Upper Canada, 1815-1841,” *histoire sociale/ Social History*, Vol. 36, No. 71 (2003): 55-83, 59

licensed and ordained ministers. All Presbyteries were arranged into larger regional groups known as Synods, which represented the second tier of the Court system. The duty of the Synod was to review the decision of the Presbytery and hear appeals. At the national level, the General Assembly was the final court of appeal and had the authority to approve motions for new acts of church law. Once approved, the proposal had to be sent down the levels to the Presbyteries for their approbation before it could be enacted. Additionally, all levels, with the exception of the kirk-sessions, were open to every class of people for observation.²⁹ For this purpose Presbyterian political theory, through structure and organisation, was considered democratic.³⁰

A second source of conflict between the two models concerned the divine right of monarchy. Whereas the English Episcopal Church embraced the alliance between church and state; Scottish Presbyterian theology rejected the ‘unholy’ partnership.³¹ Michael Gauvreau, a specialist in social, cultural and religious history of Canada, has argued that the Church of England was essential to the British state, for it provided theological protection against religious and political dissidence.³² In short, it nurtured the belief that rebellion against the sovereign was a sin. Anglicans argued that the origins of society should not be found through theories of natural law but rather through Scripture. Indeed, supporters of the church-state union believed that God had given His children government to maintain social order, and appreciation towards His “gracious act” should be exercised through passive obedience and non-resistance. Scottish Presbyterians rejected the unitary sovereignty of the church-state, through open resistance to the Sovereign-in-Parliament as the supreme governor of the spiritual

²⁹ H. Moncreiff Wellwood, *Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Company, 1818), 414

³⁰ Callum G. Brown, *The People in the Pews*, 10

³¹ Mark Goldie, *Locke: Political Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 231

³² Martin I. J. Griffin Jr., et al., *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 28

kingdom, and the position of the Bishops in the House of Lords. In viewing the church-state dynamic as perverse, they opted instead to promote “two kingdoms:” the spiritual kingdom guided exclusively by Christ and the temporal supervised by the “worldly monarch.”³³

In 1603, Scottish dualism between church and state was disrupted when Scotland and England were united under the Stuart Crown. While this boosted the authority of the Scottish crown, the country remained a decentralised state. As recognised by Senior Research Fellow for The History of Parliament, David Scott, it could hardly be otherwise for the monarchy and royal court had “decamped” to England following the accession of King James VI and I to the throne.³⁴ Between 1603 and 1616, James effectively wove episcopacy into the “Calvinist structures,” at the civic level of the Kirk Sessions, which formed a “hybrid system of ecclesiastical government.”³⁵ When James died in 1625, his mission was continued under the “energetic” regime of “the Godly Prince,” his son Charles I, who attempted to enforce an Anglicised prayer book into the Church of Scotland.³⁶ Determined to make central government more receptive to monarchical influence, Charles ousted leading Scottish aristocrats from government positions, replacing them with compliant men and bishops. Additionally, he purchased “heritable jurisdictions” in an effort to increase his influence at civic level, and introduced a measure to remove all grants of church land.³⁷ Ardent

³³ Alasdair I. C. Heron, *Table and Tradition: Towards an Ecumenical Understanding of the Eucharist* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), 84

³⁴ David Scott, *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637-49* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 10

³⁵ David Scott, *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637-49*, 11

³⁶ James Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 14-16; John Morrill, *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 9; Peter Donald, *An Uncounselled King: Charles I and the Scottish Troubles, 1637-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 8

³⁷ *Ibid*, 13

defenders of Scottish Presbyterianism reacted against the intrusion, claiming that by not consulting the General Assembly, the Crown had attempted to undermine the sovereignty of the Church of Scotland and tarnish the purity of their Reformation. As observed by Scott, the Scottish people were strangers to “abrasive prerogative power,” and thus genuine popular demonstration joined arms with Scottish nobles and radical Presbyterians to revolt against the imposition of the state in spiritual affairs. In 1638, the campaigners established an elected “provisional government” with the intention of creating free assemblies, which rid Scotland of royal prerogative and bishops and replaced the pliable men appointed by the Crown. In an effort to widen their appeal, the rebels in February 1638 drafted a “revolutionary document,” the National Covenant.³⁸

The National Covenant delivered to steadfast Presbyterians the opportunity to perfect their Reformation, and strengthen the purity of their design.³⁹ The Covenanters utilised the theory of radical constitutionalism, as developed by the sixteenth century humanist George Buchanan, which promoted elective kingship and offered a challenging critique of the doctrine of divine right.⁴⁰ Through withholding their loyalty for a “covenanted king,” that is a sovereign which would protect Presbyterianism as the “true religion,” the Covenanters sought the eradication of Episcopacy from the Scottish Church.⁴¹ Although Gauvreau and Daniel J. Elazar, have argued that the Covenant was not democratic in the modern sense, it effectively bonded Calvinist federal theology, humankind and God together in a religious compact.⁴² Through advocating popular sovereignty, as promoted by Buchanan, the people were given the right to resist an

³⁸ Craig Kelly, *Searching the Presbyterian Soul: The Formation, Changes and Purpose of Scotland's Covenants, 1557-1690* (California: Universal Publishers, 2010), 100-5

³⁹ Ibid, 16

⁴⁰ Michael Gauvreau, “Covenanter Democracy,” 61

⁴¹ David Scott, *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms*, 16

⁴² Michael Gauvreau, “Covenanter Democracy,” 61; Daniel J. Elazar, *Covenant and Commonwealth: From Christian Separation Through the Protestant Reformation* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1995), 259

“ungodly monarch” yet duty-bound to protect their covenanted ruler and their authority.⁴³ Indeed, John Locke (1632-1704) presented a similar conception in his “social contract theory,” which was utilised by William Warburton (1698-1779) in his analysis of the alliance between the church-state.⁴⁴ Warburton reasoned that the church and state were two autonomous units that had entered into a mutually beneficial contract: the state would protect the Church and support its clergy, and in return the Church would produce principled and loyal citizens. This contract, akin to the Covenant, supported the moral right of the people to resist an unearthly sovereign.

In recognition of the increasing disaffection in Scotland, Charles I reluctantly permitted the General Assembly, the highest tier of the Presbyterian court system, to convene. The Assembly members rejected the prayer book and denounced those who refused to commit themselves to the National Covenant. When the Assembly’s criticism of Charles’s absolutism turned into an attack on Scottish bishops, the King’s commissioner called for dissolution of the Assembly. Alexander Henderson, the Assembly’s moderator, captured the Scottish preference for the separation of the church-state, when he stated in response to the commissioner that “the power of Christian kings for convening assemblies, and their power in them... must not derogate from Christ’s right, for he has given warrant to convocate [sic] assemblies whether magistrates consent or not.”⁴⁵ When a second meeting was convened in Edinburgh, Charles attempted to contain the dissatisfaction, and raised armies throughout the

⁴³ Roger A. Manson, “Divided by a Common Faith? Protestantism and Union in Post-Reformation Britain,” in John McCallum, *Scotland’s Long Reformation: New Perspectives on Scottish Religion, c.1500-c.1660* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 223

⁴⁴ Matthew Scherer, *Beyond Church and State: Democracy, Secularism and Conversion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 191-193; Wayne A. Leighton and Edward J. López, *Madmen, Intellectuals and Academic Scribblers: The Economic Engine of Political Change* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 32-35; David Jan Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews and Catholics from London to Vienna* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008), 35-36

⁴⁵ Daniel J. Elazar, *Covenant and Commonwealth*, 259

kingdom to suppress the Covenanters. The Bishops' Wars followed in the years 1639-40, and in each instance Charles was forced to concede, for he was not only outgunned but did not have the necessary support of the English Parliament.⁴⁶ Charles's first 'pacification' emphasised the limitation of his authority, and thus a meeting of the General Assembly, in the absence of the king's commissioner, became a self-proclaimed parliament. It eradicated clerical estates, honoured all the acts established by the prior General Assembly, which included the proviso that all Scots were mandated to subscribe to the Covenant, and voted favourably for supplies for the Covenanting army. Through legally binding the Scottish people to God, political and social loyalties became secondary to their faith and, as Margaret Steele has argued, the "Politick Christian" was created.⁴⁷ Through interlacing theological language with the language of politics, the Covenanters were able to use the Covenant as a regulating mechanism, similar to the intent behind the divine right, to control the population, and elicit an emotional response when necessary.

Two years later, the English civil war erupted, and the parliamentary faction and the Scottish government entered into an alliance. The Solemn League and Covenant was established and with it, a promise to protect Reformed religion. It was hoped that this alliance would reform the polity of the Episcopal Church, and align it with the ecclesiastical government of the Scottish Church. Despite this, Glenn A. Moots, professor of political science and philosophy at Northwood University, has observed that although the treaty was initially drafted to give Presbyterian Scots greater influence in English affairs, their authority was greatly marginalised.⁴⁸ Religious and political

⁴⁶ Ibid, 259; Martyn Bennett, *The English Civil War, 1640-1649* (London: Routledge, 2014), 74-75

⁴⁷ Julia Igrave, *Adam in Seventeenth Century Political Writing in England and New England* (London: Routledge, 2017), 63

⁴⁸ Glenn A. Moots, *Politics Reformed: The Anglo-American Legacy of Covenant Theology* (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2010), 87

groups in Scotland argued over politico-religious concerns; while the Scottish Covenanters deliberated on how to prevent the execution of King Charles I.⁴⁹ Indeed, the Covenanters viewed the execution as a violation of their contract with the covenanted sovereign who they had sworn to protect.⁵⁰ When Oliver Cromwell, a “puritan independent,” invaded Scotland and overpowered its army, tensions between moderate Presbyterians and radical Covenanters intensified, and came to a head upon the execution of Charles I in 1649.⁵¹ Purged from parliament, the Scottish Covenanters’ influence dwindled as reformed Protestants turned to “Interdependency.”⁵²

The death of Cromwell in 1658 led to the dissolution of the Protectorate, and the restoration of the Stuart monarchy two years later. Under Charles II, episcopacy was re-established and with it the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine articles. Although episcopacy was accepted as the primary church structure, Charles and his successor James VII and II granted religious tolerance as a matter of expediency to increase acceptance for the Church of Rome.⁵³ Despite this, such lenience had its limitations, for both monarchs spurned Puritan and Presbyterian attempts to push Calvinism into church government. Indeed, their rejection of Calvinism ensured that any progress made by the Solemn League and Covenant was nullified. As acknowledged by the British cultural historian Murray G. H. Pittock, the Covenanters were not viewed as a major political threat and thus, the government may have been wiser to ignore the rebels than repress them.⁵⁴ The intransigence of Charles’s regime

⁴⁹ S. Donald Fortson, *The Presbyterian Story: Origins & Progress of a Reformed Tradition*, Second Edition, (Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2017), 123

⁵⁰ Glenn A. Moots, *Politics Reformed*, 88

⁵¹ S. Donald Fortson, *The Presbyterian Story*, 123

⁵² *Ibid*, 88

⁵³ Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 125

⁵⁴ Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2014), 17

led to a series of armed revolts, most often memorialised in the Battle of Bothwell Brig and the Battle of Drumclog (1679).⁵⁵ In 1685, the Privy Council sanctioned the immediate execution of those ardent Covenanters who rejected the sovereign. Although few men were actually killed by this means, their deaths were dramatic. This period of repression became known as “The Killing Time,” and a central event in what early modern historian, Nicholas Terpstra, who specialises in the intersection between politics and religion, has labelled “Covenanter martyrology.”⁵⁶ While efforts to re-energise the Covenanters were weak, the rebels were mythologised and their efforts woven into the psyche of Lowland Scots who wished to preserve the purity of the Scottish Church.

The persecution of the Scottish Presbyterians under the regimes of Charles II and James VII finally came to an end in 1690, when the Church of Scotland was again legally established.⁵⁷ In light of the Revolution of 1688-89, King William of Orange eradicated episcopacy in Scotland not as a matter of “high principle” but political expediency.⁵⁸ Likewise, patronage, which gave the aristocracy the authority to appoint local ministers, was abolished.⁵⁹ After more than a century of repression, Scottish Presbyterians were given a genuine opportunity to shape religious observance in Scotland. In 1702, although Scottish Episcopalians were granted toleration by Queen Anne, Presbyterianism remained the national religion. Indeed, despite Scotland relinquishing its parliament and sovereignty with the Act of Union in 1707, securities

⁵⁵ Ibid, 16

⁵⁶ Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World*, 125

⁵⁷ Stephen G. Myers, *Scottish Federalism and Covenantalism in Transition: The Theology of Ebenezer Erskine* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2016), 1-2

⁵⁸ Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrews Press, 1981), 4

⁵⁹ Joseph S. Moore, *Founding Sins: How a Group of Antislavery Radicals Fought to put Christ into the Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 27

were included to safeguard the independent Calvinistic character of the Scottish church from intrusion from the newly established British parliament.

Although the immediate threat of Episcopacy weaving into the Church of Scotland had ceased, attempts by the British state at influencing the polity of the Church had not. In 1712, the Tory administration restored patronage in Scotland, and this act opened up sores which had been forming within the Church. It is important to note that throughout this thesis references to sectarianism are not used to denote the bigotry between Catholic and Protestants, but rather the various Protestant sects of the Church of Scotland, which formed when the Church began to fracture. As observed by Martin Fitzpatrick, Senior Research Associate at the department of Scottish and Welsh history at Aberystwyth University, opinion had polarised between the “proprietary view” and the “congregationalist view”: those who supported the appointment of a minister by the Sovereign and lay patrons, and those who believed that the community of the faithful should elect their own minister.⁶⁰ Various compromises existed between these extremes, each built upon the assumption that the Church “should be a mirror both of society generally and of the faithful themselves.”⁶¹ Although the “right” of the lay patrons to appoint clerics was restored, popular disaffection forced them to wield their authority with caution until the Church Courts lent their approbation in 1720. As the issue of patronage moved into the 1730s and unrest mounted, the General Assembly attempted to restore the compromise of 1690-1712, a move that only exacerbated the conflict. The Church of Scotland was deeply divided between those who favoured the pre-1690 and post-1712 arrangement, and those who supported the Stirlingshire

⁶⁰ Martin Fitzpatrick, “The Enlightenment, Politics and Providence,” in Knud Haakonssen, *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 73

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 73

minister Ebenezer Erskine, who preached the divine right of people.⁶² Indeed, Erskine and three other ministers refused to bend to the disciplinary procedures of the Church, and were expelled.⁶³ This first disruption led to the creation of the Secession Church, also known as the Associate Presbytery, in 1734.

“The truth is that the Seceders,” observed Alexander Bruce, Lord Balfour of Burleigh in 1911, “represented a body of opinion in the Church which was really covenanting alike in name and in spirit.”⁶⁴ As a result of the Secession Church recruiting older covenanting and prayer societies, Joseph S. Moore, history professor at Gardner-Webb University, has likewise argued that they were “the new Covenanters, rebranded and redirected but still determined to live out the God Old Cause in a New Britain.”⁶⁵ By presenting their struggle against state interference as analogous to the Covenanter crusade, Gordon Pentland in his monograph, which analyses the relationship between theology, reformist ideology and national identity, has argued that Secessionists, through using the past and evoking collective memory, had a “rich tradition” with which to link their campaign.⁶⁶ The character of the Secession Church provides weight to Nicholas Terpstra’s concept of “martyrology,” and connects with its utilisation of Covenanting tradition as a means to justify its cause. Indeed, Charles Inglis, the first colonial bishop of British North America, writing about the growing influence of the Pictou-based Presbyterians, stated that he “shudder[ed] at the probable

⁶² *Account of The Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Society for Improving the System of Church Patronage in Scotland* (Edinburgh: A. Balfour and Co, 1829), 53

⁶³ Martin Fitzpatrick, “The Enlightenment, Politics and Providence,” 73; Joseph S. Moore, *Founding Sins: How a Group of Antislavery Radicals Fought to put Christ into the Constitution*, 28

⁶⁴ Lord Balfour of Burleigh. *An Historical Account of the Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 125

⁶⁵ Joseph S. Moore, *Founding Sins: How a Group of Antislavery Radicals Fought to put Christ into the Constitution*, 28; Callum G. Brown, *The People in the Pews: Religion and Society in Scotland since 1780*, 10

⁶⁶ Gordon Pentland, *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity in Scotland, 1820-1833* (New York: The Boydell Press, 2008), 114

consequences of such a state of things...I see in their embryo the same state which produced the subversion of the Church and State in the time of Charles I.”⁶⁷

Unrest towards patronage increased in 1750 with the emergence of the new Moderate Party. While Callum G. Brown has emphasised the intemperate nature of the Moderates, Stewart J. Brown has argued that they encouraged social order and rationality through their rejection of the strict Calvinistic heritage of the Church of Scotland, and their characteristically “fiery” oratories.⁶⁸ Politically, the Moderates represented the state and although outnumbered by Evangelicals, a popular oppositional force, they dominated the General Assembly and university appointments from 1740 until 1833.⁶⁹ According to Brown, the Moderate party’s approval of the patronage act was predicated upon two considerations.⁷⁰ Firstly, parishioners of national churches throughout the kingdom were obliged to submit to civil law regulating Church polity, including compliance to the patronage act. Without such obedience the Moderates believed, that the Church of Scotland would dissolve into congregational independency and thus lose state benefits. Secondly, they claimed that patron-appointed ministers were of superior quality and would exercise a “civilising influence” upon the congregations.⁷¹ The Evangelical party became increasingly vexed over the aristocracy interfering in church affairs and the apparent dilution of Calvinism.⁷² In viewing patronage as a flagrant symbol of the Church of Scotland’s partnership with the British

⁶⁷ Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1972), 61

⁶⁸ Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 45

⁶⁹ Callum G. Brown, *The People in the Pews: Religion and Society in Scotland since 1780*, 10-11

⁷⁰ Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth*, 45; Callum G. Brown, *The People in the Pews: Religion and Society in Scotland since 1780*, 10

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 10

⁷² Joseph S. Moore, *Founding Sins: How a Group of Antislavery Radicals Fought to put Christ into the Constitution*, 28; Robert Strivens, *Philip Doddridge and the Shaping of Evangelical Dissent* (London, Routledge, 2016), 28

state, the Evangelicals were eager to restore the purity of Scottish Presbyterianism and a sense of mission.⁷³ Increasing dissatisfaction with church governance led the Evangelical party to argue in favour of self-determination and religious freedom against the imposition of state. Once again, Covenanter martyrdom was used to challenge state corruption and its infringement into the civil and religious liberty of the Scottish people. The Moderate party rejected Covenanting tradition as disorderly and trusted that with the development of the Enlightenment, Evangelical zealotry would be muted. Through using the past as a political tool for justified resistance, the Evangelicals and the Seceders were united in collective memory.

While there is a significant link between the growth of dissidence and economic change; increased dissidence does not always align with poverty, deprivation and distress. Indeed, Callum G. Brown and Sociology professor, Steve Bruce, at Aberdeen University have observed that there is a significant correlation between radicalism and those who could match “independence of the mind with financial independence.”⁷⁴ Likewise, Pentland concluded that Evangelicalism provided the middle classes with a “framework of response to the emergence of a modern urban society,” and encouraged the formation of organisations to resolve politico-religious matters.⁷⁵ Although there is a propensity to compartmentalise radicalism as class-based protest, the theological motivations at the root of eighteenth-and early nineteenth-century disaffection should not be overshadowed by Marxist interpretation. Additionally, Brown, in his examination of the schismatic nature of Scottish religion has argued that it was “nothing exceptional,” and their reputation for “hair-splitting on theological matters” was largely

⁷³ Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth*, 43

⁷⁴ Steve Bruce, *Scottish Gods: Religion in Modern Scotland, 1900-2012* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 10

⁷⁵ Gordon Pentland, *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity in Scotland, 1820-1833*, 43

self-generated.⁷⁶ This thesis aims to demonstrate that the dissenting character of the Church of Scotland was exceptional, for alongside the Scottish Covenanting tradition, these defining features were exported transatlantically with the eighteenth and early nineteenth century diaspora to Nova Scotia.

Despite reasonable harmony among the parishioners, the Secession Church divided in 1747 over the Burgess Oath. The burghs [burgesses] of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth were obliged to take the Oath agreeing to adhere to the “true religion” of the realm.⁷⁷ Alan Wilson, has argued that the Oath ignited old state-church tensions through securing a tie between the two autonomous units.⁷⁸ The ambiguity of the phrase “true religion” caused many to reject the Oath as unlawful for they believed that it alluded to the Church of Scotland, which they had forsworn.⁷⁹ Others argued that it referenced recognised Protestant faith and was intended to protect the burghs against the resurgence of popery.⁸⁰ This created a schism within the dissenting church between those who accepted the Oath, the Burghers of the Associate Synod, and those who denounced it, the Anti-burghers of the General Associate Synod.

While schisms continued to plague the Scottish Church until the final disruption in 1843 with the formation of the Free Church, it is the Burgher-Anti-Burgher divide which is central to this thesis. Only with dissent from the national churches and the

⁷⁶ Callum G. Brown, *The People in the Pews: Religion and Society in Scotland since 1780*, 17; James DeForest Murch, *Christians Only: A History of the Restoration Movement* (Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1962), 37

⁷⁷ Joel Hiatt and William Owen, *Diary of William Owen from November 10, 1824 to April 20, 1825* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1906), 466; Finlay Macdonald, *From Reform to Renewal: Scotland's Kirk Century by Century* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 2017), 103-105; George Patterson, *Memoir of the Reverend James MacGregor, D. D.* (Philadelphia: J. M. Wilson, 1859), 27-28

⁷⁸ Alan Wilson, *Highland Shepard: James MacGregor, Father of the Scottish Enlightenment in Nova Scotia*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 12

⁷⁹ Joel Hiatt and William Owen, *Diary of William Owen from November 10, 1824 to April 20, 1825*, 466

⁸⁰ Alan Wilson, *Highland Shepard: James MacGregor, Father of the Scottish Enlightenment in Nova Scotia*, 12

offer of toleration towards nonconformists to the national religion does it make sense to refer to an established Church. As highlighted in the work of John Neville Figgis, an Anglican Priest and monk of the Community of the Resurrection, the definition of “establishment” transformed in the eighteenth century.⁸¹ He argued that initially the word was used to mean as by “law founded,” not by “law settled” and thus, it denoted the control of the Church not its origin.⁸² Through referring to national churches as the established Church, not as by law established, the term began to carry the weight of privilege. As a result of the religious situation in the United Kingdom, where there are two national churches as by law established, this thesis will refer to the Church of England as the established Church and use the colloquial term, the Kirk, as guided by primary documents, to refer to the Church of Scotland.

Before demonstrating the relevance of Scottish Presbyterian political theory in Nova Scotia, it is first necessary to provide an overview of the colony. British expansion into the French colony of Acadia – other than the short-lived Scottish colony of New Scotland during the 1620s and 1630s - began when the Treaty of Utrecht concluded the War of Spanish Succession. The Twelfth Article of that treaty “yielded...to the Queen of Great Britain” all of Nova Scotia with its “ancient boundaries,” the city of Annapolis Royal together with the “dominion, propriety and possession of said islands, lands and places.”⁸³ Despite invading Nova Scotia with fervour, the British failed to express similar enthusiasm in securing settlement in the new colony. In 1749, the Board of Trade and Plantations requested that the Lord’s Commission open communication with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

⁸¹ John Neville Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State*, Second Edition (New York: Russell & Russell, 1973), 9

⁸² *Ibid*, 9

⁸³ W. P. M. Kennedy, *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1930), 6

(SPG) in an effort to motivate colonial development.⁸⁴ The Commission recommended that six townships be established, in each of which a site for a church and school would be granted.⁸⁵ Two months following the SPG's recommendation, Edward Cornwallis established a garrison in Halifax, which alongside the settlement in Annapolis Royal, would counterbalance the strength of the Catholic community at Louisbourg, and ensure Nova Scotia was held as a Protestant province.⁸⁶

In 1758, Nova Scotia experienced significant colonial development both religiously and politically. Firstly, the formation of an elected Assembly marked a decisive moment in Nova Scotia's constitutional history. Prior to this development, the authority for colonial decisions resided solely with the Governor, who was considered "the bulwark of British authority" and empowered to protect the "policy of the mother country against internal opposition."⁸⁷ This position of power was consolidated in 1719, when Governor Richard Philips was given the authority to formally appoint a Council. In tentative plans, the Council was to possess the same influence as the Governor and was to be awarded judicial powers, and the ability to act as an advisory body akin to its sister institution in London, the Privy Council. Although the Governor retained a central position in colonial government, those appointed often possessed no "experience in administration, no legal training, [and] no knowledge of colonial conditions."⁸⁸ Therefore, the Council became the primary authority in the colony and a source of

⁸⁴ T. C. Haliburton, *Historical and Statistical Accounts of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1829), 101

⁸⁵ "A Letter from The Lords Commissioners for the Trade and Plantations to the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," April 6 1749," in E. Hawkins, *Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in North American Colonies, Previous to the Independence of the United States* (London: B. Fellowes, 1845), 354

⁸⁶ John B. Bourinot, *Builders of Nova Scotia: A Historical Review; With an Appendix Containing Copies of Rare Documents Relating to the Early Days of the Province* (Toronto: The Copp-Clark Co., 1900), 12; Maurice W. Armstrong, "Backgrounds of Religious Liberty in Nova Scotia," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 27, 18

⁸⁷ Helen Taft Manning, *British Colonial Government After the American Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933), 101

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 101

intelligence and instruction for the Governor. Secondly, Nova Scotia's religious landscape was developed within an Anglican framework. When the "Act for the Establishment of Religious Publick Worship in this Province and for Suppressing Popery" was sanctioned, the liturgy of the Church of England was established "as by law" and thus, became the national religion of the colony.⁸⁹ While the legality of the Anglican Church's position was ambiguous, Crown instructions directed the Governor to draft provision for the creation of glebe lands, and insisted on the reading of the Book of Common Prayer.⁹⁰ Indeed, both requests demonstrate the privileged and established position of the Anglican Church.

Although Valerie Wallace has criticised the political historiography of Nova Scotia for concentrating on the "office-seeking behaviour of the family compacts," the oligarchical structure of the Council is important to the development of disaffection amongst dissenters.⁹¹ In his comparative examination of the politico-religious environment of Upper Canada and Nova Scotia, John S. Moir argued that there was "no serious church-state controversy" in the maritime province because no family compact system existed.⁹² Despite this, scholars agree that the Council was exclusive, for it operated as a "power elite" composed of Episcopalian merchants, professional men and bureaucrats. Indeed, the Council in Nova Scotia offers an "outstanding" example of a family compact.⁹³ Brenton Halliburton, a Loyalist of Scottish descent and Puisne Judge

⁸⁹ J. M. Bumsted, "Church and State in Maritime Canada, 1749-1807," *Historical Papers*, 21, 1967, (41-58), 41; Alan L. Hayes, *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 226

⁹⁰ J. M. Bumsted, "Church and State in Maritime Canada, 1749-1807," 41

⁹¹ Valerie Wallace, Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America, c.1815-c.1850, 178; William S. Wallace, *The Family Compact: A Chronicle of the Rebellion of Upper Canada* (Toronto: Glasgow and Brook, 1915), 28-29

⁹² John S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), 35

⁹³ Donald Grant Creighton, *The Empire of the St Lawrence* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1956), 265; John Clarke, *Land, Power and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada* (Montreal: McGill-

of the Supreme Court, held a seat on the Council which his father, two uncles, two brothers-in-law, an aunt's brother-in-law's father-in-law and the latter's brother-in-law all occupied at some point.⁹⁴ The "Gerrish-Brenton-Halliburton-Stewart-Cochran-Hill-George-Collins" connection serves to discredit Moir's surface analysis of Nova Scotia's colonial government.⁹⁵

Moir further argued that the existence of an interdenominational "Church-State party" guaranteed "reasonable if not equal treatment of all denominations."⁹⁶ This analysis, however, fails to recognise that two seats within the Council were reserved, one for the Bishop of the Church of England, and one for the Chief Justice of the Province. This demonstrates the existence of a church-state relationship within the colony and illustrates that very little room was made in official Nova Scotian politics for dissenters. J. M. Beck concurs with Moir and Norah Story that a "Church-State Party" did exist in Nova Scotia, albeit as a "loosely knitted association," which manifested a "tender regard for the British church and state policy" despite being "plagued with internal conflict."⁹⁷ While this system relied on the colonial legislature to operate within the framework of the British constitution, it created a veneer of free agency. If the Legislative Assembly did not sanction laws in favour of the established Church, it could be prevented from enacting any measure which would benefit the dissenting population.⁹⁸

Queens University Press, 2001), 380; J. K. Johnson and Bruce G. Wilson, *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 486

⁹⁴ J. M. Beck, *The Government of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 21

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 21; John Clarke, *Land, Power and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada*, 486

⁹⁶ John S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867*, 35

⁹⁷ J. M. Beck, *The Government of Nova Scotia*, 22; Norah Story, "The Church and State 'Party' in Nova Scotia," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 27 (1947): 33-57, 33-34

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 34

While colonial officials successfully used the established Church as a “cultural conductor of Britishness” and exploited its influence for the advantage of the state, the Church was unable to operate as an oppressive force.⁹⁹ Nova Scotia was not an ideal environment to breed Episcopacy due to the heterogeneous nature of the settler population. William Gregg, historian of Canadian Presbyterianism, deduced that of the 160,000 settlers in Nova Scotia in 1817, 42,000 were Presbyterian, 32,000 Anglican, 26,000 Baptists and 13,000 Methodists.¹⁰⁰ Outnumbered, the colonial government granted religious toleration to the colony’s dissenting population. The 1758 Establishment Act afforded nonconforming Protestants the free liberty of conscience, the right to establish meeting houses, elect ministers and excused them from paying any rates or taxes levied for the support of the established Church, as was the practice elsewhere in British North America.¹⁰¹ The following year, Governor Charles Lawrence issued what the later politician T. C. Haliburton named the “Charter of Nova Scotia,” and a symbol of the first victory for Christian religion in the province.¹⁰² The proclamation reiterated the promises of the Act in an effort to encourage settlement into the province, however, toleration of the free churches actually laid the foundation of opposition against the privileged position of the established Church, and its Episcopalian dogma.

Given that Presbyterians formed the largest demographic and had a tradition of opposing the alliance of church and state, it is perhaps not surprising that they were the

⁹⁹ Valerie Wallace, “Preaching Disaffection” in the Presbyterian Atlantic: Jotham Blanchard and the Reform Crisis in Scotland and Nova Scotia, c. 1827-37. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. Vol. 42. No. 3. (2014), 377-399, 378; J. M. Bumsted, “Church and State in Maritime Canada, 1749-1807,” 43

¹⁰⁰ William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada from the Earliest Times to 1834* (Toronto, 1885), 138

¹⁰¹ James Robertson, *History of the Mission of the Secession Church to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island from its Commencement in 1765* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1847), 278

¹⁰² T. C. Haliburton, *Historical and Statistical Accounts of Nova Scotia*, 220

primary driving force behind early political reform in Nova Scotia. The first Presbyterian congregations were established by the Scottish-Irish colonists in Truro and Londonderry. Reverend John McKerrow has highlighted that through using the names of their native cities the colonists perpetuated the “remembrance of the homes where they first beheld the light.”¹⁰³ In 1786, Daniel Cock, who studied theology under Ebenezer Erskine, David Smith, trained by Erskine’s successor, and Hugh Graham, educated at East Lothian’s divinity hall in Haddington came together in Nova Scotia alongside two ruling elders, John Johnston and John Barnhill.¹⁰⁴ The Scottish preservation of collective memory was not solely remembered in name, for when Paisley-born James MacGregor, a member of the General Associate Presbytery and an inflexible Anti-Burgher, arrived fresh from the “controversial atmosphere” of Scotland, he brought with him the bitter sectarianism fermented by the Burgess Oath.¹⁰⁵ Although the Oath held no relevance in the colony, when the Scottish ministers formed the second Associate (Burgher) Presbytery in Truro, MacGregor outright rejected the notion of a union between the two sects.

MacGregor drafted a report to the General Associate Synod in Glasgow to appeal for four enterprising, young missionaries. In his assessment of the state of religion in the colony, he highlighted that colonists in the remote settlements were so deprived of spiritual guidance that their morality had “rapidly deteriorated.”¹⁰⁶ MacGregor had settled in Pictou, a region situated on the south side of the

¹⁰³ Rev. John McKerrow, *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1867), 40

¹⁰⁴ W. Gregg, D. D., *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada: From the Earliest times to 1834; with Chronological Table of Events to the Present Time and Map* (Toronto: Presbyterian Printing and Publishing Company, 1893), 77

¹⁰⁵ H. H. Walsh, *The Christian Church in Canada*, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), 129-130

¹⁰⁶ James Robertson, *History of the Mission of the Secession Church to Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island from its Commencement in 1765* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1847), 98

Northumberland Strait, and was “most discouraged for it was so sparsely populated that he could not foresee how a school could be maintained.”¹⁰⁷ Given that MacGregor was committed absolutely to the Anti-Burgher cause, it is not unfounded to presume that there is a link between his adherence to strict Calvinism and education. For Calvinists taught by the Holy Scriptures, education in religious truth was promoted as a cardinal principle.¹⁰⁸ In his analysis of Calvinism, Rev. Wm. Henry Roberts argued that this strain forged a personal connection not between humankind and the Church but between the soul and God. It thus necessitated human beings to acquire knowledge of “God’s Word as the law of faith and life.”¹⁰⁹ Indeed, on a mission to Prince Edward Island, MacGregor found that the people were “perishing for a lack of knowledge.”¹¹⁰ In addition to his sectarianism, MacGregor displayed a prejudice regarding Highland settlers, writing that they were “perfectly indifferent about education, for neither themselves nor any of their ancestors had ever tasted its pleasure or its profit.”¹¹¹ The intolerance MacGregor had for the Highland settlers distorted the truth, for S. Karly Kehoe, the Canada Research Chair in Atlantic Canada Communities, has demonstrated that a lack of universities in the Highlands encouraged outward migration for those willing and able to attend.¹¹² In 1795, two Scottish ministers, Duncan Ross and John Brown, arrived and, alongside MacGregor, founded the Associate (Anti-Burgher) Presbytery in Pictou.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 98

¹⁰⁸ Philip Vollmer, *John Calvin, Theologian, Preacher, Educator, Statesman* (Philadelphia: Heidelberg Press, 1909), 204

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 204

¹¹⁰ H. H. Walsh, *The Christian Church in Canada*, 131

¹¹¹ Ibid, 131

¹¹² S. Karly Kehoe, “From the Caribbean to the Scottish Highlands: Charitable Enterprise in the Age of Improvement, c.1750 to c.1820”, *Rural History*. 27:1 (2016): 37-59, 44

¹¹³ W. Gregg, D. D., *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada: From the Earliest times to 1834; with Chronological Table of Events to the Present Time and Map*, 93

Given that the dissenting Presbyterian churches supervised the rural settlements and the Kirk's influence was concentrated in Halifax, their spheres of influence rarely overlapped and their early relationship in the colony appeared amiable.¹¹⁴ This toleration between the two branches lasted until 1824, when the Glasgow Colonial Society was founded and Kirk missionaries began to spread into dissenting dominated regions to support the established Church's mission to suppress political radicalism and religious dissent. Indeed, cultural historian Nancy Christie, who specialises in political history within the transatlantic region, has argued that through favouring a relationship with the established Church, missionary Kirkmen demonstrated the success of eighteenth-century Scottish elites in distorting Scotland's "ethno-religious discourse."¹¹⁵ Christie claimed that a sense of independent Scottish nationhood had been displaced in favour of "Anglo-Britishness," as promoted by Moderate Kirkmen who favoured the Anglican model of constitutional liberty and national prosperity.¹¹⁶ The theory of a united nationhood within Scotland is problematic, however, for the Highlanders and the Lowland Scots viewed each other as racially different – a division which was transported to Nova Scotia by men such as MacGregor. Noted for their military ability and notorious lawlessness, the Highlanders were distinguished by their pastoral economy. Comparatively, they viewed their Lowland neighbours as effete, foreign invaders and such divisions were exacerbated by the absence of a shared language.¹¹⁷ As a result of Kirkmen supporting the established Church in Nova Scotia,

¹¹⁴ Susan Buggie, *Churchmen and Dissenters: Religious Toleration in Nova Scotia 1758-1835* (Dalhousie University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1981), 36

¹¹⁵ Nancy Christie, *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-Revolutionary British North America* (Toronto: McGill-Queens University Press, 2014), 223-24

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 223-24

¹¹⁷ Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland Before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History c. 1050 – c. 1750* (London: Longman, 1995), 251-52; T. C. Smout, *History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London: Fontana Press, 1969), 312-20

they prevented the complete Anglicisation of British North America. This was not, however, a contest for religious dominance but a strategic manoeuvre to establish a place for the Kirk within the British Empire.

For the colonial officials who maintained that the “interdependence of church and state was the essential basis of order and good government,” the success of the American War of Independence proved to Anglican colonists the danger of creating political establishments without the security of an ecclesiastical body.¹¹⁸ The dissenting Scottish Presbyterians, however, viewed the American War of Independence as the outcome of a policy, which placed the “bishop on a level with the king.”¹¹⁹ The loss of the colonies marked a “decisive watershed in the shaping of colonial Anglicanism” for Nova Scotia went from being a minor field in the operation of the empire, to one of the most precious possessions in that region.¹²⁰ At the conclusion of the American War, 18 Anglican clergymen assembled in New York to formulate a strategy for the protection of the Church of England. With the support of Guy Carleton, the clergymen formulated a scheme to protect the Church of England within the remaining colonies in British North America.¹²¹ In 1783, a proposal was submitted to the British government emphasising Nova Scotia as “an object of great national importance.”¹²² The plan

¹¹⁸ V. T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793*, Vol. 2 (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1964), 735

¹¹⁹ William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch D. D.* (n. p., 1920), 5

¹²⁰ Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design, in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816* (London: S.P.C.K., 1972), 1-4; NSA: “Letter to the editor of the Chronicle” Halifax, May 19 1924 MG 100, Vol. 121 #23

¹²¹ Charles Inglis, Isaac Brown, Samuel Seabury, John Sayre, Jeremiah Learning, Bery Moore, H. Addison, John H. Rosland, J. Walter, Thomas Moore, Moses Bader, George Bisset, John Odell, Charles Monger, George Panton, Joshua Bloomer, John Beardley and John Bowden. NSA: “Inglis Papers: Extract of a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord North from Sir Guy Carleton,” Whitehall, 15 June 1783

¹²² NSA: “Inglis Papers: Extract from a Letter from Sir Guy Carlton,” New York, 26 August 1783 MG 100, Vol. 121 #23; Paul David Nelson, *General Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester: Soldier-Statesman of Early British Canada* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 175

reinforced the conviction that the Imperial Government must take action to secure a stronger bond between church and state in the colony to avoid future rebellion. The consideration of the proposal was twofold.¹²³ Firstly, they recommended that a Colonial Episcopate, endowed only with ecclesiastical authority, be established. The clergymen viewed the Bishop of London, who prior to the American War exercised ecclesiastical authority over foreign settlements, as too remote to supervise and oversee the needs of the colonists. Secondly, a liberal “College or Seminary of learning” where “youth may receive a virtuous education” should be founded.¹²⁴ Carleton claimed that this measure would diffuse morality and be greatly “conductive to the permanent loyalty and future tranquillity of that colony.”¹²⁵ It was recognised in both ecclesiastical and political circles, as demonstrated by MacGregor, education was the surest way to remedy the ills of society. Where MacGregor sought the solution to immorality, the Anglican state viewed education as a tool to combat radicalism and secure loyalty to the Crown.

In 1787, the demands of colonial officials and Anglican clergymen were satisfied when Charles Inglis, one of the Loyalist clergymen present at the New York negotiations, was appointed to the first colonial bishopric. The position, described by Inglis as “difficult and laborious,” underwent significant teething problems, for the duties of the bishop clashed with the adoptive duties of the Governor.¹²⁶ Additionally, Governor John Parr was suspicious of the new bishop’s political allegiance and in a letter to Lord Shelburne, he described Inglis as a “high Churchman...who [had] never

¹²³ Guy Carleton, “King’s College and Episcopate in Nova Scotia: Plans Submitted to the British Government in the Year 1783,” in *Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 4 (W. M MacNab Printer, 1884), 123

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 123

¹²⁵ NSA: “Inglis Papers: Copy of a Letter from General Sir G. Carleton to the Honourable Lord North,” New York, 26 August 1783 MG 100, Vol. 121 #23

¹²⁶ NSA: “Inglis Papers: Memoirs of Bishop Inglis, Nova Scotia, Letter to Lord Dorchester” Halifax, December 27 1787 MG 1 Vol. 479 (a) #1

drank the Glorious memory of King William.”¹²⁷ Despite Parr’s reservations, Inglis staunchly defended the Imperial Government and viewed the British Constitution as the epitome of “absolute perfection,” noting that it was best calculated to procure political happiness, of any that was ever framed by human wisdom. In his analysis of Inglis, H. H. Walsh described a man strong in the “old faith” who upon entrance into the ecclesiastical office “immediately proceeded to shape the polity of Anglicanism in British North America as the Trusty guardian of the cultural value of eighteenth-century England.”¹²⁸ Inglis presented a sermon at the Parish Church of St. Paul’s in Halifax, which demonstrated his hard-line conservatism as he emphasised that society rested upon two pillars: government and religion.

There is a close connection between the duty which we owe to God, and the duty we owe to the King, and to others in authority under him. So, intimate is this connection that they can scarcely be separated. Whoever is sincerely religious toward God, from principle and conscience, will also, from principle and conscious, be loyal to his earthly sovereign, obedient to the laws and faithful to the government which God hath placed over him.¹²⁹

Inglis viewed the Church of England as an apparatus for upholding the loyalty of the inhabitants, and a means to prevent an insurrection in British North America. Through presenting dissenters from the established Church as disloyal, Inglis exhibited a common threat used to disenfranchise reformers who criticised the Imperial Government, or rejected the unitary bond between church and state.

In 1789, King’s College was established at Windsor and from the outset, Bishop Inglis recognised the proselytising possibilities. He claimed that the College would be

¹²⁷ John S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867: Basic Documents* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited: 1967), 39-40

¹²⁸ H. H. Walsh, *The Christian Church in Canada*, 105

¹²⁹ Bishop Charles Inglis, *Steadfastness in Religion and Loyalty Recommended, in a sermon preached before the legislature of His Majesty's province of Nova (Halifax, 1793)*, 28

of the “utmost consequence both to church and state,” for it was likely to remove many of the immoralities under which the colonists laboured.¹³⁰ Additionally, the College was to be of great service to the Church of England as an expedient means to diffuse “knowledge, virtue, order and loyalty.”¹³¹ In 1802, the College was granted a Royal Charter and awarded an annual grant at imperial expense. The Charter required an appointed Committee of Governors to draft statutes based on the model of Oxford University. The establishment of the statutes effectively excluded four fifths of the population on two considerations. Firstly, no student was permitted to attend any place of Worship, which had dissented from the established Church or meeting houses where Divine Service was not performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England.¹³² Secondly, students were required to subscribe to the thirty-nine Articles of the Episcopalian Church, and the three Articles contained in the thirty-sixth Canon of the Synod of London twice: once upon matriculation and once at convocation.¹³³ On the exclusivity of King’s College, scholars agree.¹³⁴ In the post-Loyalist period, this was the first attempt of the Church of England to exercise its established status. Ideologically, King’s was modeled on Oxford University but following the implementation of the Statutes, it loomed physically as the largest building then erected

¹³⁰ NSA: “Inglis Papers: Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury,” Halifax, November 30 1789

¹³¹ NSA: “Inglis Papers: Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury,” Halifax April 20, 1789

¹³² The Statutes, Rules and Ordinances of the University of King’s College at Windsor in the Province of Nova Scotia (Halifax: John Howe, 1803), 27-28

¹³³ Ibid, 31

¹³⁴ Archibald MacMechan, “Nova Scotia: General History, 1775-1867,” in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions by One Hundred Associates* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914), 128; Judith Fingard, “1820s Peace, Privilege, and the Promise of Progress,” in Phillip A. Buckner, and John G. Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 265; D. Campbell, and R. MacLean, 1974, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots*. (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 128; Alan Wilson, *Highland Shepherd: James MacGregor, Father of the Scottish Enlightenment in Nova Scotia*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 130.

in the province: a neo-classical, neo-colonial college established in a still-small community.¹³⁵

Around the same time as King's College was granted its Royal Charter and the Ordinances implemented, the third wave of Scottish immigration into Nova Scotia had commenced. Part of this exodus was the Reverend Dr. Thomas McCulloch. Described as a man of "inflexible firmness not inferior to John Knox himself," McCulloch was a missionary sent on behalf of the Anti-burgher Secession Synod in 1803.¹³⁶ McCulloch's later politico-ecclesiastical leanings developed from his early exposure to the radical Presbyterian environment of his hometown of Paisley, Renfrewshire.¹³⁷ While he attended the University of Glasgow, where he took medical instruction but failed to complete the necessary examinations, it was under the instruction of Archibald Bruce at the Secession Divinity Hall at Whitburn that his ideas became nuanced. Bruce memorialised Scotland's national past through embracing the Covenanting tradition, alongside a strong suspicion of Catholicism.¹³⁸ Indeed, he maintained that contemporary Britain was indebted to the Scottish model of civil and religious liberty. As a result of this exposure, McCulloch became "thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the British Constitution, especially in their bearing upon the rapidly rising questions of the civil and religious rights of citizenship."¹³⁹ Licenced by the Presbytery of Kilmarnock he became a clergyman in 1799 at the Stewarton Secession Church, where he remained for four years until a lack of adequate support led to his resignation.

¹³⁵ William Whyte, *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 25

¹³⁶ Thomas McCulloch, *The Prosperity of the Church in Troublous Times, A Sermon Preached at Pictou Friday February 25 1814 with Introductory Remarks by Rev. Robert Grant* (New Glasgow: S. M. MacKenzie, 1882), 3-4

¹³⁷ Marjory Whitelaw, *Thomas McCulloch: His Life and Times* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1985), 5

¹³⁸ Bob Harris, *The Scottish People and the French Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2016), 30

¹³⁹ James J. Coleman, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commemoration, Nationality and Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 133

It was then that he applied to the Synod for a foreign mission and appointed to Prince Edward Island (PEI). The harsh Nova Scotian weather discouraged Rev. McCulloch from crossing the Northumberland Strait to PEI, and thus he decided to winter in Pictou. His arrival provided great relief to both the inhabitants and the labouring clergy. Reputedly, Rev. James MacGregor and the Pictonian merchant Edward Mortimer appealed to McCulloch to remain in Nova Scotia after spotting two terrestrial and celestial globes in his luggage.¹⁴⁰ McCulloch accepted the offer.

In his written work, Rev. McCulloch revealed his distaste for both Episcopacy and Catholicism. In 1804, when Bishop Inglis instigated a pamphlet war against the Roman Catholic Father Edmund Burke, who like McCulloch was keen to extend education in the province and frequently challenged Anglican ascendancy, McCulloch penned two volumes at the Bishop's request. *Popery Condemned* and *Popery Again Condemned*, secured him "transatlantic fame" and demonstrated that he had thoroughly imbibed the teachings of Bruce.¹⁴¹ In his unpublished works, however, his abhorrence of Episcopacy is documented. In a draft publication of Restoration Scotland, McCulloch wrote that Episcopalian clergy had become "vindictive prompters to cruelty" and had "sacrificed the religion of Scotland."¹⁴² In his attack on Bishop James Sharp of Saint Andrews, he claimed that Sharp's death would prove a "national deliverance to the Scots," concluding that when the alert sounded that a man was

¹⁴⁰ Gwendolyn Davies, *The Mephibosheth Stepsure Letters: Thomas McCulloch* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990), vxiii; H. H. Walsh, *The Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), 130

¹⁴¹ Thomas McCulloch, *Popery Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers being a Refutation of the Principle Popish Doctrines and Assertions* (Edinburgh, 1808); Jack C. Whytock, "An Educated Clergy:" *Scottish Theological Education and Training in the Kirk and Secession, 1560-1850* (Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publisher, 2008), 356; Valerie Wallace, "Fictions of History, Evangelical Whiggism and the Debate over *Old Morality* in Scotland and Nova Scotia," in Ben Dew and Fiona Price, *Historical Writing in Britain, 1688-1830 Visions of History* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 190

¹⁴² NSA: McCulloch Papers, "An Account of the Religious Affairs in Restoration Scotland," MG 1 Vol. 557 #1

murdered, “it was quickly allayed by the remark that it was only a bishop.” Of the same publication, Rev. McCulloch recounted the struggle of the Covenanters under Episcopacy:

When Charles II introduced episcopacy into Scotland he treated the nation as if royal prerogative were the sole regulator of religious belief. His subsequent measures also evinced a determination that no subject should with impunity resist his ecclesiastical arrangements. Those who would not relinquish their attachment to the Presbytery were regarded as enemies of the state and subjected to bitter operation of power wielded by intolerance; till at last as the only means of relief from the grasp of oppression a small party of them resorted to arms for the recovery of rights.¹⁴³

This demonstrates that McCulloch carried with him to Nova Scotia the memory of Covenanting martyrdom and he would use this not only as an analogous reference to the politico-religious situation in Nova Scotia but as justification for his resistance. Additionally, while the relationship between Bishop Inglis and McCulloch was amicable on its surface their polar views on the connection between church and state would prove too severe to facilitate any significant convergence.

After McCulloch established the Pictou Academy he, alongside members of the Associate Presbytery of Pictou, sought to transform it into a university and to secure a financial endowment from the colonial government. Phillip A. Buckner, historian of Atlantic Canada and British policy in North America, has highlighted that a bitter religious conflict unfolded when the Pictou-based Presbyterians sought financial aid for the Academy.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, through campaigning for permanent funding they effectively challenged Episcopalian control of higher education and the

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Phillip A. Buckner, *The Transition to Responsible Government: British Policy in British North America, 1815-1850* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985), 68; Rev. Sister Francis Xavier, “Educational Legislation in Nova Scotia and the Catholics,” *Canadian Catholic Historical Association*, 24, (1957): 63-74, 64

unconstitutional status of the Council, viewing it as the “cause of Christ.”¹⁴⁵ Indeed, the English ecclesiastical historian E. R. Norman, has suggested that the battle for non-sectarian education was “fiercer in the maritime provinces than in Upper Canada.”¹⁴⁶ What started as a nominal dispute over public revenue became a larger issue over unconstitutional government and religious privilege.

Although Valerie Wallace has emphasised the existence of an “Atlantic spiritual community of Scottish Presbyterianism” and the importance of adopting a globalised perspective to fully appreciate its significance, this thesis proposes that Nova Scotia requires further investigation.¹⁴⁷ The thesis aims to re-examine early political agitation in Nova Scotia through the lens of Scottish Presbyterian political theory, using Thomas McCulloch’s fight for equal religious and political consideration as a case study. Due to time and space constraints, the thesis does not discuss the purpose or success of liberal education in any great depth, nor does it examine the wider political issues that were affecting Nova Scotia at this time. Through using the Pictou Academy as a focal point, this thesis will prove that McCulloch evoked the Covenanting tradition to stimulate early political agitation prior to Joseph Howe’s campaign.

¹⁴⁵ William Katerberg, *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880-1950* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s Press, 2001), 26; NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Letter to James Mitchell,” May 18 1829, MG 1 Vol. 553 #40

¹⁴⁶ E. R. Norman, *The Conscience of the State in North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 181

¹⁴⁷ Valerie Wallace, *Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America, c.1815-c.1850*, 27

CHAPTER ONE
THE “CAUSE OF CHRIST:” THE EARLY YEARS OF THE PICTOU
ACADEMY

In the wake of the American War of Independence, the security of the colonies was dependent upon a closer connection between church, state and education.¹ The link between what was declared the “true religion” and sound knowledge permeated colonial thinking, and circulated throughout the dissenting communities of Nova Scotia. When the Episcopalian institution of King’s College at Windsor gained its Royal Charter in 1802, restrictive statutes were formed which effectively excluded every dissenting body who had not submitted to the Church of England’s doctrine.² The implementation of the statutes coincided with the arrival of Thomas McCulloch, who argued that those who objected to the diffusion of knowledge, considered the order of society only in relation to human control.³ In response to the exclusivity of the Episcopal establishment, McCulloch alongside Pictonian merchant Edward Mortimer and Reverend James MacGregor, the founder of the Antiburgher Presbytery of Pictou, founded Pictou Grammar School with the idea forming a non-sectarian institute of higher learning in the region. This was to become the Pictou Academy. This chapter examines the evolution of Nova Scotia’s educational environment, from the establishment of King’s College in 1788 until 1820, when the trustees of the Pictou Academy began raising questions over the Church of England’s monopolisation of

¹ “Letter from Mr. William Knox to the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt, Soho Square, August 7 1787,” in *Extra Official State Papers*, Vol. 1., (London: Debrett, 1789), Appendix V, 18

² Archibald MacMechan, “Nova Scotia: General History, 1775-1867.” in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions by One Hundred Associates* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914), 128; Judith Fingard, “1820s Peace, Privilege, and the Promise of Progress,” in Phillip A. Buckner, and John G. Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 265; D. Campbell and R. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar*, 128; Alan Wilson, *Highland Shepherd: James MacGregor, Father of the Scottish Enlightenment in Nova Scotia*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 130.

³ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Section on Education,” MG 1 Vol. 555 Reel. 5

higher education. The chapter engages with themes of networking and agency as a way of demonstrating how questions of loyalty, religion and education were as relevant in Nova Scotia as they were in Scotland and England. This focus reveals much about the broader economic, political and intellectual impact made by Scottish immigrants on the Nova Scotian landscape.

In eighteenth-century Nova Scotia, two significant pieces of legislation were established that signalled that colonial authorities recognised the importance of state surveillance of education through ecclesiastical units. In 1766, education was integrated into the colonial legislature with the “Act Concerning Schools and Schoolmasters,” which stipulated that for a person to establish a Grammar school, they first had to be examined by the clergy of their township.⁴ Alternatively, if no religious authorities were available then two Justices of the Peace could conduct the examination. It is important to note that although there was no formal statute which restricted official positions to members of the established Church, such offices were often dominated by Episcopalians.⁵ Following examination, those who sought to establish a school were required to take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, or be marked as a “popish recusant.”⁶ The responsibility of the colonial government in educational matters was strengthened in 1780, when an act for the financial support of schools was approved.⁷ The third section of this legislation, endowed the Governor with the authority to appoint “five reputable persons” as trustees and directors.⁸ Given that the Governor was often

⁴ Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1766, Cap. 7 [available online: http://nslegislature.ca.legc/SAL_v1.htm]

⁵ S. Buggey, *Churchmen and Dissenters: Religious Toleration in Nova Scotia 1758-1835*. Dalhousie University. PhD. 1981, 194

⁶ Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1766, Cap. 7 Section 1; Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1766, Cap. 7 Section 2; Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1766, Cap. 7 Section 3

⁷ W. Hamilton, *Education, Politics and Reform in Nova Scotia 1800-1848*. University of Western Ontario. MA Thesis. 1970, 62; Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1780, Cap. 3

⁸ Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1780, Cap. 3 Section 3

directed by the Episcopalian-dominated Council, the link between church-state surveillance and education was strengthened. Therefore, while dissenting communities could establish schools, their boards were controlled by Episcopalians which demonstrates that toleration was the ruling doctrine of Nova Scotia, not equality.

Although education was recognised by the colonial legislature, no significant development occurred until after the American War of Independence. As an expedient measure to safeguard loyalty, colonial officials had to compromise their preference for British-educated missionaries as the flood of migrants from the United States necessitated the formation of a homegrown clergy.⁹ Indeed, colonial officials were suspicious of embedding American-educated missionaries into the established Church, for they considered it to be their “strongest fortress.”¹⁰ As immigrants from the United States sought refuge in Nova Scotia, colonial officials trusted that the religious imbalance would be tilted in favour of the established Church.¹¹ Despite this, Episcopalianism never commanded a majority.¹² As a result, George Panton, an Episcopal minister and Loyalist, drafted a proposal to Prime Minister Lord North, which emphasised the urgency in establishing a public seminary, academy or college under the guidance of a teacher “professing the principles and living in the communion of the Church of England.”¹³ Although colonial officials pushed for an institution which taught the higher branches of education, when Charles Inglis, an Irish native, Loyalist

⁹ Public Archives Nova Scotia NSA: “Memoirs of Bishop Inglis, Nova Scotia: Brief Notes or Memoirs of the Public and Various Other Transactions taken to Assist Memory, Charles Inglis to Lord Hawkesbury,” Halifax, December 4 1789; NSA: “Memoirs of Bishop Inglis,: Copy of a Letter from General Sir G. Carleton to the Honourable Lord North,” New York, August 26 1783”

¹⁰ “Letter from Mr. William Knox to the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt, Soho Square, August 7 1787,” in *Extra Official State Papers*, Vol. 1., (London: Debrett, 1789), Appendix V, 18

¹¹ Gerald T. Rimmington, “The Founding of Universities in Nova Scotia,” *The Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 46: 3, (1966): 319-337, 320

¹² *Ibid*, 320

¹³ F. W. Vroom, *King’s College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939* (Halifax: The Imperial Publishing Company Limited, 1941), 10

and first colonial bishopric, arrived in 1787 he found that the country was without a respectable grammar school.¹⁴ Wishing to purge the evils of republicanism and concerned with the lack of available missionaries, Inglis applied to the Legislative Assembly to highlight the “absolute necessity” of their “interference and support” in developing education in British North America.¹⁵ The advancement of education in Nova Scotia would prevent a brain drain to the United States, where Inglis believed that young men would imbibe republican principles unfriendly to the British constitution.¹⁶

Following the arrival of Charles Inglis education developed considerably. In 1788 after securing the approbation of Lieutenant Governor Parr and the colonial government, a Grammar school was established with the promise of financial support for one year.¹⁷ Although the position of president was earmarked for Inglis’s nephew, Archibald Peane Inglis, frequent bouts of ill-health prevented him from adequately fulfilling the position and he was replaced by William Cochran, a gentleman from Country Tyrone. Cochran, a Loyalist, had resigned from his Professorship at King’s College in New York for he recognised that remaining in the United States would undermine the strength of his loyalty, and debar him from preferment under British rule.¹⁸ Within two years, Cochran became the president of King’s College in Windsor, which was designed to be of the “greatest public utility” to Nova Scotia and surrounding

¹⁴ NSA: “Memoirs of Bishop Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to Lord Hawkesbury,” Halifax, December 4 1789

¹⁵ NSA: “Memoirs of Bishop Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury,” Halifax, December 26 1787

¹⁶ NSA: “Memoirs of Bishop Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury,” Halifax, April 20 1789

¹⁷ NSA: “Memoirs of Bishop Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to Lord Hawkesbury,” Halifax December 4 1789; NSA: “Memoirs of Bishop Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury,” Halifax, December 26 1787

¹⁸ Arthur Wentworth Eaton, *The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Revolution* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891), 194

colonies and of the “utmost consequence” for church and state.¹⁹ The colonial government awarded £400 in perpetuity for the maintenance of the college, an amount which was to be levied from the duties imposed on brown, loaf and refined sugars.²⁰ Given that the influx of migrants from the United States did not correct the religious imbalance, Inglis recognised the proselytizing possibilities of the Windsor College. He envisaged the College to be of great service to the established Church and empire, for it would provide a secure channel through which virtue, order and loyalty could be diffused throughout the colony.²¹

Inglis viewed the success of King’s College as a means to strengthen the bond between church and state in Nova Scotia, and in its infancy, the College did promise a progressive future for all inhabitants.²² According to a memorandum drafted by John Inglis, the third minister to hold the episcopal office and son of Charles, around two hundred students were educated in King’s between 1790 and 1803.²³ At the turn of the nineteenth century, the College was financially supported by the Imperial Government following the passing of a Royal Charter, which set two significant conditions.²⁴ The Charter demanded that the existing Committee of Governors be reorganised and that a seat be reserved for the Judge of Vice Admiralty.²⁵ Additionally, the Board had to draft

¹⁹ Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1789, Cap. 4; NSA: Memoirs of Bishop Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury,” Halifax, April 20 1789

²⁰ NSA: “Memoirs of Bishop Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to Mr. Cumberland,” Halifax, April 20 1789

²¹ NSA: “Memoirs of Bishops Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury,” Halifax, April 20 1789

²² NSA: “Memoirs of Bishops Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury,” Halifax July 18 1790

²³ Henry Youle Hind, *The University of King’s College, 1790-1890* (New York: Church Review Company, 1890), 46

²⁴ The Statutes, Rules and Ordinances of the University of King’s College at Windsor in the Province of Nova Scotia (Halifax: John Howe, 1803), 1

²⁵ It appears that these stipulations would not have come as a surprise to Bishop Inglis, for in a letter to the Archbishop twelve years before the Royal Charter he had outlined the same structure for the Committee of Governors, see NSA: “Memoirs of Bishops Inglis: A Letter from Charles Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury,” Halifax, May 27, 1790

statutes based on the model of Oxford University, in so far as the provincial circumstances would comfortably allow. Although the Charter did not explicitly expel the dissenting population, King's College from the outset was formed as a seminary for Episcopalianism as demonstrated through the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury as Patron and the Bishop of Nova Scotia as Visitor. Indeed, the Anglicisation of the College would become more overt following the implementation of the Statutes.

While the Charter required the appointment of a Committee for the formation of the statutes, there exists no evidence which suggests that the three men appointed, Bishop Inglis, the Chief Justice and the Judge of Vice-Admiralty ever met as a collective body.²⁶ Instead it is suggested that they were drafted independently by Judge Alexander Croke, who insisted that instruction in Christian faith was essential to the school curriculum.²⁷ He stated that the only rational interpretation was that of the Church of England as it was the "purest and most apostolic form of religion ever established in any country."²⁸ It is not unreasonable to suggest that Croke controlled the drafting process, for the statutes marked the first attempt to exploit the established Church's privilege. Although the statutes were compiled into five books, three sections ignited controversy in the colony. Firstly, it noted that no professor could teach or hold "atheistical, deistical or democratical [sic]" values for fear that they would excite disaffection towards the British constitution.²⁹ Secondly, no student was permitted to attend any place of worship, which had dissented from the established Church or meeting houses where Divine Service was not performed according to the liturgy of the

²⁶ Carol Anne Janzen, "Sir Alexander Croke," in Frances G. Halpenny, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography: 1836 to 1850*, Volume 7, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 218

²⁷ *Ibid*, 218

²⁸ *Ibid*, 218

²⁹ The Statutes, Rules and Ordinances of the University of King's College at Windsor in the Province of Nova Scotia, 27-28

Church of England.³⁰ Lastly, students were required to subscribe twice to the thirty-nine Articles, and the three Articles contained in the thirty-sixth Canon of the Synod of London: once upon matriculation and once at graduation.³¹ As ecclesiastical historian Stewart J. Brown has demonstrated, the Articles formed the liturgy of the Church of England and made it a “distinctively English national Church,” and thus for the same reason King’s College was moulded as a distinctively English institution.³²

The implementation of the statutes coincided with the arrival of Reverend Dr Thomas McCulloch, and although King’s College in Windsor had shown early success he found that a great body of inhabitants were still deprived of religious instruction and education. In an unpublished account of early Nova Scotia, McCulloch wrote that those who had been exposed to religious knowledge and practice could possess no “just conception of the imbecility of the human mind where there is no sanctuary of God.”³³ Indeed, he argued that the hardships which had forced the Scots to leave the land of their fathers were “forgotten amidst longing for the comforts which they had left behind.”³⁴ The Scottish settlers had appealed frequently to Scotland for Presbyterian missionaries but many were willing to sacrifice home comforts for the hardship of resettlement. It was often unqualified men who entered the religious office, and it was usually the least adept of these men who accepted foreign missions. Owing to the lack of missionary zeal from Scotland there existed no oppositional force to established Episcopacy. Recognising this, McCulloch wrote that the colonial legislature had accepted Episcopacy as the established form of religion when the voice of the people

³⁰ Ibid, 27-28

³¹ Ibid, 31

³² Stewart J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801-46* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 5

³³ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch, Notes on Early Nova Scotia and Windsor College, 1823,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #124

³⁴ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch, Notes on Early Nova Scotia and Windsor College, 1823,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #124

was too weak to reject it, and in the wake of the American War of Independence, a bishop had been sent to preside over what might be “justly named a Presbyterian colony.”³⁵ While the Scottish settlers had no direct experience of the Covenanting Wars, McCulloch implied that they were linked through the collective memory of the “Stuarts and those dragooning clergy who had persecuted their fathers to death” and “stripped Scotland of her glory.”³⁶ This early account demonstrates that McCulloch viewed the religious environment as analogous to the politico-religious unrest of seventeenth-century Scotland, and that he had successfully exported the Covenanting sense of martyrdom to the colony.

In a letter to the *Christian Magazine*, Reverend Dr James MacGregor, one of the founders of the Associate Presbytery of Pictou, reiterated the “mournful state” of the country settlements, stating that a lack of ministers had hindered the success of Presbyterianism in Nova Scotia.³⁷ Despite their differences, the Presbyterian ministers concurred with Inglis and his cohort that an institution for the instruction of home-grown missionaries was the only resolution to the “destitute situation.”³⁸ In a draft proposal putting forth the necessity of such an establishment, McCulloch stated that holy religion instructs man that “morality and happiness are inseparably connected.”³⁹ Education, for McCulloch, was the surest way to maintain peace, increase piety and economic prosperity for the “benefit of mankind.”⁴⁰ In a final bid to solicit the support

³⁵ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch, Notes on Early Nova Scotia and Windsor College, 1823,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #124

³⁶ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch, Notes on Early Nova Scotia and Windsor College, 1823,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #124

³⁷ *Christian Magazine*, October 31 1805,” found in George Patterson, *Memoir of Rev. James MacGregor* (Pictou, 1859), 350-51

³⁸ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch, Draft Essay putting forth reasons for the Establishment of Pictou College,” 1806, MG 1 Vol. 554 #4

³⁹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch, Draft Essay putting forth reasons for the Establishment of Pictou College,” 1806, MG 1 Vol. 554 #4

⁴⁰ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch, Draft Essay putting forth reasons for the Establishment of Pictou College,” 1806, MG 1 Vol. 554 #4

of the colonial legislature, McCulloch evoked the memory of the American War of Independence in reminding officials of the consequences of allowing young minds to be charmed by the “specious appearance” of republicanism.⁴¹

The lack of financial support to build and maintain an institution in Pictou, however, did not deter McCulloch. He initially held lessons in his home until the reputation of his school necessitated a larger space. On the corner of his estate, he constructed a log college and although considered an institute of higher learning; it was to become a Grammar school. As young men began travelling from almost every county, Cape Breton Island, Prince Edward Island and the West Indies, McCulloch recognised that a lack of adequate accommodation and the high taxation of the out-settlements demanded further expansion.⁴² In 1811, the colonial legislature passed an “Act to Establish Grammar Schools in Several Counties and Districts” and through this, McCulloch’s institution was awarded an annual grant of £150 from the provincial treasury.⁴³ The teachings of McCulloch though influential were not entirely supported, and in 1815 the log college burned down. In recognition of McCulloch’s efforts, local merchant Edward Mortimer approved the construction of a substantial building on the corner of his land, which “promise[d] with a little cooking and care to become a thriving seminary.”⁴⁴ McCulloch’s words were prophetic for the success of the Grammar school laid the foundation for the creation of the Pictou Academy.

⁴¹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch, Draft Essay putting forth reasons for the Establishment of Pictou College,” 1806, MG 1 Vol. 554 #4; *Acadian Recorder*, “Investigator,” January 24 1818

⁴² William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch D.D.* (n.p., 1920), 42

⁴³ Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1811, Cap. 9; NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers, An Article from the Nova Scotia Royal Gazette Office following the Act passed in the last Session of the General Assembly,” RG 14 Vol. 50-51

⁴⁴ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: “A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, December 9 1815, MG 1 Vol. 553 #1

Around the same time as the Grammar school was formally established in 1806, McCulloch had formed “The Society” with the approbation of the Governor. The Society, in accordance with Presbyterian political theory, was an elected body created to form a plan for the construction of a college which would provide instruction in the higher branches of education. In applying to the Legislative Assembly for the establishment of a college in Pictou, The Society failed to mention that the institution would provide theological instruction for Presbyterians, that it would require financial support from the colonial government, and that ultimately it was to serve as a degree-granting institution. In correspondence with his friend Reverend James Mitchell of Glasgow, McCulloch wrote that the prospect of the Academy “made some who ought to be its finest friends, even among the clergy, view it with a jealous eye.”⁴⁵ He continued that *aut Caesar aut nihil* [all or nothing] was the principle of human nature, which showed itself when there was very little to dispute.”⁴⁶ Opposition to the creation of a college in Pictou, however, only surfaced after The Society proposed that the institution was to be open to all Protestant sects excluded from King’s in Windsor. The creation of a non-sectarian, but not non-denominational, institution provoked suspicion from colonial officials because it challenged the minority status of the established Church, by creating a rallying point for dissenting Protestants to unite against Episcopacy.⁴⁷ A few years later, Cochran, the president of King’s College wrote to McCulloch soliciting him to abandon the Associate Presbytery of Pictou. This correspondence demonstrates that McCulloch was viewed with respect from the

⁴⁵ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: “A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, December 9 1815, MG 1 Vol. 553 #1

⁴⁶ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: “A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, December 9 1815, MG 1 Vol. 553 #1

⁴⁷ NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers 1806-1846, Laws and Ordinances for the Regulation and Management of the Academy, Reel 1; NSA: “Plans for Providing the means of instruction in the branches of liberal education and rules,” June, 1807, MG 1 Vol. 554 #2

community of high-Episcopalians. Cochran continued that McCulloch in exchange for his conversion, could exploit the greater latitude that Episcopacy could offer him, concluding that church government was “a thing of inferior importance.”⁴⁸ Given that McCulloch was strong in the old faith, Cochran’s concluding remark would have served to heighten his suspicion and hostility towards the established Church’s community and the efforts of King’s College.

McCulloch’s entrance onto Nova Scotia’s political stage came in 1813, when he defended Walter Bromley’s Royal Acadian School in the pages of the *Acadian Recorder*. Bromley publically argued that the colony was in desperate need of a non-sectarian institution and reached out to Judge Croke for his approbation.⁴⁹ Given Croke’s reputation as an ardent defender of the established Church, he rejected Bromley’s appeal and took to the *Recorder*, under the pseudonym of *Pacificus*, to defend the Windsor College. In his public proposal for the expansion of education he outlined three possible strategies. Either religion should not be taught in schools; theological instruction of every denomination should be given; or focus should be given to one religion.⁵⁰ For Croke, the third approach offered the greatest prospect for “happiness and tranquillity” in the colony.⁵¹ He stated that alterations to the present plan were unnecessary for King’s College, under Episcopal surveillance, could correct the foibles of dissenting bodies and reduce the corruption of the Church of Rome.⁵² Bromley denounced Croke for presuming that “nothing [was] good out with the pale of the National Church,” and argued that dissention and disloyalty were not mutually

⁴⁸ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: William Cochran to Thomas McCulloch,” Windsor, May 15 1809, MG 1 No. 550 Vol. IV

⁴⁹ *Acadian Recorder*, “On Education,” July 3 1813

⁵⁰ *Acadian Recorder*, “Sir Alexander Croke to Walter Bromley,” August 14 1813

⁵¹ *Acadian Recorder*, “Sir Alexander Croke to Walter Bromley,” August 14 1813

⁵² *Acadian Recorder*, “Sir Alexander Croke to Walter Bromley,” August 14 1813

exclusive.⁵³ While Croke argued that all children should be educated under the supervision of the established Church, Bromley concluded that if their conscience should dictate then they had the free liberty to dissent. The establishment of a non-sectarian school, however, was unthinkable for Croke, who viewed it as “attempt of that class of people to undermine the Church of England in all her colonies.”⁵⁴ This public debate is important because it demonstrates the extreme conservatism of a colonial official, and provides evidence as to why McCulloch’s plans for a non-sectarian institution was quickly suppressed.

In the *Acadian Recorder*, McCulloch argued that given Protestant non-conformists had quietly submitted to the pre-eminence of the Church of England, it was dishonourable of the colonial government to suppress the educational development of the dissenting communities.

You have yielded to our establishment, and we will depress you. We will restrict to our own body the sources of intelligence. We will encourage no plan to destroy the influence of ignorance and vice; unless it tends to our own aggrandizement. If you do not become ours, rather than do anything for you, we will neglect the interest of the province.⁵⁵

For McCulloch, Croke’s conditions were unreasonable given that Episcopacy commanded a minority of colonists. As a consequence, he claimed that dissenters were “owed” a “quiet concession of those privileges which the law [had] sanctioned, as far as [they] were consistent with the rights of conscience and of civil society.”⁵⁶ Similar to Bromley, McCulloch denied that the dissenting community were disloyal, stating that “a subject may disapprove of particular laws and institutions of his country, without

⁵³ *Halifax Journal*, August 16 1813

⁵⁴ *Acadian Recorder*, “Vox Clamatis,” September 11 1813

⁵⁵ *Acadian Recorder*, “Thomas McCulloch to Alexander Croke,” September 11 1813

⁵⁶ *Acadian Recorder*, “Thomas McCulloch to Alexander Croke,” September 11 1813

cherishing a spirit of disaffection to its government.”⁵⁷ His scathing dismissal of these allegations highlights an important characteristic of Scottish national identities. As Richard J. Finlay has argued, the Scots could be loyal to both their Scottish and British identities “without any sense of contradiction.”⁵⁸ Drawing on the work of Scottish historian T. C. Smout, Finlay concurs that the Scots could think of themselves as Scottish when it came to connecting with a particular region and culture; while concurrently identifying as British when it came to issues regarding empire, foreign policy and the Crown.⁵⁹ The existence of concentric loyalties provides evidence as to why McCulloch felt that he had the right to criticise the colonial government, without surrendering his role within the British Empire as a loyal subject.

While the collective memory of the Covenanting Wars gifted the dissenting Presbyterians with a powerful tool to provoke agitation, the American War of Independence remained a sore within British North America, and a significant device in prompting unease within the colonial establishment. Drawing on the “enlightened policy” of the United States, McCulloch argued that to be in the vicinity of a flourishing ex-colony was not without danger.⁶⁰ Through drawing on the connection between the prosperity of a nation and proportional means of intelligence, he offered a critique of the colonial establishment.⁶¹ He contended that in the initial stages of development in

⁵⁷ *Acadian Recorder*, “Thomas McCulloch to Alexander Croke,” September 11 1813

⁵⁸ Richard J. Finlay, “Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity,” in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young, *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 122

⁵⁹ T. C. Smout, “Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland,” in T. M. Devine, *Improvement and Enlightenment: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1987-88* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1989), 1-22

⁶⁰ *Acadian Recorder*, “Investigator,” January 24 1818

⁶¹ McCulloch toured America in 1819 for subscriptions for the Academy and gives a comparison between the state of the Canadas and the thriving environment of the States. “[The States,] will soon swallow up the Canadas. The Canadas are a land of darkness... the Canadians in intelligence and enterprise are centuries behind them and upon the whole for ignorance and usefulness if they were not human beings they would make very good baboons.” NSA:

Nova Scotia, “men struggling for food, [had] little time to expend upon the pursuit of literature” but considering they were now a “polished society” they were no longer prepared to live in ignorance.⁶² Through analysing the restrictive statutes of King’s College, McCulloch highlighted that Charles Inglis had protested against their implementation and carried his objection to the Archbishop of Canterbury – a point which scholars have largely, though incorrectly, agreed upon.⁶³ “Here,” wrote McCulloch, “the business was thought to end,” yet it was soon discovered that in a “master stroke of ecclesiastical policy,” Bishop Inglis had only rejected the subscription required at matriculation.⁶⁴ McCulloch deduced that on one hand, “it was a trap for conformity; and on the other, completely prevented... dissenters from the acquisition of literary titles.”⁶⁵ Indeed, he expressed that a system of exclusion and depression would lead to ignorance and disaffection towards the government. “Make them intelligent,” wrote McCulloch, enable the people to perceive for themselves the falsity of unfavourable principles and in return, the government and sovereign would be rewarded with their loyalty.⁶⁶

In 1816, The Society created for the advancement of an educational institute in Pictou submitted a proposal to the Legislative Assembly. True to the original non-sectarian design, the proposal outlined that no religious tests were to be administered

“McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, December 3 1819, MG 1 Vol. 553 #47

⁶² *Acadian Recorder*, “Investigator,” January 24 1818

⁶³ Thomas B. Akins, *A Brief Account of the Origin, Endowment and Progress of the University of King’s College, Windsor, Nova Scotia* (Halifax: MacNab & Shaffer, 1865), 15; Henry Youle Hind, *The University of King’s College*, 33-40. For a revisionist interpretation see: Judith Fingard, “Charles Inglis and his ‘Primitive Bishoprick’ in Nova Scotia,” *The Canadian Historical Review*, 49: 3 (1968): 247-266; Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816*. Church Historical Series, No. 93 (London: S.P.C.K., 1972)

⁶⁴ *Acadian Recorder*, “Investigator,” February 18 1818

⁶⁵ *Acadian Recorder*, “Investigator,” February 18 1818

⁶⁶ *Acadian Recorder*, “Investigator,” January 24 1818

nor were students obligated to attend divine worship. The only restriction specified in the drafted statutes was the ban on professing or propagating any “atheistical or deistical opinions, or any principle repugnant to loyalty.”⁶⁷ Although the Legislative Assembly approved the bill to establish the Pictou Academy, the Council and acting bishop, John Inglis, raised concerns over the institute’s open policy. John Inglis viewed the Pictou Academy as a rival institute to King’s College, remarking that it was “likely to rise or decay as the college at Windsor [was] depressed or advanced.”⁶⁸ In soliciting the assistance of Scottish secessionist lawyer S. G. W. Archibald, member of the Legislative Assembly and Trustee of the Pictou Academy, The Society secured the Act of Incorporation for the Academy but with a decisive condition. Judge Brenton Halliburton, member of the Council and son-in-law of Charles Inglis, stipulated that while students of every Protestant denomination could attend the institute; professorships and trusteeships were restricted absolutely to Episcopalians and Presbyterians. As an expedient, though temporary measure to establish the Pictou Academy, McCulloch and The Society agreed to the condition. This, however, marked a crucial juncture in the history of the Academy for it was the first instance where the Council had successfully hindered development of McCulloch’s institute.

McCulloch’s conception of education, although informed by the Scottish Enlightenment, mirrored a significant change schooling underwent in Scotland between the Reformation and the nineteenth century. He argued that those who had been educated at universities in Scotland “usually maintained with obstinacy the superiority of the Scottish mode of education.”⁶⁹ In Scotland, education, although supported by

⁶⁷ NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers 1806-1846, Laws and Ordinances for the Regulation and Management of the Academy, Reel 1

⁶⁸ W. Hamilton, *Education, Politics and Reform in Nova Scotia, 1800-1848*. University of Western Ontario. PhD thesis, 135

⁶⁹ *Acadian Recorder*, “Investigator,” February 28 1818

statute was supervised by the church which resulted in an effective and uniform system of parish schools.⁷⁰ Indeed, the Scottish historian R. D. Anderson, has identified the parish school system as the source of the nostalgic, and often romanticised “lad o’pairts.”⁷¹ The Academy movement in the eighteenth century, however, marked a decisive moment in Scottish educational development for it offered an alternative to the parish school system, an opportunity to be educated in the more practical branches, and a cheaper alternative to universities. As highlighted by Donald J. Withrington, B. Anne Wood and S. Karly Kehoe, the curriculum of the Academies offered scientific and practical training often in addition to the classical instruction favoured in the universities.⁷² The democratic intellect associated with Scottish education has been subject to numerous studies.⁷³ Although the concept permeated the various levels of schooling, Atlantic historian, John G. Reid, has argued that it is inaccurate to claim that Scottish universities were open to all irrespective of social standing.⁷⁴ Reid concurred with James Scotland, however, in his claim that it was easier for young Scottish men to

⁷⁰ R. D. Anderson, “Scottish Education since the Reformation,” *Studies in Scottish Economic and Social History*, Number 5: 1997, 4

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 5

⁷² Donald J. Withrington, ‘Education and Society in the Eighteenth Century’, in N. T. Phillipson and R. Mitchison, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 177; B. Anne Wood, “The Significance of Evangelical Presbyterian Politics in the Construction of State Schooling: A Case Study of the Pictou District, 1817-1866,” *Acadiensis*, 20: 2 (1991): 62-85, 70; S. Karly Kehoe, “From the Caribbean to the Scottish Highlands: Charitable Enterprise in the Age of Improvement, c.1750 to c.1820”, *Rural History*. 27:1 (2016): 37-59

⁷³ D. Campbell and R. A. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots* (Ottawa: The Carleton Library, 1974), John G. Reid, “Beyond the Democratic Intellect: The Scottish Example and University Reform in Canada’s Maritime Provinces, 1870-1993,” in Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989), 278; George Elder Davie, *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999); Atsuko Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe* (London: Routledge, 2004), 125; Lindsay Paterson, “George Davie and the Democratic Intellect,” in Gordon Graham, *Scottish Philosophy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 236

⁷⁴ John G. Reid, “Beyond the Democratic Intellect: The Scottish Example and University Reform in Canada’s Maritime Provinces, 1870-1993,” 278

access the higher branches of learning than his “brothers in most countries in the western world,” an argument which has served to strengthen the existence of the lad o’pairts.⁷⁵ In an alternative interpretation of the democratic intellect, Scottish philosopher, G. E. Davie, has argued that the Scottish intelligentsia had preserved a strong sense of social responsibility which constructed “a sort of intellectual bridge between all classes.”⁷⁶ Indeed, Davie has largely focused on curriculum as the source of the democratic intellect rather than particular institutions, students’ social background and mobility.⁷⁷ Although an Academy in name, the Pictou institution reflected the parish school system while providing instruction in the higher branches of education.

In an unpublished script on education, McCulloch demonstrated how adherents of the established Church and colonial officials used social inequalities to justify the monopolisation of the higher branches of education. He suggested that unavoidable circumstances had produced in society an unequal distribution of wealth, which divided people into two categories, the indulged and the unindulged.⁷⁸ This division of wealth, whether from the “emolument of office or from any other source, afford[ed] gratifications which poverty [could not] obtain,” specifically access to further education.⁷⁹ Given the connection between the higher branches of education, economic mobility and office, McCulloch argued that humankind was divided once more into those of rank and the lower orders. He concluded that such disparities in society were “unobjectionable” for as long as people read their bible, obeyed their superiors and

⁷⁵ James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education* (London: University of London Press, 1969), 275

⁷⁶ George Elder Davie, *A Passion for Ideas: Scottish Enlightenment and Other Essays* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1994), 133

⁷⁷ Ibid; see also R. D. Anderson, “Scottish Education since the Reformation,” 17

⁷⁸ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Section on Education,” MG 1 Vol. 555 Reel 5

⁷⁹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Section on Education,” MG 1 Vol. 555 Reel 5

worked efficiently, those of “rank” considered the lower orders “sufficiently instructed.”⁸⁰ Although he accepted that this system maintained social order, McCulloch used it to form a critique of the exclusive access Episcopalians had to King’s College. The Pictou Grammar and the Academy, similar to the parish school system, was maintained by the Associate Presbytery and provided cheap admittance into further education. Although the statutes of the Academy outlined a proviso for the payment of tuition fees, McCulloch recognised the impoverished state of the colony and thus the fee was rarely, if ever, collected.⁸¹

While the foundation of King’s College was built upon the Oxfordian model, the Pictou Academy replicated the University of Glasgow. McCulloch criticised the strict focus on classical literature and mathematics taught at the Windsor College, writing that these subjects were “merely the brick and mortar” of education, and once they were instructed “the fabric must be reared.”⁸² “I would not however be understood,” he stated, “as disregarding either the knowledge of Latin and Greek or the utility of the seminaries in which these are taught...but [they] have been allowed a degree of importance which ought to be conceded to [a] more valuable acquirement.”⁸³ Through adopting a “common-sense curriculum,” the Pictou Academy reflected the on-going ideas behind the Academy movement in Scotland, which promoted education as a means to improve society through teaching students with skills useful for the everyday.⁸⁴ While connected to the Academy movement, the curriculum implemented was strikingly similar to the Bachelor of Arts degree course at the University of Glasgow. This included classical instruction in Latin and Greek, mathematics and logic

⁸⁰ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Section on Education,” MG 1 Vol. 555 Reel 5

⁸¹ B. Anne Wood, “Pictou Academy: Promoting ‘Schooled Subjectivities’ in 19th-Century Nova Scotia,” *Acadiensis*, 28:2 (1999), fn33

⁸² *Acadian Recorder*, “Investigator,” February 18 1818

⁸³ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Section on Education,” MG 1 Vol. 555 Reel 5

⁸⁴ John G. Reid, “Beyond the Democratic Intellect,” 277

(including rhetoric), but in contrast to King's College, also taught natural and moral philosophy, Hebrew and theology.⁸⁵ The Pictou Academy provides an excellent example of Davie's model of the democratic intellect, as it provided an inexpensive means to educate those who were academically able in the more practical branches of higher education. Additionally, the students of the Pictou Academy were required to wear scarlet robes made of light merino and for the next twenty years, they became an "insignia of learning" in the County, reminding the Lowland Scots of their native land.⁸⁶

Although McCulloch viewed competition as healthy and for the good of the public, conservative bodies in the province viewed the success of the Pictou Academy as damaging to the monopoly held by King's, and as an attack on the establishment.⁸⁷ As opposition rose from high-Tories across denominational lines, dissenting Presbyterians recognised the necessity of presenting a united front in support of the Academy. In leaving Scotland, McCulloch wrote, that while the settlers left behind them "the influence of party" and while their "dislikes and distrusts did not preclude all friendly intercourse," it did prevent ministerial communion and a fellowship of churches which ought to exist where profession embraces the same faith and practice."⁸⁸ Where the Burgher Presbytery of Truro and the Antiburgher Presbytery of Pictou had previously failed to join, McCulloch pushed for a general union in 1817. With the articles for confederation drafted, the establishment of the first Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia (PCNS) became a reality. Despite the coalition,

⁸⁵ NSA: "Pictou Academy Papers: List of Students at the Academy accompanied by their year and their course choice," MFM 13279 Reel 1; B. Anne Wood, "Pictou Academy: Promoting 'Schooled Subjectivities,'" fn20

⁸⁶ George Patterson, *A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1877), 329

⁸⁷ *Acadian Recorder*, "Investigator," February 28 1818

⁸⁸ NSA: "McCulloch Papers: Thomas McCulloch: Notes on Early Nova Scotia and Windsor College, 1823," MG 1 Vol. 544 #124

the PCNS was highly disorganised and in a private correspondence to Mitchell, McCulloch wrote that if it were to become “the Presbyterian Church of these provinces permanently it will be because we have not been able to prevent it.”⁸⁹ Aside from the poor organisation, the formal union between the two bodies stimulated enough motivation to mobilise their collective resources, and harness them for the training of a native clergy.⁹⁰

At the opening of the Pictou Academy in 1818, McCulloch welcomed sixteen students with a lecture on the *Nature and Uses of a Liberal Education*. In the address, he expressed his optimism that the Academy would establish a new educational paradigm within the province which would, in time, challenge the position of the established Church. Although in lectures and publications he frequently highlighted the demand for the higher branches of education, in his private drafts McCulloch noted that the desire for the Pictou Academy rested almost exclusively on the general dissatisfaction with the restrictive nature of King’s. The “original conformation and state of human mind,” he remarked, demonstrated that man was “designed for intellectual and moral improvement.” McCulloch stressed that the success of the institution was predicated upon the development and conduct of its students: “the approbation of your best friends, the honour of this seminary, your prospects in life are at stake.” In viewing the Pictou Academy as an experiment in the value of literature, he concluded that if the institute proved successful then the result would be “noble,” for those who had attended would be gratified with excellence as the nation prospered.

Following the establishment of the Academy, the Trustees applied to the Lieutenant Governor, Lord Dalhousie, for his assistance in piloting a subsidy grant

⁸⁹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, November 10 1822, MG 1 Vol. 553 #3

⁹⁰ Charles Bruce Fergusson, “The Sesquicentennial of the First Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada,” *The Dalhousie Review*, 48: 2 (1968): 216-221, 216

through the legislative government.⁹¹ In a letter to Mitchell, McCulloch assured him that the Academy was getting on by degrees despite the “violent opposition,” for the Legislative Assembly had passed the grant, and it had received the approbation of the Council.⁹² In a memorial to Lord Dalhousie, however, he noted that the Council had withheld the sum of £500, despite sanctioning the grant. Although the trustees had originally planned to sustain the Academy by public subscriptions, contributions had stagnated considerably due to a general depression of trade following the French Revolution and crop failure. In an effort to provoke a response from Dalhousie, McCulloch reminded the Governor of the colony’s close proximity to the United States, arguing that although the inhabitants of Nova Scotia cannot be described as disloyal the unconstitutional actions of the Council could make “religious enthusiasts become seditious subjects.”⁹³ In publically denouncing King’s College as a burden on society in the *Acadian Recorder*, McCulloch noted that despite its student population decreasing following the implementation of the restrictive statutes, it continued to receive both permanent pecuniary aid from the colonial government and an imperial grant.⁹⁴

In 1819, the increasing popularity and success of the Pictou Academy encouraged the Trustees to solicit the assistance of Lord Dalhousie again, proposing that he back their request for it to become a degree-granting institute. Although Dalhousie had previously acted favourably towards the Pictou Academy, he outright rejected this request following his visit to Pictou County. Despite agreeing with the Trustees that a non-sectarian institution constructed on the Scottish model was a

⁹¹ NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers: A Petition from the Trustees of the Pictou Academy to Lord Dalhousie,” Halifax, March 9 1818, RG 14 Vol. 51-52 #7

⁹² JHA, March 11 1818; NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” May 29 1819,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #7

⁹³ JHA, March 23 1818

⁹⁴ *Acadian Recorder*, “Investigator,” February 28 1818

necessary addition to the colony, he did not believe that Pictou was a desirable location because it was too remote. He concluded that he was duty-bound to oppose any extension of the school “beyond what was originally proposed, that of an academy.”⁹⁵ His rejection had an element of self-interest, however, for he had begun to lay the groundwork for his own institution of higher education in the colony.

Although he had originally advised that King’s College be removed to Halifax using the money collected at Castine following the War of 1812, Dalhousie abandoned this idea after visiting Windsor.⁹⁶ Beyond his disapproval of the restrictive statutes, which speaks to his Scottish-Presbyterian heritage, he found the students at King’s to be disobedient and riotous. In discarding his initial proposal, believing that it would simply relocate the troubles, and so he put forth a proposal for the establishment of Dalhousie College. Dalhousie argued that the unappropriated Castine duties be used to procure “a College on the same plan and principle of...Edinburgh University...open to all sects of religion,” for it was “more likely than any other...to prove immediately useful to the young” colony.⁹⁷ Aware of the need to maintain the favour of the legislative government and the adherents of the established Church, Dalhousie sought to minimise any infringement the new institution would have upon King’s.⁹⁸ He recommended that Episcopalian clergymen and the bishop would compose the board of governors and looked to Cambridge University, rather than the Presbyterian

⁹⁵ These sentiments were reiterated again during the Governorship of Sir James Kempt, NSA: “McCulloch Papers: The Memorial and Petition of the Trustees of the Pictou Academy,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #11; Lord Dalhousie to Edward Mortimer, Halifax, March 12 1819 in William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada, from the Earliest Time to 1848, With a Chronological Table of Events to the Present Time and Map*, (Toronto: Presbyterian Print, 1885), 243-244

⁹⁶ P. B. Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University: Lord Dalhousie’s College*, Volume 1 (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), 10

⁹⁷ Henry Mason Baum, *The Church Review*, Volume 57 (New York, 1890), 190

⁹⁸ Susan Buggey, “Churchmen and Dissenters, religious toleration in Nova Scotia, 1754-1835,” Dalhousie University. M.A. Thesis. 1981, 207

congregation at St. Matthews or the University of Edinburgh, for a suitable candidate for the position of president.⁹⁹ Although the creation of Dalhousie College demonstrates the influence of Scottish enterprise, it presented yet another obstacle to the Pictou Academy. Despite McCulloch's conviction that he was fighting against Episcopalians in office who sought to curtail dissenting rights, the loss of Dalhousie's support reveals that opposition was channelled across denominational lines.

Amidst the increasing opposition, the death of Edward Mortimer in 1820 was injurious to the success of the Academy, for not only had he contributed financially, but also, he was a powerful ambassador as the region's Legislative Assembly representative (MLA).¹⁰⁰ He was replaced with trustee George Smith, who lacked Mortimer's political diplomacy and vigour. In a letter to Smith, McCulloch wrote that while the Methodists and the Baptists never donated to the Pictou cause, there was no reason why their faith should preclude them from "civil privilege."¹⁰¹ Acutely aware of the harmful impact the revised Academy Charter had had on their relationship with other dissenting bodies, McCulloch sought a unifying cause. In addition to their monopolisation of the higher branches of education, clergymen of the established Church also held the exclusive right to issue marriage licences. Although universal education for Protestant dissenters remained at the fore of McCulloch's agenda, he used marriage licences as a means to assemble an interdenominational pressure group, and reunite dissenters against a common foe.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 207

¹⁰⁰ Mortimer left £500 to the Pictou Academy, an amount which McCulloch believed would have been larger had he not died suddenly, see NSA: "McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell," Pictou, December 5 1819, MG 1 Vol. 553 #11

¹⁰¹ NSA: "McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to George Smith," Pictou, January 12 1821, MG 1 Vol. 554 #13

The question of marriage licences had arisen prior to McCulloch's arrival, when Governor Sir John Wentworth (1792-1808) offered to extend the privilege to all Protestant inhabitants. Wentworth's attempt was thwarted, however, by Bishop Charles Inglis who alleged that it would proliferate the "levelling spirit" of dissenters, and weaken the position of the established Church.¹⁰² In Scotland, marriage by licence did not exist, as it did in England, but rather by proclamation of the banns.¹⁰³ Given that it was not a Scottish custom, Earl Henry Bathurst, President of the Board of Trade and later Foreign Secretary, thought it senseless to extend this privilege to the Nova Scotian Scots.¹⁰⁴ With the support of the dissenting Protestant clergy, and armed with a petition, McCulloch brought the matter before the Legislative Assembly. "Our right was admitted by the majority of the House and the Governor was requested to issue to us licences...and that House resolved that if he did not do it they would make a new law upon the subject."¹⁰⁵ In soliciting the advice of the Attorney General, who McCulloch identified as "one of the most violent enemies" of the dissenting inhabitants, the Governor was directed to reject their petition. The established Church, McCulloch remarked, now hate me with all their might [and] the reason for their enmity beside the destruction of their seminary which is fast approaching, I have lately done them a serious injury."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² John S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), 61

¹⁰³ NSA: "McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell," May 29 1819, MG 1 Vol. 553 #4

¹⁰⁴ Valerie Wallace, *Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America, c.1815-c.1850*. Glasgow University. PhD thesis. 2010, 188

¹⁰⁵ NSA: "McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell," Pictou, May 29 1819, MG 1 Vol. 553 #4

¹⁰⁶ NSA: "McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell," Pictou, May 29 1819, MG 1 Vol. 553 #4

When the Legislative Assembly reconvened, the matter was brought forth again and it was passed with a suspending clause, which requested the sanction of the Prince Regent.¹⁰⁷ The matter arose again in 1821, 1825, 1827, and finally in 1834 when the Legislative Assembly finally granted the right to marry by licence to all denominations in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.¹⁰⁸ Bishop John Inglis, with the spirit of his father, saw this request as the “most formidable attack that was ever made in this colony upon the very few privileges which have been possessed by the Clergy and establishment from the first settlement of the province...the whole of this attempt is to be traced to the ruthlessness of the Pictou College.”¹⁰⁹ This action was the first juncture, aside from the creation of the Academy, through which McCulloch directly challenged the unconstitutional position of the established Church, and highlighted the necessity of wider provincial reform.

In 1819, McCulloch left Nova Scotia to promote the Pictou Academy in the United States and in the Canadas. He sailed from Halifax for Portland, “120 miles to the eastward of Boston and proceeded through...most of the towns as far as New York” returning through Albany, Lake Champlain, Montreal, the Bay of Chaleur and Miramichi.¹¹⁰ During his tour, the College of Schenectady, New York, awarded McCulloch the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and the following year he received the same degree from the University of Glasgow.¹¹¹ Among the requests for permanent pecuniary aid, the Trustees formed a petition for the purpose of establishing a

¹⁰⁷ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, May 29 1819, MG 1 Vol. 553 #4

¹⁰⁸ Valerie Wallace, *Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America*, 188

¹⁰⁹ William B. Hamilton, *Education, Politics and Reform in Nova Scotia, 1800-1848* University of Western Ontario, Ph.D. Thesis. 1970, 109

¹¹⁰ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, December 5 1819, MG 1 Vol. 553 #11

¹¹¹ William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch D. D.* (n. p., 1920), 69 and 74

professorship of divinity in the Academy in 1819 and again in 1822, but both requests “received a very blunt refusal.”¹¹² Despite the lack of support from the colonial government, with the approbation of the Trustees, the PCNS occupied one of the rooms of the Academy, where McCulloch taught divinity on a Saturday.¹¹³ Accordingly, supporters of King’s and the legislative government viewed this as a symbol of defiance, arguing that it was a strategic attempt to turn the Academy into a theological seminary for the training of a Presbyterian clergy, and for the proselytization of its non-Presbyterian students. As tensions over the Academy question - that is, the struggle to secure permanent pecuniary aid - intensified in the 1820s, this apparent violation of their Charter was utilised as a means to discredit the legitimacy of McCulloch’s reform movement.

As the debate moved into the 1820s, questions over the position of the established Church and the authority of the Council to veto money bills encouraged inquiry. Through interdenominational networking, those connected with the Pictou Academy began to agitate for wider reform and the questions raised between McCulloch’s arrival and 1820, laid the foundation for the political controversy which was to follow.

¹¹² NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, November 10 1822, MG 1 Vol. 552 #17

¹¹³ William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch D. D.*, 99

Chapter Two **“No party but a party for Christ:” A Movement for Equal Consideration**

In the 1820s opposition to the Pictou Academy had increased. The hostility, however, no longer stemmed exclusively from the church-state but was consolidated with the expansion of the Kirk into county settlements. In exporting conflicts which plagued the religious scene in Scotland, Kirk missionaries chose not to strengthen the position of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia (PCNS), through banishing divisions of the home country as the PCNS had done in 1817. In reiterating the earlier message of the established Church following the American War of Independence, Kirkmen argued that the stability of all kingdoms rested on the morality of the people as demonstrated in the “golden maxim,” which verified that education was the cheapest and surest means of national defence.¹ Through aligning their colonial ambitions with the established Church in Nova Scotia, Kirk missionaries, as will be demonstrated in this chapter, sought to establish a position for established Presbyterianism within the British Empire. Throughout the 1820s, the trustees attempted to secure permanent funding for the Pictou Academy but despite the approbation of the Legislative Assembly, the Council hindered the success of the institute considerably. Given that the Council was dominated by high-Tory Episcopalians, the influence of the Kirk was to a large extent overlooked by the trustees and supporters of the Pictou Academy. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: firstly, to examine the increasing influence of the Kirk in Nova Scotia; and secondly, to analyse the struggle of the trustees to secure permanent pecuniary aid from the colonial government, in a way that brings the unconstitutionality of their position into focus. Given that Nova Scotia was no longer an infant colony, and particularly following the creation of an elected Legislative

¹ *Pictou Observer*, “Grand Conservative Dinner Glasgow,” August 12 1834

Assembly, the role of the council as a crown-appointed body was outdated. The Councillors were represented by the Assembly, and thus their role in colonial politics should have been nominal rather than authoritative. The two-pronged approach implemented will show how the Pictou Academy debate was not simply a question of religious division in the colony, but rather a demonstration of the growing politicisation between the Tories, and the moderates, that was occurring in early nineteenth century Nova Scotia.

In his analysis of the Academy's finances, W. B. Hamilton asserted that had public subscriptions been sufficient to maintain the school, McCulloch and the trustees might have turned their backs on the legislature in favour of private funding.² This conclusion underestimates the wider constitutional issue which surfaced as a result of the Academy's failure to secure support from the colonial government, and overlooks McCulloch's perception of the war he was waging - one which was parallel to the Covenanting Wars. While the Episcopal King's College received a permanent endowment from the provincial government, the trustees of the Pictou Academy had to apply annually for a £400 subsidy. William McCulloch, in the biography of his father, stated that between 1820 and 1823 the trustees had "great difficulty" in securing provincial aid.³ Yet the struggle to secure funding did not end in 1823 as McCulloch's analysis suggests, but became increasingly problematic. In addition to lobbying for financial support, the trustees petitioned to have the restrictive statutes, which limited professorships and trusteeships to Episcopalians and Presbyterians, repealed.⁴ Rather than appeasing the trustees' demand for equal consideration, the provincial legislature

² NSA: Pictou Academy Papers for donations from its establishment until 1830, MG 1 Vol. 550 #7-36

³ William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch, D. D.* (n.p., 1920), 104

⁴ JHA: Monday 3 March 1823; JHA: Wednesday 26 March 1823; JHA: Thursday 27 March 1823; JHA: Monday 31 March 1823

reduced the aid given to the Academy to £300. As the Pictou Academy's future hung in the balance, the trustees directed their hostility towards the Council, believing that they were fighting against the ascendancy of Episcopacy, and to a certain extent this claim was well founded.

While the Episcopalian-dominated Council continued its assault on the Pictou Academy, opposition from the Kirk (Church of Scotland) also surfaced. Prior to 1823, spheres of Presbyterian influence did not overlap because Kirk missionaries were concentrated in Halifax, while dissenters provided spiritual guidance for the remote county settlements. As the Kirk began to evolve, its authority expanded into dissenting-dominated regions and in 1823, the Kirk established its first provincial presbytery in Pictou County. Although the organisational structure of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia (PCNS) prevented reasonable coordination between settlements, by the time the Kirk moved into rural settlements it had secured "fifteen colleagues and many new elders," not from the Pictou Academy, but from Scottish universities and divinity schools.⁵ Kirk missionaries viewed the PCNS, and its coordinated efforts with other dissenting bodies, with a contempt and suspicion similar to that of the established Church and colonial officials. The Kirk worked to distance itself from the PCNS, which demonstrates that although it was not the church established by law in Nova Scotia, the Kirk viewed its position as superior to that of the dissenting Presbyterians. This division was important enough for McCulloch to acknowledge it in a draft correspondence to the Glasgow Colonial Society (GCS), the Scottish equivalent of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG).

The general tendency of the communication which you have received from this province, is to represent those termed dissenters in an unfavourable

⁵ Alan Wilson, *Highland Shepherd: James MacGregor, Father of the Scottish Enlightenment in Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 158

point of view...the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia are exhibited to the public under the notion of Seceders to this appellation as denoting our views of the Christian religion we do not object. We are not aware that Seceders maintain any doctrine which does not accord with scriptural principle.⁶

Through favouring a partnership with the established Church, the Kirk sought to forge a place for established Presbyterianism within the British Empire and, as a result, the Kirk became a symbol of resistance in shaping the identity of British North America as distinctly Anglican.⁷ Although the cultural historian Nancy Christie has argued that this challenged conceptions of “Britishness,” it is important to consider that concentric loyalties were not exclusive to dissenting communities but rather transcended class lines, and the various Protestant sects which emerged from Scotland.⁸

In 1825, Lord Dalhousie, by now the Governor-in-Chief of British North America, met with Kirk ministers in Scotland to establish a society, which would promote the religious interests of Scottish settlers.⁹ From this meeting, the Glasgow Colonial Society (GCS) was created and with it the spirit of sectarianism, which would further divide the Presbyterian house against itself in Nova Scotia. The GCS had two primary functions. Firstly, it was to raise money in support of the Kirk missions in British North America until the settler population could become self-supporting.¹⁰ Secondly, it sought to enlist and assess the clergymen who volunteered to emigrate, and

⁶ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Draft Memorial sent to the Glasgow Colonial Society as Prepared by Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #21

⁷ Nancy Christie, *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-Revolutionary British North America* (Toronto: McGill-Queens University Press), 224

⁸ *Ibid.*, 224

⁹ *The Religious Monitor, or Evangelical Repository devoted to the Principles of the Reformation, as set forth in the formularies of the Westminster Divines, and of the Churches in Holland*, Volume 2 (Albany: Webster & Wood, 1825-26), 205

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 205; John S. Moir, “Through Missionary Eyes: The Glasgow Colonial Society and the Immigrant Experience in British North America,” in C. Kerrigan, *The Immigrant Experience* (Guelph: University of Guelph Press, 1992), 96

act as a mediator between them and the other Kirk colonists.¹¹ The formation of the GCS was initially greeted with favour among all Presbyterian settlers, for it promised an influx of missionaries and the hope of financial aid.¹² This optimism faded quickly, however, for it became clear that the missionaries of the Kirk came not as colleagues but as rivals. John McKerrow, the secretary of the Scottish United Secession Church, wrote that a consequence of the GCS was that existing congregations were divided and weakened. McKerrow further observed that peaceful co-existence between the two sects was hampered by a clash of interests: one “contending the honour of the Establishment;” the other arguing for the “free operation of the voluntary principle.”¹³ The voluntaryist argument against the existence of established churches, as noted by Valerie Wallace, was multi-faceted.¹⁴ Wallace highlights that those who had seceded from the Kirk, argued that establishments were unscriptural “without any warrant from God’s word,” and because they imposed uniformity and were controlled by the state, they facilitated the development of tyranny and persecution. She concluded that in the eyes of Presbyterian dissenters, the civil magistrate had no place in church affairs or creating national establishments of religion for an individual’s conscience was a sufficient guide.¹⁵ The existence of voluntaryism strengthens the transatlantic connection between Scotland and Nova Scotia, and also claim that the Covenanting ideology continued to shape dissenting Presbyterian political theory. The voluntary campaign attacked established hierarchies through seeking the separation of church and

¹¹ John S. Moir, “Through Missionary Eyes: The Glasgow Colonial Society and the Immigrant Experience in British North America,” 96

¹² *Ibid*, 76

¹³ John McKerrow, *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1867), 87

¹⁴ Valerie Wallace, “Exporting Radicalism within the Empire: the Scots Presbyterian Political Values in Scotland and British North America, c. 1815-c.1850.” University of Glasgow, Ph.D. thesis (2010), 33

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 33

state by demanding the disestablishment of national churches, though principally the Kirk in Scotland.¹⁶

On his mission through Nova Scotia, Reverend John Inglis, the third bishop and son of Charles, remarked that Pictou was a “fine and rapidly improving county.”¹⁷ He observed that although the majority of the Scottish settlers were originally of the Kirk, the lack of mission prior to 1823 meant that they sought the guidance of the dissenting Synod, established by Rev. James MacGregor. In recognition of the growing influence of the Kirk, Inglis stated that “several ministers ha[d] settled among them, which ha[d] naturally caused some division.”¹⁸ In 1824, Kirkman Reverend Kenneth McKenzie, a native of Stornoway, arrived in Pictou, a region which he described as being “*buried in the solitary wilds of Nova Scotia.*”¹⁹ In response, McCulloch wrote that contrary to his claim, McKenzie was not “buried” but rather situated in the town of Pictou, where he [was] striving to form a congregation in the midst of another” where the Gospel was already well and faithfully taught.²⁰ The encroachment of the Kirk into a region considered “the seat of Secessionism,” and the Kirk’s attempt to form a partnership with the established Church adds a layer of complexity to the politico-religious environment of Nova Scotia.²¹ Although McCulloch believed that he was fighting against an Episcopalian dominated system, the expansion of Kirk authority moved the

¹⁶ Ibid, 8-9, 20

¹⁷ “Report from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1823,” in Thomas McCulloch. *A Memorial from the Committee of Missions of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia to the Glasgow Society for the Promoting the Religious Interests of the Scottish Settlers in British North America with Observations on the Constitution of that Society, and upon the Proceedings and First Annual Report of the Committee of Directions* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1826), 37

¹⁸ Ibid, 37

¹⁹ Ibid, 35

²⁰ Ibid, 35

²¹ B. Anne Wood, “The Significance of Evangelical Presbyterian. Politics in the Construction of State Schooling: A Case Study of the Pictou District, 1817-1866,” *Acadiensis*. Vol. 20: 2 (1991): 62-85, 67

debate away from a critique of Episcopacy and towards a denunciation of established hierarchies across denominational lines, which demonstrates the growth of a voluntary campaign in Nova Scotia.

Between the arrival of McKenzie and the formation of the GCS, the Kirk presence in Pictou County had strengthened with the arrival of three ministers.²² Although they were numerically small, McCulloch informed Mitchell in a private letter that they had taken, under their pastoral inspection, those whom the PCNS could not admit. Despite this, McCulloch assured Mitchell that those who “exercise[d] any judgement” would draw closer to the PCNS.²³ From the McCulloch correspondence, Mitchell seems to have insinuated that if the PCNS pursued a union with the Kirk in Nova Scotia, then the Antiburgher Synod in Glasgow would discontinue its support of the Pictou Academy.²⁴ McCulloch appeased Mitchell’s concerns in a later correspondence, stating that the PCNS had no interest in forming a union with the Kirk for they did not “care a farthing” for the Academy.²⁵ By October 1824, the infighting between the Presbyterian sects in Nova Scotia had intensified. The Kirk had attempted without attending a sermon by the PCNS or visiting the Pictou Academy, to sour the community towards McCulloch’s educational mission. They had done “everything to degrade the Secession [PCNS] Church,” McCulloch wrote, claiming that the preachers educated in the Pictou Academy must be “made of such poor stuff” that even Mitchell’s “contemptible” congregation in Glasgow would not receive them.²⁶ Irrespective of

²² NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, May 31 1824,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #19

²³ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, May 31 1824,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #19

²⁴ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, May 31 1824,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #19

²⁵ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, October 31 1824,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #21

²⁶ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, October 31 1824,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #21

Kirk influence, McCulloch maintained that the Presbyterians appeared unmoved by the accusations as “without exception,” the missionaries of the PCNS remained “popular among friends and foes.”²⁷

In 1825, the trustees of the Pictou Academy submitted another petition for a permanent allowance of £400, and the removal of the restrictive statutes. The request was piloted through the Legislative Assembly, and reviewed by the Assembly’s committee where it gained the approbation of Charles R. Fairbanks. Described as “one of the most brilliant public men” in the Legislative Assembly, Fairbanks was a product of the Halifax gentry and privy to the intricacies of the family compact which governed the colony.²⁸ He had attended King’s College, but did not graduate because he refused to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles.²⁹ In his report to the Legislative Assembly, Fairbanks argued that the Pictou Academy had received great public support, and would continue to be a favourable institution with the greater body of inhabitants. Fairbanks’s admiration for the Academy was starkly contrasted with his denunciation of the exclusive system at King’s College, and the “doubtful and uncertain stability” of Dalhousie College.³⁰ The Pictou Academy, he continued, was “peculiarly adapted” to meet the needs of the settlers in Pictou, a region where the “exclusively Scotch character” was rapidly increasing.³¹ McCulloch’s institute had continuously shown itself to be a “highly useful institution, conducted on an excellent system, that of Scotch Universities.”³² In drawing on the Scottish education system, Fairbanks highlighted that the expense of attendance and instruction was reduced to a very low rate, which allowed

²⁷ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, October 31 1824,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #21

²⁸ George Patterson, *A History of Pictou County Nova Scotia* (Montreal: Dawson, 1877), 325

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 325

³⁰ JHA: Thursday 24 March 1825

³¹ JHA: Thursday 24 March 1825

³² JHA: Thursday 24 March 1825

poor families to send their children to school and into the higher branches of education.³³ This was enough, he contended, to enable the institution to make a “fair claim” to a perpetual grant subsidised from the General Revenue, to which the people had so largely contributed.³⁴ The Assembly’s committee concluded with the recommendation that the Academy receive the permanent allowance, and the restrictive statutes abolished so that it might fully replicate the Scottish system.³⁵ The petition and the report of the committee, however, had no effect on the decision taken by the members of the Legislative Assembly, and it is highly likely that the matter never reached the Council for the Academy question was not resolved nor mentioned again that year. Although the Academy failed to secure permanent funding again, the support of Fairbanks demonstrates the moderate nature of some Episcopalian officials, and the excellent reputation of the Scottish education system.

On 11 August 1825, McCulloch left Nova Scotia for Scotland and confided that he was keeping the trip under wraps “to prevent Mr. [George] Smith and the other trustees objecting to a mission, which the state of the [Pictou] College abundantly require[d].”³⁶ By travelling to Scotland to gain support and financial backing for the Pictou Academy, McCulloch was working to consolidate the transatlantic connection, which was further strengthened with the establishment of the Glasgow Society for Promoting the Interests of Religion and Liberal Education Among Settlers in British North America in 1826. In an effort to assist the missionary labours of the PCNS and the Academy, a pamphlet circulated by the society outlined the necessity in supporting

³³ In a speech made by T. C. Halliburton on behalf of the Pictou Academy, he claimed that it cost a young man an annual sum of £120 to live at King’s College in Windsor and only £20 at Pictou. See Patterson, *A History of Pictou County Nova Scotia* (Montreal: Dawson, 1877), 325Fn

³⁴ JHA: Thursday 24 March 1825

³⁵ JHA: Thursday 24 March 1825

³⁶ William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch, D. D.*, 83

McCulloch's institution. Although King's College in Windsor existed, it was "so closely...connected with Episcopacy, that the great body of the inhabitants must either violate their conscientious convictions, or exclude themselves from its advantage."³⁷ In highlighting the exclusivity of the English model of education, the Society argued that:

It is enough that such evil should exist in England, where it is met by many very effectual antidotes; but it is intolerable that in Nova Scotia, without any antidote, this *virus* should be injected into that infant community, and made to rankle in all its veins.³⁸

With the exception of the Episcopalian minority, the society argued that the Pictou Academy provided the necessary protection for Protestantism in the colony.³⁹ If the Academy was in "danger of falling; if the efforts of enlightened friends of the Colony should thus be frustrated, and the blessings of a liberal education withheld from the hopeful youth of Nova Scotia," then supporters of the institution ought not to look without emotion nor without prompt and adequate efforts to prevent such injustice.⁴⁰ The message of the society was that the Pictou Academy required financial support from the Scots if it was to survive the influence of "insecure and temporary Episcopal ascendancy."⁴¹ Through drawing attention to Episcopal hegemony, the society utilised a collective memory familiar to the Lowland Scots, which illustrated the politico-religious controversy unfolding in Nova Scotia, to evoke an emotional response.

Back in Nova Scotia, McCulloch had published a response to a report filed by McKenzie to the GCS. The formation of the organisation, he remarked, was scarcely

³⁷ *Report of the Glasgow Society for Promoting Interests of Religion and Liberal Education Among the Settlers in the North American Provinces* by the Glasgow Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America (Glasgow, 1828), 21-22

³⁸ *Report of the Glasgow Society for Promoting Interests of Religion and Liberal Education*, 21-22

³⁹ *Report of the Glasgow Society for Promoting Interests of Religion and Liberal Education*, 22

⁴⁰ *Report of the Glasgow Society for Promoting Interests of Religion and Liberal Education*, 30

⁴¹ *Report of the Glasgow Society for Promoting Interests of Religion and Liberal Education*, 30

announced in the colonies when its impact was felt. Unlike the PCNS, which had fertilised the “wilderness,” and toiled upon the barren land, the Kirk had arrived at an “advanced stage of civilisation and improvement.”⁴² McCulloch recounted the purpose of the GCS, conceding that he did not believe that the Kirkmen were motivated by the spirit of the party but rather an attachment to the Gospel and the spiritual needs of the settlers. These very principles, McCulloch reminded the administrator of the GCS, Reverend Robert Burns, a Paisley-based Kirkman, replicated the mission of the PCNS: “they do not ask inhabitants of these provinces to become Seceders but to believe the Gospel and be religious men. They are forming no party but a party for Christ.”⁴³ McKenzie’s report included a remark from the Lord Bishop John Inglis, which stated that given many of the inhabitants of Pictou were raised under the liturgy of the Kirk and were seeking spiritual guidance, and that their preference was for the Church of England rather than the dissenting Presbyterians, whose doctrines they considered “harsh and severe.”⁴⁴ Although Inglis’s claim was disingenuous, given that a large majority of the Pictou inhabitants had settled for the teachings of the PCNS in the absence of the Kirk, McKenzie’s acceptance of Inglis’s statement reveals much about the Kirk’s relationship with the established Church. Indeed, the Kirk’s support of the establishment further aggravated its already inimical relation with the PCNS.

Acknowledging the established position of the Kirk in Scotland, McCulloch argued that its status was not transferred to Nova Scotia and thus, provincial funds were not likely to be expended for its development. He had previously mocked McKenzie for submitting to Nova Scotia’s Lieutenant Governor, Sir James Kempt, a request for

⁴² Rev. Dr Thomas McCulloch, *A Memorial from the Committee of Missions of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia*, 31

⁴³ *Ibid*, 31

⁴⁴ NSA: “McCulloch papers: A Draft Response from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. Robert Burns of the Glasgow Colonial Society,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #21

financial aid. He noted that the Kirk missionaries in Nova Scotia were “not aware that the funds of Nova Scotia [were] not at the Governors disposal,” adding that if McKenzie had submitted his proposal to the Legislative Assembly, he would have incurred an “odium not easily surmounted.”⁴⁵ In defence of McKenzie and in justifying the Kirk’s relationship with the established Church, Burns, the administrator of the GCS, reasoned that public aid was more likely to be given to congregations connected with the establishment.⁴⁶ Burns concluded that the GCS was the only suitable channel through which aid could be dispensed, for it had secured the approbation of the established Church and the patronage of the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia.⁴⁷ Had the Imperial Government been inclined to overlook the differences in the Presbyterian bodies, Burns reasoned, the division between the two houses might not have been so severe.⁴⁸ The public correspondence between McCulloch and Burns reveals that the sectarian divisions that divided the Presbyterian house in Scotland had been successfully transplanted to Nova Scotia. Additionally, it demonstrates the bond which was forming between the established Church and the Kirk, as the latter increasingly attempted to carve a position of privilege in the colony for established Presbyterianism.

The *Edinburgh Star*, a periodical edited by Reverend Henry Renton, a Presbyterian dissenter and reformer who advocated for voluntarism and liberal education, reported on the division between the two Presbyterian bodies.⁴⁹ He

⁴⁵ NSA: “McCulloch papers: A Draft Response from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. Robert Burns of the Glasgow Colonial Society,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #21

⁴⁶ *Supplement of the First Annual Report of the Society in Glasgow for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America: Containing a Reply to the Memorial of Dr. MacCulloch and Accompanying Papers* (Glasgow: Andrew Young, 1826), 13

⁴⁷ *Supplement of the First Annual Report of the Society in Glasgow for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America*, 13

⁴⁸ *Supplement of the First Annual Report of the Society in Glasgow for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America*, 13

⁴⁹ *The United Presbyterian Magazine*, Volume 21 (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Co, 1877), 50

highlighted that the harmonious environment created by the PCNS union had been shattered by the formation of the GCS, for the Presbyterian dissenters were not as “bigoted and exclusive” and had rid themselves of the “inaneities of sectarianism.”⁵⁰ Through deploying a sectarian policy in the “distant and tranquil colonies,” Renton claimed that the GCS had replicated “something similar to those frowning walls and gaping chasms of separation which had so long rent asunder the common Christianity and the common Presbyterianism” in Scotland.⁵¹ In a brief conclusion, the editor commended the civilising mission of the Pictou Academy, and McCulloch’s effort to diffuse knowledge in the colony.⁵²

Burns criticised Renton’s examination of the politico-religious situation in Nova Scotia and for “openly announcing...to the world” that it was the express design of the GCS to counteract the labours of the PCNS.⁵³ Unlike the PCNS, which he viewed as “very bigoted and illiberal,” the GCS had vowed to disseminate the Gospel to all the North American provinces.⁵⁴ It had not occurred to him, that “twenty-seven ministers and four preachers which [was] the whole of the posse” of the Nova Scotian Synod, was sufficient to supply the spiritual wants of “*at the lowest* computation, half a million of Scottish or other Presbyterians whose numbers continued to swell.”⁵⁵ This was, however, a gross overestimation of Scottish settlers.⁵⁶ McCulloch rebuked Burns for his scathing review of the state of religion in the colony, stating that “some of my brethren, amidst the painful privations are toiling for the propagation of the Gospel

⁵⁰ *Edinburgh Star*, “Review of Dr. McCulloch’s Memorial,” June 23 1826

⁵¹ *Edinburgh Star*, “Review of Dr. McCulloch’s Memorial,” June 23 1826

⁵² *Edinburgh Star*, “Review of Dr. McCulloch’s Memorial,” June 23 1826

⁵³ *Edinburgh Star*, “Remarks on the Above by Reverend Mr. Burns,” Paisley, July 1 1826

⁵⁴ *Supplement to the First Annual Report of the Society in Glasgow for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America*, 9-10

⁵⁵ *Edinburgh Star*, “Remarks on the Above by Reverend Mr. Burns,” Paisley, July 1 1826

⁵⁶ McCulloch denounces Burn’s estimation of the Presbyterian population, “For the Presbyterian population...[they] do not exceed fifty thousand, there are more than forty ministers,” see *Edinburgh Star*, “McCulloch replies to Reverend Mr. Burns,” August 5 1826

while [Mr. Burns sits] at ease...surrounded with comforts.”⁵⁷ In a final remark, he stated that if the GCS continued to expend funds for any means other than uniting those who profess the same principles they would “communicate to the provinces a permanent evil...unhinging Presbyterian energy and blow[ing] up the flame of unhallowed contentions.”⁵⁸

By 1827, the affairs of the Pictou Academy had never looked “so gloomy” having been “beset by deadly enemies in the church and state.”⁵⁹ McCulloch, in his update of the Academy’s progress and colonial politics to Mitchell, wrote that between the established Church and the Kirk, he was “in a sad pickle and an object of general abhorrence.”⁶⁰ Despite the depressed state of the Academy, McCulloch believed that it would succeed but not without “some dreadful kickings.”⁶¹ On New Year’s Day, the trustees published resolutions intended for the promotion of the Academy. Amidst the remarks, however, there was a thinly veiled warning, coupled with observations about King’s College, which caused significant controversy within the province and occasioned “much raging of enemies,” “great falling off of friends,” and the fury of the bishop and his acquaintances.⁶²

The Resolutions outlined that the original vision of a non-sectarian institution had been hampered by the proviso fixed by the Council, which restricted professorships and trusteeships to Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The trustees argued that given that King’s College, despite its exclusive policy, received £444.8.10 ½” annually from the

⁵⁷ *Edinburgh Star*, “McCulloch replies to Reverend Mr. Burns,” August 5 1826

⁵⁸ *Edinburgh Star*, “McCulloch replies to Reverend Mr. Burns,” August 5 1826

⁵⁹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Reverend James Mitchell,” Halifax, February 15 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #25

⁶⁰ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Reverend James Mitchell,” Halifax, February 15 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #25

⁶¹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Reverend James Mitchell,” Halifax, February 15 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #25

⁶² NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Reverend James Mitchell,” Halifax, February 15 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #25

General Treasury, the Pictou Academy should receive the same patronage.⁶³ In refusing further modification to their Charter, which would introduce members who were indifferent to the success of the institution, they argued that the supervisory role of the Lieutenant Governor, as drafted in their original proposal, was “sufficient for all purposes of surveillance and safety to the state.”⁶⁴ The trustees concluded with a cautionary statement that if the legislative government was aware of the plight of the county settlements, then it would not oppress an institution which was safeguarding the loyalty of his Majesty’s subjects.⁶⁵ Where accusations of disloyalty proved to be a powerful tool in discrediting those who criticised the church-state, the trustees demonstrated that the promise of loyalty could be likewise utilised as a means to influence the establishment.

By 1827, Nova Scotia was still impoverished and as such, there existed no prospect of independence from the Imperial State and financial favour from the colonial government was still expected from settlers. The trustees of the Academy were no different, and although they had succeeded in securing pecuniary aid from Scotland, they continued to petition for a permanent subsidy.⁶⁶ March 1827, however, proved to be a pitiful month for securing the approbation of the legislative government. The Legislative Assembly voted in favour, 28: 5, of referring the trustees’ petition to the Committee of Supply.⁶⁷ Two days later, the Legislative Assembly dismissed the petition by a vote of 7: 27; the MLAs “highly disapprove[d] of the improper tone,

⁶³ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Reverend James Mitchell,” Halifax, February 15 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #25

⁶⁴ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Reverend James Mitchell,” Halifax, February 15 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #25

⁶⁵ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Reverend James Mitchell,” Halifax, February 15 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #25

⁶⁶ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Subscriptions for the Pictou Academy from Scotland,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #24 #37

⁶⁷ JHA: Thursday 8 March 1827

assumed by the trustees.⁶⁸ The issue of financial support was raised again, but the Council vetoed the recommendation made by the Assembly's committee.⁶⁹ In a final bid, the committee made a second proposal that the Pictou Academy should receive £300 for general maintenance, and £100 for the discharge of the debt accrued.⁷⁰ The matter, however, never reached the Council for Mr. John Homer, the representative of Barrington, moved that their recommendation be nipped before the Legislative Assembly could vote. This motion was seconded and once more, the Assembly was divided; 12:17.⁷¹

In April 1827, the Council publically explained its reasons for refusing to offer permanent support to the Pictou Academy. The report stated that given all of the inhabitants of Pictou were of Scottish descent or direct emigrants, the Council favoured an establishment which would allow their children to be educated in the religious principles of their forefathers.⁷² According to the report, the trustees, in their initial design, had promised that their institution would not provoke opposition towards King's College, or motivate feelings of disaffection towards the established Church.⁷³ Despite this, the trustees of "that academy" approved measures to "excite a spirit of hostility to[wards] the established church among all classes of dissenters."⁷⁴ As such, the Council argued that while it had the desire to extend and encourage the means of providing a liberal education in Pictou, it would only do so if the board of trustees were appointed by the Lieutenant Governor.⁷⁵ This response by the Council demonstrates that the agitation which McCulloch and supporters of the Academy had encouraged,

⁶⁸ JHA: Saturday 10 March 1827

⁶⁹ JHA: Tuesday 27 March 1827; JHA: Thursday 29 March 1827

⁷⁰ JHA: Friday 30 March 1827

⁷¹ JHA: Friday 30 March 1827

⁷² JHA: Thursday 5 April 1827

⁷³ JHA: Thursday 5 April 1827

⁷⁴ JHA: Thursday 5 April 1827

⁷⁵ JHA: Thursday 5 April 1827

had permeated government levels and as a strategy to control the movement the Council moved to replace the disaffected trustees. Although the Legislative Assembly had approved a £400 grant for the Pictou Academy, the Council following its report declined to financially support the institution until a new board was appointed.⁷⁶

As the Academy's mounting debt compounded with the failure to secure the support of the colonial government crippled its success, the political and financial strength of its supporters began to wane. With the launch of the Pictou-based *Colonial Patriot*, however, the fight against the established position of the Church of England, and the right of the Council to veto money bills was reinvigorated. The *Patriot* was the first local periodical to be issued outside of Halifax that gave a "voice to the Scottish radicalism of the province and played no small part in the initiation of reform."⁷⁷ Although it was financially backed by Aberdeenshire-born William A. Milne, the paper existed hand to mouth, for it was established beyond the "seat of...political and commercial control" where news and literature was largely concentrated, and distributed in Pictou, where the literacy levels were low and public subscriptions limited.⁷⁸ It was edited by Jotham Blanchard, a graduate of the Pictou Academy and secretary to the trustees, after being influenced by the positive results of "unshackled press in Britain."⁷⁹ Although Blanchard is credited for being the sole editor of the *Patriot*, the strong Covenanting character of the paper suggests McCulloch heavily influenced the editorials. Likewise, although he vehemently denied writing for the newspaper, in a private correspondence to Mitchell, he did admit to occasionally

⁷⁶ JHA: Saturday 17 February 1827; JHA: Thursday 8 March 1827; JHA: Saturday 10 March 1827; JHA: Tuesday 27 March; JHA: Thursday 29 March 1827; JHA; Friday 30 March 1827

⁷⁷ D. C. Harvey, "The Intellectual Awakening of Nova Scotia," in G. A. Rawlyk, *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 117

⁷⁸ Thomas C. Haliburton, *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1829); *Colonial Patriot*, "Editorial," December 7 1827

⁷⁹ *Colonial Patriot*, "Editorial," December 7 1827

writing the editorial.⁸⁰ In the first issue, the editor asserted that “education [was the] foundation of all social order, rational happiness and pure religion,” thus no sacrifice [was] too great to be made in its behalf.”⁸¹ As noted by Valerie Wallace who rejects J. Murray Beck’s claim that the paper did not support the Pictou Academy in “an extravagant fashion,” assisting the movement for non-sectarian education was one of the primary objectives of the *Patriot*.⁸²

The *Patriot*, was originally distributed as the *Pictou Patriot* but under the advisement of McCulloch, the name was changed to reflect the principles of the periodical: “we confess to be colonial not merely Pictou or Nova Scotia[n] Patriots.”⁸³ In recognition of the importance of loyalty and the uncertain position the dissenting Presbyterians occupied within the British Empire, the periodical adopted the masthead “Pro Rege Pro Patra,” to consolidate its stance.⁸⁴ After thus affirming allegiance, the editor used disloyalty as a tool against the unconstitutional bodies in Nova Scotia:

We reverence the British Constitution, and honour the King as its head; but we feel assured, that the best way of showing true regard to the King is by advancing the interests of his subjects. All governments are designed for the general good of the people, and that government deserves most praise, which most effectually succeeds in this object; and we boldly assert, that he who pretends to support the dignity of the government, and the honour of the Crown at the expense of the general happiness, alike commit treason against the King and his subjects - he betrays the people, and dishonours his sovereign.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” November 21 1829, MG 1 Vol. 553 #145

⁸¹ *Colonial Patriot*, “Editorial,” December 7 1827

⁸² Valerie Wallace, “Exporting Radicalism within the Empire: the Scots Presbyterian Political Values in Scotland and British North America,” 200; J. M. Beck, *Joseph Howe Volume 1: Conservative Reformer 1804-1848* (Montreal: McGill-Queen University Press, 1982), 45

⁸³ *Colonial Patriot*, “Editorial,” December 7 1827; R. H. Sherwood, *Jotham Blanchard, the Forgotten Patriot of Pictou* (Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1982), 7

⁸⁴ NSA: “Hepburn papers: Articles and Notes about Pictou and Pictou Publications Written and Collected by William Murray Hepburn, the Colonial Patriot Motto,” MFM Vol. 132 #82

⁸⁵ *Colonial Patriot*, “Editorial,” December 7 1827

Through stagnating the progress of the settlers, King's College and the Council had effectively hindered the success of the colony, and according to the *Patriot*, had committed treason against the sovereign. In contrast, the editor claimed that the purpose of the *Patriot* and the mission of the Pictou Academy was to relieve local distinctions, partial views and to "consider the whole province as one family."⁸⁶ In applying the *Patriot's* above theory to their objective, the mission of McCulloch and the supporters of the Academy did not make them seditious subjects but rather the most loyal.

Although this thesis is principally concerned with Nova Scotia, it cannot be overlooked that the Presbyterian reformers in the colony viewed their struggle as analogous to the ongoing battle for representation in Upper Canada, and disestablishment in Scotland. In condemning established hierarches as the "natural [enemy] to liberty all over the world," the *Patriot* used the collective memory of the Covenanters to connect their struggles.⁸⁷ Although Nova Scotia commanded the "principle share of [the *Patriot's*] attention," the editorial reminded readers that "all the colonies [were] intimately connected and that what affect[ed] one, generally speaking, affect[ed] all."⁸⁸ In drawing on the unholy alliance between the church and the state, the *Patriot* reported that a "church supported by legal sanctions, has admitted into its constitution an authority which religion declaims: and wherever it uses this authority either to enforce its principles or to ensure its support, it acts in direct opposition to the injunction of Christ."⁸⁹ The article concluded that "no Scotsman acquainted with the sufferings of the noble army of martyrs, who resisted unto death the tyrannical attempts of Charles II to establish Episcopacy in Scotland, will dare to hold up this voice against

⁸⁶ *Colonial Patriot*, "Editorial," December 7 1827

⁸⁷ *Colonial Patriot*, "Editorial," January 9 1830

⁸⁸ *Colonial Patriot*, "Editorial," January 9 1830

⁸⁹ *Colonial Patriot*, "Editorial," December 14 1828

a constitutional opposition.”⁹⁰ The principle behind the *Patriot’s* call for reform within the province, highlights that Covenanting ideology was transplanted to Nova Scotia but also demonstrates the influence Evangelicalism had on McCulloch’s political orientation. In viewing the struggle of the Covenanters as a parallel to the politico-religious war which was unfolding in Nova Scotia, the *Patriot* effectively used the event as a symbol of justified resistance against the established Church, and the Episcopal-dominated council.

The *Pictou Observer and Eastern Advertiser*, edited by McKenzie, was created to counteract the strength of the dissenting Presbyterian population in the colony. In adopting the same view as the high-Tory Episcopalians, the conservative periodical denounced the Pictou Academy as an “Antiburgher nursery” which “smelt rank of disloyalty and republicanism.”⁹¹ In echoing Bishop Charles Inglis’s fears of the “levelling spirit” afforded to the dissenting population, McKenzie criticised the growth of the “dangerous spirit of democracy,” condemning those who espoused “liberal” and equalising ideologies as radicals.⁹² The levelling spirit, he continued, be it under the guise of an “assumed liberality of sentiment or the more specious appearance of an anxious desire for the reformation of all abuses” threatened not only established institutions but disordered the status quo.⁹³ Although the newspaper’s religious affiliation was not Episcopalian, as McKenzie felt the need to note, he considered that the campaign against the established Church from “unprincipled demagogues” was unjustified, undesired and in danger of “polluting the stream of good British feeling” in

⁹⁰ *Colonial Patriot*, “Editorial,” December 14 1828

⁹¹ Valerie Wallace, “Exporting Radicalism within the Empire: the Scots Presbyterian Political Values in Scotland and British North America,” 133; 216

⁹² *Pictou Observer*, “Sign of the Times,” February 22 1832; “Political Review,” *Pictou Observer*, March 7 1832

⁹³ *Pictou Observer*, “Sign of the Times,” February 22 1832; “Political Review,” *Pictou Observer*, March 7 1832

the colony.⁹⁴ Through his support of established hierarchies, McKenzie solidified the Kirk's position as an enemy of dissenting Presbyterians, and demonstrated his preference for a closer connection with the established Church.

The *Observer* supported the established Church in Scotland's criticism of the "Ultra-Reform Bill," which increased the electorate, the Catholic Emancipation Act and the ongoing disturbances in Ireland over the payment of tithes. McKenzie felt that this gave a significant hint that the "contagion might easily and speedily cross the channel."⁹⁵ He recommended that the Imperial Government enforce a law to ensure a prompt and effective solution to the spread of democracy rather than the "tedious course of examination by committee."⁹⁶ Two years later, the *Observer* published a speech from Glasgow criticising the "wave of democracy" which rushed to "every corner of the state" and threatened to "bear down all barriers of our once, our still noble and unrivalled constitution."⁹⁷ Echoing the position of the Church of England, the *Observer* advocated that established churches were the pillars of national religion and entwined so completely with the state that when "Britain cease[d] to have an established Church she would cease to be an established kingdom."⁹⁸ The conservative Kirkmen thus saw established religion as the bulwark of national security, just as the Church of England was viewed as the "cultural conductor of Britishness" and a tool of the state.

As opposition mounted, supporters of the Pictou Academy sought new strategies to shake the colonial establishment, and secure the success of the institute. In 1828, and again in 1830, George Smith, trustee and MLA for Pictou County, appointed a committee within the Legislative Assembly to search the legislative journals of the

⁹⁴ *Pictou Observer*, "Sign of the Times," February 22 1832

⁹⁵ *Pictou Observer*, "Sign of the Times," February 22 1832

⁹⁶ *Pictou Observer*, "Sign of the Times," February 22 1832

⁹⁷ *Pictou Observer*, "Grand Conservative Dinner Glasgow," August 12 1834

⁹⁸ *Pictou Observer*, "Grand Conservative Dinner Glasgow," August 12 1834

Council.⁹⁹ The committee found that in 1824 and 1830, Bishop John Inglis had cast the deciding vote against the Pictou Academy.¹⁰⁰ In addition to Inglis's rejection of the permanent endowment of the Academy, the committee's investigation also revealed a more extreme group within the Council, which consistently objected to the support of those public schools that did not have established religion as a foundation.¹⁰¹ This wing of the Council was composed of T. N. Jeffery, a high-Church Tory and Custom collector, H. N. Binney, Collector of Imports and Excise, C. R. Prescott, a pre-Loyalist settler, "sometime merchant [and] country gentlemen, and Michael Wallace.¹⁰² Wallace had been fighting against the extension of rights of dissenting Presbyterians since losing an election contest to Pictonian merchant and trustee of the Academy, Edward Mortimer in 1799. He was a Kirkman who believed that the King could do no wrong and that the British constitution was "the most perfect fabric the world ever saw."¹⁰³ In seeking a stronger alliance between the Kirk and the established Church, he owned pews in the Episcopalian Church of Halifax-Dartmouth, and had his children educated at King's College.¹⁰⁴ Despite strong opposition from Tory-Kirkman Wallace, the influence of the bishop commanded the attention of McCulloch and his band of reformers, and as a result the politico-religious issues which divided Nova Scotia, although wider than the influence of Episcopacy, remained a religiously charged matter.

⁹⁹ JHA: Wednesday 5 March 1828; JHA: Wednesday 31 March 1830

¹⁰⁰ JHA: Wednesday 5 March 1828; JHA Wednesday 31 March 1830

¹⁰¹ J. M. Beck, *The Government of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University, 1957), 23

¹⁰² B. C. Cuthbertson, "Jeffery, Thomas Nickleson," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [available: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/jeffery_thomas_nickleson_7E.html]; Susan Buggey, "Charles Ramage Prescott," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [available: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/prescott_charles_ramage_8E.html]; J. M. Beck, *The Government of Nova Scotia*, 20-21; D. A. Sutherland, "Michael Wallace," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [available: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wallace_michael_6E.html]

¹⁰³ George Patterson, *History of Pictou County*, 195

¹⁰⁴ D. A. Sutherland, "Michael Wallace," , " *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [available: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wallace_michael_6E.html]

Where Valerie Wallace has acknowledged that Pictou was a region characterised by politico-religious disputes, and McCulloch reduced his campaign for equal consideration to a religiously divided matter, the presence of high-Tory Kirkmen and moderate Episcopalians complicates these interpretations. The moderate councilmen who were in favour of the Pictou Academy bill, such as the Surveyor-General and Loyalist, Charles Morris, Judge James Stewart, Judge Brenton Halliburton, of one of the leading Loyalist families, Puisne Judge and son-in-law of Bishop Charles Inglis, and Simon Bradstreet Robie, Master of the Rolls, Loyalist and “zealous defender of the Assembly’s constitutional rights,” opposed the extreme faction.¹⁰⁵ The moderate councilmen drafted a seven-point report which outlined the reasons why dissenters, who composed more than four-fifths of the population deserved equal consideration. Through observing that non-Episcopalians contributed more to the provincial revenue, they argued that the Pictou Academy was entitled to £400 in perpetuity for their orderly, steady and loyal conduct.¹⁰⁶ They continued that the remote location of Pictou should have no weight in the argument against the support of the institution, for the region was where the great body of dissenters resided: “of the population of twelve thousand people, there was under one hundred members of the established Church.”¹⁰⁷ The moderate councilmen feared that the rejection of the Academy bill while continuing to support King’s College in Windsor, would excite further hostility towards the

¹⁰⁵ Phyllis R. Blakeley, “Sir Brenton Halliburton,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/halliburton_brenton_8E.html]; Donald F. Chard, “Charles Morris,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/morris_charles_1759_1831_6E.html]; J. Murray Beck, “Simon Bradstreet Robie,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/robie_simon_bradstreet_8E.html]

¹⁰⁶ NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers: “Document No. 2, Judge Brenton Halliburton enters protest against the dismissal of the Pictou Academy Bill with Judge Stewart, S. B. Robie and Charles Morris,” RG 14 Vol. 50-51

¹⁰⁷ NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers: “Document No. 2, Judge Brenton Halliburton enters protest against the dismissal of the Pictou Academy Bill with Judge Stewart, S. B. Robie and Charles Morris,” RG 14 Vol. 50-51

established Church.¹⁰⁸ In their closing remarks, the councilmen summarised that every “attempt to give or retain exclusive privileges to the Church of England had invariably operated to its disadvantage,” and as such the Council ought to wield its authority with caution and liberality. In sanctioning the Pictou Academy bill, the councilmen added, the established Church would prove to Protestant dissenters that they had “nothing to fear from the diffusion of knowledge.”¹⁰⁹

In 1828, allegations were brought against McCulloch’s institute by McKenzie, who proposed a solution to the Academy question. He argued that the Academy be placed “upon a different footing” to “make it of more general benefit to the dissenting population of the province.”¹¹⁰ In quoting the Charter, McKenzie’s petition demonstrated that the Pictou Academy had been created for “the purpose of teaching and learning according to the most improved method pursued in the Schools and the Academies of Scotland,” continuing that it was never “contemplated to give the seminary the character of a College or a University.”¹¹¹ Notwithstanding the provisions of the Charter, McKenzie argued that the Pictou Academy had, by an “unwarranted exercise of power, on the part of the resident and managing trustees, been exalted from the beneficial and necessary statutes of a subordinate seminary, into a comparatively useless and inefficient grade of college.”¹¹² The proviso that only Episcopalians and Presbyterians could hold professorships or trusteeships implemented by the Council was overlooked in the petition, for McKenzie claimed that the Academy had fallen into “the hands of persons who were unconnected with either of two established

¹⁰⁸ Journal of the Legislative Council [JLC]: Wednesday 22 March 1826

¹⁰⁹ NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers: “Document No. 2, Judge Brenton Halliburton enters protest against the dismissal of the Pictou Academy Bill with Judge Stewart, S. B. Robie and Charles Morris,” RG 14 Vol. 50-51

¹¹⁰ *The Novascotian*, “Pictou Academy,” March 6 1828

¹¹¹ *The Novascotian*, “Pictou Academy,” March 6 1828

¹¹² *The Novascotian*, “Pictou Academy,” March 6 1828

churches.”¹¹³ Indeed, McCulloch had previously criticised this argument, claiming that the principles of the dissenting Presbyterians did not differ from the Kirk, but rather professed a stricter adherence to the original doctrine.¹¹⁴ According to McKenzie, the Pictou Academy had become “subservient” to those who had dissented from the Kirk and, it was the teaching of Theology which had given the institute a “sectarian appearance,” not the restrictive statutes.¹¹⁵

Prior to McKenzie’s submitting his petition, Judge William Allen Chipman had commissioned an investigation of the managing trustees, and the Academy’s adherence to its Charter.¹¹⁶ The appointed committee, having expressed a “willingness” to receive information concerning the conduct of the Pictou Academy received a lengthy statement of grievance.¹¹⁷ The complainant, a James Munroe, claimed that the course pursued at the Academy was a “ridiculous attempt at what is taught at college and university,” which thus demonstrates that McKenzie’s complaints were not new, but had circulated some years earlier.¹¹⁸ Of the same correspondence, the complainant offered an explanation of McKenzie’s grievances. In campaigning for an adherence to what was outlined in the Academy’s Charter, he argued that the inhabitants of Pictou would rather see their children taught in the more “useful branches” of education; instead of reading Latin books and having their “vanity gratified by seeing them clothed

¹¹³ *The Novascotian*, “Pictou Academy,” March 6 1828

¹¹⁴ NSA: “McCulloch Papers, Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch’s draft response to Rev. Robert Burns of the Glasgow Colonial Society,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #21

¹¹⁵ *The Novascotian*, “Pictou Academy,” March 6 1828

¹¹⁶ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch Memorial Respecting Judge Chipman’s Enquiry Concerning Pictou Academy,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #22

¹¹⁷ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: James Munroe to the Commissioners Appointed to Examine the Affairs of the Academy & an Outline of Complaints Against the Academy,” July 20 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #52

¹¹⁸ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: James Munroe to the Commissioners Appointed to Examine the Affairs of the Academy & an Outline of Complaints Against the Academy,” July 20 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #52

in red gowns.”¹¹⁹ In forming stronger links with the Academy movement in Scotland, the complainant reasoned, as McKenzie would before the Legislative Assembly, that because Pictou was a commercial region, children required a more practical education necessary for “conducting common business.”¹²⁰ For instance, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, geography, trigonometry, land surveying navigation, gauging and dialling fortification – a curriculum which mirrored the Scottish Academies.¹²¹

Despite McKenzie’s accusations, McCulloch continued to argue that the bishop was the primary obstacle to the success of the Pictou Academy. Through sculpting a policy of “immovable loyalty,” the Bishop had, by depressing the Academy and excluding Protestant dissenters from King’s College, bred disaffection towards the authority of the Council.¹²² In McCulloch’s opinion, the bishop measured the amount of financial aid secured from the government as an indicator of loyalty.¹²³ As that the trustees continued to petition for the removal of the sectarian statutes, the Council once again viewed this as an attempt to excite a spirit of opposition towards the established Church and King’s College. “You would not conceive,” McCulloch wrote in a private correspondence to the Lieutenant Governor, that a “constitutional measure to obtain for

¹¹⁹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: James Munroe to the Commissioners Appointed to Examine the Affairs of the Academy & an Outline of Complaints Against the Academy,” July 20 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #52

¹²⁰ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: James Munroe to the Commissioners Appointed to Examine the Affairs of the Academy & an Outline of Complaints Against the Academy,” July 20 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #52; *The Novascotian*, “Pictou Academy,” March 6 1828

¹²¹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: James Munroe to the Commissioners Appointed to Examine the Affairs of the Academy & an Outline of Complaints Against the Academy,” July 20 1827, MG 1 Vol. 554 #52; *The Novascotian*, “Pictou Academy,” March 6 1828; S. Karly Kehoe, “From the Caribbean to the Scottish Highlands: Charitable Enterprise in the Age of Improvement, c.1750 to c.1820”, *Rural History*. 27:1 (2016), 37-59, 45; Donald J. Withrington, ‘Education and Society in the Eighteenth Century’, in N. T. Phillipson and R. Mitchison, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 177

¹²² NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to the Lieutenant Governor James Kempt,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #46

¹²³ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to the Lieutenant Governor James Kempt,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #46

the Pictou Academy an advantage consistent alike with sound policy and natural right,” should be viewed as a hostile act.¹²⁴ Although correct in his accusation that the bishop continued to hinder the development of non-Episcopalian settlers, through damaging the reputation of the Academy, McCulloch in official memorials continued to disregard the influence of the Kirk.

McCulloch enjoyed support from at least one prominent Anglican. Speaking as a “liberal man of the Church [of England,]” in 1828, T. C. Haliburton, campaigned for the recognition and protection of the Pictou Academy. “I am a member of the Church of England,” he remarked, and “admire and revere it. I shall continue so and though I disapprove of the intemperate zeal of some of its friends, I shall live and die a member of that church. I have also the honour of being a graduate of King’s College.”¹²⁵ Haliburton claimed that the war cry against encouraging the success of the Pictou Academy, had been the security of the church-state in the colony, for the trustees of the institute had frequently challenged the established position of the Church of England through criticising King’s College.¹²⁶ The high-Tories of the Church, he contended, had promoted King’s College through slandering the Academy.¹²⁷ Given that the Pictou Academy was frequently cited as a rallying point for “disloyal and disaffected people,” Pictou became a region of political intrigue, often associated with revolt and rebellion in periodicals and pamphlets.¹²⁸ Haliburton maintained that if he were on terms with the Lord Bishop, he would appeal to him not to “seek odious distinctions” in the promotion of the established Church but rather let Episcopalian missionaries enter into

¹²⁴ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to the Lieutenant Governor James Kempt,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #46

¹²⁵ *The Novascotian*, “Haliburton,” March 6 1828

¹²⁶ *The Novascotian*, “Haliburton,” March 6 1828

¹²⁷ *The Novascotian*, “Haliburton,” March 6 1828

¹²⁸ Haliburton notes that the Scottish settlers in Pictou were often marred as the “ambitious,” “sour sectarians,” “disloyal” and “opposed to the church and state,” see *The Novascotian*, “Haliburton,” March 6 1828

an “honourable competition” with dissenters. He continued: “let them be pre-eminent in virtue, pre-eminent in piety, pre-eminent in learning and pre-eminent in the discharge of all those Christian charities, which adorn and dignify the character of a teacher of the gospel” for it was only then, that the Church of England could rightfully claim its established status.¹²⁹

The Council, in 1828, rejected a proposal of the Legislative Assembly to grant the Pictou Academy £500 to liquidate part of its debt, after rejecting two bills for the £400 subsidy.¹³⁰ The Academy was, according to McCulloch, the only institution which prevented education of the whole province from being under the management of the established Church.¹³¹ This, however, was no longer so certain by the end of 1828 for the Baptist and Methodist congregations moved to establish their own institutions, “the poor bishop who hoped to monopolise education...will have to fight not with one interloper but with three.”¹³² Although the projected creation of other Academies placed additional pressure of the government to reform the Council, it detracted from the strength of the Pictou institution. “Within door and out of doors fair or foul,” the bishop and his acquaintances continued to employ every means to prevent the Academy from flourishing.¹³³ Meanwhile, Lord Dalhousie had declared himself an enemy of the Pictou institution after slandering it with “every accusation of disloyalty” and “antiburgherism.”¹³⁴ The resolution for £500 was brought before the House twice more

¹²⁹ *The Novascotian*, “Haliburton,” March 6 1828

¹³⁰ JHA: Saturday 29 March 1828; NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr Thomas McCulloch to Rev. Dr James Mitchell,” Halifax, March 31 1828, MG 1 Vol. 553 #29

¹³¹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr Thomas McCulloch to Rev. Dr James Mitchell, Halifax, March 31 1828,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #29

¹³² NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr Thomas McCulloch to Rev. Dr James Mitchell,” Pictou, December 29 1828 MG 1 Vol. 553 #37

¹³³ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr Thomas McCulloch to Rev. Dr James Mitchell, Halifax, March 31 1828,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #29

¹³⁴ NSA: McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr Thomas McCulloch to Rev. Dr James Mitchell,” Halifax, March 31 1828, MG 1 Vol. 553 #29

but each motion was pushed by the more conservative members of the Assembly to the Council for concurrence; the bill was rejected by a slim margin the first time but passed the second.¹³⁵ In an unconstitutional manoeuvre to counter the high-handed actions of the Council, it was proposed in the Legislative Assembly that if a provision was created to place £500 at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor for the Academy, a suggestion already vetoed by the Council, then they would pass it without their approbation.¹³⁶ This motion failed to pass, however, for it was a pledge that could not be upheld without violating the constitution of the legislative government, which held that the Council had to sanction ordinances before they could become law.

The Kirk continued to defend its Moderate position against the Evangelicals by lobbying against the Academy every year between 1828 and 1832. Having learned in March 1828, that a petition had been laid against their institution the trustees requested time to respond.¹³⁷ They found that inhabitants and friends of the Pictou Academy had been deceived by Kirkmen. In a memorial to the trustees, the petitioners stated that they were told that the purpose of the appeal was to secure more funds and teachers for the institution. Having read that the “party difference had been terminat[ed] and not hearing the contrary,” they signed their names to the unread petition.¹³⁸ They did not suppose that it was to interfere with the Academy and “feeling indignant” at the dishonesty they felt duty bound to correct the mistake.¹³⁹ In response, the trustees presented sixteen petitions in favour of endowing the Academy with permanent support, including one

¹³⁵ It was pushed the first time by Mr. Alexander Stewart in his continued his campaign against the Pictou Academy. The second time, Mr. Richard John Uniacke, originally a member of the dissenting Church turned extreme adherent to the Church-State party. JHA: Monday 31 March 1828; JHA: Tuesday 1 April 1828

¹³⁶ JHA: Tuesday 1 April 1828

¹³⁷ JHA: Monday 3 March 1828

¹³⁸ NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers: Petitions and Responses, 1828” RG 14 Vol. 50-51

¹³⁹ NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers: Petitions and Responses, 1828” RG 14 Vol. 50-51

from the Baptist congregations in Onslow and Truro.¹⁴⁰ Following two rejections of the appeals of the trustees, the Council reiterated the terms for their support of the Pictou Academy, the resignation of the current trustees. Following their “voluntarily” submission, the Council resolved to remove every test and restriction, and endow the institution with the permanent provision of £400.¹⁴¹

Growing increasingly frustrated with the Council undermining its authority, the Legislative Assembly, in an effort to move the Pictou Academy question forward, formed a resolution.¹⁴² The declaration explained that the Legislative Assembly was satisfied with the manner, in which, the Pictou Academy was conducted under the present trustees, and that it would be an injustice to lend its assent to their removal. If, however, the Council insisted upon their objection, the Legislative Assembly would support reducing the number of trustees with the condition that the Lieutenant Governor select them from the current board.¹⁴³ Alternatively, if the Council wanted to extend the current number of trustees, then the Assembly would agree to “any reasonable number” to be appointed by the Governor.¹⁴⁴ This motion failed to pass and once more, T. C. Haliburton openly supported the Academy.¹⁴⁵ He acknowledged the Council’s predisposition towards the institution, its associates, and the inequitable position of the bishop. He proposed that the Legislative Assembly form a commission to discuss the affairs of the province and compose an address to the monarch seeking the reformation of the colonial administration. Beyond this, however, the Assembly continued to be divided, and the Council continued its rejection of the Pictou Academy bill.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ JHA: Thursday 6 March 1828

¹⁴¹ JHA: Wednesday 2 April 1828

¹⁴² JHA: Friday 27 March 1829

¹⁴³ JHA: Friday 27 March 1829

¹⁴⁴ JHA: Friday 27 March 1829

¹⁴⁵ *Colonial Patriot*, “House of Assembly,” April 1 1829

¹⁴⁶ JHA: Thursday 2 April 1829; JHA: Tuesday 7 1829; JHA: Thursday 9 April 1829; JHA: Wednesday 15 April 1829; JHA Thursday 16 April 1829

As the Pictou Academy question moved into the third decade of debate, the question became less religiously charged, and more about the constitutionality of the Council's right to dictate provincial spending through interfering with money bills. Although the Council's position was increasingly challenged, its power did not wane. Despite this, the Pictou Academy controversy had alerted many to the absence of equal consideration within the province, and this realisation marked the first step in agitating for greater representation for dissenting bodies within Nova Scotia. Indeed, this chapter has demonstrated that the debate surrounding the Academy was more than a simple religious dispute but rather had become an important element in the emergence of party-based politics in Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER THREE FIGHTING FOR REFORM WITH A FEW DROPS O' BRANDY

The Pictou Academy had brought the two legislative branches, the Council and the Assembly, of Nova Scotia into a conflict which lasted nearly a decade. The “Pictou Academy question,” which was the struggle to secure permanent pecuniary aid, remained unanswered, and the interference of the Council with money bills, even after they had been sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly, caused frustration amongst moderate government members and the dissenting population. Interestingly, in spite of the issue’s controversial nature, it failed to stimulate any real discussion in government circles and this meant that the oligarchical structure of the Council went virtually unchallenged. In 1830, it was fortuitous that a dispute over the tax on imported spirits coincided with the death of King George IV (1762-1839) which prompted an election of the Legislative Assembly. Dubbed the “Brandy Election,” it gave the friends of the Pictou Academy an opportunity to denounce the inequitable position of the Council publically in the pages of the *Colonial Patriot*. This chapter will strengthen the argument made in Chapter 2, which highlighted the early formation of party politics, through demonstrating the increasingly influential and highly partisan role of periodicals.¹ The *Free Press*, and initially *The Novascotian*, defended the privileged position of the Council; while the *Acadian Recorder*, the *Colonial Patriot*, and following exposure to Pictou-based radicalism, the *Novascotian*, supported the cause of the Legislative Assembly. As homegrown tensions between the Kirkmen and the dissenting Presbyterians intensified, and the Council continued to deny equal consideration to those who denounced the established Church, Thomas McCulloch

¹ Brain Cuthbertson, *Johnny Bluenose at the Polls: Epic Nova Scotian Election Batters 1758-1848* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1994), 56

alongside Jotham Blanchard led a campaign, influenced by the legacy of Covenanting ideology, to stimulate early reform in Nova Scotia.

The integrity of the Council was challenged when it supported the decision of H. N. Binney, the collector of excise, to collect 2s. on imported brandy when the Legislative Assembly had added 1s. 4d. in addition to the 1s. already imposed by the Imperial Government. B. C. U. Cuthbertson claimed that the Brandy dispute marked the “beginning of the end for the oligarchy in post-Loyalist Nova Scotia.”² Contrary to the recent findings of Valerie Wallace, a historian who considers the intersection between political thought and religion, and Gene Morrison, who suggest that the full amount had gone uncollected for three years, the total loss to the provincial revenue was £2,700, and it was over four years.³ Cuthbertson argued that the Brandy legislation was inadequately drafted, and in a similar conclusion to Morrison, stated that it was an accident that the matter was discovered.⁴ Given that there were 16 merchants in the Legislative Assembly and three in the Council, it was unlikely that many were not privy to Binney’s actions.

In 1830, Enos Collins, a wealthy Haligonian merchant and councillor, who although an early supporter of the Pictou Academy later became a staunch enemy, petitioned the Legislative Assembly for a tax refund. Indeed, he claimed that Binney had given merchants an “unfair rate of exchange on the doubloons,” with which they paid the tax.⁵ Their petition provided the Legislative Assembly with written evidence

² B. C. U. Cuthbertson, “Place, Politics and the Brandy Election of 1830,” *Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 41 (1982), 5

³ Journal and Votes of the House of Assembly for the Province of Nova Scotia JHA: April 6 1830; Valerie Wallace, *Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America, c.1815-c.1850*. Glasgow University. PhD thesis. 2010, 209; Gene Morrison, “The Brandy Election of 1830,” *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 30 (1954), 169

⁴ B. C. U. Cuthbertson, “Place, Politics and the Brandy Election of 1830,” 14

⁵ For Collins’ support of the Pictou Academy, see: Nova Scotia Archives NSA: “McCulloch Papers, an undated list of subscribers for the support of the Pictou Academy,” MG 1 Vol. 550

that Binney had failed to collect the full amount of tax and thus, they drafted a bill reinforcing that 2s 4d. was the amount to be levied on imported spirits.⁶ The Council, however, refused to lend its approbation. The matter remained unresolved and on 1 April 1830, the Revenue Acts, of which the brandy legislation was part, expired. Having redrafted the Revenue Acts, the Legislative Assembly on 2 April 1830, sought the Council's approval.⁷ Given however, that the Legislative Assembly had previously appealed to the Council for support regarding the tax on brandy, it used this as justification to reject the redrafted bill, claiming that the Assembly did not have the authority to resubmit rejected proposals. Additionally, the Council argued that it would negatively affect the country's trade, and suggested that duties on imports be reduced for they were already "too burdensome."⁸ As the brandy dispute became public, the *Colonial Patriot* used the opportunity to condemn the actions of the Council, reporting that the reduction of duty would be unpopular with the British public for Nova Scotia was still supported by the Imperial Government.⁹ An impasse had been reached for the Council continued to push for lower taxation; while the Legislative Assembly supported an increase in duty levied on imported goods to subsidise provincial improvement. What had begun as a common dispute over provincial improvement and revenue had become a publically, and politically, charged debate over the right of the Council to interfere with money bills.¹⁰ The brandy dispute gifted to McCulloch's cause

#8; Andrew Ross and Andrew Smith, *Canada's Entrepreneurs: From the Fur Trade to the 1929 Stock Market Crash* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 160; Gene Morrison, "The Brandy Election of 1830," CNSHS, 30 (1954), 169

⁶ JHA: Thursday 4 March 1830; JHA: Thursday 23 March 1830; JHA: Monday 29 March 1830

⁷ JHA: Saturday 3 April 1830; JHA: Monday 5 April 1830; JHA: Thursday 8 April 1830; JHA: Saturday 10 April 1830

⁸ *Colonial Patriot*, "To all the Representatives of the Province, now at Halifax, except messrs Uniacke, Hartshorne and Barry," April 17 1830

⁹ *Colonial Patriot*, "To all the Representatives of the Province, now at Halifax, except messrs Uniacke, Hartshorne and Barry," April 17 1830

¹⁰ *Free Press*, "A Letter Signed Aristides," April 13 1830

the opportunity to reach the wider community of Protestant dissenters, as his campaign to secure marriage licenses had, and alert them to the unequitable position of the Council and the lack of equal consideration in the colony.

Although the brandy dispute raised questions over the legitimacy of the Council, Gene Morrison observed that the Legislative Assembly made no attempt to formulate a “new theory of colonial government.”¹¹ The careers of two men, the moderate assemblyman, T. C. Haliburton, and S. G. W. Archibald, assemblyman and trustee of the Pictou Academy, strengthen Morrison’s assertion. While Haliburton attempted to provoke reform within the province, his attacks were directed at specific issues such as supporting the Pictou Academy and the Catholic Emancipation bill.¹² Similarly, Cuthbertson attributed Archibald’s opposition to the Council to his ambition to take over the position of Chief Justice, rather than his desire to see the Pictou Academy succeed. This examination, however, failed to take into consideration Archibald’s Scottish-Presbyterian background, and his “constant and unflinching friendship” towards the Pictou Academy.¹³ This claim is supported in a private correspondence between McCulloch and Reverend James Mitchell, where he stated that Archibald was a “pillar of Presbyterians,” without whom the Academy could not have existed.¹⁴ Archibald’s criticism of the Council’s exclusive privileges, however, was inconsistent with his once “courteous and considerate” manner and his defence of the same body on Prince Edward Island, where he was Chief Justice.¹⁵ This highlights that while assemblymen from different religious backgrounds did challenge the Council,

¹¹ Gene Morrison, “The Brandy Election of 1830,” 152

¹² Gene Morrison, “The Brandy Election of 1830,” 152

¹³ NSA, “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Thomas McCulloch to John Mitchell, May 31 1824,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #19

¹⁴ NSA, “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Thomas McCulloch to John Mitchell, May 31 1824,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #19

¹⁵ Israel Longworth, *Life of S. G. W. Archibald* (S. F. Huestis: Halifax, 1881), 91

they did not act to change the oligarchical structure. Morrison's examination, however, has overlooked the influence of McCulloch and the supporters of the Pictou Academy who did, through the *Colonial Patriot*, attempt to reform the family compact. Additionally, Cuthbertson has asserted that those who challenged the right of the Council, irrespective of their underlying motives, failed to recognise the "democratic principle" at the root of their individual antagonisms, but McCulloch did. It is likely that pro-reformers in the colonial government focused on specific issues, however, because they viewed wider constitutional improvement as the first step towards disestablishment. As demonstrated by the American and French Revolutions, increased toleration led to the weakening of establishments, and encouraged disaffection within the British Empire. McCulloch's campaign on the other hand, endeavoured to restructure the Council, which would shake the church-state establishment and broaden political participation within the colony.

The Pictou Academy was not forgotten amidst the brandy controversy nor by its supporters and enemies on both sides of the Atlantic. In Scotland, an unnamed Edinburgh newspaper published a letter written by "North Briton," which denounced the efforts of the Academy's trustees. The *Patriot* republished the letter which recounted that the institute had, for three years, received a £400 grant from the colonial government when it was under the supervision of the Kirk and the established Church.¹⁶ Despite this, a set of "canting Antiburghers" through disguising themselves as associates of the Kirk had become trustees.¹⁷ This duplicity had, according to North Briton, perverted the Academy from being a "useful school to a useless college."¹⁸ In his concluding remarks, North Briton stated that in addition to the "absurd and

¹⁶ *Colonial Patriot*, "Pictou Academy," June 19 1830

¹⁷ *Colonial Patriot*, "Pictou Academy," June 19 1830

¹⁸ *Colonial Patriot*, "Pictou Academy," June 19 1830

ridiculous” location, the Pictou institute should not be “trusted with a sixpence of public money” until the management was “radically changed.”¹⁹ From the articles reprinted by the *Patriot*, it is evident that the Academy issue was followed in Scotland. Despite this, however, from North Briton’s incorrect assertions it is likely that the issue was as divisive in the home country as it was in the colony.

In response, the *Patriot* accused North Briton of drawing similarities between the Pictou Academy and the Belfast Academical Institution (BAI), the collegiate department of which, was described as “essentially a Scottish university on a small scale.”²⁰ The purpose of drawing comparisons between the two Presbyterian institutions was to alter the British public’s perception of the politico-religious situation, which was occurring in Nova Scotia. Belfast was similar to Pictou in that it was a centre for the various strands of Presbyterianism, and associated frequently with radicalism. Like the Pictou Academy, the BAI was established as a non-sectarian institution which would provide a liberal education supported by voluntary subscriptions.²¹ Unlike the Academy, however, the BAI succeeded in securing a perpetual grant from the government. This funding was withdrawn in 1816, for the headmaster, James Thomson, a Scottish-Irish Presbyterian, refused to concede the institution’s independence, and principles, after several professors had been accused of imbibing republican sentiments. In condemning the trustees of the BAI, the *Patriot* wrote that they had forced the government “by their folly and fanaticism,” to retract the allowance so “generously granted.”²² While the principle focus of this thesis is Nova

¹⁹ *Colonial Patriot*, “Pictou Academy,” June 19 1830

²⁰ Crosbie Smith and M. Norton Wise, *Energy and Empire: A Biographical Study of Lord Kelvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 11

²¹ For an overview of the BAI see Crosbie Smith and M. Norton Wise, *Energy and Empire*, 9-19 and Juliana Adelman, *Communities of Science in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (London: Routledge, 2009), 21, 44, 80-1

²² *Colonial Patriot*, “Pictou Academy,” June 19 1830

Scotia, primary documents from the colony have frequently highlighted the existence of an informal community of Presbyterian radicalism, which demonstrates the interconnectedness of the British Empire. It is thus important to highlight where the principle actors viewed the connection and related it to their cause. Through removing links with the BAI, the *Patriot* sought to maintain the favour of the British public, and used the comparison as an opportunity to criticise the BAI's trustees and applaud the government.

In the same editorial, the *Patriot* resumed the familiar vilification of the Council, the Lord Bishop and the brandy affair. It reported that the Lord Bishop had informed the settlers of Nova Scotia that attachment to the sovereign was strengthened only with the advancement of the established Church, and in order to uphold the Church so essential to the Crown, the Pictou Academy had to be suppressed in favour of King's College in Windsor.²³ The article concluded that pro-reformers had not, like the "Boston folks shown an abhorrence of tea: we have made a beginning only with Brandy. But when a whole Province, as one man, are in a mood to quarrel with a Council for letting them purchase their brandy too cheaply, there is no saying where or what may be the ending."²⁴ Through showing the intimate connection between church-state and education, the article demonstrated that it was impossible for McCulloch and his band of reformers to challenge one without disrupting the other. It was for this reason that McCulloch's Academy campaign posed significant threat to the colonial order. Indeed, opposition to the position of the Council had become so intense, that colonists were prepared to protest against the reduction of taxation for it served only to fill the pockets of the few.²⁵ The elitism of the Council was reinforced when it proposed

²³ *Colonial Patriot*, "Pictou Academy," June 19 1830

²⁴ *Colonial Patriot*, "Pictou Academy," June 19 1830

²⁵ Valerie Wallace, *Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America, c.1815-c.1850*, 210

that the additional taxation be collected from Quit Rents, rather than imported spirits. This suggestion was outright rejected by the landowning class.²⁶ Had the taxation been removed from a necessary item, it would have been welcomed but considering that the “common people had never heard of ‘drops o’ brandy,’ except at a country wedding” the removal of the levy was for the benefit of the affluent. It was time to ascertain, the *Patriot* declared, whether the Council were constituted for the good of the people; or the people were created for the good of them.”²⁷

In its critique of the Council’s right to interfere with money bills, an article in the *Patriot* explained that by “money bills,” they did not mean only bills of Supply or Revenue, from which the current dispute had originated, but also the Council’s more general right to reject legislation already sanctioned by the Assembly.²⁸ The assent of the Council was necessary when the province was in its infancy and the different branches of government considered themselves as “one body, and mutually advised with each other on public interest.”²⁹ Until it could be proven, however, that asking for advice implied “a right of dictation” by the adviser, the *Patriot* vowed to protest against the “grace of the House, being converted into a claim of right by the Council.” The vision that the Pictou radicals had for the structure of the colonial government, reflected the Covenanting conception of civil government: divided between the legislative, executive and judicial branches. The executive body was to exist only in

²⁶ JHA: Wednesday 31 March, 1830; *Colonial Patriot*, “To all the Representatives of the Province, now at Halifax, except messrs Uniacke, Hartshorne and Barry,” April 17 1830; The failure to collect Quit Rents in Nova Scotia was highlighted in a debate in the British House of Commons, see: Hansards Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, 1831 [available online: [http://www.hansard-archive.parliament.uk/Parliamentary_Debates_\(3rd_Series\)_Vol_1_\(Oct_1830\)_to_Vol_356_\(August_1891\)](http://www.hansard-archive.parliament.uk/Parliamentary_Debates_(3rd_Series)_Vol_1_(Oct_1830)_to_Vol_356_(August_1891))]

²⁷ *Colonial Patriot*, “The Right of the Council to Interfere in Money Bills,” April 17 1830

²⁸ *Colonial Patriot*, “The Right of the Council to Interfere in Money Bills,” April 17 1830

²⁹ *Colonial Patriot*, “The Right of the Council to Interfere in Money Bills,” April 17 1830

subservience to the Legislative Assembly and should not present a financial burden to the province nor be endowed with unnecessary privilege.³⁰

The death of King George IV necessitated the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly and thus, in 1830 there was a general election. In the lead-up to the vote, The *Patriot* reported that the brandy dispute had presented Nova Scotians with a “golden opportunity” to agitate for greater representation; if they failed to do so, then they would be left to “pine under unconstitutional and oppressive power for another half century.”³¹ In one issue, an article entitled the “Glorious Emancipation of Nova Scotia” read:

Who will fight for their rights, if they have not the principle and courage to fight for themselves. We exhort our readers, one and all, to talk of the present political doings – to encourage one another in patriotism – to tell their children, and their brothers and their sisters that Nova Scotia is emancipated from the domination of ignorance, illiberality and heartless selfishness.³²

Through presenting the campaign against the Council as a patriotic act, the possibility of being charged with sedition was removed. Likewise, the *Patriot* did not seek separation from the British Empire but rather an opportunity, through ousting the Council and disestablishing the national Church, to strengthen the bond of the people to the British state and sovereign.³³ In private correspondence with Mitchell, McCulloch celebrated the *Patriot's* assaults on the Council: “we have attacked them in our Pictou Colonial Patriot right and left by argument, sarcasm and drollery and now I

³⁰ Valerie Wallace, *Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America, c.1815-c.1850*, 30

³¹ *Colonial Patriot*, “To all the Representatives of the Province, now at Halifax, except messrs Uniacke, Hartshorne and Barry,” April 17 1830

³² *Colonial Patriot*, “Glorious Emancipation of Nova Scotia,” April 10 1830

³³ *Colonial Patriot*, “Glorious Emancipation of Nova Scotia,” April 10 1830

believe they are heartily sorry that they made us their enemies.”³⁴ According to McCulloch, the *Patriot* was popular in Halifax and anticipated with “dread” by the Council.³⁵

Although disputes continued to be argued along religious lines, on the lead-up to the election printed media began to play an increasingly partisan role at civic level. As political reporting increased, the Council had one consistent ally, the Halifax-based *Free Press*, which campaigned for a strengthening of its privilege. In recognition of the *Press*’s support, the Council arranged for the periodical to be sent to all of the Justices of the Peace in anticipation of soliciting the support of their townships.³⁶ In a letter printed in the periodical, the signatory, *A Constitutionalist*, highlighted the three causes of disaffection in Nova Scotia: S. G. W. Archibald’s bitterness over the Council selecting Brenton Halliburton for Justice of the Peace in Halifax; the Pictou Academy grant; and the Legislative Assembly’s desire to salvage their forgone popularity.³⁷ The letter continued:

...it has often been insinuated that His Majesty’s Council are not appointed by the people and consequently have no prerogative to dissent from anything, which the Assembly may have agreed to...when His Majesty’s Council shall have, by the ambition of the *unprincipled*, been shorn of their rights, then farewell to the blessings of English Liberty. Then let democracy prevail – let the American flag float over our battlements – let our dockyard be demolished – let the Coat of Arms of England be erased from the front of our Province building.³⁸

³⁴ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” November 21 1829, MG 1 Vol. 553 #145

³⁵ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” November 21 1829, MG 1 Vol. 553 #145

³⁶ B. C. U. Cuthbertson, “Place, Politics and the Brandy Election of 1830,” 17

³⁷ *Free Press*, Signed “A Constitutionalist,” May 4 1830

³⁸ *Free Press*, Signed “A Constitutionalist,” May 4 1830

Although the *Free Press* argued that the Legislative Assembly was attempting to destroy the Council so that it could “dispose of all the money at [their] own pleasure,” the Legislative Assembly did not advocate for the removal of the body.³⁹ Indeed, it advocated that the Council be placed on equal footing with the House of Lords in Britain – a suggestion supported by the *Patriot*.⁴⁰ While the Lords retained the “abstract right” to reject the “supply tendered” by the House of Commons, it was reserved for extreme cases and according to the *Patriot*, the 4d. duty on brandy did not warrant such intervention.⁴¹ If the Lords attempted to exercise this “obsolete right,” it would, as demonstrated in the colony, interrupt parliamentary business.⁴² Indeed, the *Patriot* concluded that because the Council was represented in the election of representatives, its role in the colonial legislature should be on par with the people.⁴³

The continued attacks on the Council had, according to a steadfast Episcopalian pamphlet, introduced licentiousness into Nova Scotia.⁴⁴ Given that the body was Crown-appointed and that the King was “incapable not only of *doing*, but even thinking wrong,” any “invasion” into the Council’s authority was akin to disloyalty.⁴⁵ Joseph Howe, even though he was vindicating the position of the Council in the *Novascotian*, highlighted that its members were aware that they held no hereditary rights and maintained their seats only at the “pleasure of the Crown.”⁴⁶ The Sovereign should

³⁹ *Free Press*, Signed “A Constitutionalist,” May 4 1830

⁴⁰ *Colonial Patriot*, February 8 1828; *Colonial Patriot*, February 15 1828

⁴¹ *Observations upon the Doctrine, Lately Advanced, That His Majesty's Council Have No Constitutional Power to Control Individual Appropriations, or to Amend or Alter Money Bills with a Few Remarks upon the Conduct of That Body on the Questions of Granting Encouragement to Common Schools, and a Permanent Provision to the Pictou Academy* (Halifax, 1828), 7

⁴² *Observations upon the Doctrine, Lately Advanced*, 7

⁴³ Valerie Wallace, *Exporting radicalism within the empire: Scots Presbyterian political values in Scotland and British North America, c.1815-c.1850*, 207

⁴⁴ *Observations upon the Doctrine, Lately Advanced*, 6

⁴⁵ *Observations upon the Doctrine, Lately Advanced*, 16, 21

⁴⁶ *The Novascotian*, “Council’s Vindication,” April 15 1830

never, the pamphlet read, be “thrust into a situation” where such a sound principle may ever be endangered. In demonstrating the imperial sovereignty favoured by adherents of the established Church, the writer asserted that “whenever the hand of Royalty appear[ed], stretched forth from the purple robes” it resembled the finger of God performing “some act of beneficence and mercy.”⁴⁷ In contrast to the high-Tory, though not exclusively Episcopalian, concept of government, McCulloch advocated for popular sovereignty and retained, with Covenanting vigor, an uncompromising stance against government founded upon divine right, holy alliances and family compacts.⁴⁸ “With all due and faithful allegiance to his Majesty (and more loyal subjects he has not),” the *Patriot* reported, “we’d say that the King of Great Britain has no right to place a British born subject under a form of government.”⁴⁹ The writer of the pamphlet acknowledged the increasing resistance of “*passive obedience*,” a view supported by the *Patriot*, as it declared that the “community [would] not be put down: it has passed the days in which loyalty claiming its rights, quailed in the presence of prelacy and arbitrary power.”⁵⁰ Through utilising language which evoked the memory of the Covenanters, it is clear that McCulloch viewed the fight against unconstitutional government in Nova Scotia, not as high-Tories against reformers, but as a religious war akin to the Covenanting fight against Episcopal ascendancy.

As the election commenced, Halifax County had eight candidates standing for four seats. The Tories, John Leander Starr, Lawrence Hartshorne II, John Barry and Henry Blackader, opposed the pro-Reformers, S. G. W. Archibald, William Lawson, George Smith and first-time candidate, Jotham Blanchard. W. H. Baillie, in his analysis

⁴⁷ *Observations upon the Doctrine, Lately Advanced*, 16

⁴⁸ *Colonial Patriot*, “State of the Province,” May 21 1831

⁴⁹ *Colonial Patriot*, “State of the Province,” May 21 1831

⁵⁰ *Observations upon the Doctrine, Lately Advanced, That His Majesty's Council Have No Constitutional Power to Control Individual Appropriations*, 5; *Colonial Patriot*, “State of the Province,” May 21 1831

of the election, argued that the contention surrounding the Pictou Academy, which had “caused more battles than the old fort at Annapolis,” was overshadowed by the brandy controversy.⁵¹ The Academy question, however, had not fallen out of focus during the election but gained significant publicity through the dispute. As McCulloch informed Mitchell, the Pictou Academy was “generally reported to be the source of rupture between the Council and the Assembly. That it is one cause is certain but many others cooperate.”⁵² Indeed, the Pictou Academy question featured in every candidate’s election speech. J. L. Starr while denouncing the actions of the Legislative Assembly declined to support the Pictou Academy. Hartshorne promised his approbation of the institution but only if it was placed under the control of the Executive. Barry declared that there were two “grand questions,” which required attention, one of which, was the “unfortunate occurrences” between the Council, Assembly and the Pictou Academy. He vowed to *always* oppose the permanent endowment of the Pictou Academy for, although he supported education, he could not accept an institute which would place “the dregs of the people on level with the highest in the land.”⁵³ Mr. Archibald offered that the Pictou institute was not the leading question but “one of a more general and commanding importance,” that was the unconstitutional position of the Council.⁵⁴ While Jotham Blanchard, after highlighting that he, alongside several others in the Legislative Assembly, stood before the people as one of the “dregs” who received instruction at the Pictou Academy, pledged that his strongest wish was to secure the advantage of education for all. In his closing speech Blanchard declared that he was most anxious for the peace and happiness of Nova Scotia, and as a means to secure

⁵¹ *The Novascotian*, July 8 1830; William Baillie Hamilton, *Education, Politics and Reform in Nova Scotia 1800-1848*, 198

⁵² NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to James Mitchell, June 1 1830,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #49

⁵³ *The Novascotian*, “The County Election,” September 30 1830

⁵⁴ *The Novascotian*, “The County Election,” September 30 1830

them, advocated rational and responsible government. Through advocating for greater representation in the colony, Blanchard demonstrated that he had not only imbibed the teachings of McCulloch and his adoration for the Scottish system of education, but, as part of his campaign, had publically initiated agitation for wider political reform within the colony.

The day of the election was relatively peaceful, until the polls reached Pictou. During his address to the constitutions of Halifax, J. L. Starr declared that Pictou was an arena of dissention, and that the malignancy of local politics demonstrated that there was “little hope” for the restoration of “harmony and peace.”⁵⁵ In recognition of the Highland/ Lowland division that had been exported from Scotland, the tory candidates attempted to manipulate the emotions of the Highlanders by wearing Scottish bonnets and flaunting thistles.⁵⁶ In an editorial in the *Novascotian*, Howe observed the divide, highlighting that the Scottish Presbyterians did not share a common language and that as a consequence the Highlanders could have had “no correct knowledge” of the Council-Assembly dispute. McKenzie, in criticising Howe’s treatment of the Highlanders, contradicted his previous assertion that the Highlanders were little versed in political questions and that they looked to their ministers for advice in “temporal as well as spiritual concerns.”⁵⁷ Given that the Pictou Academy was a venture of the Lowland Scots, it served as a “magnet for old resentments,” and McKenzie used it while canvassing for the Tories to excite the indignation of the Highlanders towards the pro-Reform candidates.⁵⁸ When the poll closed, it was discovered that the Kirkmen had

⁵⁵ *Acadian Recorder*, “To the Freeholders of Halifax County signed J. L. Starr,” October 5 1830

⁵⁶ *The Novascotian*, “The County Election,” September 30 1830

⁵⁷ *The Novascotian*, “Pictou Patriots and Pictou Scribblers,” November 11 1830

⁵⁸ Alan Wilson, *Highland Shepherd: James MacGregor, Father of the Scottish Enlightenment in Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 159; *Acadian Recorder*, “Extract of a Letter – Dated Pictou, Tuesday Evening,” October 2 1830

“polled around 20 more than the old members.”⁵⁹ In consequence of the “vehement expression of fears that foul play was intended,” the poll opened again the following morning.⁶⁰

During the day, a group of sailors bearing sticks and flags with the names of the Tory candidates, marched in arms with Highlanders who were “maddened with liquor.”⁶¹ They trooped to the eastern end of the region, where the Pictou Academy stood and the open house of Smith and Blanchard was situated. From the outset, the Academy was marked for ruin and threats of arson were freely uttered. Indeed, Rev. McCulloch appealed to the Tory candidate, Barry, to disperse the armed mob to which he responded, “if you will go with me, I will try.” As McCulloch and Barry walked together, they were accosted with demands for the murder of the “Old Antiburgher.”⁶² The windows of the open house were broken, “the sails which formed part of it were torn away,” and in the midst of the chaos a Highlander beat to death a man, while several others were “badly, if not dangerously wounded.”⁶³ The *Recorder* condemned the actions of the Highlanders labelling it a “serious drawback on the character of the county.”⁶⁴ The editorial continued that “an armed mob, a murder and ministers of religion...[were] soiling spots. The latter item is every way bad for what they have degraded their character and made themselves political engines endeavouring to move congregations at the Tavern.”⁶⁵ In Scotland, the *Scotsman* printed a letter which outlined the causes of disaffection within Nova Scotia, primarily condemning the “weak-willed” missionaries of the Kirk for their support of the “iniquitous tyranny” of

⁵⁹ *The Novascotian*, “The County Election,” October 7 1830

⁶⁰ *The Novascotian* “The County Election,” October 7 1830

⁶¹ Life of Thomas McCulloch, 123

⁶² Life of Thomas McCulloch, 123

⁶³ *The Novascotian*, “The County Election,” October 7 1830; *Acadian Recorder*, “Extract of a Letter – Dated Pictou, Tuesday Evening,” October 2 1830

⁶⁴ *Acadian Recorder*, “Elections,” October 9 1830

⁶⁵ Life of Thomas McCulloch, 123; *Acadian Recorder*, “Elections,” October 9 1830

the Lord Bishop.⁶⁶ In concluding remarks, the correspondent argued that if the bishop could witness the reform movements occurring in Britain, he would have informed his “little council” that the only solution to the current situation was “amendment or revolution.”⁶⁷

Back in Nova Scotia, the Brandy Election was a victory for the pro-reform candidates, a win which the *Acadian Recorder* reported with the “warmest wishes:” Lawson gained 2,652 votes; Archibald, 2,537; Blanchard, 2,081 and Smith, 2,037. In addition to the victory and the Council passing the brandy bill, Howe’s political philosophy had changed. Initially, he had praised the Council for its unquestioned merit and ability; while condemning Pictou County as “that abode of patriots and den of radicalism – that nook where the spirit of the party sits...in order to disturb the Legislature.”⁶⁸ According to J. M. Beck, Blanchard and the Scribblers, as he called the editors of the *Patriot*, had “forced him to peer into the motive forces of Nova Scotia’s society and the more deeply he peered the less he liked what he saw.”⁶⁹ In the pages of the *Novascotian*, he wrote that the contest was closed and he was “proud and happy to say that it...ended gloriously.”⁷⁰ Aside from the violence, Howe stated that he “rejoiced that the first county of Nova Scotia [had] spoken out with decisions that cannot be misunderstood; that it has taught the minions of a vindictive and irresponsible body such a lesson as they will not soon forget.”⁷¹ The voice of the country had, Howe

⁶⁶ *The Scotsman*, “Affairs of Nova Scotia, Letter II, to the Editor of the Scotsman,” February 2 1831

⁶⁷ *The Scotsman*, “Affairs of Nova Scotia, Letter I, to the Editor of the Scotsman,” January 26 1831

⁶⁸ Joseph Howe, *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 146; W. Hamilton, *Education, Politics and Reform in Nova Scotia 1800-1848*. University of Western Ontario. MA Thesis. 1970, 210; *The Novascotian*, October 31 1833

⁶⁹ J. M. Beck, *The Politics of Nova Scotia Volume One: 1710-1896* (Tantallon: Four East Publications, 1985), 107

⁷⁰ *The Novascotian*, “The County Election,” October 7 1830

⁷¹ *The Novascotian*, “The County Election,” October 7 1830

declared, “nobly sustained the cause of rational and responsible government.”⁷² Although Beck recognised that the *Patriot* had influenced Howe’s political theory, he failed to highlight that the periodical had, through challenging the Council’s rejection of the Academy bill and using the brandy affair to expand the campaign beyond Pictou, assisted the pro-reform candidates in securing the favour of the public. Beyond this, the ideology professed through the *Patriot* by McCulloch was indebted to Presbyterian political theory and Covenanting ideology. Although a minor victory, the success of the pro-reform candidates marked the first juncture in securing greater representation within the colony.

Despite the victory of the pro-reform candidates, the election had given the adversaries of the Academy a “taste of blood” and “whetted their appetite” for more.⁷³ By February 1831, the Pictou Academy had accumulated £1,543 worth of debt, and although it had secured the £400 subsidy, at the close of the legislature no real advantage had been conferred to the institute.⁷⁴ While the Council had granted the financial allowance, the likelihood of gaining a permanent endowment remained doubtful as long as the current board of trustees remained. As a final recourse, the trustees decided to petition the King and sent “one of the pillars of the Academy,” the newly elected Blanchard, as an agent.⁷⁵ In what would be a prophetic statement,

⁷² *The Novascotian*, “The Revenue Dispute,” October 28 1830

⁷³ *The Colonial Patriot*, “Card,” February 19 1831

⁷⁴ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell, February 17 1831,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #53; JHA: January 1 1831; JHA: January 4 1831; JHA: January 6 1831; JHA: January 8 1831; NSA: “Pictou Academy Papers: A Meeting of the Trustees of the Pictou Academy transcribed by Mr. John McKinley, February 2 1831,” Reel 1 1806-1846 MFM 13279

⁷⁵ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell, Pictou, July 5 1828,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #35; NSA: “McCulloch Papers: Petition to the King of the Trustees of Pictou Academy,” MG 1 Vol. 554, # 93

McCulloch concluded that either the Council or the Academy “must go down,” there was no alternative.⁷⁶

Blanchard, on the advice of Charles Fairbanks, William Lawson, and James Foreman, left for Britain before securing the approbation of the Lieutenant Governor, Peregrine Maitland, and the Council, as was the custom for parties not connected to the colonial government wishing to contact the Imperial authorities. As such, the petition was returned to Governor Maitland for his approval. While this caused a delay in delivering the petition to Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary, it prevented the colonial authorities from crushing the bill outright. Anxious for the Governor’s response, Blanchard, in a correspondence with Mitchell, stated that he would “remain on this side of the water” in anticipation of Maitland’s response.⁷⁷ While waiting, Blanchard went to Glasgow to meet John and James Mitchell, who had arranged a gathering for him to campaign for the support of the Pictou Academy. His condemnation of ecclesiastical establishments and his defence of the loyalty of dissenters earned him a favourable reception amongst the crowd.⁷⁸ Blanchard claimed that the settlers of Nova Scotia had always claimed the most devoted attachment to their Sovereign, and had, by their “example and extensive influence contributed to the quiet and orderly and loyal deportment of His Majesty’s faithful subjects.” Indeed, in reiterating the earlier arguments of McCulloch, he claimed that support of the Pictou institute would be hailed with the “warmest gratitude and an increased attachment to His Majesty’s Government.”⁷⁹

⁷⁶ NSA: “McCulloch Papers: A Letter from Rev. Dr . Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell, February 17 1831,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #53

⁷⁷ NSA: “McCulloch Papers, A Letter from Jotham Blanchard to Rev. Mitchell,” July 5 1831

⁷⁸ *The Colonial Patriot*, “Mr. Blanchard and the Pictou Academy reprinted from The Scots Times,” January 21 1832

⁷⁹ NSA: “McCulloch Papers, Petition to the King of the Trustees of Pictou Academy,” MG 1 Vol. 554 # 93

Meanwhile, Brenton Halliburton and the Lord Bishop travelled across the Atlantic to oppose the efforts of Blanchard and the reformers. While Halliburton informed Enos Collins, his son-in-law and Councillor, of the “worrying progress of reform,” Blanchard rejoiced in the reform movements, which he believed would encourage the colonies to “wipe from their statute books even the name of the establishment.”⁸⁰ In private correspondence to McCulloch, Blanchard informed him that holy leagues had been formed and were resisting taxation until the Reform bill had passed. He continued that as a result of the established Church and the King abandoning the people, they could no longer be supported.⁸¹ The failure of the church-state, rejoiced Blanchard, meant that the establishments “political days were “drawing to a close.”⁸² As a consequence of Blanchard’s “some how [sic] or other ma[king] a strong impression,” Halliburton resolved to remain in Britain until the matter had been settled.

After receiving the petition, Lord Goderich, who sent a dispatch to Governor Maitland which stated that the Pictou Academy had caught his attention for it “seemed to be the only topic calculated to interrupt the harmony and good understanding,” which existed between the legislative branches.⁸³ He argued that unless some means be found to resolve the situation, he feared that it would “swell into an affair of some magnitude and threaten injurious consequences.”⁸⁴ Leaving little room for debate, he recommended that the Pictou Academy be endowed with permanent pecuniary aid levied from the public revenue, adding that assent should not be withheld by attempting

⁸⁰ NSA: “McCulloch Paper, A Letter from Jotham Blanchard to Rev. Thomas McCulloch, October 12 1831,” MG1 Vol. 553 #106

⁸¹ NSA: “McCulloch Paper, A Letter from Jotham Blanchard to Rev. Thomas McCulloch, October 12 1831,” MG1 Vol. 553 #106

⁸² NSA: “McCulloch Paper, A Letter from Jotham Blanchard to Rev. Thomas McCulloch, October 12 1831,” MG1 Vol. 553 #106

⁸³ JHA: Appendix No. 1 1832, Extract of a Dispatch from the Right Honourable Viscount Goderich to His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, dated Downing Street, July 20, 1831

⁸⁴ JHA: Appendix No. 1 1832, Extract of a Dispatch from the Right Honourable Viscount Goderich to His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, dated Downing Street, July 20, 1831

to annex the condition that the current board of trustees be dismissed. He concluded that the power of veto held by the Governor was sufficient to guarantee against the introduction of improper persons.⁸⁵ Where the adversaries in the colony viewed the Academy with suspicion and a breeding ground of sedition, Goderich raised no concerns over the loyalty of the inhabitants. Despite reasonable correspondence published regarding the state of the colony, there appears to have been a disconnect between Imperial rule and colonial governance. It is not unreasonable to suggest that colonial officials abused their position through using the established Church, and threats of disloyalty, to yield absolute power over God-fearing people. Indeed, the brandy dispute supports the view that the wealthy few exploited their position, and their distance from the metropole, to increase their material gain.

Where Goderich had looked to the colonial government to resolve the Pictou Academy question, Lieutenant-Governor Maitland opted instead to issue a joint letter to McCulloch and McKenzie. He stated that Goderich had expressed a “strong desire” for the termination of the differences between the two parties, in a way which may “conduce to the general harmony of the province.” In this desire, Maitland concurred and wished that they would “meet each other as to form some plan prior to the meeting of the Legislature” which would make the Pictou Academy “generally acceptable to the people.”⁸⁶ In response, McCulloch stated that he wished Maitland had ordered a course of action more likely to produce favourable results than cooperation with McKenzie.⁸⁷ Given that Maitland did not direct his instruction to the legislative government, his response can be interpreted in two ways: either he recognised that the Kirkmen’s terms

⁸⁵ JHA: Appendix No. 1 1832, Extract of a Dispatch from the Right Honourable Viscount Goderich to His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, dated Downing Street, July 20, 1831

⁸⁶ NSA: “McCulloch Papers, Sir Peregrine Maitland to Thomas McCulloch and Ken. McKenzie,” MG 1 Vol. 550 #71

⁸⁷ NSA: “McCulloch Papers, Letter from Rev. Thomas McCulloch to Sir Peregrine Maitland,” MG 1 Vol. 554 #99

would align with the Councils and the matter would be resolved, or he wished to restrict the issue to Pictou to avoid further political controversy within the colony.

On 17 March, 1832, the *Patriot* reported that there was little hope that opponents of the Academy could ever be satisfied, a statement which certainly carried truth. McCulloch pledged that if the sectarian restrictions in the Academy's Charter were removed and a perpetual grant was awarded, he would cease to teach divinity in the Academy and approve of a Grammar School run by the Trustees, providing that it was not taught within the Academy.⁸⁸ Despite McCulloch's concession, the Kirkmen and the Council continued their campaign for reform of the board of trustees. In the ultimate compromise, McCulloch agreed to reshuffle the board: composed of 13 members, it would include seven existing trustees, five named by the Governor and a Catholic bishop.⁸⁹ On the advice of the Council, the Governor appointed McKenzie, Rev. Donald Fraser, David Crichton and John McRae. Despite the removal of the sectarian restrictions, the sectarian nature of the Pictou Academy remained for all men were adherents of the Kirk, and "hated [McCulloch] with their whole heart."⁹⁰ Having satisfied the Council, the Academy was awarded an annual grant of £400, of which £250 was reserved for McCulloch's salary. McKenzie, however, succeeded in reducing McCulloch's salary by £100 for a teacher for the lower branches of education, which was authorised to be taught within the Academy.⁹¹ McCulloch wrote to Mitchell that he found it a "strange" appointment to entrust the property of the Pictou Academy to

⁸⁸ *Colonial Patriot*, March 17 1832; *Colonial Patriot*, "Objections to the Bill for Endowing Pictou Academy now before H. M. Council respectfully submitted by Rev. K. J. McKenzie, the Agent Duly Authorized by the Petitioners Against the Present Constitution and Management of the Academy," May 26 1832

⁸⁹ NSA: "McCulloch Papers, A Letter Concerning the Appointment of a Catholic Bishop," MG 1 Vol. 553 #118

⁹⁰ NSA: "McCulloch Papers, A Letter from Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell," Pictou, November 9 1833," MG 1 Vol. 553 #57

⁹¹ William Ballie Hamilton, *Education, Politics and Reform in Nova Scotia*, 219

men who sought its destruction.⁹² He soon stopped attending Board meetings unless he was obliged to do so and only answered questions put to him, for he thought it best “neither to oppose nor be opposed.”⁹³ Indeed, the early political vigor of the “old Antiburgher” had waned as his original vision for a non-sectarian university in Pictou evaporated.

The strength of the Pictou-based radicalism wavered as the opposition, despite McCulloch’s compromise, continued to mount. It became obvious, as W. B. Hamilton has observed, that two conditions were necessary before “peace could come to Pictou Academy”: the removal of McCulloch as principal and the discontinuation of the higher branches of learning.⁹⁴ “My friends are eager,” McCulloch wrote to William McCulloch, “to get me into Dalhousie College and I have said to them make anything like a reasonable offer...and I will carry on the whole system.”⁹⁵ In a private letter, McCulloch informed Mitchell that the loss of the Academy had cost him some poor prayers and some salt tears...to be in the hotbed of Toryism a Presbyterian among church bigots and a seceder among Kirk bigots is not an enviable position. But they all know pretty well that I am not easily turned aside from my purpose nor willing to be quietly trod under foot.⁹⁶ Although he would not leave the Academy until 1838, he informed William as early as 1835 that the “Academy was gone.”⁹⁷

⁹² NSA: “McCulloch Papers, A Letter from Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, November 9 1833,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #57

⁹³ William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch*, 138; NSA: “McCulloch Papers, A Letter from Thomas McCulloch to Rev. James Mitchell,” Pictou, November 9 1833,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #57

⁹⁴ William Ballie Hamilton, *Education, Politics and Reform in Nova Scotia*, 227

⁹⁵ NSA: “McCulloch Paper: A Letter from Thomas McCulloch to William McCulloch, Pictou, January 13 1835,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #114

⁹⁶ NSA: “McCulloch Papers, “A Letter from Thomas McCulloch to John Mitchell, June 1838,” MG1 Vol. 553, File 70

⁹⁷ ⁹⁷ NSA: “McCulloch Paper: A Letter from Thomas McCulloch to William McCulloch, Pictou, January 13 1835,” MG 1 Vol. 553 #114

By the close of the decade, McCulloch's campaign had failed. Despite the optimism following the success of the pro-reform candidates, the governing oligarchy remained intact and the Pictou Academy was in the hands of its adversaries. The early collapse of Pictou radicalism following the sudden death of Blanchard, and McCulloch's move to Dalhousie College, meant that much of their efforts were forgotten amidst the success story of Howe, who succeeded in securing responsible government in 1848. Through focusing on the radical democratic spirit of the *Colonial Patriot*, indebted to Presbyterian political theory and Covenanting tradition, this chapter demonstrated that McCulloch and his band of reformers played no small part in early constitutional reform. Indeed, beyond influencing Howe's political philosophy, the Pictou radicals deserve their own place in Nova Scotia's political history.

CONCLUSION

Pictou-based radicalism was revived in 2010, when Clarrie MacKinnon, Pictou East's representative in the Nova Scotian Legislature, campaigned for the recognition of the "forgotten patriot," Jotham Blanchard.⁹⁸ MacKinnon forwarded a motion, which requested that the Legislative Assembly "reflect on the contributions" of Blanchard, whose activism had influenced the political ideology of "our esteemed Joseph Howe."⁹⁹ Likewise, the recent scholarship of Valerie Wallace and the earlier work of Rev. J. P. MacPhie have all, in their effort to acknowledge the influence of McCulloch, Blanchard and the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia (PCNS) in early political reform, undermined their achievements by overextending their reach. Given that Pictou-based radicalism wilted twenty-years prior to the advent of responsible government, it is problematic to credit McCulloch and his band of reformers with securing it. This thesis has argued, however, that there exists a compromise between these claims: that McCulloch, Blanchard and adherents of the PCNS initiated the battle against unconstitutional government in Nova Scotia, and alerted the masses to the lack of equal consideration within the colony, making it "easier for [their] successors to carry the cudgels of battle."¹⁰⁰

The extensive historiography of the Pictou Academy has almost exclusively focused on McCulloch's liberal mind, and promotion of liberal education. Where this thesis did engage in a discussion regarding the curriculum of the Academy, although by no means extensive, it highlighted the connection between the Scottish system of

⁹⁸ Mr Clarrie MacKinnon, member of the Nova Scotia legislature for Pictou East requesting that Blanchard's efforts are recognised, December 8, 2010 [available online: http://nslegislature.ca/index.php/proceedings/hansard/C46/house_10dec08/#H (809); Richard H. Sherwood, *The Forgotten Patriot of Pictou* (Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press, 1982).

⁹⁹ Mr Clarrie MacKinnon, member of the Nova Scotia legislature for Pictou East requesting that Blanchard's efforts are recognised, December 8, 2010, 809

¹⁰⁰ D. A. Campbell and R. A. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A study of the Nova Scotia Scots* (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 54

education, and the influence that the Academy movement in Scotland had on altering the status of the institute: from teaching the higher branches of education to an academy. Where the Academy's failure to secure permanent pecuniary aid has been recognised, with the exception of a few works, connecting the campaign to wider, early constitutional reform has been overlooked. Although recent scholarship has started to recognise the role Blanchard, and the *Colonial Patriot*, played in agitating change, the impact of McCulloch as an active and commanding political writer has been ignored. Through supporting view that McCulloch did write often for the *Patriot*, and the unmistakable radical Presbyterian character of the periodical, this thesis proposed a reinterpretation of a well-known figure.

Through building on the work of Michael Gauvreau and Valerie Wallace the purpose of the thesis was twofold: firstly, to demonstrate that early political reform in Nova Scotia was indebted to Presbyterian political theory and Covenanting martyrdom; secondly, to argue that these ideas had been successfully exported to Nova Scotia where they were used by Scottish emigrants to stimulate early agitation against unconstitutional government. The preliminary overview of Scottish theological history intended to provide an accessible insight into early politico-religious disputes in Scotland before revealing their impact on Nova Scotia's politico-religious landscape.

As demonstrated, the Reformation in Scotland occurred more quickly and more thoroughly than in England, and as a result the Scots maintained with obstinacy the purity of their religious model, a conviction which was instilled within those who departed Scotland for Nova Scotia. Although the Kirk was theologically similar, some strains of English Protestantism, the triumph of Presbyterianism in Scotland over Episcopacy brought the two kingdoms into frequent and violent conflict. At home and in the colonies, as demonstrated by Gordon Pentland and Gauvreau, political battles

were fought across religious lines and thus, dissatisfaction with government was expressed within a shared language. As a result, McCulloch believed that he was waging a war against Anglican supremacy in Nova Scotia and through evoking the collective memory of the seventeenth century Covenanters, he found not only a means to evoke an emotional response from the Lowland Scots, but a means to justify their resistance. Although the primary characters emphasised the religiosity of their battle, this thesis has shown through engaging with sources from the colonial legislature and printed media, which provides an insight into the dispute at the civic level, the presence of Tory Kirkmen, moderate Episcopalians and the increasingly partisan role of printed media reveals the formation of early party politics.

Additionally, early nineteenth century Nova Scotia offers an excellent example of the Kirk attempting to forge a place for established Presbyterianism within the British Empire. Indeed, the Kirk's preference for an alliance with the established Church provides a neat insight into how the Scots navigated their national identities. As highlighted by Richard J. Finlay, the Scots could be loyal to both their Scottish and British identities without contradiction.¹⁰¹ They could think of themselves as Scottish when it came to connecting with a particular region and culture; while also identifying as British when it came to issues regarding empire, foreign policy and loyalty to the sovereign. The existence of concentric loyalties provides evidence as to why McCulloch felt that he had the right to criticise the colonial government, without surrendering his role within the British Empire as a loyal subject, and the Kirk's imperial ambition.

¹⁰¹ Richard J. Finlay, "Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity," in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young, *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 122

This thesis has demonstrated that, contrary to Wallace's scholarship which demands a globalised view of radical Presbyterianism, Nova Scotia, and the Atlantic colonies, require further investigation. Through uncovering a wealth of primary sources on the Pictou Academy, the thesis has scratched the surface of Nova Scotia's rich history. Indeed, as Atlantic scholarship continues to develop it will then be appropriate to draw on the existence of an informal radical Presbyterian community spanning across the British Empire. But before this can happen, scholars must first notice the importance of the maritime colonies to the larger picture. In conclusion, while the overall purpose of this thesis was to reveal the impact Scottish Presbyterian political theory had on Nova Scotia, and the impact of Covenanting martyrology, it additionally sought to strengthen the importance of Atlantic studies as a discipline. Contrary to the findings of Callum G. Brown, in his examination of the schismatic nature of Scottish religion, where he argued that it was "nothing exceptional," this thesis has revealed that this defining characteristic was extraordinary. For alongside Scottish Covenanting tradition, these defining features were exported across the Atlantic with the eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scottish diaspora to Nova Scotia, where they carved for themselves a proud place in the political and religious landscape of the province.

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