

Topic: The Forgotten Missionary, Thomas Wood

By:

Avery MacGrath Jackson

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Submitted to:

Dr. Rylan Higgins

Professor. Sara J. Beanlands

Dr. Katie Cottreau-Robins

Dr. Aaron Taylor

For my mother,
Kimberly Denise MacGrath-Jackson
(1961-2018)

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Abstract

This thesis examines the eighteenth-century Missionary Thomas Wood, the first Anglican clergyman to translate religious texts in the Mi'kmaq language. The central argument of this Theses is that Wood influenced and shaped the material landscape after moving from Halifax to Annapolis in 1764. Along with this, it argues that Wood has widely been forgotten and misrepresented due to shifts in public memory through the centuries, beginning with how members of the Anglican Church interacted after his death with religious buildings he built. This part of the thesis was inspired by John Reid's article, *The Three Lives of Edward Cornwallis*, where he demonstrates that over the centuries, each generation of people developed a new perception of the colonial leader. Along with this this thesis examines the value people gained from interacting with the material culture that Wood had a part in creating. Over the years Wood has become an apparition in an ever-changing world, this paper aims to shed light on his integral role in shaping material culture and constructing built heritage in the Annapolis Valley.

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Introduction

Nova Scotia has a long history of colonialization and missionization of European and Non-European alike. A critical part of British rule over this region was religion, namely the Church of England, which colonial forces sought to swiftly spread across the area to be part of the Anglican faith, demonstrated a population obedient to the British Crown. Missionaries were at the epicenter of spreading the gospel of the Anglican faith and had immense power and prestige when church and state were still very much connected.

Thomas Wood was one of these missionaries that travelled throughout the thirteen colonies, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Little is remembered about this colonial figure, especially during the later years once he moved permanently to Annapolis Royal in 1764.¹ This man is set apart from other missionaries because he was the first Anglican missionary to translate religious texts into the Mi'kmaw language and hold religious services. In eighteenth-century northeastern North America, Wood was a significant figurehead, but one that is now widely forgotten. Little work solely on Wood currently exists; C. E. Thomas did the most complete biography for the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (2003).

This examination of Wood's life is broken down into phases, each showing different characteristics of memorialization and attributes that have been overlooked as each generation creates their own memory. This paper examines Wood's life and impacts the material and cultural landscape spreading across three townships today in Annapolis County. The emphasis of this study is to demonstrate how the land Wood owned correlates with his missionary work, social standing, and material culture.

Over three centuries have passed since Wood directly influenced the cultural landscape of Annapolis County. The construction of Protestant places of worship was at the epicenter of

demonstrating British domination wherever they went. The churches that Wood built show us that he was much more than just a simple missionary; he actively sought to make the Anglican faith accessible to various groups living throughout the four townships of Annapolis County and in so doing changed the way people perceived the former capital, Annapolis Royal. The material culture Wood was involved in demonstrates a commodity exchange and a means to be memorialized after death.

The central argument of this Theses is that Wood influenced and shaped the material landscape after moving from Halifax to Annapolis in 1764. Along with this, it argues that Wood has widely been forgotten and misrepresented due to shifts in public memory through the centuries, beginning with how members of the Anglican Church interacted, after his death, with religious buildings he built. This argument will be explored by examining the land Wood owned in the townships making up Annapolis County, religious structures built during his time in the region, and interpretations of how public memory shifts over time. Public memory in different generations has a central role in this Theses when dealing with the legacy of Wood and monuments erected to him. In this section, comparisons are made to the eighteenth-century colonial leader and founder of Halifax, Edward Cornwallis, by analyzing John Reid's article *The Three Lives of Edward Cornwallis*.

This paper begins (Chapter 1) with a historical background of who Wood was as an individual and community leader and outlines how he interacted with the landscape around him. This section is followed by the land and churches section (Chapter 2), outlining Wood's involvement in three of the four townships in Annapolis County and the churches that relate to his missionary work. The phases of memorialization section (Chapter 3) discusses the three lives or phases of people interacting with the memory and legacy of Wood as a missionary, colonial

leader, and someone who was involved with the construction of religious structures. In the final section of this thesis, an examination of the value and material culture is made outlining the events that led to how Wood is memorialized today and the value each generation found in his memory.

1 Historical Background



Figure 1: Etching of Thomas Wood ca. 1910
Nova Scotia Historical Society

1.1 Who was Thomas Wood?

Wood was born sometime in 1711, in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and was a descendant of Scottish Quaker (Thomas 2003). Wood had five children, one son, Thomas, that predeceased him, and four daughters Judith, Jane, Lydia, and Mary. Wherever Wood went, he impacted the people and landscape around him. The Wood family was based out of New Jersey until 1751, where he had his first missionary appointment from the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) (Thomas 2003). The following year he and his family packed up, moving to the Province of Nova Scotia where he would lay the foundations for the protestant faith in the region. Wood was close with his family; his four daughters and wife stayed in New Jersey while during his career in medicine and while he studied the Anglican faith in England. Once the Wood family moved to Nova Scotia, the Wood daughters began to marry off and leave the household to start families with their spouses.

The thirteen colonies are where his life story begins as a surgeon, physician, and man of the Protestant Church. He started his early life having a career in medicine, one he practiced from New York to Philadelphia (Wall 1931, 126). His medicinal expertise led him to be recruited by New England forces in William Shirley's Regiment of Foot, who participated in the first siege of the French fortress at Louisbourg (Thomas 2003). Less than five years after he joined, Shirley's Regiment disbanded. He must have grown a distaste for the practice of medicine because less than a year after retiring from military life, he sailed to London to pursue his career in the Anglican Church (Thomas 2003).

Wood was involved with the S.P.G.; in the eighteenth century, this group controlled where missionaries were sent, and a missionary required their permission before transferring to a different missionary site. It appears Wood became extremely tired of his work in New Brunswick, as he petitioned the society to be transferred to Halifax in 1751 (Thomas 2003). He hastily moved to the city the following year without receiving approval from the S.P.G. to move, only Cornwallis, who was Governor of Halifax at the time (Thomas 2003). For Wood to only obtain the permission of Cornwallis not only demonstrates his eagerness to leave New Brunswick, New Jersey but also shows which entity's word he regarded more. Wood soon became dissatisfied with this placement at St. Paul's as well, as he shortly after moved to Annapolis Royal. Wood did not receive the post of Rector of St. Paul's that he initially hoped for (Thomas 2003). He had to settle for the placement of Vicar under the authority of Rector John Breynton (Thomas 2003). Therefore, the motivation for him moving to Annapolis from Halifax appears to be a mixture of personal and work-related issues in his placement at St. Paul's Anglican Church.

While working as a missionary in Nova Scotia for the S.P.G., Wood became close with the French priest Pierre Maillard, as they both shared interest in the Mi'kmaq language (Thomas 2003). Before moving to Annapolis permanently in 1765, Wood translated many religious texts, including the Book of Common Prayer, into Mi'kmaq and held Anglican church services in the language (Thomas 2003). He was among the first religious officials and the first Anglican missionary to learn, preach, and translate religious texts into Mi'kmaq. Wood's work with the Mi'kmaq language was sent to England, where it was never published and is still believed to be in the archives in London.²

Before being stationed in Halifax, he left his mission in New Brunswick because the inhabitants did not build him a place for him to stay.³ In a letter to the S.P.G., he writes, "A change to either place would be welcomed; any place where I can breathe fresh air with freedom I must prefer to a Jail (New Brunswick)."⁴ It appears that in multiple instances that if an appointment were not to Wood's standards, he would petition to leave or leave without the approval of the S.P.G.

It appears that Woods's skills were not appreciated to their full potential in Halifax and that he had an opportunity to have a more empowering position stationed at Fort Anne in Annapolis Royal where he would have full authority over church matters and autonomy in spreading the Anglican faith across the region.⁵ On several occasions, Wood visited Annapolis before settling permanently; he first saw the area in 1753 and later in 1762-63 (Pascoe 1910, 113). One of Wood's most apparent draws to come to this area was the lack of religious infrastructure that enabled locals to practice their faith in public. The only place where worship was taking place during this time was in the first St. Paul's at Fort Anne.⁶ During his last visit, he

was scouting out the area when he wrote to the S.P.G. "(I found) more than 800 souls, without either Church or Minister" (Pascoe 1910, 113).

Soon after arriving, he received large amounts of land from the Crown and strategically purchased land from other settlers. Due to his position in the church, he was given considerably large plots of land from the Crown, specifically in Wilmot Township. It was common for people of notability to receive more extensive, substantial land plots, depending on what they did for the Crown and how prominent a person they were. The earliest grant was in the Wilmot Township. In the eighteenth century, under British Rule of Annapolis County, the region was broken up into four distinct districts: the Annapolis, Clements, Granville, and Wilmot Townships. Wood personally owned land in the Annapolis, Granville, and Wilmot Townships, over his lifetime, amassing parcels that would account for over 3280 acres.⁷ He was also part of a 65,000-acre grant in the Annapolis Township that was given up as the terms of the agreement were not met.⁸

Settlers in Annapolis County were not just living in Annapolis; they were spread out among the four townships, living and cultivating on the lands they bought or were given by the Crown. In the eighteenth century, the total number of people living in Annapolis did not add up to 800 people; most people lived spread out amongst the municipalities' four townships. Likely, these people Wood refers to were not just in the town of Annapolis as there was already a Church in the area (the first St Paul's). In referring to the "800 souls without Church or Minister," Wood was therefore likely identifying people in areas outside Annapolis Royal around the places he petitioned the Crown for land.

Wood's family had immense power during the eighteenth century as leaders of their community. He was head of the Church for this region, and his son-in-law William Shaw was head of the 47th regiment, colonel of militia, and elected member of the House of Assembly

(Calnek 1972, 338; Moody 2014, 48). Being a figurehead for the Church of England at this time was one of the most powerful positions someone could have in Nova Scotia, as it was the state church of Province, and being Anglican allowed you to vote (Moody 2014, 37). When there was a conflict with enemy forces in the area, people turned to Wood's family for help. When American rebels in armed resistance were causing havoc on British forts and territory, Wood and his son-in-law petitioned Halifax for money to aid in defense against their neighbours (Moody 2014, 48). Wood was a prominent figure in Annapolis and someone that people respected for his role in the church and as a wealthy landowner. Wood and his family members were members of society the civilians of Annapolis looked up to, for support and guidance, especially in uncertain times when rebels were terrorizing communities around the region.

In Annapolis, the Church of England preceded Wood, going back to 1710 to when the first Anglican service was held at Fort Anne, at the first St. Paul's (Duffus 1982, 135). Once in Annapolis, he was given the title of Deputy Chaplain to the Garrison and stationed at the first St. Paul's Church on Fort Anne.⁹ A few years after being stationed here and working at this church, Wood began to officiate regular services in a rented space, no longer holding services at the Fort (Moody 2014, 37). In 1775, less than three years before Wood's death, he founded the first St. Luke's in Annapolis and that same year established a church in the Granville Township, on the northern side of the Annapolis River.¹⁰

It is hard to say how a missionary's impact can be measured, whether it be by the content of teaching, number of people converted, or religious structures constructed. Wood always impacted the landscape around him and was strategically situated in places throughout Nova Scotia's landscape that he and the S.P.G. believed could benefit from a more prominent Protestant presence. One can learn about Wood's impacts on the material landscape by

examining the land he owned, did missionary work on, and built places of worship. Religion during Wood's time played a critical part in people's everyday lives, and identity was centered around what religion and allegiance they had. The British had hopes that placing people with strong Anglican faiths across the province would promote British customs and civility (Plank 1988, 54). Wood being stationed in Annapolis Royal suggests that there was little religious infrastructure besides the old St Paul's church at Fort Anne and that there were many citizens without an accessible religious leader. Although there was a presence of the Anglican Church in Annapolis since 1710, there was infrequent religious leadership until Wood's devoted appointment in the 1760s (Moody 2014, 37).

One way people's beliefs are expressed is through the construction of religious structures. These churches are imbued with meaning, and their location in respect to Annapolis Royal shows the way people perceived a town center. Early meeting houses served as a symbol of settlement of a given area and were among the first structures built in these newly settled communities (Wood 1997, 38). Before constructing community buildings such as churches outside of the town, it was common for people to live within a settlement like Annapolis Royal and commute out to their lands elsewhere in the county. This was due to the belief held by early members of the Church of England that society and civility may dissolve without proper structure in the new country (Wood 1997, 38). As a result, people were initially expected to live in previously settled towns and commute to their lands. The erection of churches in the late eighteenth-century Annapolis County represents a shift in how people perceived the notion of what a town was and illustrates the spread of the Anglican faith to the far reaches of the municipality.

After Wood's death, people in Annapolis County appear to have become spiritually lost as there was no other Anglican minister stationed to take his place, and the religious buildings Wood began were not finished (Moody 2014, 59). Much of the material culture Wood attempted to construct went unfinished until after the American War of Independence. Both the first St. Luke's and the churches built in the Granville Township in 1775 were not finished until after Wood's death. The main cause for the churches in the Granville and Annapolis Townships going into a poor state was due to a shortage and increased expense in wood and other building materials, a result of the demands of the American Revolutionary War.¹¹ The American Revolution and low morale among Annapolitans appear to have had catastrophic effects on the construction of churches.

2 Land and Churches

2.1 Property in Clarence

The community of Clarence is in what was once known as Wilmot Township. Clarence was first known as the "Back Settlement" due to its location North of an earlier settlement along the Annapolis River (Marshall 1990, 23). This back settlement appears to have been secluded from the nearest inhabitants of Paradis Terrestre, having roads that were fit only for foot traffic or horseback riding (Marshall 1990, 23). Paradis Terrestre, now known as Paradise, was originally given its name by the Acadian settlers of the area and translated to "land close to God" (Paradise Women's Institute 1991, 1). People travelling to Clarence during Wood's time would have had to go through Paradise as it had the only road going North towards the community.

Clarence's earliest granted lands appear on Charles Morris's Map of the Wilmot Township dated 1765, including parcels 9 – 30 parcel 9 – 12 are those granted to Wood (see Figure 2).¹² This map puts the previously recorded grant date of 1767 at the Nova Scotia Land Registration Office back by two years and makes it among the first parcels for Wood to receive in Annapolis County.¹³ Each lot of land was divided into 500-acre sections; the average farmer received one or perhaps two if they were lucky.¹⁴

Additionally, Wood received four of these parcels bringing the land he owned in the Wilmot Township to 2000-acres. The land grants directly west of Woods were just as extensive: Walter Willet (1900-acres), Capt. Joshua de St. Croix and 12 other loyalist soldiers (Marshall 1990, 1,18). These parcels were not issued until 1784, when they were given the land for their efforts in the American War of Independence fighting for the British (Marshall 1990, 18).

The parcels of land that Wood owned are important because he is recorded as owning this land less than a year after moving permanently to Annapolis Royal in 1764. These grants looked

vastly different from today; all these lands were covered with old-growth forests that these settlers were instructed to clear (Marshall 1990, 6). These early inhabitants were not just given land; the Crown expected them to clear a percentage of their land each year. Hence within a few years of people living in the back settlement, the forest was substantially reduced (Marshall 1990, 6). The clearing of the land paved the way for fertile cash-cropland (Marshall 1990, 6).

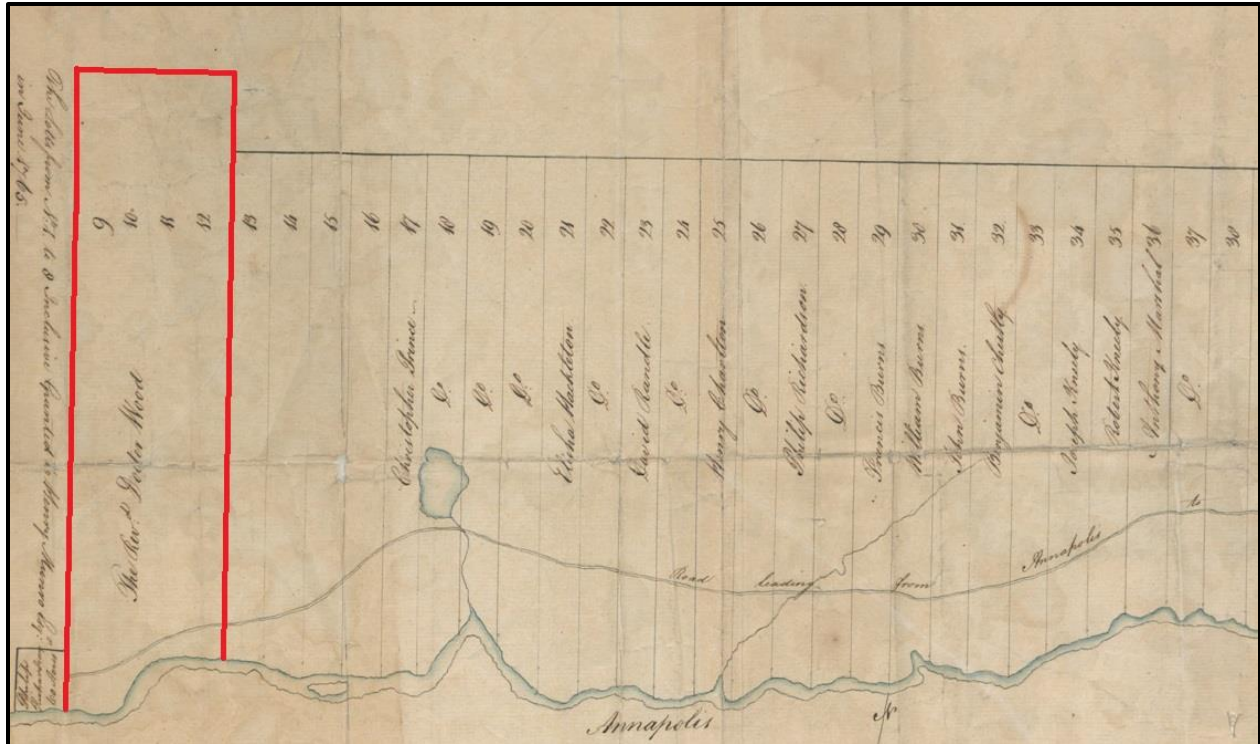


Figure 2: Charles Morris Map of the Wilmot Township 1765, showing first grantees of the land where Clarence is, section outlined in red is 2000-acre plot Thomas Wood received, each section in 500-acres. Nova Scotia Archives

Wood’s land grants in Clarence stretched from the top of the mountain on the northern boundary to the Annapolis River in the south. His land's southern boundary was just past Leonard Road, the road used to travel to Clarence and the Eastern boundary of Paradise. On February 2, 1778, Wood sold all 2000 acres in Wilmot Township to William Marshall (Marshall 1990, 34). Two months after the sale, Wood’s wife, Mary Myers, died (Thomas 2003). On December 14th of the same year, Wood himself passed away, making these parcels the longest-held pieces of land in Annapolis County that he owned. Today, if one were to travel from this

area to Annapolis Royal, it would take roughly 25 minutes. In Woods time, it would have taken a matter of hours traveling either on horseback or by boat along the Annapolis River. It would not have been an easy job traveling through vast forests and crossing the Annapolis River. Although the parcels granted to Wood would have been difficult to get to from Annapolis, they were among the assets that he possessed for the longest period.

The parcels of land Wood owned in Clarence have many unique features that are still visible today, some being a church and dwelling foundation with eighteenth-century roots. Directly east of the Clarence Church property is a residential parcel that Wood also owned. Oral tradition from the area states that an early cellar from a house built by the first inhabitants was situated between the current home (built 1813) and the road (see Figure 3) (Marshall 1990, 34). If Wood had a missionary site on his land in Clarence, it is probable that this foundation is of a dwelling Wood lived in during his time in the Wilmot Township.

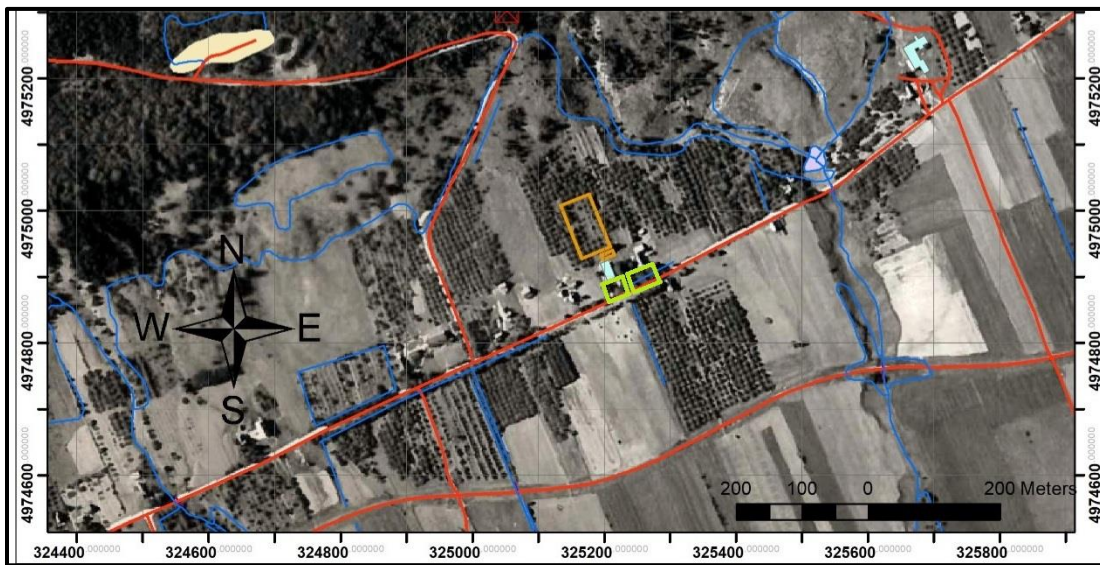


Figure 3: GIS work using aerial photo map from 1945. Green areas outlining area of high potential for early church foundation (left) and dwelling foundation (right). Nova Scotia Lands and Forestry

Since Wood was so involved with missionary work and the Anglican Church, it is very probable that he had practiced his missionary work in this area. One of the most compelling features to support this claim is an early church previously believed to be built in 1810, near the

western boundary of his land parcel and one of the earliest building structures less than fifty meters east. Now known as the Clarence United Baptist Church, this church was built in 1854, over 75 years after Wood's death, by a local carpenter Charles B. Clark. He modeled some architectural elements after the original structure (Pacey 1983, 59-61). Church records do not exist from the year of construction on the current building, the reason for the lack of church records for this time is "that the time usually spent in praise and prayer of a Saturday afternoon was spent in work on the new (1853) building" (Leonard 1960, 9). The lack of records extends much further than this and applies to the original building on the site.

Near to the current structure once stood a smaller meeting house, said to be built in 1810 (Leonard 1960, 8). Although people use the date of 1810 as the construction date, it is just a guess because it is the year when a religious organization is listed in the deeds. The "Wilmot and Upper Granville Baptist Church Organization" is listed as being the name on the first deed when the land was explicitly for a religious building. Early documents for this religious group are held at Acadia University and do not exist before 1827.¹⁵ Annapolis County and the Nova Scotia Land Registry have recorded the construction dates on all properties built pre-1914 in a database located at the Macdonald Museum, Middleton. It is common for these records to be inaccurate as they list the date when there is a record of a building being on the site. These records do not date buildings based on architectural styles common for different periods nor buildings that were built without land surveys. It is not uncommon for community buildings such as churches to be built on the land and later have a piece subdivided for them years after their construction. The first Clarence church is known by community members as existing in 1810, but in the database is listed as the property not being owned by a religious group until "sometime before 1827"

(Leonard 1954, 3)¹⁶ The previously held date of 1810 cannot be given with confidence when religious practices began on this property.

There is only one known description of what this earlier structure that preceded the present Clarence Church looked like.

The old Church at Clarence was rather plain, rather longer than wide, sat sidewise to the road (East to West), with two doors in the east end, and the pulpit between the two entrances. The pulpit was high, the pastor well shut-in with doors; the pews were also high and fitted with doors (Jackson 1910, 14).

This old meeting house was originally known as the 'North Meeting House' and was among the oldest meeting houses in the Wilmot Township (Jackson 1910, 14). This description is useful in understanding the influences the builders had. One characteristic of early Protestant churches in Annapolis County is that they all face east to west, such as Old Holy Trinity Church built 1789 in Middleton, St. Luke's in Annapolis, Christ Church Karsdale and All Saints, Granville Centre. Some of the earliest Anglican churches in Nova Scotia are situated throughout Annapolis County, showing early strong ties with the faith. A high pulpit with doors is a characteristic of some of the earliest Anglican churches in Nova Scotia, a characteristic that extends to this first church on Wood's land (Jackson 1910, 14). The 'Meeting House' style of church has its origins with the Dissenter populations who settled in the area between 1760 and 1776, the years in which Wood was in the County and is said to have constructed his churches (Duffus 1982, 18). These buildings were much more than just a church; they were where people gathered to discuss daily matters (Pacey 2020, personal communication). The Meeting House style of building on this site suggests that it was constructed during Wood's time here and had Congregational ties.

Congregationalism is intricately linked with the settlement of North America; it is the oldest and largest form of Protestantism practiced by New England settlers who eventually

settled in Nova Scotia (Bendroth 2015, 1-6). The religious form was brought to Annapolis by the New England settlers in the 1760s, who governed their own teaching and had no overseeing body to govern them (Bendroth 2015, 7). Being congregational means not being strongly tied with the Church of England but rather the independent views of the preacher (Duffus1982, 18-19). One teaching that was common amongst this group was tracing their ancestries back to the Pilgrim and Puritan populations in New England (Bendroth 2015, 7). With the dawn of the American Revolution, many Congregationalists sympathized with the revolutionaries and their ministers, leading to an influx of many settlers migrating back to New England, leading to many churches being taken over by Baptists or Presbyterians (Duffus1982, 18). Congregationalism paved the way for a new type of religious self-governance and led to many of these meeting houses pre-dating the Baptist congregations that would later take over the buildings.

Little remains of this original structure; it was moved around the time of the construction of the current building onto the Leonard road, where it was used as a workshop and in the last 50 years of... was burned (see Figure 4).¹⁷ This meeting house's contents were brought over into the current building, where they are today. Among these religious artifacts are early kneeling benches, a pulpit, and a pewter vessel for serving communion. Kneeling benches are not part of Baptist religious practices; a church of this faith that is previously believed to have always been on this site. However, kneeling benches are commonly found in the Anglican Church, to which Wood belonged and did missionary work. To date, the wooden pulpit, dendrochronology methods were going to be employed, but the wood samples from the artifact were too small. Although this could not be used, the production method, type of wood, and growth speed were found. The pulpit's lumber was made on a vertical sawmill, corresponding to the design of the first sawmills in the area and used throughout the eighteenth century (Phillips 2020, personal

communication). Along with this, it was made from white spruce and had ample space to grow, suggesting that there were few trees around it to block the sunlight (Phillips 2020, personal communication). The wood having large growth rings makes sense as many trees were being cleared off the various land grants during the time.



Figure 4: Image of Clarence looking South. Red area circled on the left is where the current Church (built 1853) is located and where the Meeting House was moved from. Area on top right circled in yellow is the area on the Leonard Road it was moved. Source Benjamin Leonard

It was common practice for these early Anglican missionaries to live near Annapolis Royal and do missionary work on the lands they owned in remote communities. This was the case for the prominent figure Rev. Thomas Handley Chipman, who was an Anglican clergyman stationed at Annapolis during the same time as Wood (Elliott 1909, 8). Chipman even has the neighboring community of Mount Hanley named in honor of him and his missionary work in the area (Elliott 1909, 8). Although Clarence is not named after Wood, the memory of him owning land has stayed in people's minds for over 200 years. When children in the community were taught how long a mile is, the teachers used the distance (east to west) of Woods land grant along the road (Marshall 1990, 37). Measuring a mile using Wood's land grant width was passed down from one generation to the next.

2.2 Annapolis Township

Anyone traveling throughout the county in the Planter Period would have gone through this township. The epicenter of Wood's activities was situated in Annapolis Township, the oldest township in the municipality (Calnek 1972, 145). This township stretches from Annapolis Royal, south of the Granville and Wilmot Townships, and along the Annapolis River. During the mid- to late-eighteenth century, the leading figures of Annapolis Royal were the Church of England leaders and Fort Anne's top-ranking officials. The Town of Annapolis was not just the seat of Wood's power in the region; it was a power center for the British colony. The settlement is strategically positioned along with the mouth of the Annapolis River, and its advantageous location was acknowledged through further development by every group to use it, including the Mi'kmaq, French, Scottish, and English

Before moving to Annapolis permanently, Wood visited Annapolis on multiple occasions in 1753 and 1762-63 (Pascoe 1910, 113). He was likely appointed there on orders from the S.P.G. in the same year as his first visit; Wood was appointed Chaplain of the garrison.¹⁸ This meant that he was stationed initially at the first St Paul's in Annapolis while still being Vicar of St. Paul's in Halifax. The status of a church leader and successful missionary allowed him to amass a considerable amount of land during his years in Annapolis County.

The oldest land grant Wood received appears to be one he applied for in 1759 and received the following year with 18 other shareholders (Calnek 1972, 196). This grant covered 65,000 acres in total and had the condition that five grantee's families had to be settled there before the end of May in 1760 (Calnek 1972, 197). This grant was forfeited because the terms of the grant were not fulfilled. As Wood was not stationed in this region permanently until four years later and he had land elsewhere in the county, he would have been one of the grantees that led to this grant's demise. It is not until 1765 that there is a record of Wood keeping land in any

Annapolis County townships. For a man of Wood's social standing to not own land in a community he lived in would have impacted his status, as other high-status people in the region had large bountiful plots of land. The land was directly associated with personal wealth; the more you had, the higher status you held. Some of the largest plantation owners in Wood's time included the Payson, Rice, Sanders, Wheelock, Whitman, and Whinniett families, all of whom had slaves or Acadian servants (Calnek 1972, 156). For these families to have servants demonstrates that they had high status in society and had amassed considerable personal wealth.

Wood took on a leading church role in Annapolis by his late fifties. The first census record of Wood in Annapolis is from 1768, which records that there were two males and two females in his household, two of whom were American and two English (Calnek 1972, 154). It is probable that the individuals included Wood, his wife Mary Myers, one of their daughters, and his spouse. Wood and all his children were born in the thirteen colonies but had Scottish ancestry, his wife's origin is unknown, and the daughter that was living with them, Jane, married William Shaw, born in either Scotland or England.¹⁹ Along with the people on this census, two horses, one cow, and a young calf are recorded (Calnek 1972, 154). Having livestock means that Wood had an established homestead in the region, having enough space to pasture and feed all four of these animals. The possession of horses supplied Wood with an efficient mode of transportation between his other granted lands in Annapolis County.

Two years later, in the census of 1770, Wood is recorded as the head of a household containing five individuals, one Acadian and four Scots (Calnek 1972, 156). It is unknown why the family's self-identification changed from English and American to Scottish, though perhaps this is a sign of Wood embracing his family's Scottish roots. The four settlers listed here included Wood, his wife Mary, and two others, most likely one of their daughter's and their

spouse as by 1768, all of his daughters had been married off, and there is no record of his children and their spouses elsewhere.²⁰ The intriguing thing about this census is the listing of one Acadian in the household, a servant to the Wood's (Moody 2014, 41). These Acadians listed in the families households in many cases outnumber the amount of people of British decent, in a time when the Acadians have already been deported out of the region, suggesting that they were workers for the family. Having people in the one's household was common for the wealthier residents in Annapolis County.

In a similar case to the Wood household, Joseph Winniett's household is stated as having ten Acadians and himself, he and his family were known to have slaves and servants that lived on the estate with them (Calenk 1972, 156; Moody 2014, 41). One way of telling the difference between the slaves and servants on the census is if the person was a slave, their presence was listed in the household, but not in the section listing their ethnicity; this is evident by how in the Winniett household, there is listed as being 12 people in the house and the identity is only given to 11 of them (Calenk 1972, 156). Slaves in Annapolis were treated more like possessions than humans (Moody 2014, 41). With the Acadian Deportation and the seizing of their property, the British government enacted a law where the overseers of the poor could "employ" Acadian's, bind them out or look after Acadian families; generally, they ended up as indentured servants (New England Historical Society 2020, 1). Due to the Acadians having most of their possessions seized by the British and having few means of supporting themselves, many Acadians were left in a position with very few options (New England Historical Society 2020, 1).

Along with recording household members, the census recorded how many acres of land each family-owned in Annapolis and the surrounding area; Wood is listed as having 500-acres

(Calnek 1972, 156). This census appears to only record the land currently lived on because Wood owned more substantial acreage in the neighboring townships.

Before Wood was appointed Chaplain of the Garrison Fort, no Anglican Church leader was stationed there, and services were few and far between (Moody 2014, 37). The lack of Anglican services and the opportunity to spread the gospel would have been a draw for both Wood and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to station him there. Wood is described as “the oldest and most successful missionary of the Anglican Church in Acadia, in the eighteenth-century” (Nova Scotia Historical Society 1910, 80). When Wood first arrived in Annapolis, he was stationed at the Garrison Fort as St. Paul’s Church, built by the French during their occupation of Fort Anne.²¹ By the time Wood permanently moved to Annapolis, there was still no building built by the Anglican Church. For Wood, his success and mission appear to have been to construct churches for the Church of England.

Wood sought to give an Anglican Church to the town and move services off Fort. Regular services at this structure on the Fort ended soon after Wood’s arrival, being moved to a Merchants Store that the Annapolis people financed in Town.²² Holding services in this store can best be understood in a letter to the S.P.G. from Wood:

Halifax, July 30, 1764

The people contributed to have a Merchants Store in which they have put up a small desk and laid rough boards across the room so that it contains about 100 persons. I officiated in it all last winter. But I fear when I return, I shall have an audience of some hundreds in the street more than the place can contain. Therefore, I intend to move my desk near to the door so that those in the street can hear as well as those within...²³

A Census from around the time Wood moving to Annapolis records only about 240 people out of a total of 1000 living throughout the four townships lived in Annapolis Royal (Statistics of Canada 1876, 61). These statistics show the demographics of the region and have been a means of tracking the progression of urbanization in this region of Nova Scotia. Wood

sought to show the strength and expansion of the Anglican faith by constructing a new wooden structure. The ultimate demonstration of the Anglican church was becoming a reality. In 1775, Wood petitioned the S.P.G. for between £120 and £130, which would suffice in constructing the new church frame.²⁴ He sweetened this proposition by stating that the local congregants would complete it by their own means.²⁵ Barry Moody has compiled an extensive amount of research on Annapolis Royal and its eighteenth-century inhabitants in his book *A History of Annapolis Royal. Volume 2: 1749-2005* he notes that in 1775, £160 was gathered for the construction of the first St. Luke's. These funds likely came from a mixture of pledges from people in the town and the S.P.G. This building was not a small country church; it was large and took into consideration the large congregation Wood had amassed throughout his time there. The building was roughly 60 feet wide by 80 feet long and situated East to West facing St George St (see Figure 5 & 6).



Figure 5: Pan of the Glebe Land in Annapolis Royal. The first St. Luke's is outlined in red, south of St, George Street. Annapolis Heritage Society

Wood and his appointment to Annapolis County are intertwined with glebe land, land that was owned initially by the church. Glebe lands were spread throughout Nova Scotia; the

ones under discussion here were in the center of Annapolis, along the shore, and were rented out to local tenants until the mid-nineteenth century, when the church began to sell them (Annapolis Royal 2021, 1). The first record of Wood's involvement with the glebe land was in 1755 when he charged over 15 Annapolitans an average of 12 shillings in annual rents for having their homes and lands they use on Church land.²⁶ Along with these annual rents, each individual was instructed to pay 20 shillings in back rent for having dwellings on these lands.²⁷ These rents were to be paid every year in quarterly payments to Wood.²⁸ Eventually, the church he strived to have built in town was constructed on these glebe lands (Moody 2014, 37). The first St. Luke's in today's landscape would have been on the vacant plot where the summer markets in Annapolis are.

There is little information regarding the church that stood on these Glebe Lands. Lieutenant Richard Williams's watercolor image in 1775 is the only image known to exist of what the church looked like. This image, painted from a ship in the Annapolis Basin, faces

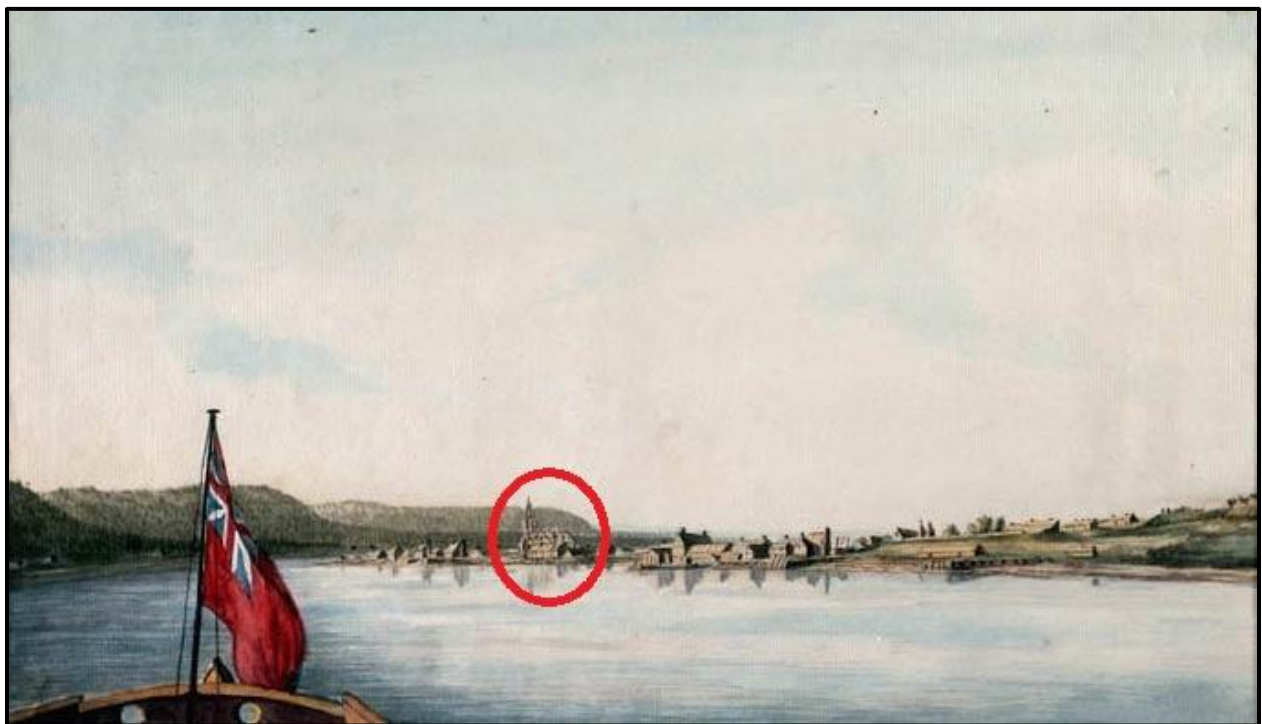


Figure 6: View of Annapolis taken the 15th Sept. 1775, Watercolour with ink border on laid paper by Lt. Richard Williams. Red circle outlines Woods Church in Annapolis Royal, under construction. Nova Scotia Art Gallery

northeast. On the left is the first St. Luke's; it stands twice as tall and is larger than any other structure in the town. It is clear from this image that the church only has its rugged frame, and it is not sided in. Because of this, and the positioning of Wood's church on William's map and the description given in the archives, we know that this is Wood's church. Rather than build a smaller structure that was less fancy, Wood opted to have a rough framed-in building with a large steeple and a bell (see Figure 6).²⁹

Wood never got to see this building project through to its completion; with complications in the procurement of timber and funds, it was still missing most of its walls upon his death in 1778.³⁰ Without boxed-in walls, it would not have been warm enough in the winter months. Services were, therefore, likely still held in a rented store while the building was being completed as the building was not yet fit for use. Wood preached in Annapolis until his death and did not live to see the building finished nor it is officially opened. It was not until his successor Rev. Jacob Bailey was stationed here in 1782 that the building was formally opened (Calnek 1897, 43). Even under Bailey's leadership, the building was not completed until 1789, leaving the building's frame exposed to the elements for over several years and led to many structural problems (Calnek 1897, 43).³¹ Wood's structure did not even last 50 years after his death; it was soon torn down after the roof caved in one winter and a smaller St. Luke's, still extant today, was constructed.³² The building seemed to be much larger than what the Town of Annapolis needed and could afford to maintain.

In December 1778, Wood sold off his land parcels in the Annapolis Township and surrounding areas just months before the death of both him and his wife. From these grants and his letters to the S.P.G., we can learn a lot about Wood and his family's movement throughout Nova Scotia. It appears that Wood made frequent trips in the winter months to Halifax, leaving

Annapolis without a minister for weeks on end.³³ Upon selling a parcel of land in the township to John Winslow, January 1778, he used the title of ‘Vicar of Saint Paul’s in Halifax’ and stated that he was currently residing in Annapolis with his wife.³⁴ It is unusual that he would give himself this title rather than Chaplain of the Garrison Fort if he still did not have the title. This evidence suggests that Wood spent most of the winter months in Halifax, leaving Annapolis without a minister for weeks at a time. The evidence to support this being letters sent to the S.P.G. and deeds written while in Halifax. In one deed from 1778, rather than state he is living in Annapolis Royal, he states that he is of Halifax, Province of Nova Scotia.³⁵ This information suggests that Wood not only travelled between Annapolis and Halifax, frequently leaving Annapolis without a minister and living in Halifax for lengthy periods of time.

Wood was likely settling his affairs as he was in his late 60’s and knew that he and his wife were both in poor health. Between January and April of 1778, they had returned to Annapolis because his wife Mary died in the fourth month of that year in Annapolis. By this time, all of Wood's daughters were married to respectable eighteenth-century society members. Rather than keep the material assets, he chose to sell them off and leave the money to his heirs. It was not only the land grants in the Annapolis Township that Wood sold that year but several grants that Wood acquired in the Granville Township³⁶.

2.3 Granville Township

Granville Township runs north of Annapolis Township and West of Wilmot Township and includes the lands where the Habitation and trading post were situated. Wood did not just preach to the people in Annapolis; he made trips to the outskirts of the neighboring townships spreading the Anglican Church's word. Many settlers did not live in Annapolis; about 80 to 85 percent of the population lived elsewhere in the county (Armstrong & Wagner 2000, 18). In the

early years of Wood’s chaplaincy of the Fort before 1755, many Catholic Acadian settlers lived in Granville Township to whom Wood preached to and attempted to convert.³⁷ Even after the Acadian expulsion, there was a need for missionary work to be done on the outskirts of the Township lands.

The land Wood owned in Granville Township accounts for the most considerable number of parcels he held. The first record of Wood owning land here is in a deed where he was selling a 500-acre tract of the Belle Isle marsh (Lot 89) to John Davis in January 1769.³⁸ Little is known about Wood’s time in the Granville Township between 1769 and 1773. However, the following year was one of the most important during his time there, as most parcels bought by Wood in this township occurred in 1774.

Wood was remarkably busy in 1775, and this is when his involvement with constructing material culture begins to take shape. Along with building the first English church in Annapolis Royal, Wood founded a church in Lower Granville, on the site where a later church, built in 1791, stands (Calnek 1897, 43). There are two religious’ sites in the Granville Township that fit Calnek’s description of “A church in Lower Granville...built by Mr. Wood in 1775”. The church



Figure 7: Christ Church ca. 1791, in Karsdale (Lower Granville) built by Charles Inglis replacing a previous structure. Avery Jackson 2021

now (1911) standing there was built in Granville 1791, Christ Church in Karsdale (Figure 7) and All Saints in Granville Centre (Figure 8) both fit this description.³⁹ Located in Karsdale (Lower Granville) is Christ Church, built around 1791; before having this name, it was known as St. Paul's Church (Rice 2013, 47). This is unique as this was the name of the first church in Annapolis at which Wood preached and the name of the church he was stationed at in Halifax. It is likely that the name St. Paul's represents the ties it had to Wood and the first church on the site. In research done while completing this thesis finding the church built in 1791 was considerably narrowed as this is the only location in Lower Granville that there has been an Anglican Church. In 1775, Wood purchased around 18 parcels of land in the Lower Granville area of the Granville Township from a Johnathan Woodberry; these parcels add up to roughly 1080 acres.⁴⁰

Putting an Anglican Church in this area was a strategic decision and would help ensure that people on the outskirts of Annapolis maintained a strong Protestant faith. It was a long journey



Figure 8: All Saints Church, Granville Centre built 1791 replacing structure built in 1775, moved to Louisiana in 2015. Denise Rice 2009

for people to travel from this area to Annapolis Royal for worship every Sunday; having a religious structure in Lower Granville would strengthen people's faith, create stronger ties to British control and suppress anti-British sentiments. When Wood first arrived, many Acadians were living in hamlets here, along with many Mi'kmaq people, along the shores of the Annapolis River. Surrounding the church are multiple eighteenth-century grave markers, some predating the construction of this church. Another clue that suggests a previous structure on this site is that several artifacts belonging to the church predate Christ Church's construction, such as a large bible from 1775.

Charles Inglis, the first Anglican Bishop in North America, is responsible for the current church's commissioning. It is unusual that the present church would be built just over 15 years after Wood supposedly constructed the first one. Much like the first St. Luke's in Annapolis, it is likely that Wood's Church in Lower Granville suffered the same fate of delayed construction. Given the few years, it took for Inglis to commission the current structure, the original building of Wood's must have been in disrepair and no longer suited the needs of the congregation.

Some of the most important discoveries regarding Wood's land in Granville Township involve Lot 70 from William Shaw and Lot 71 from Peleg Little in 1774 (see figure 9).⁴¹ These

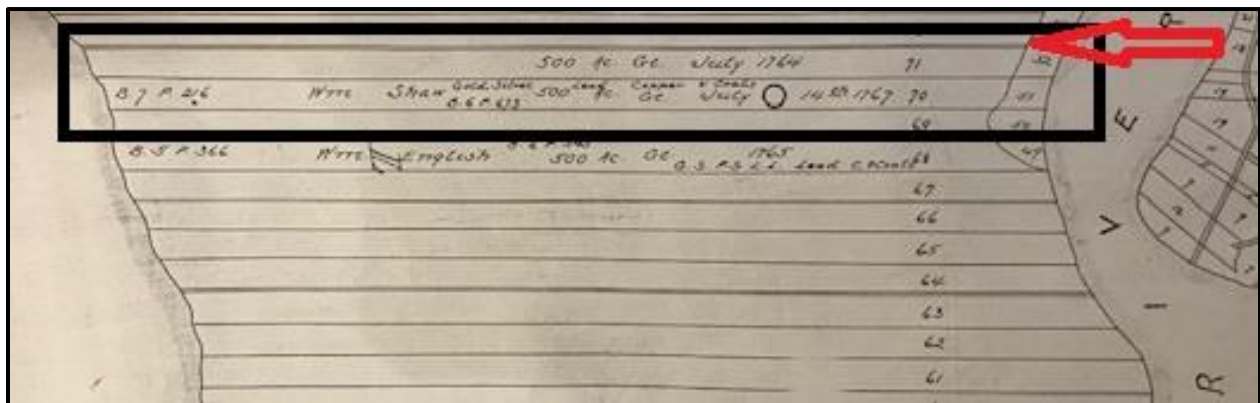


Figure 9: Land Grants in Granville Centre that Wood bought. Highlighted by the black square are Lots 70 & 71. Road to the East of the grants marked by red arrow. North Mountain is to the left and Annapolis River to the right. Source Annapolis Heritage Society

grants are for 500-acres each and are in the present community of Granville Centre. At first glance, these parcels do not look like they would have anything to do with Wood's land closer to Karsdale. However, when Wood purchased the 500-acre tract from Shaw, he did so in the same transaction as the 500-acre plot he bought from Johnathan Woodberry in Lower Granville, meaning that they occurred on the same date and added up to 1000-acres in total.⁴² In total, Wood owned over 2500 acres in Granville Township.

Lot 70 and 71 in Granville Centre happen to be the location of another Anglican Church, All Saints, also established in 1791 by Inglis (Figure 8). These grants are listed are easy to track as just East of them is a road running North to South from the road to the Bay of Fundy (see Figure 9 & 10). It does not appear to be a coincidence that Wood owned many parcels of land throughout the Townships of Annapolis County that contained churches on them. The number of churches that are constructed on land he once owned or was affiliated with is not just a coincidence. It is likely that Wood also constructed a church or meeting house on this site in 1775 as well. Inglis building a church here after 1791 also suggests that the first structure was either too small or in such a state that it could not be used (Rice 2013, 40). Unlike in the present day, when a structure was torn down, salvageable architectural features were saved and



Figure 10: Section of the A.F. Church Map of Annapolis County from 1865 depicting the church in Granville Centre circled in red and the road to the east of Woods land highlighted by the red arrow. Source Annapolis Heritage Society

repurposed in new building projects. In 2009, All Saints was bought, sold, dismantled, and moved to Louisiana. During the dismantling process, the workers found beams supporting the balcony that appeared as if they came from a previous building (Rhodes 2015).

These beams were positioned vertically in the church, supporting a balcony; however, they had mortise joints throughout the body of them (see Figure 11) (Rhodes 2015). Mortise joints are joints that are made for joining two or more structural beams together and have an integral part in a building's construction. Having mortise joints on a wooden beam that are not being used joints demonstrates that the beams had were salvaged from a previous structure. These posts and their mortise joints are large, suggesting that the posts were once used as horizontal structural beams (Rhodes 2015). An article by CBC News published at the time of the sale provides some photos of the beams during the United States' reconstruction phase (Rhodes 2015). It is interesting that some of the horizontal beams used in constructing the Church's roof show signs of mortise and tendon joints existing from a previous build. The fact that these joints did not



Figure 11: Mortise Joint holes visible in areas outlined in red. Joints of the structure beams that do not have a purpose in this structure. Photo taken in 2015, during buildings reconstruction in Louisiana. Rhodes 2015

have a structural purpose in the modern structure suggests that these beams were being repurposed from a facility that Wood constructed around his land purchase in 1775. The churches Wood constructed did not come from his won pockets but from the S.P.G., the organization that coordinated where missionaries were intended to spread the Protestant faith. When the S.P.G. provided funds to him for the construction of the first St. Luke's in Annapolis, it is likely that they also provided funds for other places of worship for the 80 percent of individuals living in the rural areas outside of the town of Annapolis. Anti- British sentiments were looming in the other British colonies to the South (Moody 2014, 45). It would have been crucial for the Government of Nova Scotia, under Edward Cornwallis's leadership, to maintain strong positive feelings in the Townships of Nova Scotia. This could be done by making the Church of England accessible to the majority of civilians.

Within a year prior to when the churches were constructed in 1775, Wood purchased land throughout the Granville Township, where Anglican churches are known to be constructed. Funds were received from the S.P.G. to have these structures built as a means of maintaining obedience and crushing anti-British sentiment from the citizens living outside of the large towns like Annapolis. However, with the beginning of the American Revolution, the same year came a shortage of funds and an increased expense of materials, the structure's state began to decline. With the appointment of Charles Inglis as the first Bishop of Nova Scotia and Jacob Bailey to Annapolis Royal came a replenishment of funds and rejuvenation in the idea that churches would spread across the lands that make of Annapolis County. As a result, the churches that Wood created did not last for long, and their state was so bad it led to their demolition, paving the way for the churches that stand in the communities today.

3 Phases of Memorialization

Wood was closely tied with eighteenth-century maritime colonial leaders like Edward Cornwallis. Wood and his missionary work are linked to colonialism, the conversion of Mi'kmaq people to Protestantism, and the settling of lands distributed initially to the Acadians. Public memory shifts over time, and we should begin thinking about how to properly remember these figureheads that represent the oppression of minority groups such as the Mi'kmaq and the Acadian people. This section will examine the phases of the memorialization of Wood in Annapolis County, demonstrating how there have been shifts in how he is memorialized, remembered, and idolized over the past four centuries. Is there a way for us to acknowledge Wood's involvement in shaping the material landscape of Annapolis County while also being aware of his role in colonialism?

This thesis argues that there are three visible lifetimes or phases in the memorialization of Wood, much like what John Reid found in his work *The Three Lives of Edward Cornwallis*. Wood was intricately linked with Edward Cornwallis, who allowed him to come to Halifax after he gained distaste for his appointment in New Brunswick by the S.P.G. (Thomas 2003). Both figures are strongly linked to how Mi'kmaq people throughout Mi'kma'ki were treated during the eighteenth century. Wood, who preached in English, French and, German, or Mi'kmaq depending on his audiences and attempted to convert the Mi'kmaq populations throughout Nova Scotia by making the Church of England accessible in their language.⁴³ The British sought to subdue the Mi'kmaq populations living around Annapolis Royal by having them convert to the Anglican faith (Reid 2013, 21).

Reid describes in his article about there being three phases of memorialization for the Colonial leader and founder of Halifax Cornwallis. Reid's work was published during a time

when there was a lot of controversy over the Cornwallis Statue in Halifax, eventually leading to the monument being taken down and put into storage. This analysis of Cornwallis begins with what Reid coins at the first life, the eighteenth century, and his early career. The second life is set in the twentieth century as the public set out to memorialize the founder of Halifax through a large statue. The last life of Cornwallis, as described by Reid, is set in the early twenty-first century as public memory shifts and people start thinking about how they should properly memorialize a colonial leader that actively attempted to colonize indigenous people. Much like Reid does with Cornwallis, this thesis presents three lives of Wood, beginning with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as Wood constructs religious structures and is later succeeded by Bailey and Inglis. The second life follows a similar path as Cornwallis in the twentieth century, as a sense of romanticization sweeps across Annapolis, and a new memorial is erected in Wood's honor. The final life of Wood is presented as to how a colonial leader should be properly memorialized and what should be added to the twentieth-century memorial to make it appropriate to the public memory of the twenty-first century.

Public memory shifts over time as groups re-evaluate how they want to represent themselves and their community through their built heritage. The way one represents their heritage directly impacts the way you want and are perceived (Johnson 2014, 584). The longer a monument or memorial exists, the more identities surrounding them will form as each generation has its own reaction to this aspect of heritage (Johnson 2014, 585).

3.1 Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

The first phase of memorialization is visible in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries during the last few decades of Wood's life and those shortly after his death. During this phase, colonial leaders took control of Nova Scotia, expelling Acadian populations, converting

Indigenous people to Protestantism, and establishing British dominance in the region (Reid 2013, 21). Many English settlers were given land parcels in Annapolis County, in some cases land seized from Acadian farmers. The British Crown oversaw the distribution of land parcels across the province of Nova Scotia. The land grants' size was dependant on how favored you were and what you did for the Crown. The average farm parcels distributed in the eighteenth century were in 500-acre plots, increasing by 500-acre increments from there.

These Anglo-American and British settlers were driven to establish themselves, accumulate capital, and leave their mark on the eighteenth-century Annapolis Valley landscape (Cottreau-Robins 2014, 127). It was not only Wood's career that brought him to Annapolis County, but it was also the ability to gain social, political, and material capital. He initially established himself with his 2000 acre parcel in the Wilmot Township, which grew to over 3200 acres before his death. Land in this region was not just given by the Crown without any terms; once received, landowners were instructed to either permanently settle on their lands or clear portions of them each year. Those that only received one parcel of 500 acres had a more manageable amount of land to clear each year and could have been done by one family. For Wood to own 2000 acres meant that he would likely have to employ people to work on his land to clear it, the ability to travel between all of his parcels of land across three townships. Having four 500 acre parcels of land compared to just one meant that he had to clear four times the amount of land as the average farmer. Therefore, having a larger amount of land often came with more responsibilities and a more extensive financial strain due to having to employ people to assist in its clearing.

Along with gaining prestige from having such quantities of land, community leaders gained status in the area from having slaves and servants work for them. Owning slaves, having

people bound to you in servitude, and having servants was common practice in Annapolis and elsewhere in the province; it was a sign of status for society's elite members (Moody 2014, 41). Like the other high-society Annapolitan plantation owners, Wood had people who worked on his land and in his household (Moody 2014, 41). Little is known about the servant that lived with Wood and his family; all that is known is that the individual was of Acadian lineage, living with the family after the Acadian deportation. Servants were such as those that the Wood's had would have travelled with the family as they made yearly excursions between Halifax and Annapolis Royal (Moody 2014, 41). Few documents and records exist of servants and slaves in Annapolis, not even their names, usually only ever recorded if mentioned in the wills of the families they served (Moody 2014, 41). Prestige was demonstrated in many forms by Annapolitan's of high social standing, and one way of showing one's wealth was by owning slaves and having servants tend to the needs of the owner's estate.

Wood was continually travelling between Halifax, and the post he was given in Annapolis Royal from S.P.G. Wood's role was to assert imperial dominance by spreading the Church of England's word throughout Nova Scotia's hamlets. He asserted this dominance by preaching in the Town of Annapolis and traveling to far reaches of the County; once a devoted congregation was established, he would commission religious structures to be built. The churches Wood petitioned to have made in the Granville and Annapolis townships in 1775 were never finished in his lifetime due to socio-economic and political reasons pertaining to the American Revolution.

In the eighteenth century, colonial officials and missionaries saw themselves as a civilized and cultured society that had had a duty of saving the Mi'kmaq people from their savage ways of life (Pels 1997, 165). The time's mentality was centered around people's ability to

spread civility across the dominion and share it with groups that did not have the same worldview as them (Pels 1997, 165). One of the features that make Wood stand out from other missionaries of his time is his apparent interest in the people of Mi'kma'ki and their language. Wood was praised and remembered by the Nova Scotia Historical Society as being one of the most successful missionaries of his time. This success appears to be based on his English, French, German, and Mi'kmaq proficiency and ability to convert the Mi'kmaq populations. A missionary's success revolved around the need to save people and help civilize them with Protestant scripture.

Wood's legacy as the most successful missionary that had ever come to this region was further reinforced by the Anglican Church leaders paying homage to Wood through finishing or rebuilding the churches he founded throughout the County. Through the efforts of Bailey, who was stationed in Annapolis after Wood's death, and Charles Inglis, the first Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, Wood was immortalized and memorialized through the religious structures they maintained on the sites where he did missionary work. In the case of the churches in Karsdale (Upper Granville) and Granville Centre, the first religious structures beginning with Wood were dismantled and replaced by Inglis. In contrast, the first St. Luke's in Annapolis was finished and used by Bailey.

It seems that although these two figures successfully carried on Wood's legacy through maintaining material culture, they also exploited Wood's involvement in the material landscape. Wood's participation in these religious structures and the spread of the Anglican faith quickly began to be forgotten as Bailey finished his church and was the first to hold services there. Wood was never listed as holding any services in the Church, and with Bailey formally opening the structure for services in 1784, it led generations to follow to believe that Bailey was the founder

of the first St. Luke's and the Anglican Church in Annapolis (Calnek 1897, 43). Wood's involvement in these structures and his legacy as the founder of churches throughout the region soon disappeared. Inglis is widely thought of by historians focussing on Nova Scotian History as the person responsible for changing the notion of the town center, with the formation of rural churches set in hamlets across the landscape. This credit is given to Inglis as he built many Anglican churches throughout the Nova Scotian landscape that are still present today, some of which had their beginnings with Wood (Fingard 1983). Before community churches were built throughout the townships, people were expected to commute to and from their land grants to Annapolis Royal. The establishment of religious sanctuaries throughout the region led people to become more sedentary around their lands. The notion of Inglis being to cause of this is false; the idea of the town center was already changed as Wood formed these outlying churches with the Dissenter populations, and Inglis had merely dismantled them, using the salvageable materials to build the later structures. Both individuals' work was based on the work and the institution Wood created while stationed in Annapolis Royal.

Although Wood's legacy lived on through the religious institutions he created, his public memory soon began to fade in the decades after his death. This was due to religious leaders in the area basing their work on the foundations which had already been set up by Wood and not acknowledging the influence he had in the material landscape. It appears that individuals like Bailey and Inglis were attempting to fill the shoes left behind by Wood, leading them to continue the missionary work he started but not to keep his involvement in the public memory. Rather than the success being attributed to Wood, the missionary success in the area was associated more with the S.P.G.

3.2 Twentieth century

The twentieth century brought a resurgence in interest in past public figures, people that had immense influence in founding towns and institutions. There is a sense of romanticism for these colonial leaders as people living in Nova Scotia and across Canada began to form ideas around Canadian nationalism and imperialism (Reid 2013, 28). The notion of remembering the figures that played their part in colonization appeared to grow after Confederation, as Canada and its early settlements attempted to form their own unique identities and showcase some heroic leaders from their past (Reid 2013, 28). This phase of memorialization is emphasized through the notion of the ideal hero, rooted in “a racially- and gender-based binary that pitted the manliness of that civilization against a cruel and at the same time childlike savagery” (Reid 2013, 29). These colonial leaders were commemorated through the erection of large memorials made of stone and metal.

Like other colonial leaders of the eighteenth century, Wood's memorialization and importance were resurrected in the twentieth century as townfolk aimed to show off Annapolis's connection with the early colonial leader from their English perspective. Many if not all the citizens and clergymen that participated in memorializing Wood in this age did so through the lens of the English and his importance to the Anglican Church Wood's legacy for people in the twentieth century revolved around how successful a missionary he was and his founding of religious structures, without stating the basis of his success revolved around the conversion of Indigenous populations.

In the newspaper article published around the time of the bicentenary celebrations of the Anglican Church in Annapolis, it reads:

Annapolis Royal, N.S., Sept. 7th, '10

Annapolis Royal is to be honoured this week by a visit from a large body of the most distinguished prelates and other dignitaries of the Established Church of England, the Episcopal Church of the United States and the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland. This visitation is in connection with the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the first Church of England service held in Canada, the site being in this ancient town, adjacent to Fort Anne... the program in brief for Friday (will begin with) addresses and welcomes (and followed by the) unveiling of monument to Rev. Thomas Wood.⁴⁴

This article provides a lot of information regarding how significant the unveiling of Wood's monument was for all who were involved with this celebration. During the bicentennial service, the unveiling of this monument for Wood took center stage. Wood was immortalized through a granite memorial placed in the Garrison Fort Cemetery during a celebration marking 200 years of the Anglican Church in Annapolis (Rickards 2020). Wood's first grave-marker was likely made of slate, a flaky grey-coloured rock commonly used in eighteenth-century grave markers, which is easily damaged in the Maritimes freeze-thaw climate. Wood and his role in colonial Nova Scotia were heavily romanticized during the ceremony. The service held at the Fort Anne acted as a means of reconsecrating his remains and attracting tourists to Annapolis, just as the monument dedicated to Cornwallis in Halifax served to attract visitors to the park in front of the Canadian National Railway (Reid 2013, 30).

This service was attended by many leading Anglican clergymen throughout Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom; some of the guests of honour present at the bicentennial service included the Bishop of Nova Scotia, Bishop Worrell, Bishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of London.⁴⁵ Along with church leaders were members of the West-Nova Scotia regiment who played a part in the ceremonies.⁴⁶ The service began at the present St. Luke's, after which a procession was made to the Fort where a platform was installed on the site of the first St. Paul's, the church where Wood briefly preached when he first visited Annapolis.⁴⁷ The only religious figure that this service recognized was Wood, even though there were prominent Anglican

figures after his time, like Bailey and Inglis. This ceremony was centered around Wood, the religious structures he built, keeping his legacy alive, and demonstrating the attempt to resurrect this forgotten leader.

Given that this service was held over 130 years after Wood's death, it is likely that this celebration was a way to have people remember who Wood was and to have people know his influence in the cultural landscape as there would have been no ties to the present landscape except through the continuation of his church's congregation. This was what the celebration of Cornwallis was for during the twentieth century: it was a means of connecting the people in the present landscape with their past heroic leader and founder. Memorializing these figures through the erection of monuments and memorials directly demonstrates the identity the towns were trying to associate themselves with (Johnson 2014, 585). In the article by Lisa Johnson, *Renegotiating Dissonant Heritage: The Statue of J.P. Coen*, she touches on how in a Dutch community in the Netherlands they have a statue of a colonial leader that people regarded as a hero later in the twenty-first century, people began to discuss the controversy over the figure that was responsible for genocides (Johnson 2014, 585). Memorials act as a way of connecting a group of people with a figure they regard as heroic and standing out above the rest. The erection of a memorial for Wood represented Annapolitans and Anglican Clergymen from across the globe, attempting to make Wood's presence part of public memory and demonstrate that they regarded him as a valorous leader.

The original grave-markers were likely in disrepair, small or illegible, and replacing them was a way for the twentieth-century leaders of Annapolis to consolidate their social standing by paying homage to the person that started the church in this region. It was not the government nor the church that paid for these two monuments; it was A. W. Savary, a prominent judge from

Annapolis.⁴⁸ He had immense influence in the town and even finished and published W. A. Calnek's *History of Annapolis County* after he died, which is regarded as the best reference for early figures in the region (Moody 2014, 212).

Savary was the first to speak during this service; he described Wood's heroic personality, the hardships he had to endure by travelling across the Atlantic to be ordained by the Bishop of London, and how he united people of all denominations under his leadership.⁴⁹ During the beginning of the twentieth century, it appears that past generations had forgotten their 'heroic' and industrious leader, as community leaders sought to show off an imperialist and idealized version of their forefathers (Reid 2013, 19).

The twentieth-century Annapolitans had forgotten their past colonial leader, and Anglican missionary Annapolitans followed in the footsteps of those living in Halifax who were showing off their past colonial leader as a means of setting themselves apart from the rest and to attract tourists, installing a plaque on the base of Wood's new grave marker commemorating all his accomplishments was down to do just this. It appears they were attempting to establish a link between themselves and Wood through the commemoration of his efforts and dedication to the church. During this time, it appears that the public did not remember their heroic leader; this seems to be the reasoning for installing a plaque on the base of Wood's new grave marker commemorating all his accomplishments. It appears they were attempting to establish a link between themselves and Wood through the commemoration of his efforts and dedication to the church.

The Bicentennial service acted as a means of revitalizing the public memory of Annapolis and showing off its importance in spreading the influence of the Church of England. Annapolis was being celebrated as the birthplace of Canadian Anglicanism, being the first place

a church of this denomination stood anywhere in the country.⁵⁰ Wood is represented as a valorous leader who fought to spread and secure English superiority in this part of the world. This ceremony's true nature was to show off this idealized version of Wood as the man that was courageously travelling throughout the Maritime provinces to spread the gospel, convert and baptize people who have become lost. This ceremony cultivated a romanticized memory of the past, remembering Wood for being the first to hold Anglican services in Mi'kmaq, creating a dictionary of the language, and converting those that were secular and Catholic to the Anglican faith. An image of Wood as an idealized leader was reinforced through speeches praising the spread of Protestantism, which was said to have begun with "the memorable event of 300 years ago (1910) when on the spot where the party sat Membertou and his Indian braves were baptized by the Jesuits."⁵¹

There was a lot of symbolism during these events in 1910: harbor ships were all given flags, and Union Jacks and American flags flew everywhere in the town.⁵² Wood's new monument was covered in a veil, lifted once all speeches and scriptures were read.⁵³ Once unveiled, the Bishop of London was given a bouquet of flowers by the children of Grand Pre, which he proceeded to lay on Wood's grave, stating that "I place these flowers...on the grave of him who was the children's friend of his day."⁵⁴

The granite stones erected for Wood are more than simple grave-markers; they are lavish monuments intended to impress the viewer and be appreciated from a close distance. Much like the monument erected in the same period for Cornwallis, it was designed to commemorate their founder and create another attraction that people would visit while in town (Reid 2013, 32). In the twentieth century, the stories of colonial founders are romanticized through the establishment

of lavish monuments. The sheer size of those erected for Wood shows off the status that twentieth-century Annapolitans have forged for him (see Figure 10).



Figure 12: Memorials erected for Wood ca. 1910, during the Bicentenary Celebration visible on left. The Celtic-cross and the flat stone are his, the ones covered on right are his wife Mary's.

The monuments erected for Wood in the second phase of memorialization represent the notions of an ideal hero and the strive twentieth-century officials made to connect themselves with past Imperial rule. The flat memorial stone, erected in 1910, reads:

Rev. Thomas Wood, born in New Jersey, physician and surgeon. Ordained 1748, from 1712 missionary of the S.P.G. in Nova Scotia. Minister in English, French, German, and Mic-mac. First visited this town in 1753. Assigned to the township of Annapolis and Granville. Lived here, laying the foundation of the present parishes from 1764 to his death, December 14, 1778. Divine blessing crowned his apostolic zeal, posterity revives his memory.⁵⁵

This ceremony marked the revitalization of Wood's memory in Annapolis County, marking him as a strong-willed, fallen hero who united the people of the region through his work for the S.P.G. The erection of a new monument was done to attract people to the town and marked the beginning of the town's tourist town persona, "cradle of the nation." As Fort Anne

was not being used for military purposes any longer, the town began to look for new ways to draw people to the area. There was a strong sense of romanticization with the Fort that was in a dilapidated state by the twentieth century; its ruins evoked feelings of a heroic past. This sense of a heroic past extended to the past colonial leaders of the region also (Parks Canada 2020, 1). Getting rid of Wood's old grave-marker makes it seem like previous generations had forgotten him and that his original stone, much like Fort Anne during the time, was in a terrible state of repair.

Through the memorialization of Wood, Savary and the other Annapolitan leaders demonstrated that they wanted to portray themselves as having close ties to past imperial rule and had an essential place in Maritime History. The stones that were placed were situated in a manner that would not be visible unless people were walking through the graveyard; having them in this way began to transform Fort Anne from a Military stronghold to a must-see tourist attraction. The one stone laying horizontal on the ground has a short biography on Wood, meant to attract people to the old Garrison Graveyard.

3.3 Present-day

One of the most notable cases in the maritime provinces, representing the shifts in public memory, is the case of Governor Edward Cornwallis, founder of Halifax and person in charge of enacting a bounty for the scalps of Mi'kmaq people who had a statue erected for him over a century after his death, which in recent years had it removed. Memorials represent the identity and the heritage of a place on a national and local level and have begun to be challenged by a new shift in public memory (Johnson 2014, 584). After the removal of the Cornwallis statue, the Halifax Regional Municipality designated a task force to hold public hearings and make a recommendation on what should be done with the statue now in storage. This task force has

decided that the monument should stay in storage and has acknowledged how the history of the Mi'kmaq people has been largely ignored in public commemoration sites like the former statue of Cornwallis (Wicken 2021, 178). Statues serve as physical reminders of the past, and for the societies where stand, there comes a time when rather than being for educational purposes, statues and monuments have the ability to paint an inaccurate picture of the past (Wicken 2021, 178). When looking at monuments that were erected by a largely colonial descendant, body consideration in the present day needs to be given on what these monuments represent; the information is accurate and does not present an idealized version of the figure represented.

Much like the statue of Cornwallis, this monument portrays a romanticized image of a victorious and courageous leader. Although the 'successes' of a missionary as based around his ability to convert indigenous populations and gain parishioners, his memorial ignores how this success was obtained. The only thing that remains of the material culture Wood built is the remnants repurposed in preceding religious structures, which do not actively demonstrate their ties with Wood. The monuments located in the Garrison Graveyard are the only monuments dedicated to Wood and are crucial in the perception surrounding him in the public memory. They paint an idealized image of who this individual was and downplay his impacts on Indigenous ways of life. To properly memorialize Wood in the twenty-first century, more needs to be made known about who he was and not be based solely on an image of him that was created close to one hundred and fifty years after his death. His involvement in colonialization should be highlighted, along with his crucial role in creating historical religious material culture throughout the Annapolis Valley landscape.

How does one go about remembering and memorializing a colonial leader like Wood, who had his hand in colonialization, and the conversion of Indigenous people to Protestantism?

Some would think at first glance that Wood was ahead of his time for being the first Protestant missionary to make an English - Mi'kmaq dictionary. Learning the Mi'kmaq language was part of a strategy to colonize and convert the indigenous populations to the Anglican faith. From the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, people based Wood's success on his ability to spread the Church of England across the Annapolis County and elsewhere in the Maritimes, rather than the material culture he was influential in creating.

There needs to be a shift in thinking and perception of colonial leaders like Wood, and leaving him to be forgotten does more harm than good as he had an important role in shaping the material landscape and was influential in developing the relationship with the Mi'kmaq language. There needs to be an acknowledgment that although being the first to translate written gospels into Mi'kmaq represents an important historical event, there needs to be rethinking as to why these texts were made in the first place. Wood was very much a person that wanted to help people, evident through his career choices as a physician, surgeon, and later a missionary; the notion of assisting indigenous populations through conversion stemmed from the colonial concept of the savage who needed to be given a chance of the afterlife (Gnecco & Hernández 2008, 439-440). As we move into an age of reconciliation through the establishment of a respectful relationship between Indigenous groups such as the Mi'kmaq and non-indigenous groups, there needs to be a transformation of the portrayal of our colonial histories (Gnecco & Hernández 2008, 440). Stories and interpretations of the Mi'kmaq people have long been overlooked and the views (Wicken 2021, 178). Rather than get rid of the memorial that has the information on Wood, a plaque should be added where the local Mi'kmaq communities work with the non-indigenous members of the community to add information on Colonialism and the negative impacts it had on Mi'kmaq culture, traditions, and ways of life. By adding context to

how Wood gained his social prestige and title of most successful missionary, people passing through the Garrison Graveyard would see a well-rounded narrative that is not just a twentieth-century idealized version.

4 Value and Material Culture

This section explores how Wood impacted the material landscape throughout Annapolis County, and the value people such as Bailey and Inglis got from being involved in the material culture that Wood initiated. The findings of this section are based on the work of Arjun Appadurai in his volume called *The Social Life of Things* which is elaborated on further by Igor Kopytoff.

Wood was much more than just an average missionary of his time; he was a man of firsts, being the first Anglican missionary to translate scriptures into Mi'kmaq and the founder of multiple Protestant churches in townships of Annapolis County. Everything that people do throughout their lives is imbued with meaning, "human actors encode things with significance."⁵⁶ Appadurai and Kopytoff have examined material culture from a biographical approach to understand the value people obtain from being involved with material objects. This section of the thesis uses these approaches to material culture to aid in understanding why Wood constructed the religious structures he did and what value people obtained from the material culture the colonial missionary was part of.

The churches in Annapolis, Granville, and Wilmot Townships all had value both to Wood, the citizens that helped construct them, and those that took over a leadership role after Wood's death. For Wood to petition the S.P.G. for money to build churches and to buy land across townships of Annapolis County meant that he saw value in doing so. The construction of these structures are representations of value given to the material landscape. The value given to them is subject to interpretation as each generation passes their perceptions of a material culture shift, and hence change the ways they interact and find value in them (Pezzini 2017, 1) (Chimenz

2017, S3437). The value given to these structures can be interpreted in different ways, depending on what generation you are discussing.

Wood is intricately linked with the material landscape through his actions as a missionary and large landowner. The value for Wood spearheading the construction of buildings that represented a significant part of British domination and colonial rule over the landscape. Wood would not have engaged in altering the landscape unless there was value for him and the institution he worked for. Everything people do has value and meaning and reflects their interests (Kopytoff 2013, 70). There was value in Wood owning so much land throughout Annapolis County, and his constant purchasing of more land reflected his interests in the material landscape. Being an owner of land and Church leader allowed him to designate where religious structures would be erected. Even if the buildings he had a hand in creating did not last, he became part of any proceeding structures and institutions because he is tied to the land. He is a part of the built heritage even though they are built by others because he laid the foundations of the Anglican Church in Annapolis County as being both a successful missionary and landowner.

The construction of religious structures gave value to the Anglican faith as it demonstrated the dedicated faith of settlers living in the area and the determination of this eighteenth-century missionary in altering the material landscape. Wood not only gained social prestige from his ability to speak and hold religious services in English, French, German, and Mi'kmaq but also through his ability to erect churches across the landscape. In exchange for founding these churches, the identity of Wood as the “founder” of the modern Anglican church in the region was reinforced. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the value that constructing these churches had was that Wood changed the way a town was perceived, not only how people worshipped in Annapolis but in the neighbouring townships of Granville and Wilmot. Rather

than having to travel to Annapolis from lands elsewhere in the county to attend church, people could attend in their own hamlets, subsequently leading to more settlement around those places of worship. The Anglican religion was given value in a way that changed the way people perceived the landscape around them and set the foundation for future generations to invest in the material culture of the region.

Employing the work of Appadurai and Kopytoff sheds light on the biography of how Wood influenced and changed the material landscape. This first stage of value in the material landscape coincides with the first stage of memorialization discussed in Chapter 3. Through the construction of religious buildings throughout the municipality, there was a shift in how Annapolitans understood the landscape and culturally redefined the way they lived (Kopytoff 2013, 67). This redefining occurred because of people throughout the townships interacting with the new religious structures that were built both in Annapolis and in the other townships. For Wood, there was value in being the first to construct Protestant churches in the area; he would not only gain social prestige from doing this but would also show off the power of the S.P.G.

The interaction people had with the material landscape Wood influenced enters another stage as Bailey and Inglis alter the landscape as they see fit. During this period, the churches that Wood built needed to have a rejuvenation of interest and a new sense of value. As time went on in the years just after Wood's death, the buildings he created began to go into disrepair, as they were not completed and were exposed to the elements. Bailey and Inglis obtained value in the material landscape linked with Wood and the land he owned. The value to them did not involve Wood himself, only the built heritage; by associating themselves with having influence over the material culture initiated by Wood, they gained power and value. Due to the way people interacted with the material culture Wood built, his involvement soon became forgotten as

citizens of Annapolis County begin focussing on the value that Bailey and Inglis gave to the structures.

The way people interacted with the land and structures Wood influenced determined how his involvement was remembered after his death. For instance, in Clarence, the memory of Wood in constructing a Meeting House has been forgotten, as the land was sold off and the short-lived dominance of Congregationalism in the eighteenth century led to the building being absorbed by a Baptist Congregation (Duffus 1982, 18). The involvement of Bailey and Inglis finishing the construction of these churches in the Annapolis and Granville Township became the focal point for these later generations; value was given to these two individuals for finishing the projects that Wood never finished. The value citizens of Annapolis County and the Anglican Leaders had in the material landscape determined how the memory of Wood was continued.

The third phase represents a relationship between Wood and the inhabitants living in the townships during the twentieth century, where the Annapolitans and Anglican clergymen saw value in associating themselves with the memory of Wood. By examining this relationship between Wood and the people of Annapolis, one can understand what they perceived as culturally significant about his career and life in the region. "... one way to understand a culture is to see what sort of biography is regarded as embodying a successful social career"⁵⁷ With the coming of the twentieth century came a resurgence in the memory of Wood. This resurgence coincides with how Annapolitans wanted to represent themselves, have Wood be remembered in material landscape and part of their cultural heritage. Citizens saw value in honouring Wood and depicting themselves as being the generation that saved him from being forgotten.

The members of the Anglican church and Town of Annapolis that memorialized Wood through the placing of a new monument did so because it would draw people to their Bicentenary

celebrations and draw people to the Garrison Graveyard and Fort Anne as part of their new tourist identity. The value given to remembering Wood was more about showing off one of the notable people buried in the cemetery rather than simply restoring the memory of the missionary. This monument also does not have a proper biography of Wood, as it states he was a successful missionary without describing his full involvement in shaping the material landscape. Much like with the people of Halifax that erected a monument in memory of Cornwallis, it was about attracting tourists to their region (Reid 2013, 30). Other than the monuments, there is little still remembered about Wood in Annapolis County. During the twentieth century, the people of Annapolis found value in memorializing Wood as a way of drawing tourists to the region rather than ensuring people knew his importance in forming the infrastructure of early Anglican churches in Annapolis County.

Today, little value is given to Wood's involvement in the material landscape. People have found value in the structures he created without knowing of his involvement. For instance, All Saints Church (Figure 8), which was moved to Louisiana from Granville Centre, the congregation of this church found value in the structure and highlighted how unique the wood that was repurposed from Wood's first church on the site (Rhodes 2015, 1). More value should be given in the twenty-first century to the man who was among the first to alter the landscape for religious structures in Nova Scotia. By adding to the biography of how Wood influenced the material landscape, people will be able to gain a well-rounded understanding of the impacts Wood had. The adding of a new memorial for Wood would be beneficial as it would be a chance to demonstrate the impacts he had on the extension of the Protestant faith in the region and influence over the material landscape.

Conclusion

Wood was a man of great importance in shaping the cultural and material landscape of Annapolis County and elsewhere in the Maritimes. He and his family members had powerful positions in eighteenth-century Annapolis. This paper has extended the research that had been previously done on how Wood interacted with the landscape after moving permanently to Annapolis in 1764. Wood continued his missionary work once moving to the area; he did more for the spreading of the Protestant faith in the region than anyone before him and was the first to build Anglican churches across the county. Along with being a surgeon, physician, and missionary, he had an active role in the colonialization of Indigenous populations.

Along with this, it has outlined the significance of examining land grants and how they are useful in understanding the prestige and influence people have in an area they live. By studying the land grants and eighteenth-century maps, this paper has outlined that Wood's lands spread across three of the four townships making up the municipality and that there were multiple churches on his lands that he founded. All work for the Anglican church in the region has been based on the infrastructure Wood put in place, with little previous work focussing on him.

Presented were three stages of memorialization and an examination of the material landscape. The first stage of memorialization is understood as when Wood built the religious structures and the decades after his death. People such as Bailey and Inglis benefitted from the infrastructure Wood built and did little in the way of continuing his memory, leading to people forgetting the impacts and importance he had on the material culture. Of the material culture, Wood was involved with constructing all that remains are repurposed materials in buildings built in 1791 by Inglis. The largest building and, most importantly, that which stood in Annapolis was

never finished in Wood's lifetime, later being finished and commemorated by Bailey. Due to the church being finished under Bailey's appointment in the area, later generations began to believe that Bailey was responsible for the initial construction process as well.

In the twentieth century, there was a renewal of Wood's memory as Annapolitans wanted to show off their imperial ties and attract tourists as they repurposed Fort Anne into a tourist destination. In 1920, during a ceremony marking 200 years of the Protestant church in Annapolis, people from all over the globe came to pay their respects to the most successful missionary to ever be in the region. Wood was memorialized through multiple monuments without them acknowledging that this success was based on the fact of his ability to convert Indigenous people and colonize the region. The value these people got in commemorating Wood was to attract tourists to the area and publicize that their town was the final resting place of this notable figure.

The third and final stage of memorialization compared the monument of Cornwallis, the founder of Halifax, to those of Wood. This section outlines that there needs to be a shift in thinking and an acknowledgment of Wood's active role in colonialization and that that future public memory will be influenced by the twentieth-century write-up and monument in Annapolis. A revitalization of Woods memory and involvement in shaping the material landscape could be done through the positive and negative impacts Wood had in shaping the landscape and creating built heritage in Mi'kma'ki. The monument that has written presents a twentieth-century idealized version of the eighteenth-century colonial figure and only represents a small portion of who this individual was.

In the final section of this paper (Value and Material Culture), this thesis outlines how the value is given to the material landscape the Wood was involved in determining his existence in

public memory. Although little remains of Wood in the public memory, his involvement in laying the foundations for the Anglican Church in the region last. Many churches throughout Annapolis County have their beginnings with Wood; even if little infrastructure exists from his time, materials were repurposed in buildings on or near the sites where he initially built his churches.

More needs to be done to demonstrate his involvement in historical events across the province. From the first siege of Louisbourg to the Founding of Halifax and the spread of the Anglican Faith across Nova Scotia, he saw all these firsthand. Wood had immense impacts on the material landscape of Annapolis County, his ability to obtain land in three different townships helps us understand why churches are where they are. The memory of Wood lives on through the land that he owned and the buildings built because of his involvement with the landscape. Through the understanding of this eighteenth-century missionary and community leader, one can gain knowledge of why the material landscape and built heritage of Annapolis County is the way it is.

Notes

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- ² Nova Scotia Archives. (nd). *MG 1 Vol 2611 File 9: Christmas Edward Thomas Collection*. Halifax, NS.
- ³ Nova Scotia Archives. (nd). *MG 1 Vol 2611 File 9: Christmas Edward Thomas Collection*. Halifax, NS.
- ⁴ Nova Scotia Archives. (nd). *MG 1 Vol 2611 File 9: Christmas Edward Thomas Collection*. Halifax, NS.
- ⁵ Nova Scotia Land Registration, B1, Pg 16. Lawrencetown, NS
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- ²¹ Nova Scotia Archives. (nd). *MG 1 Vol 2611 File 9: Christmas Edward Thomas Collection*. Halifax, NS.
- ²² Nova Scotia Archives. (nd). *MG 1 Vol 2611 File 9: Christmas Edward Thomas Collection*. Halifax, NS.
- ²³ Nova Scotia Archives. (nd). *MG 1 Vol 2611 File 9: Christmas Edward Thomas Collection*. Halifax, NS.
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- ²⁶ Nova Scotia Land Registration Book 1 Page 35, Doc 23, Lawrencetown, NS.
- ²⁷ Nova Scotia Land Registration Book 1 Page 35, Doc 23, Lawrencetown, NS.
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- ³⁷ Nova Scotia Archives. (nd). *MG 1 Vol 2611 File 9: Christmas Edward Thomas Collection*. Halifax, NS.
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- ⁵¹ Rickards, Wendy (2020). Newspaper Clipping: *Annapolis Hears the Last Words in the Great Bicentenary Celebration*. Halifax, N.S.. St. Luke's Anglican Church. Annapolis Royal, NS.
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