

THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
EDMUND BURKE
IN
NOVA SCOTIA
1801 - 1820

by Leonora A. Merrigan

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PREFACE

The avowed purpose of this thesis is to examine the character and activities of the Right Reverend Edmund Burke in the context of the total Nova Scotia scene during the period 1801 to 1820 as well as to assess the tangible and not so tangible consequences of his activities on his adopted ecclesiastical province. This examination of Father Burke from a different time perspective will be much broader in scope than the restricted ecclesiastical approach adopted by Cornelius O'Brien, D.D., Archbishop of Halifax, in his Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke: Bishop of Sion, published in 1894.

The writer devotes considerable attention to the heated debate and controversy which raged in the first decade of the nineteenth century between Father Burke and the contemporary leaders of opposing denominational groups which were prevalent in Nova Scotia at the time.

Some attention is given to the thesis of Archbishop O'Brien and to the refutation of this thesis in a work by a committee of priests in the Diocese of Quebec entitled Memoire sur les Missions de la Nouvelle-Écosse du Cap Breton et de l'île du Prince Edouard de 1760 à 1820. The position taken in this thesis is that the truth lies somewhere in between the polarized positions of Archbishop O'Brien who attributes the survival of Catholicism in Nova Scotia to the zeal of the Irish clergy and that of the Committee of Quebec priests who attribute Catholic survival in Nova Scotia

to the efforts of the French and Scotch clergy who laboured in this area.

The thesis consists of eight chapters with Chapter One introducing the reader to Father Burke's background prior to his arrival to Nova Scotia. An attempt is made in Chapter Two to deal with the political and religious climate in Nova Scotia during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Chapter Three focuses on the controversial writings in the area of the inter-denominational paper war. Father Burke as parish priest and missionary is evaluated in Chapter Four while Chapter Five delves into his political perspective and dealings with officialdom. Chapter Six revolves around Father Burke's efforts in promoting the establishment of church related and controlled educational institutions in Halifax. Father Burke's successful endeavours with respect to separation from Quebec and ecclesiastical autonomy for Nova Scotia are recounted in Chapter Seven. The final chapter is concerned with Bishop Burke's success in the consolidation of the Vicariate Apostolic of Nova Scotia as well as his unsuccessful endeavours to obtain a coadjutor which results in the compromise appointment of his nephew, Father John Carroll, as administrator.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY REFLECTIONS - IRELAND - BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

I know neither the day nor even the month of my birth and what is more, I have never known it besides I do not know either when or where, nor by whom I have been baptised because I have had the good fortune to be born in those dark times when the catholics of my country . . . had the infants baptised secretly, in order to escape . . . the most atrocious penal laws.¹

So wrote Edmund Burke, the subject of this thesis, when questioned by his Superior concerning his age and ordination. In the same correspondence, Father Burke advised his Superior that he was, on his arrival at Quebec in 1786, thirty-three years of age.² Having been born in the parish of Maryborough, near Hophall, County Kildare in Ireland, because of the stringent penal laws,³ Edmund was compelled to leave his native land and obtain his professional education on the continent. While studying at the famous University at Paris he won distinction in Mathematics and Philosophy and became proficient in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Ordained at the age of twenty-three, Father Burke began his ministerial duties in his native diocese and "according to the statements made from more than one source, was Parish Priest and Vicar-General."⁴ A close friend of Dr. Delaney, Coadjutor and subsequently Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, in this association were the roots of difficulties that necessitated a move away from his homeland to Quebec. "Having taken a very active part in promoting the appointment of Dr. Delaney to the Episcopate, he

considered that his presence in the diocese might embarrass him and his administration; in consequence of this, he resigned his parish."⁵ When Dr. J. Troy⁶ became Archbishop of Dublin, Father Burke sent him a congratulatory letter from Quebec while taking the opportunity to explain why Dr. Carpenter, Dr. Troy's predecessor, advised Father Burke to leave Ireland. He ascribed the unfortunate circumstance in the Diocese of Kildare to a malicious party

composed of the most contemptible characters in this Diocese, men equally ignorant and profligate if you except two or three who were leaders of the party, rather men of consummate cunning than profound sense. These men considering me as instrumental in the disappointment in their ambitious views though the fact is they betrayed each other and I know nothing of the business, strained every nerve to ruin me in the opinion of the public and happily succeeded. There is hardly any crime with which they did not charge me. . . . And though disappointed in their attack on the mitre they succeeded in making a man the victim of their resentment. . . who then was and still is able to justify himself to the nation and would infallibly have done it but that he must have involved a prelate for whom he yet retains the greatest respect.⁷

In the same letter Father Burke asked for Dr. Troy's esteem and friendship. Thus began a series of regular correspondence between them which was to extend for many years and indeed continued by the Rt. Rev. Dr. D. Murray, coadjutor and successor to Dr. Troy. These illustrious prelates were to serve as Father Burke's main source of information from abroad and were indeed to form a link in a chain of activities connecting British North America and Rome.

It seems fitting at this point to sketch summarily the politico-religious tone in British North America in the period between the French collapse and the arrival of Father Burke at the Seminary of Quebec in the summer of 1786. That the Treaty of Paris (1763) entitled

the French to 'practice their religion according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church' appeared quite just, there is no doubt; however, the qualifying clause 'so far as the laws of Great Britain allow', gave Governor James Murray the opportunity he needed to attempt a process of assimilation by anglicizing the French and ridding the country of any ecclesiastical ties with Rome. "The situation was all the more serious inasmuch as many of the secular clergy resented defeat and left Canada; entry of replacements was strictly forbidden, and the religious orders were not allowed to recruit new members."⁸

Although the Roman Catholic Church in British North America saw the futility of struggling for political rights and gracefully bowed to the victors in this respect, she remained firm in her position of resisting the infringement of Protestantism. "It was not easy to govern a whole people who refused to cooperate,"⁹ and largely through the efforts of Governor Sir Guy Carleton¹⁰ who showed the impossibility of imposing British institutions on the Canadians, the home government passed the Quebec Act in 1774. By this Act Roman Catholics could take part in their own government, their religious rights were reaffirmed and the vast lands between the Ohio and the Mississippi were restored to Quebec. Certainly the move was not completely an altruistic one on the part of Britain. As there was much dissatisfaction among the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard and a struggle with them was foreseen, the Quebec Act was designed to keep the French from swelling the ranks of the American rebels. In this respect the Quebec Act accomplished its purpose as Mgr. Jean-Oliver Briand¹¹, Bishop of Quebec urged his flock to ignore the proposals of the rebels and

stand firmly on the side of Britain throughout the American Revolution.

The religious situation, however, remained grave. There was a great shortage of priests for the educational and charitable institutions and Bishop Louis D'Esglis¹² of Quebec asked permission to turn to Ireland and England for priests. Through the efforts of Abbey Hussey, agent of Bishop D'Esglis in London, Father Burke arrived in Quebec in the summer of 1786. He remained there until 1791 teaching philosophy and mathematics and soon became a director of the Seminary. The officials at the Seminary were most impressed with his capabilities and he began giving public lectures on theological issues; however, there is a reference in the Seminary to the fact that it "seems that he pronounces French badly."¹³

Although he enjoyed working with the students, Father Burke did not find it sufficiently challenging; moreover, the Governor-General disallowed him public instruction on religion in Quebec. In a letter to Dr. Troy, dated October 20, 1790, he indicated a preference for missionary work and related the dire need of missionaries in the Great Lakes area and westward. He requested Dr. Troy to intercede on his behalf with the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda to obtain a mission for him in that area. This wish was not to be granted immediately. He was appointed instead pastor of two parishes on the Isle of Orleans-Saint Pierre and Saint Laurent. That his resignation at the Seminary was accepted with regret is contained in the following excerpt from correspondence in the Archives of that institution.

On 25 Oct., 1791 a priest of the Seminary, perhaps M. Gravé wrote to M. Hody in Paris: 'Would you believe that this good M. Burke left the Seminary for a pastorate. . . . Moreover he has openly said that he has not had any trouble

in the Seminary; he has sent in his resignation. . . .
I am sorry because of his talents and his excellent
character.¹⁴

Evidently his longing for the mission field did not have an
adverse effect on his parish work because we learn of the satisfaction
of both his bishop and parishoners.

For approximately the six years that Mr. Burke has
been in Canada he has won commendation through Science
and the various offices that he has fulfilled with
praise. He is presently pastor of two parishes
where the faithful are happy with his care.¹⁵

Father Burke served the needs of these parishes until 1794
when his talents were needed elsewhere and his desire for the life
of a missionary was fulfilled. Although he was sent as a missionary
to Raisin River, west of Lake Erie to christianize the Indians and
secure their allegiance to Britain, a perhaps more subtle motivation
for his appointment, that arising from the very shaky hold that Britain
had on the French settlements in this area cannot be overlooked.
Father Burke later wrote that he was sent

expressly to counteract the machinations of Jacobin
Emissaries, whose influence among the Settlers and
numerous Tribes of surrounding Indians might . . .
have caused an insurrection, the consequences of
which might prove fatal to the King's 24th Regiment
then settled in the Forts of Detroit and the Miamis.¹⁶

Some of these emissaries came from France, some from United States
and the settlement at Riviere Aux Raisins, being midway between Detroit
and Miami and very populous, caused great anxiety to the British
authorities. Reacting to this difficulty, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe
wrote to Lord Dorchester on August 1, 1794 asking "whether some trusty
loyal clergyman might not be of use in the settlement of Raisin River
to counteract any improper opinions and transactions, if such a person
may be found in Lower Canada."¹⁷

Bishop Jean-François Hubert felt no hesitation in sending Father Burke to fill the post and in a letter recommending his excellent character and knowledge, he stated, "I am pleased to name Monsieur Edmund Burke, Irish priest who for the eight years that he has lived in this country has given unequivocal proof of his loyalty and attachment to the Government under which we have the good fortune to live."¹⁸

It was Father Burke's desire to go to the west as Apostolic Missionary and in 1790 he had asked Dr. Troy to write to Rome on his behalf. In sending Father Burke to Riviere Aux Raisins, however, Bishop Hubert made him Vicar General of the whole of Upper Canada and wrote, "but gave him no reason to hope for anything more; for because of a certain inconsistency of character that he has shown these last years, I do not believe him suitable to be an Apostolic Prefect nor to prepare the way for the erection of a new bishopric."¹⁹ In fact, Bishop Hubert did not think that Father Burke would be content to stay there very long although the Bishop admitted that he was fulfilling his state successfully.

For seven years Father Burke laboured successfully in Upper Canada. From the steady flow of correspondence to Dr. Troy it is learned that he suffered many hardships that first winter with the Sans Culottes emissaries keeping him in peril of life, the need of missionaries and his disappointment in the lack of zeal shown by the church in Lower Canada.²⁰ In spite of his many difficulties Father Burke was successful in suppressing the trouble which had broken out in Riviere Aux Raisin and he "applied himself . . . to mastering the Ottawa and Huron tongues."²¹ He remained a "useful

British servant until the territory was given up in 1796 under Jay's Treaty."²² He then refused an offer of the Parish of St. Anne in Detroit because he had no desire to become an American citizen.²³ On returning to Quebec General Prescott gave him a pension of £100 sterling per annum "as an indemnification for losses sustained and a reward for his services and loyalty."²⁴

That Father Burke had won the esteem of officials while in Upper Canada can be seen in the following extract of a letter.

Lord Dorchester was pleased to send you to Raisin River and during the time you resided there I have every reason to be perfectly satisfied with the representations made to me of your loyalty to His Majesty and of the zeal you manifested for his interests and I shall be extremely happy if this testimony of my approbation can render you any service.²⁵

Father Burke returned to Upper Canada as Vicar General and Superintendent of the Missions. While at Sandwich he sent a strong appeal to Bishop Hubert urging him to allow the Sulpicians at the Seminary at Montreal²⁶ to take over the missionary work in Upper Canada. The Sulpicians had agreed to take on the project and obtain priests from Ireland if they could obtain the consent of the Bishop. Father Burke himself had begun to buy land at Niagara and York (Toronto) with an eye to the future. The necessary consent, however, did not come, a fact which Father Burke attributed to jealousies.²⁷ When Bishop Hubert became ill and there was nothing to hope from his coadjutor, Father Burke sent a report to Rome on the state of the missions in Upper Canada in 1797. Because this story parallels the difficulties that Father Burke had in obtaining missionaries for Nova Scotia, it will be related in a succeeding chapter. What

Father Burke wanted was to erect Montreal into an Episcopal See under the Sulpicians. Owing to the uncertain state of affairs in Europe, however, and the imprisonment of Pope Pius VII, the proposal was temporarily shelved, to be taken up again after the settlement of 1815.

For the next four years Father Burke worked faithfully throughout Upper Canada. When Bishop Hubert died Bishop Pierre Denault²⁸ succeeded him and Joseph O. Plessis became his coadjutor. The latter was the prelate under whom Father Burke laboured during most of his missionary life in Nova Scotia.

A most unfortunate circumstance prompted Father Burke to make the decision to leave his missionary work in Upper Canada. Early in the year 1801 a Mr. Dame, officer in the garrison had accused Father Burke of forcibly violating his wife and as a result he had to leave his post as Chaplain to the Canadian Volunteers. In response to this accusation, Father Burke immediately appealed to Lieutenant Colonel MacDonall at Kingston to exonerate him from such a heinous accusation.

Instantly, without further inquiry you directed Dr. Davidson to inform me that I must retire from the garrison, that you would not be answerable for the consequences of Dame's resentment; that I must in future consider myself as having no connection with the Battalion. Was that judicious? Was it temperate? . . . Will not a discerning and disinterested public see in it the effect of pre²⁹occupation, not the decision of reason? . . .

Father Burke continued to explain that his concern for Mrs. Dame was solely in his role as chaplain.³⁰ In May, Bishop Denault took a trip to Niagara and from information that he had gathered was happy to conclude "I believe none of it."³¹ Evidently the event was treated

lightly in lay circles, the general feeling of the public officials of the day being that Father Burke was the unfortunate victim of a false accusation. "In this affair Col.McD. brought forward the accusation in so hasty a manner, that some of the best Judges think B. was ill-treated."³²

In the meantime the Catholic Church in Halifax was in difficulty and in need of a pastor. Bishop Denault could think of no better man to take the situation in hand than Father Burke. Although he realized that Father Burke wanted a rest from pastoral cares, the Bishop wrote to him explaining that "the well-being of the Diocese calls you to the other extremity. Halifax is without a pastor. . . . This mission is extensive; it comprises all of Nova Scotia."³³

CHAPTER II

NOVA SCOTIA, 1800-1820: IMPRESSIONS

At the outset of the nineteenth century Nova Scotia had a very heterogeneous population which can be accounted for by a very active and open immigration policy. The early population figures of Halifax seem to indicate a preponderance of Englishmen, adherents of the Established Church. By 1760, however, "according to a letter of one of its inhabitants, of the 3,000 then in Halifax, one-third are Irish, and many of them Roman Catholic."¹ A German and Swiss Protestant population settled in the Lunenburg area in 1753. After the Expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, many of the French Catholics returned to Nova Scotia and settled around Clare, Digby, Arichat and also to the shores of Cape Breton where they augmented the existing French populous. The vacuum left by the Expulsion, however, was filled mainly by a pre-Loyalist immigration of New England Planters, Congregationalist in religion, who settled in such south shore settlements as Yarmouth, Barrington, Liverpool, Falmouth, Cornwallis, Horton, Truro and Cobequid. In the Chignecto area, a group of English Methodists had settled in 1773; in the years 1773-1774 a group of Scots established a Presbyterian settlement at Pictou while a group of Ulster Irish settled at Port Roseway (Shelburne), around Truro, Onslow and Londonderry. A wave of Loyalists immigrated to Nova Scotia during and following the American Revolution. They intermingled with the pre-Loyalist settlers of the Annapolis area, along the South Shore, in Halifax County, Canso, Cumberland and Cape Breton. Following

the American Revolutionary War "many disbanded soldiers of the 82nd. or Hamilton Regiment . . . settled on grants in Pictou County. Most of them were Scots."² In 1791, there arrived in Pictou County two ships, "loaded with emigrants, almost all Roman Catholics, from the Western Islands of Scotland."³ The Catholic emigration from Scotland to Pictou resumed in 1801 when more than 1,000 came to Nova Scotia.⁴ Some of these went on to Truro, others to the county of Sydney (now Antigonish) or to Cape Breton. This influx of Scottish Catholics was considered worthy of note by the Lieutenant Governor who wrote in 1803, "I have reported to me the arrival of 845 men, women and children from Scotland at Pictou."⁵ Towards the end of the eighteenth century there was also a considerable influx of French to Cape Breton, "from St. Pierre and Miquelon, Frenchmen from France and the Channel Islands."⁶ Although there was no great wave of Catholic immigration from Ireland from 1749 to 1815,⁷ there was a slow and steady natural increase. After 1815, owing to the general depression overseas, a new wave of immigration hit Nova Scotia. Coming from England, Ireland and Scotland, these immigrants, destitute upon their arrival, presented a problem to the colonial officials who feared that Nova Scotia was to become a dumping ground for useless and weak colonists. "In 1817 and 1818 . . . Nova Scotia had already organized a system of poor relief."⁸

Another type of immigrant, although small in number, arrived in Nova Scotia during the early years of the nineteenth century. These could be classified as opportunists

who make a great deal of money in the course of the Summer which they waste in Winter in idleness and drink - few taking to farming as they are not well received in the interior part of the country by the Methodists and New Light people, who are there prevalent and dislike them as Catholics These people come occasionally from Newfoundland but there is no regular migration.⁹

They were actually transients whom Governor John Wentworth described as "useless Irishmen [who] pass annually from Newfoundland through this Province, where some of them remain one, two or perhaps three years, and then proceed onward to the United States."¹⁰

A description of the people of Nova Scotia would not be complete without mention of the negroes and the native Micmacs. A large number of negroes had settled in the Windsor area as well as in the town of Halifax.¹¹ Some of these were descendants of the negro servants brought in by the Loyalists; others, escapees from their American owners. Those who had fought for the British were given their freedom and grants of land in Nova Scotia. In January, 1800, most of the 500 Maroons who had come from Jamaica had been transported to Sierra Leone.¹² For almost a year after their departure "the auction sales of maroon properties were held at the Wentworth Tavern in Halifax."¹³ Several negro slaves escaped from their American masters during the War of 1812 and took refuge on British men-o-war in Chesapeake Bay. These were brought to Halifax and while some remained in the town, most were located at Hammond Plains, Cobequid Road, Preston and near Windsor. There were also about twenty-five families of negroes settled at Tracadie.

The native Indians of Nova Scotia all belonged to the Micmac tribe. They were mainly migratory frequenting the harbours and woods

of the main towns and were almost all Roman Catholics, having been christianized by the early missionaries.

"It was stated in debate, on 16 March, 1818, in the assembly, by the speaker, that the population of the whole province, according to census, was then 77,000."¹⁴ A more accurate figure, quoted from the census of 1817, is stated at 86,668.¹⁵ In 1813, the population of Cape Breton Island was 5,909.¹⁶

Halifax society in the first two decades of the nineteenth century cannot be more aptly described than in this extract from Lord Selkirk's Diary:

A continual succession of dinner parties the Society is entirely a l'Anglois or rather entirely English - the Officers of Government (with the exception of a few old Loyalist families) are from England - and with the military and navy people form a society pretty much apart from the mercantile part of the town The principal part of the Civil Establishment of the Province is paid from England.¹⁷

Halifax was indeed lively with parties, dinners, dances, theatre plays, sleigh rides and band concerts. Many official dinners took place at Mason Hall which was also the meeting place of the Charitable Irish Society. Membership in this society was not restricted to a particular denomination; thus, from the time of its origin in 1786, among early members were such persons as John Parr,¹⁸ Winkworth Tonge,¹⁹ Michael Tobin,²⁰ Bishop Charles Inglis,²¹ Lawrence Kavanaugh,²² Lawrence Doyle,²³ and the Roman Catholic parish priest. Their banquets could last for many hours. This can be grasped when one realizes that at the Saint Patrick's Day dinner at Mason's Hall in 1820, Richard John Uniacke, president of the Society gave fifty-four toasts during the evening.²⁴

Amidst all this gaiety, lest anyone forget the troubles in which the home country was embroiled, certain week-days of fasting and prayer were frequently proclaimed by the governor and boldly advertised in the local papers, "to call down the aid and blessing of the Supreme Dispenser of all things, in the war in which His Majesty is engaged against an invertebrate enemy."²⁵

When Halifax was founded in 1749 the British Government "hoped to recreate the English ecclesiastical settlement."²⁶ The Governor, missionaries and schoolmasters were sent out from England; the Church of England and its schools were endowed with lands. The Governor was instructed to see that the Legislature complied. Councillors were to be carefully selected and much would depend on the existence of "a body of men who would unite in both Council and Assembly to form a church and state "party".²⁷ Politicians readily realized that by following a British church and state policy, there would be regular substantial contributions from the British government; and not of little importance was the expectation of patronage and prestige which British officials and society would bestow upon them on their periodical trips to England.

With the Church of England officially established in Nova Scotia and encouraged by the government, it would seem that it would become the dominant religious body; but one obstacle to religious conformity was the fact that their immigration policy mitigated against uniformity. Among the Loyalists were many Dissenters who "spurned the Book of Common Prayer, and clung to their own particular

modes of worship as tenaciously as the Pre-Loyalist Congregationalists."²⁸

Among the early Protestant Dissenters in Nova Scotia were the Congregationalists who had established six churches by 1769.²⁹ In Halifax, the worshippers met at Mather's "Meeting House"³⁰ which was constructed in 1750. After 1783, when ministers from United States ceased coming to Nova Scotia, the "Meeting House" or Saint Matthew's gradually changed from Congregationalism to Presbyterianism.³¹ "By the year 1800 New England Congregationalism had almost entirely disappeared in the Maritime Provinces."³²

During the last decade of the eighteenth century, Nova Scotia, particularly the Annapolis area, was agitated by an enthusiastic sect called "New Lights" whose religion seemed to be "a strange jumble of New England Independancy and Bohemism. . . who in their struggles for preeminence excited among the people a pious frenzy."³³ Gradually the New Lights had become Presbyterians or Anglicans "but the majority were assimilated in the rapidly expanding Baptist organization."³⁴ By 1820 the Presbyterians had established churches in Lunenburg, Pictou and Truro as well as in Halifax. In July 1817 "the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia was organized consisting of the three Presbyteries of Truro, Pictou and Halifax."³⁵ Another sect of Protestant Dissenters, the Wesleyan Methodists, grew so slowly that "in 1800, there were only five ministers of this denomination in the Maritime Provinces."³⁶

The New Englanders who had come to Nova Scotia to replace the Acadians, as well as the United Empire Loyalists who followed later, "set up a bigoted regime under which Catholics could not become teachers, could not hold land and could not be elected members of parliament."³⁷

Like their counterparts in Ireland, the Irish Catholics of Nova Scotia were not allowed to practice their religion. The Roman Catholic population of Nova Scotia was under the ecclesiastical direction of the one Catholic diocese in what is now Canada - the Diocese of Quebec. The three French priests who served in Nova Scotia from 1760 to the 1780's came with government permission and ministered openly to the Micmacs and secretly to the Catholics.³⁸ These priests were Abbé Antoine S. Maillard, Father Jacob Bailey and Father Joseph M. Bourg.³⁹

In 1758 the government of Nova Scotia passed a law whereby the liturgy of the Church of England was made the fixed form of worship; no minister was to officiate unless licensed by the Bishop of London; religious freedom was granted to Protestant Dissenters who "shall be excluded from any rates or taxes to be made and levied for the support of the established Church of England."⁴⁰ While granting freedom of religion to dissenting Protestants, this first legislature of Nova Scotia was obviously determined to penalize the Roman Catholics; thus, by this same Statute Catholics were prevented from acquiring land and it enacted that:

every Popish person, exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and every popish priest or person exercising the function of a popish priest, shall depart out of this province on or before the twenty-fifth day of March, 1759.⁴¹

If such persons were found in the Province after March 25, 1759, they were subject to perpetual imprisonment and, in the case of escape, were to be punished as for felony. It further enacted:

that any persons, who shall knowingly harbour, relieve, conceal, or entertain any such clergymen of the popish religion, or popish priest, shall forfeit fifty pounds . . . and shall be also adjudged to be set in the pillory.⁴²

Another official blow at Catholicism was dealt in 1766 when an act forbidding Catholic schools was passed.⁴³

These penal laws followed closely the pattern set by the British government against Roman Catholics in Ireland. A measure of relief was felt by the Catholics in Ireland when, in 1782, the home government passed the Catholic Relief Bill by which "the more shocking provisions of the Penal Code were revoked."⁴⁴ Catholics could enter the universities in pursuit of law or medicine and could purchase land. Relief for the Catholics in Nova Scotia soon followed. In 1781 a group of Catholic gentlemen had sent a petition to the Lieutenant Governor for the repeal, or at least the amendment, to the statutes of 1758.⁴⁵ By 1783 "their prayer was heard - the obnoxious clauses of the "Act for confirming titles to land" and "regarding public worship" were repealed."⁴⁶ Catholics in Nova Scotia could now acquire land, build churches and have their own priests provided that these priests had a license from the governor and took a certain prescribed oath.

In Halifax, the Catholics took the initiative to write to Ireland for a priest; they bought the property on the corner of Spring Garden Road and Barrington Street where the first Catholic church, Saint Peter's, was begun in 1784. On August 28, 1785, Father James Jones "the first priest in Nova Scotia whose mother tongue was English"⁴⁷ arrived as successor to Father Bourg and it was he who first organized the parish of Saint Peter's.⁴⁸

In a pastoral letter from Bishop D'Esglis written in 1787, the Catholics of Halifax were advised to follow carefully the wishes

of Father Jones and live in peace with citizens of other faiths - "Have towards them the greatest deference".⁴⁹ In the pastoral letter to the faithful at St. Mary's Bay and Cape Sable he wrote, "although you are nearly all Acadians . . . be faithful to the King."⁵⁰ Father Jones soon won the respect of both Governors Parr and Wentworth⁵¹ and in 1793 Governor Wentworth petitioned the home government that he be paid a salary. The next year the same grant was recommended. This certainly was an attempt to link Roman Catholicism to the state as Governor Wentworth wrote that "it will be of the best means of keeping 16,000 Catholics warmly attached to the Crown."⁵²

Although Catholics had no seats in the Assembly before 1823, it could be said that the "church and state party" had its Roman Catholic wing long before that. "This was represented in the early years by Michael Tobin who voluntarily paid assessment at St. Paul's Church until 1791, five years after St. Peter's Chapel was opened."⁵³ This made common sense to the businessman of the day; for it was not uncommon that a prominent Presbyterian, while attending St. Matthew's kirk, might keep a pew at St. Paul's, the Church of England.

The fear of a Catholic influence indirectly creeping into political affairs was registered by Governor Wentworth in 1807 in one of his many denunciations of William Cotnam Tonge. In 1792 Mr. Tonge was elected to the Assembly and took a very active part as leader of the opposition and was, in Wentworth's eyes, a dangerous schemer against the government. As Mr. Tonge's influence increased the opposition of the executive likewise grew stronger and relations between the Assembly and Council grew steadily worse. "Between 1802 and 1804 there developed in the House a party for constitutional reform, and in the Council . . . fight for control of the expenditure."⁵⁴ In 1806 the

governor refused to approve Mr. Tonge's election as Speaker of the House and suspended him from the office he held as 'naval officer'. In a letter to England, the governor mentioned this and referred to the fact that Tonge was:

assisted by a Roman Catholic trader, who is so bigoted and so little informed, that he thinks it a service to his Religion, to countenance any opposition to a Protestant Government, altho' his church is not only tolerated but kindly protected by that Government.⁵⁵

It seems obvious that the Catholic trader referred to was Michael Tobin who sat with Mr. Tonge at meetings of the Charitable Irish Society and who has been called "reformer before the advent of Howe, and lent his support to the brilliant William Cottnam Tonge, the first advocate of popular rights in Nova Scotia."⁵⁶

CHAPTER III

INTERDENOMINATIONAL PAPER WAR

There was an apparent tranquility on the religious scene in 1801 when Father Edmund Burke arrived at Halifax. Three short years later, however, the flames of bigotry were being fanned from all sides. One might suspect, therefore, that the tranquility had been more apparent than real.

Polemics ran high in 1804 and for several years afterwards Father Burke was engaged in religious disputation on several controversial points of doctrine with such prominent churchmen as Dr. Thomas McCulloch¹ and Reverend Robert Stanser.² Father Burke was well equipped for this battle of wits with these intellectual disputants. "The amount of erudition displayed is prodigious. Latin and Greek and Hebrew were as familiar to him as French or English."³

The controversy was sparked by the post script in Father Burke's pamphlet, Letter of Instruction to the Catholic Missionaries of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies,⁴ issued on February 3, 1804 in which he rose to the defence of the British loyalty of the Catholics in Nova Scotia. The last sheet of the pamphlet was in the press when Father Burke had accidentally seen a letter written by Bishop Charles Inglis launching an attack on Catholics and other Non-Conformists in Nova Scotia. As a result, Father Burke took the offensive in his postscript to the Letter of Instruction.

In the Letter considering fully the Oath of Allegiance required of Catholics Father Burke clearly stated his position on

church and state issues.

To bear true allegiance to the ruling Prince is a duty to which all in all countries are indispensably obliged. . . . 'Tis useless to inquire whether the ruling Prince be a christian or heathen, a virtuous or vicious Prince, for this simple conclusive and peremptory reason, that obedience is due to him not because he is a just and virtuous man, but because he is the ruling Prince, in whom the Supreme Power is vested, and that powers of public characters do not depend on their personal qualities. . . .

'Tis also necessary to declare that we do not believe that the Pope of Rome or any other Foreign Prince, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority or pre-eminence directly or indirectly within this realm. . . .

Temporal Authority has recourse to human laws and institutions, and Spiritual Authority to Divine Laws and Sacraments.⁵

He explained that several clauses in the Oath of Allegiance were mortifying to Catholics and could have been omitted "because they suppose that our ancestors at any time believed the opinions which we are obliged to disclaim, a supposition false and groundless."⁶

Father Burke then rose to the defence of the government of Nova Scotia by stating that "the legislature is composed of men, a great majority of whom know Catholics but by vague report, and see Catholic principles disfigured in flying sheets and pamphlets."⁷ As a result of this, according to Father Burke, the Legislature was induced to oblige Catholics to disclaim opinions of which they were suspected. The missionaries were then informed that the Oath may conscientiously be taken.

Let us then, my dear brethren and fellow-labourers, by our whole conduct, by our public instruction and private advice; by

all the influence which our ministry gives, endeavour to silence misrepresentation. . . . Let us in a particular manner enforce the doctrine taught by Christ and his Apostles, Obedience to the ruling powers in all simplicity and submission.

The letter itself is one which should have won for Father Burke the confidence of the government of Nova Scotia. Bishop Inglis did not think so. He saw it as a

clumsy attempt to reconcile the inhabitants of this country to Popery. It seemingly recommends Loyalty; but it advances principles with respect to Civil Government, the King's Supremacy and the Pope's authority, which must effectually counteract all such recommendations This is the old Popish Creed, so justly alarming to all Protestant Governments.

It was, however, the Postscript to Father Burke's letter that actually initiated the controversy. The tenor of his counter-attack on Bishop Inglis is evident in the following excerpts.

The last sheet of this Letter was in the Press, when a charge from a Prelate of the established Church accidentally fell into my hands; - what was my astonishment at seeing an Official Letter from a man high in office, added to the many Pamphlets which already disgrace our language, manifestly tending to excite dissensions and discontents, at a time when sound policy dictates the indispensable necessity of unanimity.¹⁰

Strong condemnation was levelled at Bishop Inglis' policy of excluding Non-Conformists and Catholics from public schools and Father Burke added, "[t]he learned Prelate may rest assured, that few Catholics or Non-Conformists are envious of the stock of science which he possesses."¹¹ He then came to the defence of the Methodists who had been attacked by Bishop Inglis.

"The Prelate roundly asserts that the tenets of the Methodists are hostile to good Government: - with one dash of his pen he stigmatizes a great proportion of the inhabitants of this Province, sober, industrious, inoffensive men."¹² Alluding to the Bishop's claims of superstitions of Catholics and abandoned profligacy of the Clergy, Father Burke promised another letter in the near future where the genuine principles of Catholic Morality will be found. His concluding statements derogated his Lordship's charge.

I don't remember to have seen a more wretched performance: it seems composed of borrowed pieces badly asserted; written in a languid style. . . . Silent contempt is the best answer to such a jargon; yet . . . I could not pass it unnoticed.¹³

This inflammatory Postscript added to the indignation of Bishop Inglis, already excited as a result of Father Burke's intention to begin to establish a 'popish seminary'. His concern over these matters was conveyed in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He outlined several causes for alarm such as the measures taken by Catholics for disseminating their tenets and making proselytes in Nova Scotia; the so-called 'illegal' visit of Bishop Denault of Quebec to Nova Scotia in 1803; Burke's excommunication of Catholics who married outside the Catholic church and the illegal marrying of couples by Catholic priests without benefit of license or publishing of banns. He enclosed Father Burke's Letter of Instruction and the Postscript so that the Archbishop could "form an idea of the spirit and temper of this priest who is stationed at Halifax, and is proposed to be at the head of the

Popish Seminary, in case it should be licensed by Government."¹⁴
 In concluding his communication with the Archbishop, Inglis made an apologetic but firm appeal for expedient action on the part of the Anglican hierarchy in thwarting the Catholic design to erect a seminary.

Nothing, my Lord, but a sense of duty could endure me to intrude upon your time at a period so alarming and hazardous as the present. The Romanists have their agents now busily employed in England to procure a license for their Seminary. . . . I most fervently pray the Almighty . . . to defeat the unrighteous and cruel designs of our implacable foes.¹⁵

Opposition to Father Burke's views was not the sole prerogative of the Anglicans or Non-Conformists as there were those among the Catholic clergy who sincerely felt that Father Burke had been excessive in his condemnation of Bishop Inglis. In a lengthy letter to Father Burke, Bishop James L. O'Donel¹⁶ of Newfoundland went to great lengths to express the futility of the pastoral letter and especially the lack of good judgement displayed in the Postscript.

I've received both your esteemed Letters together with the Pamphlet . . . but upon the whole, my good Sir, I wish you declined Mr. Lister's¹⁷ advice there are I fancy not above 4 or 5 at most of your Missionaries . . . and I can fully vouch for three of them, whom I know either Personally or by correspondence . . . to be judges of the merits of your writing, nor are there probably 5 of the Catholic Laity who heard the names Blackstone or Bracton¹⁸ . . . had you only plainly and merely explained the oath of allegiance, without getting into the intricate Labyrinth of the rights of Kings

and People you'd save yourself a vast deal of trouble and leave your Poor Catholics scattered thr'o the Wilds of Nova Scotia in their usual habits of Friendship with their protestant Neighbours but now there is not a Protestant in your Province who knows how to read, but will pride himself in giving an account of the sanguinary dispositions of Papists, of the Pope's deposing Power restless ambition, of the immorality of the Clergy of the Gunpowder Plot. . . . This certainly . . . will be the result of the strictures passed upon the inquiries made into it, will defeat its own purpose, by embittering the minds of each party against the other.¹⁹

Although Bishop O'Donel admired the zeal and ability of the priest, he lamented that his talents were not turned to "some Subject productive of better fruit than sprung from Pastoral Letters."²⁰ The Bishop realized that his advice was 'wise after the event' - "but however it is now too late you are already engaged in a Papèr War, and very well able to defend yourself."²¹

It is doubtful that Father Burke would have taken Bishop O'Donel's advice if it had been given in time; but the Bishop's words of wisdom were truly too late. Since Father Burke had fanned the flame of the ire of every Church of England prelate in Nova Scotia, it remained to be seen which of them would be the first to take up the cudgels against him.

While correspondence between Bishop Inglis and the Archbishop of Canterbury²² indicated that the Bishop's son, Reverend John Inglis²³ intended to repudiate publicly Father Burke's Letter of Instruction, in fact no such repudiation was forthcoming until the challenge was accepted by the Reverend Robert Stanser.

Mr. Stanser's Examination of the Reverend Mr. Burke's Letter of Instruction to the Catholic Missionaries of Nova Scotia was addressed to Christians of every denomination. With a brief introduction regarding the lawful establishment of the Church of England in Nova Scotia, Reverend Stanser launched his offensive against Father Burke's Letter of Instruction, the expressed objects of which he claimed were extremely laudable "to enforce obedience to the higher powers, to teach the lawfulness of the oath of allegiance."²⁴ Unfortunately, Mr. Stanser stated, these subjects occupied too small a part of Father Burke's publication.

[T]he greater part of it [was] filled with misrepresentations of the tenets of the Romish Church, and a revival of its haughty pretensions, with virulent invectives against all Protestant ministers of every denomination, and with democratical principles.²⁵

Reverend Stanser was incensed by the unprovocated letter "in which he treats a respectable Prelate of the established Church with very indecent and improper language."²⁶ He refuted Burke's Letter of Instruction on three counts - his observations upon the Oath of Allegiance, on temporal authority and on spiritual authority. His position on the Oath of Allegiance was that "the doctrines there attributed to the Catholics were not calumnious fictions, and that the legislature did not require them to be renounced without very sufficient reasons."²⁷

Regarding Father Burke's opinions on temporal authority, Reverend Stanser was of the opinion that they were fraught with danger as they were

[t]he corner stone of all the modern sweeping revolutions, that they compose the creed of all Jacobins, and are the essence of the de-

structive doctrines which were so successfully propagated by Tom Paine; that they are maxims which Mr. Burke cannot preach without violating the oath of Allegiance, and which his congregation cannot practice without incurring the guilt of high treason, and committing the sin of rebellion,²⁸

Reverend Stanser was likewise most emphatic regarding Father Burke's arguments on spiritual power which was denied to the King and transferred to the Pope. Mr. Stanser remarked that to deny that the King had any spiritual power was an assertion "directly contrary to the law of the land, and the British Constitution; which declare the King to be on Earth the Supreme Head of the Church of England; which is the religion established by law in this Province."²⁹ Furthermore, he expressed his view of Father Burke as an ungrateful prelate when he made the following remark.

No sooner are the Roman Catholics permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, than their pastor flies in the face of the Government by which they are protected. . . . Popery had not been tolerated in this country much more than twenty years when this publication appeared; and let it be forever recorded in the annals of this Province, that the very Chapel where Mr. Burke now erects his Battery against all Protestant places of worship, was in a great measure built by the friendly³⁰ and voluntary subscription of Protestants.

The main thrust, however, of Reverend Stanser's pamphlet was the need for governmental vigilance against the possible consequences of a contagion of democracy pervading the whole body of Catholics as a result of the jacobinical doctrines displayed by Mr. Burke. In conclusion, he outlined his purposes in publishing his pamphlet.

My only object was to vindicate the legislature of Great Britain and of this country from a charge of calumny, protestantism from an imputation of imposture, and its ministers from a malignant accusation of being hirelings in the fold of Christ.³¹

In an attempt to display a spirit of equanimity and good will towards Father Burke and his Catholic flock, Mr. Stanser ended this literary effort with the statement, "I only pray that God may forgive and amend in him the unfriendly spirit which he has shewn in his publication."³²

Because of increasing bitterness and mutual desire of the disputants to gain public support, it was inevitable that the literary denominational war would bridge the gap between private publications and the public press. Under the nom de plume of "Palaeologus", Dr. William Cochran of King's College published a six column letter in the Nova Scotia Royal Gazette of March 13, 1804 in which he distorted some expressions of Father Burke's Letter of Instruction leading the public to believe that Father Burke was a Republican in principle. He then proceeded to inveigh against Republican principles and their inherent dangers. To this personal attack, Father Burke replied in the Gazette of March 18. This immediate, and perhaps unexpected, refutation produced a second letter from "Palaeologus" and, in turn, a reply from Father Burke in the Gazette of April 17. Here Father Burke made reference to the Examination of the Reverend Mr. Burke's Letter of Instruction in which he stated,

that some strong expression taken from different parts of that Letter, and collected into one quotation, are aspersions on the whole body of Protestant Ministers, - To which Mr. B. firmly replies, that those

expressions in his Letter, can by no propriety of language, or possible implication, apply to any clergyman at all.³³

Palaeologus' Third Letter appeared in the Gazette of April 19. Here the writer gave a summary of most of the crimes and excesses which have been imputed to Catholics in different countries during a space of ten or twelve centuries. That the Reverend Mr. Cochran had a strong anti-Catholic bias can hardly be denied in the light of his concluding remarks in this letter of April 19, when he said, "Bad Catholics, you will say - Bad "men" we allow; but good "Catholics" they were."³⁴

On April 28, 1804, the anticipated refutation from Father Burke appeared in the Gazette. On May 24, Mr. Cochran's Fifth and Last Letter appeared in the Gazette. In affixing his own signature to this last letter he informed Father Burke that he will

have the satisfaction of turning the personalities, which you have hitherto bestowed on a phantom, against a real and living character, with this encouraging assurance, that none of them shall be retorted, or even noticed by me.³⁵

Reverend Cochran reviewed Father Burke's Letter of Instruction bringing forth the same arguments as did Reverend Stanser previously - division of spiritual and temporal powers, Father Burke's "torrent of abuse against the Bishop of Nova Scotia"³⁶ the profligacy of morals of the earlier Catholic clergy. Mr. Cochran wrote:

[y]ou must know, surely, that Catholic writers acknowledge and lament it; and that Catholic princes had long and loudly called for reformation in the Head and in the members. What Popes and Councils could not, or would not, do for them, we Protestants have in some means affected.

. . . It is very certain that the conduct of your clergy has been more decent since Luther's time than it had been for many centuries before.³⁷

Reverend Cochran accused Father Burke of attempting, by pure invention, to excite enemies against Bishop Inglis whose publication "never carried a single word of insinuation or allusion, weak or strong, to the Non-Conformists of the present day."³⁸ He then charged Father Burke with taking upon himself the defence of the Methodists against the Bishop. Reverend Stanser claimed that "the Methodists are not once named, or even alluded to, in any part of the charge."³⁹ After a prejudiced tirade on the worthlessness of the 'so-called' clerical celibacy, Reverend Cochran informed, Father Burke why he had written his five Letters.

Here, Sir, I take leave of you forever. . . .
I hope none of your flock will mistake me for an enemy to them. You are the single Roman Catholic alive against whom I have written anything, and that only when compelled. . . . Against you I have endeavoured to defend a Protestant King, a Protestant Parliament, a Protestant Bishop, and the Protestant Clergy.⁴⁰

In his reply to the Fifth and Last Letter, Father 'Burke considered all five of the communications accusing Reverend Cochran of dealing with "excesses having no reference to the Letter of Instruction."⁴¹ Father Burke came to the conclusion that his motive must have been "to infuse an aversion into the minds of the uninformed, and excite a terror not of Papists now no more, but of his fellow subjects now in being."⁴²

To bring this phase of the 'paper war' to an end, in July, 1804, Father Burke completed a reply to Reverend Stanser's Examination of the Reverend Mr. Burke's Letter of Instruction. He strongly

cautioned the public against this reverend gentleman who

in imitation of other pamphleteers collects a summary of what he calls Catholic doctrine. . . from the misrepresentation of party writers, who finding it impossible to refute any article of Catholic doctrine fairly stated, garble from quotations from obscure writers of no authority.⁴³

A master of the Latin language, Father Burke warned the readers also against taking a meaning out of any Latin quotation written by one who had "no great knowledge of the learned language."⁴⁴

He doubted that it was Reverend Stanser who actually wrote the Examination. Writing to the Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec, Father Burke stated, "I have just completed working on a slightly extended reply to Stanser's letter. He is the protestant curé of the town a very ignorant man who only affixes his name to the work of others."⁴⁵

Perhaps the Protestant prelates collaborated collectively in their replies to Father Burke; at any rate, it appears that Father Burke stood alone on his side of the controversy as he lacked the approbation of his ecclesiastical superior in Quebec as well as the support of clerical peers such as Bishop O'Donel of Newfoundland. Correspondence between Bishop O'Donel and the Bishop of Quebec clearly indicated this lack of support.

My Lord, . . . I am of your opinion in wishing that Mr. Burke's paper war with all the men in power in Halifax, had not been of a more inflammatory nature than the simple narrative of true facts could be.⁴⁶

Questioning the wisdom of Father Burke's writings, Bishop O'Donel added:

[h]e is very shrewd in his replys, but too violent in his attack, a very bad way to get his intended school establish-

ed, or procure any further privileges for the Nova Scotia Catholics than they have already obtained. viz: a mere toleration, as we have in Ireland.⁴⁷

As far as the Church of England clergy were concerned, there was no desire to prolong the controversy, but the same could not be said for Father Burke, for he knew he wrote well and was indeed determined to fire the final triumphant salvo in the already bitter and prolonged war. That such was his intention is readily seen in correspondence to Quebec wherein he advised the Bishop:

I do not know if our controversy is ended, but I suspect it. I have in the press an extensive enough work which will remain without reply. I have gathered the strongest arguments which the French, English and Italians have used against the so-called Reformation. 120 pages are already printed. As soon as the work is finished, I will send some copies to Your Grace.⁴⁸

The year-long truce which prevailed from 1805 to 1806 was interrupted by the appearance of yet another pamphlet emanating this time from the pen of Reverend Robert Norris.⁴⁹ Published in New Brunswick and distributed in Nova Scotia this pamphlet was entitled A Candid Discussion of the Principal Tenets of the Roman Faith. Writing on a more intellectual level than the previous disputants, Reverend Norris denounced papal infallibility, transubstantiation and four of the seven sacraments. In conclusion, he sanctioned the Church of England wherein "harmony was again restored between the principles of Reason and the dictates of Religion."⁵⁰

In advising his superior in Quebec of the appearance of Mr. Norris' pamphlet, Father Burke indicated a respect for the intellectual capacity, although not the character, of Reverend Norris, when he stated, "I have yet to refute a brochure of Mr. Norris, and English apostate who has just published against the authority of the Church, the Pope, the true Presence etc. The rogue is sharper than the others."⁵¹

At the time of the appearance of Reverend Norris' pamphlet, Father Burke had in the hands of the printer a Treatise on the First Principles of Christianity. Bankruptcy of the Halifax printer afforded him the opportunity to recall his work, supplement it with a reply to Reverend Norris and forward it to Boston for publication. The distribution of the completed pamphlet included twelve copies to Bishop Plessis with an accompanying memo in which the following justification for the publication was provided.

Controversial works serve to confirm the wavering in their faith, and preserve the strong and they have indeed another effect it is to close the mouth of the protestant preachers who do not stop shouting about the ignorance of the Catholic clergy and the blindness of our people.⁵²

In correspondence with Bishop Plessis following his Treatise on the First Principles of Christianity, Father Burke revealed some personal dissatisfaction with his handling of the Norris pamphlet and he sought the Bishop's criticism of his refutation. At the same time, however, he suggested that Bishop Plessis might find a use for his Treatise in the Quebec schools. While it was generally known that Bishop Plessis, who favoured a

policy of cooperation with civil authorities and urged his clerics to do likewise, disapproved of Father Burke's running battle with the ecclesiastics, yet at no time did he rebuke him for what he had written. Bishop Plessis remained somewhat neutral confining his correspondence with Father Burke to an acknowledgement of a receipt of the writings and a promise to distribute them as requested.

When the controversy turned upon the main questions separating Protestantism from Popery, the Church of England in Nova Scotia was forced to turn to Thomas McCulloch, a prelate more learned than those of their own persuasion. In support of this statement, William McCulloch, son of Thomas McCulloch, wrote as follows:

whether from the greater controversial ability of Mr. Burke, or his more thorough command of the literature of the subject, I am unable to say, but it was evident to the friends of Mr. Stanser that the Protestant cause required a different champion. At their request Mr. McCulloch stepped forward to join issue with Mr. Burke.⁵³

Having spent much spare time examining controversial works, Reverend Thomas McCulloch had his first volume, Popery Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers, published in Edinburgh in 1808. In his preface, his motives for writing are explained.

It appeared to me that something of this kind was requisite in a country where books upon the Popish controversy are rarely to be found . . . and besides, the Author of the Remarks needed a little wholesome castigation, to prevent him from arrogating to himself⁵⁴ a victory, to which he has no claim.

Reverend McCulloch chided Father Burke for his frequent reference to Hebrew and Greek which he had "tagged to his English version of the

scriptures, from a childish pedantry, and to impress his readers with an idea of his amazing erudition."⁵⁵ In Mr. McCulloch's extended refutation on popery, writings of the Church Fathers as well as Scripture were used. Upon receiving a copy, Father Burke wrote to Bishop Plessis that the Secession Presbyterian minister had written "with all the malice of Calvin and with much craft. He let loose against the Catholic religion in general and furiously against myself."⁵⁶ Once more, however, Father Burke felt equal to the challenge, for he stated, "I am preparing a response which will not be difficult because he only repeated what the others have said."⁵⁷ In a later letter he made reference to the fact that he was writing for a wider reading audience than in Nova Scotia.

I am always writing. Your Grace knows that I am unyielding, but I am more than you think. I am writing expressly to humiliate all those furious fanatics who cry out against us in Ireland more than anywhere else, also I am taking care to generalize . . . so that . . . all that I say about him [Rev. McCulloch] can be applied to others.⁵⁸

Father Burke's rejoinder of more than 400 pages in length was entitled Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled Popery Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers. In it he accused Reverend McCulloch, whom he referred to as the 'Edinburgh Castigator', of garbling his quotations equating him with the many ranting enthusiasts through the years who "would have descended to the shades unknown, and unlamented, if zeal for the destruction of Popery had not given celebrity to their names."⁵⁹ His conclusion promised another rejoinder in the near future.

In 1810 Dr. McCulloch replied in a second volume entitled Popery Again Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers being a Reply to a Part of the Popish Doctrines and Assertions Contained in the Remarks on the Refutation, and in the Review of Dr. Cochran's Letters, by the Rev. Edmund Burke, V.G., Que.

The reader of this second volume soon recognizes that Dr. McCulloch's learned rebuttals had won the admiration of Bishop Charles Inglis. On this matter William McCulloch wrote that "[t]he success of this effort to cover the retreat of Mr. Stanser from an unequal conquest begat a quasi-friendship with the bishop of the day."⁶⁰ In fact, in dedicating his second volume to Bishop Inglis Reverend McCulloch gave his motives for so doing.

It is a mark of respect due to the character which you sustain. Your attachment to those Principles which our ancestors have transmitted to us . . . entitle you to the esteem of every friend of the Reformation To possess the esteem of good men, is a principal consolation of life. . . . That my short defence of Protestant Principles has received your approbation, will always afford me pleasant, and, I trust, useful reflections.⁶¹

The Reverend Mr. McCulloch was in error in stating that Father Burke's refutation to his first volume must have been a party affair⁶² and the Remarker (title given to Father Burke by Reverend McCulloch in Popery Again Condemned) had been advocating their cause. Father Burke took up the battle alone and fought it single-handedly against the better judgment of most of his coreligionists. In Popery Again Condemned Dr. McCulloch rebuffed Father Burke who, he said, "delights in unknown tongues; and in shreds, patches, parings, and scrapings, exhibits them for the

admiration of his readers;"⁶³ and again, "Pedantry, Sir, is no mark of learning. . . . A pedant, a fop, and a fool, are the same character."⁶⁴

It seems most regrettable that a scholar and a gentleman of the stature of Thomas McCulloch should have allowed himself to become detracted from his characteristically logical approach and to resort to the emotionalism displayed in his attempt to denigrate both the Pope and Father Burke with the following concluding remarks in his preface to Popery Again Condemned:

Protestants cannot repay him for all the torrents of filth which he has poured out upon their persons and principles; but, perhaps when the Pope dies, he will bequeath him his dunghil."⁶⁵

In six chapters Mr. McCulloch presented a scholarly retort on such topics as the supremacy of the apostle, Peter and successive bishops of Rome; temporal jurisdiction formerly claimed by the popes; celibacy of the clergy and defence of the Protestant separation from the See of Rome.

In 1810 Father Burke was writing a follow-up to his Treatise on the First Principles of Christianity when he found that printing expenses in Halifax were exorbitant. "They made me pay 130 pounds Halifax currency for my last work, from which I never reaped 50 pounds."⁶⁶ Perhaps Father Burke was hoping for some financial assistance from Quebec when he wrote that "those who work for religion are obliged to do so at their own expense, all those who bark against are well paid, such is the

government of our time."⁶⁷ Not to be discouraged, Father Burke continued, "never mind, I will work if the good God gives me the health and I will have it printed if he gives me the means."⁶⁸

The appearance of Dr. McCulloch's Popery Again Condemned made Father Burke's publication problems seem infinitesimal and a reply was imminent. Contrary to the statement by Reverend George Patterson in A History of the County of Pictou,⁶⁹ Father Burke did, in fact, reply to Dr. McCulloch's Popery Again Condemned. Father Burke, however, evidently did not consider it worthy of too much rebuttal because he wrote to Bishop Plessis:

I will not give it much attention; the insults are not drawn from reasoning, I will merely add a few pages in the form of a P.S. to the work in the press, in which I am forming an analysis of the doctrine of Calvin. McCulloch will find in it something to enflame his anger which is already strongly overheated.⁷⁰

In September, 1811, following the publication of his refutation of Popery Again Condemned, Father Burke was pleased to advise Bishop Plessis that a request came from Ireland for copies of all his works as "they pertain to that country."⁷¹ In the autumn of 1811 Father Burke began a new and very extensive work on the supremacy of the Pope. This was not completed until the spring of 1814 when he related, "I have finished a treatise on the head of the Church . . . I have not yet put it under press."⁷² In the spring of 1814 Father Burke was working on a treatise on the Church⁷³ which he had printed in 1817. By the summer of 1817 he announced that he had just written on Purgatory which he had added to his treatise on the Church. The new work received the

approval of the Bishop of Ireland where it was published. After tolerating a great deal of inefficiency on the part of the printers in Ireland as well as on the part of the shippers, Father Burke finally received his books at Halifax, via Philadelphia, in May, 1819. In the meantime, he had been consecrated Bishop of Sion and First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia. In sending some copies to Bishop Plessis, Bishop Burke told him that the work was published anonymously as it did not call for a response. He felt that it was the strongest work that he had published. In the same correspondence he informed Bishop Plessis that he had yet another work in hand. That was to be his last literary undertaking for he was to live for only another sixteen months. A letter to his friend, Dr. D. Murray, in Ireland, reveals the topic of this final work as well as a well-founded fear of the prelate, "I am now writing a treatise on the sacraments. God knows whether I shall finish the work."⁷⁴

One of the earliest writers in English literature in British North America, Father Burke's writings testify to his never ending vigilance for the rights and liberties of his flock. His opponents were to find him no ordinary adversary. It has been suggested that he was no match for Dr. McCulloch;⁷⁵ others saw it differently. "Persons who were thought impartial considered that Dr. Burke came off best in the argument."⁷⁶ It is natural that both sides would claim the victory. These were two men whose works probably excelled anything produced in the colonies at the time. High commendation for both men's writings was received from Mr. McGavin of the

Protestant, a Glasgow paper, and from the Bishop of Durham.⁷⁷

Their literary acumen astounded many a reader of their day.

In our youthful days we used to pour over the goodly volumes in amazement at the ability with which the disputants plied one another with arguments backed up with quotations from the ancient languages.⁷⁸

There are those of his own persuasion who felt that Father Burke considered the whole issue from a vain and personal point of view.

But he knew how to write and had the desire to make the public sensible of his talent in that line, as all that he compiles, thinks, and labours for now tends rather to a personal victory than any other advantage he or those committed to his charge could expect therefrom. . . . The Rev'd Mr. Burke thought he would not be well known without lighting the torch of controversy in the wilds of Nova Scotia.⁷⁹

Some elements of truth might be applied to this statement when speaking of the younger priest, but could not be applied to the aging, sickly bishop who continued to write on the Sacraments although he knew he had not long to live. At any rate, this powerful reasoner, as an able exponent of the tenets of his own church, rendered a monumental service to his own flock; and perhaps unwittingly gave rise to the earliest stirrings towards ecumenism in Nova Scotia by bringing together, albeit of necessity, the Anglicans and Secession Presbyterians under the leadership of Bishop C. Inglis and Reverend T. McCulloch.

In his mid eighties, The Reverend John Carroll, Bishop Burke's nephew, understudy and successor as administrator, described Edmund Burke as follows: "My uncle was the most humble, pious, and learned priest I ever knew. He was constantly engaged in writing."⁸⁰

CHAPTER IV

PARISH PRIEST AND MISSIONARY

On October 2, 1801 Father Edmund Burke arrived at Halifax as Vicar General and Superior of the Missions of Nova Scotia. He immediately undertook the organization of the church records by beginning a register of baptisms, marriages and interments¹ a register of papers relative to parish affairs, in which he wrote, "it does not appear that any register in good form has been kept in this parish previous to this date."²

The Church, St. Peter's, built in 1784, was a low, wooden structure, supposedly painted red. In 1881, a Haligonian wrote, "we used always to call it 'the chapel' in contradistinction to the Church of England places of worship."³ This church faced west, the entrance to the building facing Grafton Street but access to it could be gained by a lane that led from Barrington Street. By 1794 a spire and belfry had been added and a bell purchased. "It would appear that the bell belonged to the church at St. Pierre, Miquelon, and had been carried to Halifax as a prize of war."⁴ In his first letter from Halifax to the Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec, Father Burke referred to the church as "small for the congregation, but it is pretty. Instead of a sanctuary choir we have an organ loft at the end, where a group of poor singers bellow forth . . . it will take time to substitute for this the music of the church."⁵

The Singing Society of St. Peter's Chapel had been organized on October 2, 1800.⁶ In 1807 the Society appropriated the sum of

one hundred pounds for the purchase of an organ. This was augmented by another hundred pounds bequeathed to the Society by the late Dr. Bartholomew Sullivan.⁷ The organ was purchased from London in 1810. By January, 1818, the boys and girls of the parish were being instructed in singing under the direction of an instructor on salary.⁸

During the years of Father James Jones's priestly labours at St. Peter's, which extended from 1785 to 1800, a spirit of dissention had arisen between the church wardens and the pastor. The departure of Father Jones was, among other things, attributable to this lack of harmony in the parish. Father Edmund Burke, a Dominican priest who is not the subject of this dissertation,⁹ succeeded Father Jones in 1800. He was cognizant of the rift between clergy and laity; thus, on his arrival, he consented to the establishment of a lay committee to which would be delegated responsibility for the temporal affairs of the parish in the hope that this sharing of responsibility might correct the prevailing unwholesome parochial atmosphere. The vehicle for the delegation of temporal authority was a self-constituted committee of the church under the leadership of a Mr. John Stealing. So seriously did this committee accept its new responsibilities that it attempted to control the parish in a very rigid fashion which included the exclusion of the pastor from the committee. The situation so deteriorated that, in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec, Father Burke accused Mr. Stealing of strong anticlerical leanings.¹⁰ Sharing Father Burke's concern, the congregation rejected the rigid rules

of Mr. Stealing's committee by establishing a second committee with new rules and regulations. Both parties remained adamant and inflexible so that by the summer of 1801 the rift widened between parishoner and parishoner as well as between parishoner and pastor. In August, six members of Mr. Stealing's committee wrote to Bishop Denault that "there still continues considerable discontent among the lower order of our congregation."¹¹ In reply Bishop Denault urged the committee to unite their efforts towards conciliation and to espouse the Bishop's proposal as outlined in an enclosed pastoral letter. In this pastoral letter, he informed the parishoners that their regulations were contrary to common practice in all parish churches; indeed, he added that one of them "appears to violate the laws of the Church usurping her authority."¹² In an effort to restore harmony he proposed interim rules for the administration of the parish until he could personally make an episcopal visitation to St. Peter's. He was most emphatic with respect to the observance of the third article of his pastoral letter which read:

that our foresaid Vicar General assist at all the deliberations of the said committee, and that he preside therein in our name; that he be the only judge of persons admissible to ecclesiastical burial, that he have a right to lodge in the glebe house such persons as he shall think necessary for his service or his society and that he receive from the congregation the emoluments heretofore allowed to Mr. Jones i.e. thirty-six pounds per quarter.¹³

Father Edmund Burke, the Dominican, departed Halifax in September, 1801, leaving the subject of this thesis, Father Edmund Bruke, inheritor of a parish with the aforesaid built-in animosities.

The second Father Burke arrived at Halifax on October 2, 1801. In characteristic fashion, he rapidly became master of the situation so that within eight days of arrival he was able to write to Quebec, "I see no difficulty in restoring order here among these good Irish. They never had the idea of deviating from their duty."¹⁴ This optimism was not without justification as three months later Father Burke advised his superior that "[t]he order and discipline of the Diocese are established with the consent of all."¹⁵ By January, 1802, as suggested by Bishop Denault, a new election of wardens had taken place. The newly elected men were happy to relate to Bishop Denault that "the whole of this arduous business has been conducted without a contradiction and to the entire satisfaction of all parties."¹⁶ They attributed the harmony to the wisdom and tact of Father Burke "to whose salutary measures and indefatigable exertions we feel sensibly indebted."¹⁷ The members of Mr. Stealing's original committee dutifully submitted and consented. They, also, wrote to the Bishop informing him that "all dissensions are done away, Peace and Harmony are restored."¹⁸

Bishop Denault made his promised episcopal visit to Halifax in 1803; thus, for the second time in the history of this colony the Catholic population of Nova Scotia was honoured by a visit of their Bishop from Quebec.¹⁹ Arriving on the south-west coast of Nova Scotia on May 27, by June 13 he reached Halifax where he was not only well received by the parishoners of St. Peter's but was "treated with as much honour as at Boston by the civil and ecclesiastic powers, because Bishop Charles is here, visiting, like

me, we acquitted ourselves, each in his own way, in emulation of each other."²⁰ Actually, the Anglican prelate, deeply resentful of Bishop Denault's visit, later expressed this indignation in writing.

In 1803 the above Bishop made a tour through these British provinces, which are entirely out of his jurisdiction, and exercised the function of his office in each, to the astonishment and alarm of all Protestants.²¹

Bishop Denault was obviously impressed with Father Burke's accomplishments in such a short time and indicated this in a letter to his coadjutor: "Mr. Burke . . . does well in this mission."²² Before returning to Quebec the Bishop left further instructions for the parish in the form of ten articles written in the Warden's Minute Book. These concerned such details as the acquisition of ornaments, religious ritual, hiring of a sacristan, locking the sacristy each day when the sun goes down and the singing of "Domine salvum fac regem" (O Lord, save the King) after each Mass.²³

Successful in restoring harmony among his parishoners, Father Burke was now free to devote his energies to improving the church and related properties. The cemetery, situated on the Grafton Street side of the church,²⁴ was most unsatisfactory to Father Burke who, seeing it as dangerous from a sanitary point of view, urged for its removal to another place. In 1803 the topic was raised at the warden's meeting where it was unanimously agreed that it be removed.

This resolution was formed in consequence of a proposition made by the Rev. Mr. Burke . . . who declared on his own experience that the stench issuing from the corrupted bodies in the heavy rains and hot season was dangerous and infectious.²⁵

Indeed, Father Burke was not the only one who was concerned about the dampness and generally poor sanitary conditions which existed in the cemetery at the time. In the twilight of his career, the distinguished Dr. B. Sullivan spent considerable time preparing the plot which would be his final resting place. On one occasion Father Burke observed the good doctor providing a drain from his lot which prompted the priest to quip, "Perdu, perdu, man, if you get clear of the fire, never mind the water."²⁶

The presbytery had been built in 1785 to the rear of the chapel, towards Barrington Street. It was "one story high, with a pointed roof, and had four rooms. Between it and Barrington Street was the priest's garden."²⁷ Both the presbytery and the church were in pressing need of repair when Father Burke came to Halifax. The necessary repairs were made to both buildings but it soon became obvious that the church was too small for the growing congregation. On January 1, 1810, therefore, the wardens and electors decreed that an enlarged St. Peter's was a necessity.

As early as 1802 Father Burke began a project which was to occupy much of his attention during the remainder of his life. This was the erection of a two-storied building which he frequently called "our college."²⁸ Since it was not used for educational purposes until several years later, he rented the lower floor, as a residence, to Lawrence Doyle, father of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle.²⁹

A glance at the abridged regulations drawn up by the old committee of St. Peter's and the remarks made on them by Bishop Denault gives the reader some idea of how Father Burke obtained

money to finance parochial affairs. They also give an indication of some of the expenditures involved. They show that the missionary regularly received thirty-six pounds per quarter;³⁰ fees were collected for such regular services as masses and interments; pews which became vacant and new ones built were auctioned off to the highest bidder and each church member contributed regularly according to his faculties. Financial assistance also came from private benefactors, such as Doctor Sullivan, who made donations in the form of money or property. Father Burke noted that a certain Mrs. Blake gave him "half of a large house which was worth 2000 livres."³¹ The next year he was given a lot "400 feet deep by 200 feet frontage, a wharf, an orchard, four houses, garden, and grassland in the middle of the town."³² For several years he also attempted to recover possession of some 900 to 1000 pounds bequeathed to the Nova Scotia missions in 1794 by Bishop Bailly. He had an agent working for him in London where the money was deposited in a bank but the matter was not settled in Father Burke's time.

Having served in the parish for ten years, Father Burke was able to report that his mission was quiet; that most of his parishoners made their Easter duty; but if he had another priest as assistant, much more could be done, especially for the soldiers of Halifax where "the whole garrison is Catholic except the officers among which there are only two Catholics."³³

Father Burke was disappointed that Bishop Plessis was unable to visit Halifax on his first episcopal tour of Nova Scotia

in 1812. Bishop Plessis left Quebec on May 20. Having visited several missions in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, he then visited the missions of Cape Breton, Tracadie, Arisaig and Pictou. The outbreak of war with the United States prevented him from continuing his tour; thus from Pictou, he returned to Quebec determined to return to Nova Scotia for a more extended tour after the cessation of hostilities. The Bishop had formerly intended to come during the summer of 1811. In the Spring of that year Father Burke wrote to him displaying an obvious pleasure at the intended visit. He offered his services as companion to the Bishop from Boston, if he should travel that way, and he generously informed him that he has "room for Your Grace and a half dozen priests."³⁴ In 1812 the Bishop neither came by way of Boston nor accepted Father Burke's offer as a companion. Accompanying him were Fathers Thomas Maguire, parish priest at St. Michael de la Durantaye, Jean-Louis Beaubien and Coté, secretary to the Bishop during his trip.³⁵ While at Prince Edward Island his companion was Father Angus MacEachern³⁶ who went on to Cape Breton and mainland Nova Scotia with him.³⁷ Father Alexander MacDonald of Arisaig³⁸ also joined the tour.

As Vicar General and Superior of the Missions of Nova Scotia, Father's Burke's territory included Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, the Magdalen Islands and part of New Brunswick. Throughout this area, owing to the efforts of Father James Jones, ten priests were ministering when Father Burke arrived³⁹ -- in Prince Edward Island, Fathers A. MacEachern, Amable Pichard and Abbé de Calonne;⁴⁰

at Memramcook, Father Thomas Power;⁴¹ at Arichat, Fathers François Lejantel and Jean-Baptiste Allain;⁴² at Pictou, Father Augustine MacDonald;⁴³ at St. Mary's Bay, Abbé Jean-Mandé Sigogne; at Prospect, Father Thomas Grace⁴⁴ and at Cheticamp, Father Gabriel Champion.⁴⁵

Unfortunately, Father Burke was to enjoy the services of Father Champion for only five years as he suffered an attack which was soon to incapacitate him. It was with a feeling of genuine pity that Father Burke reported the misfortune: "I have sad news to tell. Poor Champion . . . is presently at my house after having lost his sight -- he believes that our doctors in Halifax can do something for him but it is the optic nerve which is attacked."⁴⁶ While staying with Father Burke, Father Champion improved somewhat; thus Father Burke wrote,

the good missionary Champion is a bit better. He said Mass on the feast of St. Peter and on Sunday since then, I sent him to Chessetcook [sic] to hear the confessions of the Acadians and the Indians who assembled I hope he will be well enough to take charge of his mission again, for we are short of labourers, and the loss⁴⁷ of this good man would not soon be repaired.

Father Champion's improved health was short lived as he died of a seizure at Arichat on January 18, 1808. Disappointed, Father Burke wrote:

[p]oor Champion is dead, and leaves a void which Your Lordship will find it hard to fill. Mr. Jantel writes me that good Mr. Allain is going to the Magdelene Islands, but only to stay with one of his nephews and not as a missionary. If no one else can be found, may I give him a definite order to take care of these poor people?⁴⁸

Father Allain spent the next four years at the Magdalen Islands. His departure following Father Champion's death left Father

Lejantel as the sole priest residing permanently on Cape Breton Island from 1808 to 1814.

In 1814 the plight of the Catholics in Cape Breton was relieved somewhat when it was decided that Father MacEachern of Prince Edward Island would occasionally visit Cape Breton as he had done in earlier years. From 1798 until 1804 he had ministered to the Highlanders settled along the Gulf Shore of Northern Nova Scotia and in the present county of Inverness.⁴⁹ He went to Arisaig once yearly, spent a few weeks there and in surrounding settlements then went on to Cape Breton. "Besides his annual visit, he was frequently brought across the Strait in a boat on sick calls. In those days none died without the rites of the Church. His name was held in benediction among both Protestants and Catholics."⁵⁰ When in 1812 Bishop Plessis assigned Father Jean-Louis Beaubien⁵¹ to Rustico, Prince Edward Island, Father Burke felt that Father MacEachern could again relieve Father Lejantel by making occasional visits to Cape Breton. The document, signed 'Edmund Burke, Vicar General', investing Father MacEachern with this authority is dated August 17, 1814 and is worded as follows:

the Reverend Angus MacEachern, Missionary in Prince Edward Island, will pass through the island of Cape Breton, if he can make it convenient and exercise all the functions of his ministry there amongst the people who speak Erse or English, as he does in Prince Edward Island and the people will attend to his instructions.⁵²

Concerning his new duties, Father MacEachern explained:

I went, by order of Mr. Burke, to Mainadieu near Scatari, twenty miles from Sydney. I stayed one Sunday at Mainadieu, and went by sea to Louisburg, fifteen miles, where I stayed some days. . . . They had no priest among them for ten years before.⁵³

Needless to say, the Catholics of Cape Breton Island were grateful for the opportunity to receive the sacraments and benefit from the wise counsel of the priest on these all too infrequent visitations.

At the other extremity of Nova Scotia, in the St. Mary's Bay area, the Catholic population had their spiritual needs cared for by Abbé Jean-Mandé Sigogne. This good priest did not confine his efforts exclusively to religion as the somewhat uneducated populace there relied upon him not only for baptisms, marriages and burials but also for guidance in all matters secular. Correspondence to Quebec indicates, however, that difficulties had early arisen between Father Sigogne and Father Burke.

My affairs are going badly since the new Mr. Burke is at Halifax. . . . I do not dare write to Monsigneur who has not answered my last letters. Because of malice or injustice . . . two or three in particular . . . have taken complaints and reported to Mr. Burke. He believed them, blamed me. . . . Mr. Burke scarcely condescends to write to me.⁵⁴

In 1803 Father Sigogne sent the Bishop a letter of complaint which indicated that Father Burke had blamed him too hastily without hearing his side of the story. In frustration, he concluded that "the misunderstanding that seems to continue between Mr. Burke and myself must not go any farther."⁵⁵ As tension between the two priests still existed in 1806, the Bishop tried to bring about a meeting of minds. Writing to Father

Sigogne, he explained that he understood his isolation but found it difficult to find a priest to help. His concluding remarks were in defence of Father Burke to whom Father Sigogne could appeal with confidence. "He is good, and the prejudices that you think he has against you will soon be reduced to nothing if they have not already dissipated."⁵⁶ The misunderstanding was resolved by the early months of 1808 when Father Sigogne reported that he no longer held any prejudice against Father Burke.⁵⁷

While Father Burke was praised by both his superiors and peers for many outstanding qualities in the religious and secular realm, he was continuously faulted from many quarters for a persistent failure to deal adequately with his correspondence. In 1805 Bishop Denault wrote, "I answered all your letters and I have written several whose reception you have not recognized."⁵⁸ Bishop Plessis had a similar complaint in a letter of 1812 in which he informed him that "[s]everal . . . priests complain that when they write to you for consultation, they do not get an answer for six months, or get it too late. A man in office must be more punctual and keep the letters that he receives, until he has answered them."⁵⁹ Another characteristic which Bishop Plessis disliked in Father Burke was his proclivity for dominating his letters with current world affairs, oftentimes to the exclusion of religious matters. "You send me political news," the Bishop wrote, "that is not what I am waiting for. Tell me, how is the kingdom of God in your localities? That is what interests me and of what you are principally charged to render an account."⁶⁰ Undaunted by this reproach, Father Burke

promptly replied to this correspondence and in doing so an obvious Irish wit is displayed. "Your Lordship asks me news of the Kingdom of God. Has he a Kingdom in this world?"⁶¹ In the same breath, he again succumbed to his passion for world affairs by engaging in a lengthy discourse on the activities of Bonaparte.

Throughout his years of service in Nova Scotia, Father Burke worked unceasingly for the acquisition of more priests. Recruitment efforts were directed to Quebec, Ireland and Scotland. In 1805, when the soldiers of the garrison at Halifax were ordered to go to the church of their choice, Father Burke found that suddenly his congregation was increased by several hundred soldiers. "More than half the garrison came to us. Nearly all the Germans and all the Irish are Catholics . . . we are terribly crowded. Your Lordship must either send me a priest to say an early mass or grant me the privilege of saying 2 masses on Sundays and holidays."⁶² Such pleas for assistance brought no relief from Quebec. Under pressure from the residents of Pictou and Cape Breton, Father Burke then appealed to two bishops in Scotland urging them to send two of their priests to Nova Scotia to administer to the spiritual needs of their compatriots in the Pictou and Cape Breton areas. Because of this constant frustration which attended his efforts to obtain priestly recruits, it might be conjectured that Father Burke's projected visit to Europe had as its chief purpose the establishment of a See at Halifax with himself as Bishop so that he would, in fact, be able to resolve the problem of the shortage of priests by training and ordaining young men from Nova Scotia.

Father Burke had been labouring in Halifax for thirteen years when he wrote to the Bishop asking permission to take a trip to Europe to seek surgeon's care. For some time he had been suffering from an internal complaint from which he believed he would get relief by means of superior medical skill in London. If he were to go, he would need a priest to take his place; thus, he strongly appealed for a replacement for his growing parish when he wrote

age is advancing and I feel it. . . . I need a priest to assist me, because I am no longer adequate for so many people. I do not speak of the King's troops although they have increased by 800 . . . but my parishoners independent of the troops have more than doubled.⁶³

Early in October, 1814, Father Pierre-Marie Mignault⁶⁴ came from Quebec to assist Father Burke. The fact that he carried out most of the parish duties during the winter of 1814-1815 was duly acknowledged by Father Burke; however, the latter reported that living with him had become a problem because "his way of life is so different from mine."⁶⁵ Father Mignault wished to move from the presbytery to take up some rooms in 'the college'. Father Burke feared, however, that this might lead to a dispute between him and the teachers whom Father Burke intended to have there. Any thought that Father Mignault might succeed Father Burke at St. Peter's was dispelled by a letter to the Bishop in which the pastor clearly stated that "he is a good man, but however I do not wish to cede him my mission, although I have ceded three-fourths of the revenue to him."⁶⁶ Obvious dissatisfaction is confirmed in the correspondence of Father Mignault who informed the Bishop that an episcopal visit

to Halifax is necessary for several reasons -- "schools to establish for both sexes, a church to build at Halifax, rules to be made for the vestryboard, fees to settle Our wardens and electors want you no less than I,"⁶⁷ An explanation as to why Father Burke would not lodge him in the empty, upper part of the 'schoolhouse' was given.

Mr. B. wants to occupy it himself. . . .
One of Mr. B's reasons is that Mr. Doyle who occupies the lower part of the house pays £60; but the vestry-board⁶⁸ never received a cent of this rent.

Further criticism of Father Burke fell from the pen of Father Mignault while the pastor was in Europe. While differences had arisen between the two priests which led Father Burke to conclude that Father Mignault did not have the characteristics expected of his successor, nevertheless, Father Mignault's departure for Quebec prompted Father Burke to express regret that he would not continue his good work in Nova Scotia.⁶⁹

In the Spring of 1815, while making plans for his trip to Europe, Father Burke received a letter from Bishop Plessis announcing that he would be visiting Nova Scotia by the end of June. This visit was to be a resumption of his 1812 tour which was abruptly terminated by the war of that year with the United States.

Bishop Plessis left Quebec by boat on May 20, 1815, arriving at Arichat on June 16. Since Arichat was the hub of the missions of the Gulf, the Bishop decided to make it his headquarters during the visitation. On June 19 he visited Louisburg; on the 20th he was at Mainadieu; he then went to Lingan; thence to Low Point, and on June 23 the Bishop's party

arrived at Sydney. The garrison there was under the command of Major General Swaine who was most friendly towards the Bishop's party. At Sydney, Mass was celebrated in a small chapel, but, to the surprise of the Bishop, "more Protestants than Catholics were present."⁷⁰ Disappointed at the low state of religion in these areas, the Bishop resolved that a missionary should visit them regularly each year. The same situation was found among the fifteen to twenty families who had no chapel at Bras d'Or. Since Father Lejantel had not been able to visit them for four years, "during his absence the enemy sowed cockle in the little field. The good grain had been suffocated."⁷¹

At Chapel Island the Bishop's party slept in the tiny chapel where masses were offered next day. Unfortunately, the 100 families of Highlanders could not receive the sacraments because none of the priests could speak Gaelic. At Christmas Island the Bishop was most impressed with the religious zeal of the Micmacs who still had in their possession Father Maillard's book of instructions and hymns. They had a small chapel and having built a presbytery, they took this opportunity to petition the Bishop for a resident priest; but the most that he could promise them was a two-week yearly visit from Father Lejantel rather than one.

The ecclesiastical party returned to Arichat on July 3. Waiting for them were Fathers MacEachern, Manseau and MacDonnell. In all, nine clerics were assembled in this parish.⁷² This was a joyous week for the many parishoners who took advantage of the numerous daily masses and sacraments. On July 4 the

Bishop appointed Father Rémi Gaulin⁷³ as the first pastor of St. Ninian's Parish, Antigonish; at the same time, Father Manseau⁷⁴ was given instructions to make regular missionary visits to Louisburg and Sydney.

Before leaving Arichat, Bishop Plessis received a communication from Father Burke in which he expressed both impatience and pleasure over the Bishop's anticipated arrival at Halifax in the near future. Realizing that Father Burke had all arrangements made for his European tour, the Bishop, too, was anxious to spend some time with him before his departure. Fortunately, the packet on which Father Burke had passage was detained because of weather so the Bishop was able to enjoy a two-day visit with the pastor which otherwise might not have been possible. Having arrived at Halifax on July 14, the official party was lodged in the building that was intended for the college.

This was a very busy time for Father Burke. Since the end of May he had been entertaining a number of Trappist priests along with three Ursuline nuns from New York who stopped off at Halifax awaiting passage for England and Ireland. Impressed with the Ursuline nuns, the parents of six young Halifax girls who intended to study at Quebec, decided that their daughters would go to Ireland to study, rather than to Quebec. Passage for the nuns, the six girls and one or two young boys who were to study at Stonehouse in England was arranged on the same vessel on which Father Burke had booked passage to Ireland. In addition to all these arrangements, Father Burke was also able to secure free passage for the Trappists on the H.M.S. Ceylon.

The misfortune of some can sometimes be the good fortune of others. Nova Scotia was to gain the services of a new priest; indeed, in time, a new order of priests, because Father Vincent de Paul, one of the Trappists, missed the ship that was to take him and his companions to England. He had previously boarded the vessel, but as it was delayed by winds, he went ashore "to see about some business that was not of grave importance when . . . the ship sailed."⁷⁵ Turning to Father Burke, he requested that he be allowed to work in the parish until he could communicate with his Superior in France.⁷⁶ Soon to embark for Europe, Father Burke was delighted that Father Mignault would have an assistant at St. Peter's. Father Vincent later reported that he found much to keep him busy. "Mr. Burke having gone to Ireland, we were only two priests for the town of Halifax and its suburbs. . . . While in Halifax I found myself overladen with work Although I knew very little English, I preached twice in that language in the Catholic Church of the town."⁷⁷

Knowing Bishop Plessis' partiality for the Trappists, before he sailed, Father Burke urged Father Vincent to speak with the Bishop concerning the possibility of establishing the Trappist Order in Nova Scotia. This was not the first time that Father Burke had such a project in mind. In 1813 he had approached the Bishop for advice on the matter.

Enclosed is a letter I have just received from Mr. l'Abbé de la trappe. Nothing would please me more than to see a fine establishment of these good fathers. . . . I will do all I can. I will give them all the land they can cultivate. . . . Let me know what you think of Trappists.⁷⁸

Bishop Plessis, who never undertook a major step without first consulting the government, replied. "The Trappists certainly do not have to fear that they will be looked upon in a bad light in Canada. . . . But the idea of going there without having formerly had the agreement of the government, I cannot support."⁷⁹ At that time the Bishop promised to submit the proposal to Sir Geroge Prevost who, in turn, might make recommendations to His Majesty's minister in England. In the meantime, Father Burke had acquired land in Antigonish with the intention of establishing the Order there.

Most impressed with the excellent religious spirit which he witnessed among the Catholics at Halifax, Bishop Plessis remarked:

[i]n the middle of this multitude of sects, the Catholic religion is conspicuous by its unity. . . . In consequence of some government prejudices, they are excluded from all prominent positions, from the Council, from the Bar, from the Assembly. Is it a misfortune for them? No, their religion profited by it. . . . Merchants, of whom several have quite substantial fortunes, workmen, farmers, domestics compose the Catholic Church of Halifax.⁸⁰

Deeply moved by the numbers attending masses and receiving the sacraments as well as by the fervor of the boys and girls, the Bishop made the following entry in his Diary: [w]e no longer need to be convinced that religion is as fervent here as in any other christian community in the diocese of Quebec."⁸¹ Perhaps what pleased him most was to see for himself that Father Burke had truly dissipated all dissention and had won the respect and admiration of his parishoners.

One could add to that the great respect of these faithful for their pastors who guide them, the docility of their church wardens, the kind of people who give so much anguish to the parish priests in Canada.⁸²

From Halifax, the Bishop's party went by boat to Chezzetcook when they found forty-seven Christian families who never had a resident priest. Father Mignault, who had visited them in 1814, encouraged them to begin a presbytery and small chapel which Bishop Plessis named in honor of St. Anslem of Canterbury.

The Bishop's next stop was at Prospect. Here, as well as in neighbouring harbours such as Ketch Harbour and Herring Cove, the Bishop found about forty Irish families who earned a living by fishing. Their sixty year old pastor, Father Grace, having no house of his own, dined at one house and slept at another. The Bishop described their poor chapel as a building without a chimney, with a roof, a floor, and a long buffet which was called an altar. Seeing that Father Grace had no vestments, he wondered how the poor priest could possibly carry out his priestly functions respectfully. He also recognized the futility of attempting to change this man whose only wish was to be relieved of his duties. Assembling the people of Prospect, the Bishop said Mass, gave a sermon, confirmed two people and named their chapel in honour of St. Columban.

On July 22 the Bishop's party left Halifax for Annapolis. In bidding official adieu to General Sherbrooke, the Bishop donned his soutane "to prepare the way for those who, by following, would like to wear the ecclesiastic habit in this part of the

diocese."⁸³

On July 29 the Bishop arrived at the country home of Bishop Charles Inglis in Aylesford. While the Bishop had been in Halifax, Bishop Inglis' son, Reverend John Inglis, had invited him to stay overnight at his father's home in Aylesford. At the same time, Reverend Inglis asked the Bishop if he would, while there, attend to the spiritual needs of the Irish caretaker, named Duggan, and his wife, both Catholics. The Bishop was happy to accept the Reverend's offer, his remarks on the incident being most interesting.

If it seems strange that a Protestant minister had made this request to the Catholic Bishop; it must be more so to see the house of the Anglican Bishop serve as a chapel for a Catholic Bishop. Nevertheless, this is what happened.⁸⁴

The Bishop further explained that on the next day the portable chapel was set up in the best room in the house where Mass was said.

On August 1 the Bishop was at Digby where he was delighted to be able to converse freely with those of his own tongue. On August 2, at St. Mary's Bay, he met the missionary, Father Jean-Mandé Sigogne who showed him the two churches he had built -- St. Mary's and St. Anne of Argyle. The Bishop obviously admired the efforts of this priest who had control of every aspect of the lives and activities of these Acadians.

While Bishop Plessis was returning to Quebec via New Brunswick, Father Burke was in Ireland making preparations for the first leg of his continental tour. Further consolidation of Catholicism in

Nova Scotia following 1815 and the return of Bishop Plessis to
Quebec will be the topic of Chapter Seven -- Struggle for Autonomy:
A Bishop is Born and Chapter Eight -- Approaching the End:
Grasping for Continuity.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE, RAPPORT AND POLITICKING WITH OFFICIALDOM

While still a neophyte missionary in North America, Father Burke attracted the attention and won the esteem of political officials. As mentioned previously¹, he won the commendation of Lord Dorchester for his skill and prudence in pacifying the Indian tribes inhabiting the country about Lake Superior as well as the frontier settlements of Ohio and Louisiana. As chaplain with the English army in these parts, he also became influential with the military authorities. It was with apparent confidence, therefore, that, only six months after his arrival in Nova Scotia, he petitioned the Nova Scotian government to enable him to incorporate his newly projected school. In fact, so confident was he, that he began construction before receiving formal approval and it must have been with some surprise that he received a refusal from Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth who ultimately sent the Attorney-General with a ukase to cease building. His utter contempt for the cease and desist order was obviously prompted by a confidence in the most friendly relationship which he enjoyed with the Duke of Kent and figures of comparable stature.

Notwithstanding the tension that has mounted over Father Burke's petition, when Bishop P. Denault came to Halifax on his episcopal tour in June, 1803, he was treated with respect and honour by both political and ecclesiastic officials. Certainly, the respect shown by Bishop Inglis was one of outward deference

only; his innermost feelings were indicated in several letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Suffice to say here that it was Father Burke's opinion that Bishop Inglis personally inspired Wentworth's refusal of the sought after building permit. Later, when informing Bishop Denault that his petitioners had sent a petition to the Duke of Kent, Father Burke correctly predicted, "when the tale is told they will have been forced to accord us what the laws give us."² The British Government had strict control over several aspects of the Roman Catholic Church. They watched closely the issuing of licenses to all clergy who were to serve in British North America. To ensure the cooperation of the Bishop, the Government gave him an annual income which was also a means of attaching him to Government. Bishop Plessis was most serious in his attentions to all orders of the Government; thus, "he never forgot that complete loyalty to the King was a fundamental condition for the survival of the Catholic Church in Canada."³ Father Burke, who was of the opinion that freedom of religion was a right that Catholics should enjoy, did not share the views of his Bishop. Therefore, although showing the greatest deference towards his superiors in Quebec, he was never torn between Bishop Plessis' ideas on Church and State and his own strong convictions. This gave Bishop Plessis many an anxious moment.

Eventually, with the help of such friends as the Duke of Kent and Lord Selkirk in 1806 Father Burke received belated permission to open his school. He could then turn to more pleasant pursuits such as paying a visit to Sir Francis Gore, the Lieutenant-

Governor of Upper Canada, who was in Halifax that month. Of the occasion he wrote, "I must not miss the chance to pay him a visit and give him all the honor I can possibly give."⁴ In the same correspondence he inquired about the newly appointed Governor at Quebec: "I do not know your new governor at Quebec, Mr. Dundas. Is he a Scotsman?"⁵

Father Burke's friendship with Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, began on September 30, 1804, when, upon returning from Prince Edward Island, Lord Selkirk visited him in connection with Selkirk's plan for a settlement on a grant of land he had received in Upper Canada. Selkirk preferred Irish Catholic settlers "who would preserve their own language and characteristics and not imbibe the principles and dispositions of Yankees."⁶ His reason for calling on Father Burke was that he felt that "Highlanders and Irish Catholics were the most valuable as they were clannish and fond of a place where their own people, religion and language were prevalent."⁷ With his hopes set on assistance from Father Burke in getting Irish Catholics from Halifax, and possibly a priest, for his proposed settlement, Selkirk settled into deep and confidential conversation with him.

Most zealous about the scheme, Father Burke expounded on the merits of Upper Canada which was

a. . . country . . . of importance to be secured to G. Britain by a Colony of Europeans -- adverted to the danger of the country being settled by Yankees -- as also the necessity of securing the Passes at Detroit & R. St. Clair to preserve the trade to the Upper Country.⁸

Proposing that Selkirk begin a settlement at the entrance to Lake Huron, Father Burke showed him a paper addressed to the Duke of Kent and General Hunter⁹ concerning the posts there. Selkirk approved of Father Burke's ideas and decided to establish his farm and settlement in Dover Township, county of Kent, near Lake St. Clair.¹⁰ The proposed settlement was called "Baldoon".

In his Diary, Lord Selkirk made note of the fact that Father Burke had promised him settlers.

We talked about Nova Scotia, his own congregation in Halifax -- he has 800 men, of whom only 350 have families -- the rest are either late arrivals chiefly from Newfoundland etc., who not finding women of their own persuasion remain single -- go out to the fishery in Summer are idle in winter -- few have settled on lands -- the money they make in summer is wasted and dissipated in Winter.¹¹

Father Burke made the point that these people would be much more comfortable, careful and industrious in Canada than in their vagabond life here in Halifax; besides, he said that "he could carry his congregation on his back there."¹² He also advised Selkirk that he already had 7,000 acres of land in Norwich Township."¹³

The meeting resumed on October 3, when the two talked for three more hours while looking over a map of the proposed settlement. Father Burke proposed that Selkirk prepare a statement for the ministers in England explaining the necessity of taking steps to preserve Canada by a European settlement. In turn, Father Burke assured him that he would make concurring statements through the Duke of Kent. He also planned to go to the United States to get more settlers for Selkirk if he could

get an assistant to relieve him. "He talked of writing home to a Seminary at London, both for an assistant at Halifax, and a priest for the Settlement."¹⁴ The two men then entered into a discussion of the minute details of when and how to remove the men to Baldoon as well as how the project should be financed. In concluding, Father Burke reminded Selkirk of the necessity of secrecy. "F.B. said he could not allow any hint to escape of his own view of removing to that country, but would promise the first detachment, that a priest should soon be sent to them, would if possible send one with them as their leader."¹⁵

The following is an interesting character sketch of Father Burke which Selkirk entered into his Diary on the evening of his second visit with the Irish pastor of Halifax.

F. Burke appears to me a man of real genius, acuteness, ability, from what he has gone thro', I should also expect activity,--but he seems to be sanguine far from cool headed, perhaps in possible combinations of circumstances might be a dangerous enemy -- he is reputed a severe disciplinarian (his sentiments on the Canada Militia shew this disposition) he is said to keep his congregation here in strict order, tho' he is not so liked by the Town as his predecessor F. Jones. -- Jones associated more with the inhabitants was reckoned more liberal -- Burke is reputed bigotted-- the Engl. Clergy accuse him of violence, particularly of his objecting to his men being married by Prot. Clergyn. to Protest. women frightening the women into conversion. J. Do. mentions that Genl. Hunter spoke of him as a man of loyalty and trust -- wondered that Sir J.W. shd. be jealous of him -- wished him back in Canada.¹⁶

By the end of October Father Burke told Selkirk that he had already written to Abbé Broglio¹⁷ in England for a missionary for the settlement. He then gave Selkirk copies of some memorials

and statements to governors of Upper Canada. Selkirk promised that "they should not be published -- they may be shown to official men."¹⁸

Father Burke also showed considerable interest in Selkirk's 'American Scheme'.

E.B. said if good teacher sent out who could act as Curate in absence, he would go to Ireland procure settlers for Chenal Ecarte -- or to States -- expresses zeal to encourage that establishment. . . . E.B. says will send Settlers from hence, I promised encouragement for defraying Expense Quebec to Settlement -- to write A. McDonnell give E.B. a copy of that part of the letter.¹⁹

Alexander McDonnell was sheriff of the Home District and member of the Provincial Assembly of Upper Canada when Selkirk induced him to take charge of the Baldoon settlement acting as Selkirk's agent generally in Upper Canada. From Halifax Selkirk sent him two letters concerning Father Burke -- the first contained Selkirk's personal sentiments on Father Burke who at that time was becoming embroiled in his 'paper war' in Nova Scotia. Selkirk was of the opinion that the controversy would do injury to Catholics and toleration; yet, he thought that the blame should first be put on the illiberal Bishop Inglis. Concerning the Post Script of Father Burke's Letter of Instruction, he wrote:

Burke might have had better if temperate gentlemanlike in discuss [io]n but Post-script indecorous Approach to scurrility and everybody against him -- will revive old prejudices . . . new here and not well established. . . . B cannot now be on good terms with Gov't . . . B [isho]p Qu ebec : ought to change I would write to him but he would think officious -- . . . Probably Sir J.W. may desire removal -- Better if Bp. anticipate.²⁰

Selkirk, however, hoped that Father Burke would not suffer as a result of all this trouble because he liked him. He thought that Father Burke would prefer a move to Upper Canada because there was in Nova Scotia "no society -- own congreg[atio]n not cultiv[ate]d minds."²¹ Selkirk foresaw the possibility of Father Burke becoming the clergyman for his settlement as well as his establishing a school for higher education there.

Selkirk's second letter to McDonnell pertained to the details of removing the Irish from Nova Scotia to Upper Canada.

Burke thinks some R.C. from Hx . . . persuaded to U.C. I prom[ise]d Battor buy prime loot -- and allow Prov[isio]ns in lieu those expended on route. . . . B not to pledge terms of land -- only not to exceed county price. B here says there are several of his congreg[atio]n in their town and neighbourhood who are disposed to quit the place for N.Y. B thinks he could find some among them whom he could recommend as settlers and may persuade to try U.C. He proposes that a party should go together buy a Batt. at Que. or M. go in it the whole way.²²

Such close collaboration as well as the working out of the most minute details of this proposed expedition would lead one to believe that Father Burke was successful in sending a number of Irish Catholics to Selkirk's settlement. Surprisingly, "none ever arrived at Baldoon."²³ One explanation proffered is, "either the inducements which the new settlement had to offer were inadequate, or the bad reports which were soon circulated from Baldoon deterred the settlers and labourers which Selkirk so confidently expected."²⁴ Selkirk had selected Baldoon because of its strategic position. This was confirmed by Father Burke

who saw it as a means of securing the trade of Upper Canada as also as a deterrent against the Yankees. The lands there, however, were low and wet, and, although rich and treeless, they required an extensive system of drainage before they could become productive or healthful. Because the choice of the location was unfortunate, "deaths and sickness from malarial fever in the first two years contributed much to the difficulties with which the Earl had to contend."²⁵ Father Burke planned to make a visit to Baldoon but was unable to take the trip; however, as news from the settlement was not encouraging, he hesitated to send his men from Halifax. In the meantime, Lord Selkirk diverted his energies and resources to the Red River Settlement in Manitoba.

In the autumn of 1806, a Colonel Burke of the militia at Halifax promised the Governor of Upper Canada to pay him a visit at York. The governor urged Father Burke to accompany the Colonel on his trip. They would leave in November, pass by New York, go up to York, then return by way of Montreal and Quebec. Since they would be away for most of the winter, Father Burke needed the Bishop's permission and a priest for a replacement. In making the request he explained the necessity of complying with the wishes of Colonel Burke. "I am obliged to treat the Colonel kindly because he and his friends are the only ones who can support me against the ruses of the ministers and their friends at London and above all in a bigoted gov't such as we have here."²⁶

If Bishop Plessis had acted in this situation by showing great deference towards government and officialdom, as was his

custom, he would have done everything in his power to allow Father Burke to accompany the Colonel. His response to him, therefore, is somewhat surprising:

I consider . . . your trip with Colonel Burke as an impracticable thing and . . . am persuaded he will not insist on it when you make him realize the inconveniences. Although the political motives that make you contemplate this trip are very praiseworthy in themselves, they must nevertheless give way to the duties of the pastor of which the principal one is to take care of his flock especially when the wolves surround and menace it.²⁷

In replying to the Bishop, Father Burke remarked that he was not surprised at the answer but he had to clear himself in the Colonel's opinion. Since Colonel Burke would be passing through Quebec, Father Burke asked the Bishop to show his appreciation for the Colonel's protection of the Catholics of Halifax -- "Have the kindness to thank him for the protection that he has given us."²⁸

In those days the mails were often delivered to their destination by personal friends of the writers. Much of Father Burke's correspondence was delivered personally to Quebec by his military friends. In such cases, he usually informed the Bishop of the man's position and recommended him to the Bishop. Such was the case of a Captain Burke whom Father Burke said was "my friend . . . a close relative of the Colonel and the pay-master of the regiment . . . a good Catholic . . . and he is from a distinguished family which has always protected the Catholics."²⁹

Always interested in a new political appointment, Father Burke sought news of Sir James Craig when he became Governor

General at Quebec in 1807. "What do they think of the new governor, Sir James Craig? Is he old? Sick or in good health? Is he haunted by deceitful and flattering courtesans?"³⁰ Bishop Plessis was soon to find out that Sir James Craig, with Herman Ryland³¹ and Bishop Jacob Mountain³², was convinced that the crown should assert its authority over the Catholic Church. They sought the power to nominate the Catholic priests and take over the Sulpician Estates;³³ but with the growing prospect of war with the United States, the British government deemed it unwise to adopt any measures that might cause unrest in Canada. Here, in Nova Scotia, Father Burke was soon to feel some of the effects of Craig's "Reign of Terror."³⁴ He received a letter from Craig asking for a full account of his emoluments, who named him and who has the right to name him. Father Burke's reply was repeated in a letter to Bishop Plessis to whom he wrote, "I sent him it exactly pointing out by the Catholic Bishop of Quebec and that it is up to him to choose a successor for me."³⁵ Father Burke continued, "I do not know if the good man would be happy or not, but I am not in the mood to recognize other superiors in my ministry. If they curtail my emoluments, I will not die and God will restore them to me."³⁶

Father Burke regularly passed on to the Bishop bits of gossip he gleaned from his military friends. One such reference concerning Sir James Craig is of interest.

The 98th, regiment arrived and remains at Quebec. The other regiments left from here for Spain. Your governor seems very unhappy with the regiment and yet all the others speak well of it; the officers tell me that the principal cause of his discontent is jealousy of General Brock.³⁷

Shortly after Craig took office in Quebec, Nova Scotia also received a new Lieutenant-Governor in the person of Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost. In advising the Bishop of Wentworth's successor, Father Burke wrote succinctly, "We have changed Governors, thank God."³⁸ He augured a much happier relationship with the new governor when he wrote, "the present governor is an army general, fine man, good and a good politician . . . I have a strong recommendation from great lords and the good man had indicated friendship towards me on arriving. I feel optimistic about it."³⁹

In the autumn of 1808, Sir George Prevost was busy collecting a large military force for some place yet unnamed.⁴⁰ By way of a secret dispatch from Lord Castlereagh, on September 3 Sir George learned that the projected expedition was an attack on the Island of Martinique.⁴¹ Father Burke followed the expedition with interest. Early in 1809 he reported to Quebec, "[o]ur Governor left with 3000 select men and we do not know yet where he went."⁴² When the expedition returned in mid-April, 1809, Father Burke wrote, "Before winter our Governor and all his forces arrived from Martinique, they did not attack Guadaloupe. We lost very few men, the French did not fight well."⁴³

Further proof of the excellent relationship enjoyed with government officials can be seen in Father Burke's appointment as chaplain of a regiment of the militia.

His excellency has named me chaplain of a regiment of the militia at the head of which is my old friend the Soliciter General as Colonel. The commission is signed, I have not accepted it yet. I have no great desire to accept it, there is only the fear of

giving offence which can compel me to accept the post of Chaplain for a protestant militia mixed with Catholics.⁴⁴

By November 18, 1811, he reported that he was chaplain of the garrison and the hospitals. In 1812 he wrote, "Tell Sir George Prevost that I am chaplain of all the garrison without pay. He can regulate it for me if he wishes, or better, he can have me appointed -- This will be a permanent post for my successor."⁴⁵

Father Burke was disappointed when Sir George Prevost left Nova Scotia to fill the post of Governor General at Quebec upon the resignation of Sir James Graig in the summer of 1811. He expressed the sentiment that it was a great loss to Nova Scotia because never has this colony had a governor who had done so much good in so little time and with less trouble. Indeed, Nova Scotia's loss was Quebec's gain. "It seems to me, if I can judge men, that he is the man you need Your Lordship will perhaps be surprised to learn that he has not left a single enemy nor even a single discontented person behind him in this whole province. His aides- des- camps are fine people too."⁴⁶

Sir George's successor, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke also won the esteem of Father Burke.⁴⁷ He was most encouraging to the pastor in his attempt to get priests. Early in 1812, Father Grassi, Jesuit from the United States, wanted to come to Halifax, become an English subject, and take the oath of fidelity to the king. The governor assured Father Burke that he would receive him and allow him to carry out his priestly functions. Father Burke had previously written to Bishop Plessis to petition Sir

George Prevost to help him admit two Jesuits to Nova Scotia. The Bishop replied that Sir George informed him that he would not intervene in the affairs of another religious province. Bishop Plessis added, "if the Lord wants your enterprise to succeed, he will bless it; if he does not wish that it succeed, why should you want it?"⁴⁸ Evidently the Lord did not bless this venture because the War of 1812 interrupted it; thus, Nova Scotia was not to enjoy the services of Father Grassi.

Although Bishop Plessis' first episcopal tour was curtailed at the outbreak of the War of 1812, his second tour, in 1815, was much more successful. On July 15, the day after his arrival at Halifax, he paid his respects to Sir John Sherbrooke and Admiral Edward Griffiths. On hearing that the Bishop planned to visit Chezzetcook and Prospect, the admiral generously offered to convey him to those places by naval ships. Governor Sherbrooke also offered his services. Indeed, he did more than that; for he restored to a certain number of Acadians at Chezzetcook a 5,000 acre stretch of land of which they had been unjustly dispossessed. Bishop Plessis' Journal reads that

a simple note from the prelate, brought to the attention of the esteemed governor was sufficient to obtain a grant or title of concession to this terrain, which they had been trying to obtain for four or five years, without power to attain it, although they proved that they spent £50 for this purpose.⁴⁹

From the Journal it also appears that, under arrangement, and in respect for the Anglican Church, the chapel bell at St. Peter's was never rung before ten o'clock on Sundays because that was when

the Anglicans rang theirs. The Bishop wrote that "he had only a few words to say about that to the governor, and the Catholic Church was exempted from this servitude for the future."⁵⁰

The Bishop's attention was also drawn to the miserable conditions of about sixty families of Indians in the vicinity of Halifax who lived in poverty, idleness and squalor. Since Father Antoine Maillard's death, they had not had a missionary who could help them. They scattered around the town indulging in drink; yet, they held on their religion and were in want of spiritual help. Their chief, Benjamin, with a crowd of his followers, appealed to the Bishop for help. Moved by their plight, the latter brought the matter to Governor Sherbrooke. The governor assured him that he would do everything he could to help carry out his suggestions. Praising Sir John Sherbrooke, the Bishop saw him as a "kind and well-intentioned man,"⁵¹ on a par with his predecessor, Sir George Prevost, "the idol of the province."⁵²

In much of his correspondence Father Burke had shown an obvious preference for priests of an established religious order to come to Halifax to work and teach in his 'college' He had a particular dislike for emigré priests with Jacobite ideas and would accept them only as a last resort. This aversion for republican ideas was clearly brought out in the early years of his career when he soon displayed an odium for Americans. It has been seen that he had no desire to serve in the parish of St. Anne's, Detroit, after the territory had been ceded by the British under Jay's Treaty. He blatantly wrote, "It is evident to your Grace

that I cannot live in a station under the Yankees. I do not like them at all and they like me no better."⁵³ From Nova Scotia he followed the movements of the United States with both interest and distrust. As early as 1807 he spoke of rumours of war. "If the Yankees begin a war they are fools; however I am terribly afraid of it."⁵⁴ His sense of foresight regarding the war that was to come, can be seen in the following excerpt from a letter the following month: "I hate war and we have nothing to gain with the Yankees other than some blows and the Yankees would have no more to gain because they could take neither Quebec nor Halifax."⁵⁵ By January, 1809, he was convinced that a war was imminent.

When war broke out in 1812, Bishop Plessis who was visiting in Nova Scotia at the time, hurried back to Quebec. It is known that because he rallied the French Canadians en masse around the British flag to stave off the American invasion at Chateauguay, the disposition of England regarding the French Canadians was changed entirely. As a result, Sir John Sherbrooke, recently named Governor of Canada, was told to come to a good understanding with the Catholic Church;⁵⁶ thus, Governor Sherbrooke "proposed to call the Catholic bishop to the legislative council and to favor the institution of Vicars-Apostolic in Upper Canada and Nova Scotia. "These two propositions were submitted to the Soliciter General in England, who approved them."⁵⁷

Father Burke's involvement in the political affairs of British North America and the United States was not so extensive as to preclude his attention from the politics of his native Ireland. Through constant correspondence with Archbishop Troy

of Dublin and his successor, Doctor Daniel Murray, he kept up a lively interest in Irish affairs. He was particularly interested in the Veto Question which was closely connected with the issue of emancipation for Catholics in Ireland. Although the Catholic bishops signed a resolution agreeing to government interference in the appointment of prelates in Ireland in 1799, the Veto Question reared its head again in 1818. In that year the Irish bishops signed a resolution against the Veto. The Subject of veto was revived both in parliament and in the country. Having no 'national' interest at stake, the English Catholics would accept emancipation with the terms of allowing England to appoint their bishops. The Irish Catholics, however, wanted unconditional emancipation. Father Burke strongly opposed the Veto and repeatedly urged the Bishops in Ireland to remain firm.

I have already pointed out to the Archbishop of Dublin and to the Bishop of Cork and Walesford that I would rather see all the penal laws reestablished than to see the government become involved in the appointing of bishops.⁵⁸

In 1814, when the Pope was released from prison, he authorized a statement that he would not hesitate in agreeing to submit the names of candidates for vacant dioceses to the Crown for approval.⁵⁹ Having received news of this, Father Burke registered his disapproval most forcibly. "It is the worst blow struck on the Irish Church since the time of St. Patrick."⁶⁰ In the summer of 1815 he went directly to Ireland where he spent several weeks before proceeding to the continent. After seven days in

Cork, he then went to Dublin where there was a general assembly of the bishops of Ireland.⁶¹ It is very likely that he became deeply involved in this meeting in August when the bishops assembled to deliberate on the form of reply that should be forwarded to Rome.⁶² Father Burke's friend, Doctor Daniel Murray, was commissioned to lay before the Pope the resolutions that came out of the meeting.⁶³ Even after Father Burke's return to Nova Scotia, he continued to voice his opposition against the Veto which he viewed as a measure intended ultimately to destroy the Catholic religion in Ireland. He foresaw an Irish population at the mercy of government.

An act of parliament will forbid any priest who has not had his education at Marynooth to exercise his functions in Ireland, all foreign convents and colleges are immediately shut the knowledge of foreign languages will cease and as the works of the fathers and other writers are not printed in Ireland . . . ignorance and its companion vice will follow.⁶⁴

Another event holding the interest of Father Burke was the Blanchardist schism which arose in London in the early part of the nineteenth century. The schism was created by Abbé Blanchard, one of the refugee French priests who issued a pamphlet in 1808 which called upon his readers to renounce Pope Pius VII as unworthy of the Papacy. In a pastoral letter, Doctor John Milner, Catholic bishop in England, reproached the Blanchardists, thus becoming the centre of abuse by the refugee French clergy who took the side of Blanchard. Evidently, it was the feeling among the higher clergy in England and Ireland that the North

American bishops approved of the stand of these French priests.⁶⁵
 The whole incident increased the distrust that Father Burke had for emigré priests. He took the occasion to come to the defence of Bishop Plessis who knew nothing of the schism.

It is a pity . . . because I am persuaded that Your Grace had never seen the pamphlets of Blanchard and of the left and that you were far from approving any attack on the Holy See. . . . I am writing to the Bishop of Dublin and pointing out to him that there is not any appearance that Your Grace approves of Blanchard's propositions.⁶⁶

He then warned Bishop Plessis that the false rumours might well be emanating from one of his own very close prelates -- "but take care that your Vicar General L'Abbé Bouvens is not in the plot, he is an emigré and perhaps attached to the bishops."⁶⁷

In a treatise on the activities and interests of Edmund Burke, it would be a grave omission to disregard the extensive and ardent attention given to all of the activities in Europe during the Revolutionary era. His profound interest was coupled with a well-founded concern for the dangers that were threatening the Church. Indications of the gravity of the situation and the cause for alarm can be drawn from many of his letters to Bishop Plessis. In 1806 he wrote, "There are several French writers who cry out against the Pope. We must pray to the good Lord for their conversion;"⁶⁸ in 1810, "The Church is in a terrible crisis on the continent of Europe. The Pope has been taken prisoner . . . and no one knows what became of him since;"⁶⁹ and again in 1810, "Spain and Portugal are lost. Bonaparte married the archduchess of Austria. There is a more direct attack on

religion than the dispensation of the Langrave of Hesse by Luther."⁷⁰ On his return from Europe, he was able to give first hand information of some of the troubles he had seen.

While passing through France I saw . . . three hundred thousand strange soldiers, dispersed, living at their ease at the expense of the French whose fields are laid waste by their horses. Never has one seen a people more humiliated; but are they converted? I dare not be certain. At least religion is outwardly established. . . . Perhaps God has never before permitted such an evil beast as Bonaparte to ravage his fields. . . . Religion has suffered very greatly in Italy too. . . . Nevertheless the Holy Father finds himself grievously embarrassed; first by the Emperor of Austria who has come to an understanding with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia to form a common religion, . . . secondly, by the King of France, who . . . takes no account of the Concordat made with Bonaparte.⁷¹

Father Burke also kept in close touch with the work of the Catholic Church in the United States. He was in Rome on December 3, 1815, when Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore died. While in Rome he attended a consistory and 'postulated' for the Pallium for the second Archbishop of Baltimore.⁷² He was disappointed with the outcome because he wished to see some Irishmen appointed in United States. After his return from Europe and his own appointment as Bishop of Sion, he wrote to Doctor Murray on the subject. "There is a French bishop in Baltimore, in New Orleans, in Bardstown and a Dutchman named to Philadelphia. Not an Irishman but poor Connolly who does no honor to any country. . . . When he goes off the stage there will not be an Irish prelate in the United States."⁷³ He had earlier implored Doctor Murray to work towards the appointment of some Irish prelates in the United States.

I'm surprised that your Irish prelates cannot look to us in these countrys. . . . For God's sake, if there be nobody as yet appointed for Philadelphia endeavour to throw some able Irishman into it and prevail on that sleeping fellow in New York to get a coadjutor.⁷⁴

Perhaps Bishop Burke did have some influence over the appointment at Philadelphia; for Bishop John Carroll's biographer noted that "an angel of the Church in Philadelphia must have shielded its face with its wings, when Irish meddlers prevailed at Rome, and . . . the Rev. Dr. Conwell of Dungannon, Ireland, arrived in Philadelphia, Dec. 2, 1820."⁷⁵ In Halifax, on that same day, many mourners attended the funeral of their first bishop, Edmund Burke.

CHAPTER VI

ATTEMPTING AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: SUCCESSES AND FAILURES

The Father Burke who arrived at Halifax in 1801 was a composite of priest, missionary and teacher. Quick to recognize the lack of education and educational facilities in his new vicariate, Father Burke, the educator, immediately devoted himself to a plan of remediation.

Under the French Régime in Nova Scotia, Acadians and Indians had been served by Jesuits, Récollets and Capuchins who combined religious duties with the teaching of reading and writing. With the avowed intention of converting the French inhabitants, after 1763 the Lords of Trade and Plantation in England sought the coöperation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.), a society which was a distinctly Anglican organization. With the exception of Louisburg, where the Congregation of Notre Dame founded a school in 1733, and a few private schools, the schools in Nova Scotia were Church of England institutions established with the assistance of the S.P.G. By 1755 the government at Halifax was voting grants to Church of England ministers to conduct schools. From 1758 the Church of England was the established church in Nova Scotia and had the right to control education.

A direct blow to Catholic education was struck when the government passed the Education Act of 1766 which decreed that

if any Popish recusant, papist or person professing the popish religion, shall . . . set up any school within this province, and be detected therein, such offender shall, for every such offence, suffer three months imprisonment without bail or main-prize and shall pay a fine to the King of ten pounds.¹

In the spirit of penal law relaxation, in 1786 an act of the Nova Scotia Legislature repealed the sections of the Act of 1766 dealing with fines and imprisonment imposed on Catholics who set up schools. Even in this new statute, however, there was a discriminatory proviso which read that no "popish person, priest or schoolmaster . . . admit into their Schools any youth under the age of fourteen years, who shall have been brought up and educated in the Protestant religion."² In spite of this permissive legislation, the establishment of the first Catholic school in Halifax had to await the arrival of Father Burke. In the meantime the Legislature voted money for the founding and establishing a Church of England College at Windsor and in 1794 for the support of Grammar Schools in Halifax.

The first Roman Catholic school established in Cape Breton after the English conquest was set up in 1801 or 1802 at Cheticamp by Father Champion. Separated from Nova Scotia since 1784, Cape Breton did not come under the Statute of 1786; therefore, a Catholic teacher there was obliged to take the oath against transubstantiation and popery. It has been suggested, therefore, that Father Champion's school "must have been either a Sunday School or a purely private school."³

In January, 1802, Father Burke informed the Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec that discussions regarding a school were under way. "Here

is something we are working on quietly: there is a great desire to establish a Catholic school. The need is a pressing one."⁴ Father Burke had a dual purpose in mind when referring to the possibility of a new school. While he often spoke of it as a 'school', he just as often referred to it as 'our college'. It was his ultimate goal to extend the training of able boys into the college curriculum, thence, in some cases, into a seminary program which would eventually lead to the priesthood. Given this situation, he sought teachers who, as priest-educators, could function in this dual capacity. He specified a desire to have Father Thomas Maguire to administer his institute of learning. "What do you think of young Maguire to run a college in this town? Perhaps he has not extensive knowledge yet, but he can acquire that at my house. . . all the Catholics wish that there was another priest here with me."⁵

On March 1, 1802, Father Burke sent a petition to the House of Assembly explaining that the educational situation of the Roman Catholic youth under his care - Scotch, Irish and Acadians - was distressful; that children of Catholics were sent away either to countries with different languages and laws or "to the United States, where principles inimical to our Constitution are professedly taught."⁶ The petitioner implored the Legislature to enable him

to provide for their Instruction by the only means which to him appears feasible . . . that is, an Incorporation for the purpose of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, his Coadjutor, his Vicar General for the time being in Halifax, the Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Montreal and their successors in office, thereby enabling them to receive Donations, to acquire, possess and dispose of real and personal property to the use of any School or Schools, which they shall think necessary to erect.⁷

Read in the House on March 1, the petition resulted in the appointment of Messrs. S. B. Robie, J. G. Pyke and I. Wilkins to examine into the subject matter of it and report back to the House. Within twelve days the committee of three reported.

The Committee . . . waited on His Excellency Sir John Wentworth . . . who informed the committee that as the object of the said Petition was the Establishment of a corporation in this province which would be under the Direction of the Bishop of Quebec, a foreign prelate, he could not give his assent . . . without consulting His Majesty's ministers on the Subject, which . . . he would do by the first opportunity.⁸

Governor Wentworth soon brought the petition to the attention of one of the Secretaries of State. In his accompanying letter he stated, "The Paper No. 7, a petition of Rev. Mr. Burke who styles himself Vicar General, appears to me of too important a nature, and involving too seriously consequences affecting the Church of England, for me to presume to act upon until transmitted for His Majesty's pleasure thereupon."⁹

Bishop Charles Inglis so violently opposed Father Burke's proposal that a Catholic school be legalized that he immediately forwarded a vehement denunciation of the proposal to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

At first sight a person would be induced to think that Mr. Burke resided in Canada, and that the schools were intended for that province as well as Nova Scotia. But this is not the case. He is the parish priest at Halifax, where he is very active, and assiduous in confirming the Roman Catholics of that place. . . in their attachment to the religion of Rome. . . it is I believe the first instance that has occurred where a Governor of one of His Majesty's Provinces grants a charter of Incorporation to the

inhabitants of another of the King's Provinces. This palpable absurdity among others would attend such a grant.¹⁰

In the same correspondence, the Bishop further underscored his alarm.

Ninety nine out of a hundred of the Roman Catholics at Halifax are Irish Fishermen. These have all that implicity, violent attachment to Popery, which the Irish Roman Catholics are known to possess; and I know but one small village of Acadians, at a distance of 150 miles from Halifax. Surely it is a matter of serious consideration, whether seminaries under sanction of Government, should be instituted for these people; especially where these seminaries are to be under the exclusive direction of a Popish Bishop, his coadjutor, and the Superior of St. Sulpice in Canada.¹¹

Appealing for some type of intervention from the Archbishop in England, Bishop Inglis concluded:

I hope your Grace will see the propriety of interfering to prevent an innovation which is very exceptional in itself . . . and would be attended with dangerous consequences in this Province. These Seminaries would be prolific hotbeds of Popery.¹²

Disregarding the delay in approval on the part of the government, Father Burke displayed an anticipation of approval by encouraging further construction of the new building. Thus, in July he reported, "[o]ur college is advancing quite expeditiously. It is a house of two stories with kitchen and dining room in the basement, a cellar and storeroom, 60 feet by 40 within the walls."¹³ In September, he made overtures to a Miss Robichaud of Quebec to join the staff of his school. The salary proposal was modest as he stated, "I could not give any more than 25 Louis and her meals without wine, a year."¹⁴

While observing the erection of the large edifice on the corner of Spring Garden Road and Barrington Street, Governor Wentworth kept the Home Government informed.

He . . . is erecting a large building for charitable education of youth in their own church -- This may require more consideration and caution, than the former plan, more openly designated -- I have accordingly notified Mr. Burke, that no School or Seminary of Education could be exercised in this Province, but such as were conformable to the Laws of England . . . and that without your Lordship's approbation, I should not presume to issue my license for any such school -- This notification was delivered officially to Mr. Burke by Mr. Uniacke His Majesty's Attorney General for the Province. But Mr. Burke still persists in erecting the buildings.¹⁵

The Home Government approved of Wentworth's action and asked to be kept informed: "I entirely approve of the notification you have directed to be delivered to him in consequence of the steps he has taken and you will regularly transmit to me any further information."¹⁶ In the meantime, Governor Wentworth and Bishop Inglis were to discuss the whole matter in September at the meeting of the Governors of King's College.

By September, the 'college' was completed sufficiently to be weatherproof; but Father Burke was to suffer disappointment upon disappointment with respect to obtaining priests and teachers. As early as July, 1802, he informed the Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec that he hoped to procure a certain Father Ricci, an Italian, for the 'college': "I will write immediately to the Archbishop of Dublin who will arrange the affair with the Father Superior at London. It does not matter how the priest

comes but that it be as soon as possible . . . and that no one utters a word about a college."¹⁷ Father Ricci's proposed trip to Halifax was vetoed in London; furthermore, the Archbishop of Dublin notified Father Burke that he could not send him priests as there was a shortage everywhere. The word from Quebec was similarly discouraging. "You have nothing to hope from our Seminaries in Quebec and Montreal. We have little to hope from . . . the present ministers. Mr. James Craig is most honest and full of good intentions. But he is not inclined towards Catholics."¹⁸

By 1804 there was a vast wave of Anglican opposition to Father Burke and his educational endeavours. The erection of the new building, Bishop Denault's visit of 1803 and Father Burke's Letter of Instruction were too much too fast for Bishop Inglis who once again appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

From Mr. Bourke's letter, it is easy to judge what doctrines and principles will be taught in the Popish Seminary of this place, if licensed by Government. . . . Let them count their beads, bow to images, sprinkle themselves with Holy Water, pray in Latin to Angles. . . . But let us not assist them in propagating these and their other dangerous tenets. . . . Nothing would be more offensive to Protestants of all denominations here, than such a license. . . . In the opinion of many, it would be an act of political suicide.¹⁹

On the same day, in a letter to Lord Hobert in England, Bishop Inglis expressed the general concern of all the Protestants of Nova Scotia:

Protestants of all denominations in the Province, are greatly alarmed at the progress which this intolerant sect has lately made. . . . I trust the wisdom of

Government will see fit to check this evil, before it exceeds due bounds. . . the Roman Catholics have their agents now in England; urging. . . the business of their Seminary.²⁰

The fear that Bishop Inglis expressed regarding Catholics' agents in England was well founded for Lord Selkirk wrote in his Diary:

E.B. says he has procured subscriptions for Academy and Seminary -- funds for keeping it up -- . . . Sr. Jo. Wentworth refuses License. I promised to support application at home. . . .E.B. . . . also sent petition to D. of Kent, papers relative to the application to Sr. Jo. Wentworth.²¹

That Lord Selkirk lived up to his promise to Father Burke can be seen in a letter of the latter.

Mr. Lister has written to me from London, he told me that Lord Selkirk spoke to the Secretary of State regarding our school and that he sees no difficulty in getting passports for subjects but unfortunately they cannot be found.²²

After a delay of four years, Father Burke was happy to relate how he finally obtained permission to open his school.

In spite of the efforts of the Bishop and his followers, providence has given me a means of obtaining the Governor's permission. A Young man . . . of the Catholic branch of the family of Burkes and brother-in-law of the Count of Clanricarde . . . of the Protestant branch, came here with his Regiment. I spoke to him, he spoke to the Governor and the business was done in an instant.²³

The permission granted applied exclusively to Catholics so that no other denominational groups could be admitted to the new school.

The pursuit of teachers was taken up anew. In 1805 the Bishop of Quebec suggested that Father Burke have a religious community run his school. Father Burke indicated that he would be most happy to have any religious community, "whether it be the Jesuits, the gentlemen of St. Sulpice, or of Quebec. . . Your Lordship can make the necessary arrangements as you wish; we will follow them completely."²⁴

In the meantime, Father Burke was not idle. On May 20, 1806, he applied for priests to Father William Strickland, Superior of the Jesuits in England.²⁵ In August, he received a letter from Father Thaddeus Brezogowski, Father General of the Jesuit Order in St. Petersburg who assured Father Burke that his Society would do everything possible to obtain priests for him. Writing of the Society's earlier efforts in North America, he said, "[i]t once exerted itself in these regions and indeed shed its blood; it is now ready also."²⁶ The Father General, however, advised Father Burke that there were difficulties that would have to be overcome.

However, the message about this must come through a Brief only from the Supreme Pontiff to Russia I explain this requirement more clearly. I said above that through Apostolic letters the Society exists canonically in Russia and in the realms of both parts of Sicily. As for the other realms and regions, the Supreme Pontiff has granted, through the oracle of his living voice, that we be permitted to be everywhere; but he has added that this should be done without noise, nay even that clothing of the rank and file be worn so as to avoid offending the rulers who have not yet asked the Society [for men] for their own States.²⁷

It is obvious that opposition to the Jesuits came not from the Pope but from the Propagation of the Faith in Rome.

Father Brezogowski explained this.

Notwithstanding this, the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, whether because it does not know the Supreme Pontiff's word, or for some other reason, generally opposes our attempts as often as we send our members, for the glory of God, into some places outside of Russia.²⁸

He then advised Father Burke to have the Bishop of Quebec make a petition to the Pope requesting that the Jesuit Fathers come from Russia into North America. He explained that Bishop Carroll of Baltimore had also written to him with the result that he had already sent some Jesuits to the United States. He said he would send a second expedition in a future spring into the Halifax Diocese of the Bishop of Quebec, "if the plan meets with a prosperous outcome."²⁹ He had two priests in mind for Nova Scotia - "two qualified men whom I will take care to send; one of them indeed will know the English language quite well; for the second I will give a young priest who is capable of learning this easily."³⁰

Father Burke lost no time in writing to Quebec requesting the Bishop to send the necessary papers to Rome. He warned the Bishop, "'tis necessary to take every precaution we cannot give offence to the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith."³¹ Father Burke was most anxious that this project succeed, especially when he realized that he would get no priests from Quebec. Writing to him on June 19, 1806, Bishop Plessis said, "you have nothing to hope on the part of the Seminary of Montreal, which

has enough trouble with its own work, far from being able to extend it to others. Your only resource . . . is in the Jesuits in England."³² On December 24, 1806, Bishop Plessis sent Father Burke the papers needed for St. Petersburg. The customary cautionary words of advice accompanied the papers:

I entrust you with the enclosed papers,
I beg you to send to St. Petersburg my
Petition to the Holy See, and to take the
most considerate measures as much towards
your provincial government as to the
Britannic minister, so that the subjects
that they send you will be received
favourably in your town.³³

The Bishop's two letters -- one to the Superior of the Jesuits in St. Petersburg, the other to the Pope -- were sent to the Chief Justice in England. Father Burke asked him to transmit the enclosure through Lord Howick's office to its address. He concluded with the following petition:

I have also to request that you'll
inform his lordship that I am an old
servant of government known to his R.H.
the Duke of Kent, have written
testimonials of loyalty from Lord
Dorchester and Gen. Simcoe, that my
attachment to the British Government
has been tried, never impeached, nor
even suspected.³⁴

By May, 1807, he realized that, owing to a change of ministers in England, things might go badly for him. Writing to his Bishop, he said, "I have taken all the proper measures to assure success. After all that, I am not without fear. The administration is changed because of a bill in favor of Catholics. Our friends have gone and our enemies are in their place."³⁵ Next month he wrote again, "A cry of "No Popery" is almost as

strong as during the times of Lord George Gordon, all those in parliament who have favored the Catholics are dismissed as well as the ministers. Interim patitur justus."³⁶

With the new ministry in England opposed to Catholicism and the Propagation of the Faith at Rome opposed to the Jesuits, Father Burke had little justification for optimism with respect to acquiring the much needed priests. Father Strickland persevered, however, in his efforts on behalf of Father Burke. In a letter to Father Burke he outlined what he had been doing.

The Jesuits lived and performed all their functions in England, Ireland and Scotland with the connivance of government but without any authority or protection from it. Encouraged by this reflection and the good will of the Popes, I got two memorials drawn up: one signed by myself and about a dozen of my Brethern petitioning leave to be aggregated to their Brethern in Russia: the other signed by about thirty of the principal nobility and gentry of the three kingdoms to the same purpose, and sent them to Rome.³⁷

Father Strickland explained that although the Pope consented to everything asked of him, he could not give public approbation; but Father Gruber, General of the Society, transmitted the information on to Father Strickland. He alluded to another explanation for the delay. "There is some possibility that the difference between us and Russia might be settled before the summer: in this case. . . you may probably be able to get some both missionaries and teachers from Petersburg."³⁸

Disappointed, but not defeated, Father Burke once more turned to his immediate superior in a quest for teachers. He gave reasons why he wanted a religious community and not secular

priests. "Secular ecclesiastics which are not attached to any society can never form a solid and stable establishment. We need a religious community. Without that stulto labore consumimur."³⁹

He then made a proposal to the Bishop. "I have yet a possible and feasible project to propose to Your Lordship, that is to attach this school at Halifax to the Seminary at Quebec or indeed to the Seminary at Montreal according to what Your Grace will find the most convenient."⁴⁰ He informed the Bishop that he had enough money which could be disposed of as he wished. He would like to get two priests who, with his help, "will form an establishment more solid than fifty seculars however learned they may be."⁴¹

He suggested that there would be advantages to whatever seminary his school would be attached, "because I have funds here at Halifax out of which one could spend from £10,000 to £15,000 sterling which would return more than 20 to 30 percent."⁴² He also mentioned that in Upper Canada he owned estates which could serve as an expedient in case of any misfortune. He tried to impress the Bishop of the urgency of the matter.

The time is ripe. You have at Quebec a Governor General who would need your authority, because war is almost inevitable they will not refuse to admit persons sent by Your Lordship with the recommendation of your Governor and once the school is opened it would soon be filled.⁴³

The reply from Bishop Plessis indicated that no help could come from the seminaries at Quebec and Montreal. His alternative was for Father Burke to bring out French emigré priests from England. He advised Father Burke to write to Abbé de Bouvens who looked

after his affairs in London. He also had a suggestion for the use of Father Burke's money.

You say you have some money to dispose of. That is very good. Put all or part of it in the seminary of Quebec. . . . If you prefer the education at the Seminary of Montreal to that of Quebec, you could try that place as well.⁴⁴

By 1809, Father Burke had not taken up the Bishop's offer so the proposal was renewed. "Isn't it better late than never? . . . Forty louis for the first year and twenty-five for each year following, that is what it costs for a student at Quebec or Nicolet."⁴⁵

As a last resort, Father Burke took the Bishop's previous suggestion to write to England for French emigrée priests. He said he would rue the day he did it because, "I would rather leave my school empty than put a Jansenist in it; there is very little difference between a Jansenist and a Calvinist."⁴⁶

By 1810 Father Burke still had no teachers so a plea went out to the Bishop: "I am looking in vain everywhere for a schoolmaster; if your Lordship does not find me one I see almost no hope."⁴⁷

Late in 1811 a ray of hope seemed to shine through the darkness when Father Burke received a letter from Father Neale, Superior of the Jesuits in the United States, who informed him that he had orders from his Superior General to send two priests to Nova Scotia. Since permission from government was necessary for the two priests to come to Nova Scotia, Father Burke requested

that Bishop Plessis approach the governor general. Once more Father Burke was to be disappointed. At this time, with war between United States and Britain almost a certainty, discouraging news came from Father Neale. In relaying the word to Quebec, Father Burke wrote, "I have just received a letter from Mr. Neale. . . . The Archbishop of Baltimore is not of the opinion of sending me the Jesuits. . . . he is right. Also foreseeing some difficulty concerning the Americans, I have not spoken to our governor."⁴⁸

Throughout Nova Scotia, in the meantime, Grammar Schools were increased through the encouragement of Education Acts passed by the Legislature;⁴⁹ but there were yet no Catholic schools in Halifax. For a few years some Catholic children received religious training from Father P. Mignault who taught catechism to the Catholic children who went to the Protestant schools. In 1813, a new system of teaching was introduced into Nova Scotia. This was the year that a retired paymaster, Captain Walter Bromley established the Royal Acadian School on Argyle Street. Based on the Lancaster Monitorial system,⁵⁰ the school was to provide instruction for all children, irrespective of race and creed. By 1820, the trustees of the school petitioned the Assembly for financial assistance in building a new school. Among the chief petitioners, the first name signed was that of Father Edmund Burke.⁵¹

In Western Nova Scotia, in the early years of the nineteenth century, Father Jean-Mandé Sigogne had worked out a system of education for the children of his parish. "He appointed persons

to act as catechists reading and writing under his supervision. When he could get no teachers he enlisted the assistance of mothers of families as school mistresses. In the presbytery of his Church he opened a sort of monastic school where he received boys and girls as resident pupils."⁵²

Father Burke had been working on another plan towards the education of boys in the vicariate. This plan was in conjunction with a scheme put forth by Captain John MacDonald⁵³ of Prince Edward Island. Bishop Plessis approved of the plan which he explained to Father Alexander MacDonnell, Vicar General of Upper Canada.

He supposes a thousand of Scottish families settled partly in the said Island, partly in Cape Breton, and partly on the opposite coast of Nova Scotia, may contribute to the proposed education. Every family is taxed twenty shillings per annum, which in the space of eight years must produce eight pounds from each family and consequently 8000 pounds from the whole. The rent of that capital is destined to educate eight children drawn from a preparatory school to be established in the most central place in the island, and sent, at the expense of the collection, first to Halifax, thence to Quebec, to be prepared for the Church.⁵⁴

Father Angus MacEachern had explained the scheme to the people in mainland Nova Scotia. He also wrote to the Scots in Cape Breton about it; but for some unknown reason the proposed project failed. It has been suggested that the opposition came from the people of Prince Edward Island. A letter from Father MacEachern informed Bishop Plessis that his people would not carry out the scheme without an order from the Bishop. "The reluctance of the

people may have been caused by Glenaladle's⁵⁵ refusal to grant them long-term leases of the lands upon which they had been working."⁵⁶ It seemed that the project came to an end when Captain MacDonald died in 1810; however, when Bishop Plessis visited Cape Breton in 1812, he noted that the Scottish people had formed a fund of £600 destined solely for sending their sons to Quebec for an ecclesiastical education. Waiting in vain for Father Burke's seminary to open, "they finally decided to send to the seminaries of Canada six of their children next autumn namely, two from Cape Breton, two from St. John's Island and two from the northern coast of Nova Scotia."⁵⁷

Father Burke was not the sole educator who had difficulty getting a college established. As early as 1805 Doctor Thomas McCulloch of Pictou projected an institution for instruction in the higher branches of education aimed at training ministers of the Secession Presbyterian religion as well as a liberal education to others. Because of lack of funds from the government, the project was not executed until the Act of Incorporation of the Academy was passed in 1816. Until 1816, therefore, the only institution in Nova Scotia for higher education was King's College at Windsor.

Several Catholic boys from Halifax went to Quebec and Montreal for higher education; others went abroad. In 1803 Father Burke sent a lad named Fairbanks to Quebec because he had been excluded from the College at Windsor. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle was forced to go abroad where he studied in the famous English Catholic school, Stoney hurst, Lancashire.⁵⁸ Doyle

later recalled that for his education he was "driven by penal laws three thousand miles from home."⁵⁹ While Father Burke was in Europe, Father Mignault, acting parish priest, sent three boys to study at Quebec and Montreal. "Here are two children who are leaving for Canada. One is the nephew of Pat Ryan and he is to go to Montreal; the other is the brother of Dr. O'Brien who wants to leave him at Quebec. . . . I will send a third in a few days."⁶⁰

One of Father Burke's most successful students was Michael Power, later to become the first Bishop of York (Toronto). Michael, son of William Power and Mary Roach, was born in Halifax and baptised by Father Burke on October 23, 1804. An altar boy in St. Peter's, the lad showed intellectual promise in his youthful years under the encouragement of Fathers Burke and Mignault.

The priesthood was his ambition. He wanted to be a priest like Father Burke and Father Mignault. . . . seeing the piety and marked intellectual ability of their sanctuary boy, they taught him privately and prepared him for entrance into the City Grammar School. His master at the school was George Wright, chaplain of the English Garrison.⁶¹

Accepted as a student by the Bishop of Quebec, in June, 1816, the youth of twelve accompanied Father Mignault on a trip to Montreal where he was placed in the care of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. In 1827, upon the completion of his studies, he was ordained. In 1842 he became the first Bishop of York.⁶²

It can therefore be seen that, in spite of adversities, certain Catholic boys were getting a higher education. One cannot help but think what greater things would have been

accomplished in the realm of education if Father Burke had not been frustrated time and again in his attempts to have his school opened as well as in his efforts to procure instructors. He, however, was not easily disheartened; therefore, it will be seen that he will not go off the stage until his final act in the name of education will be crowned with success.

CHAPTER VII

STRUGGLE FOR AUTONOMY - A BISHOP IS BORN

Of all the accomplishments of Father Burke, the most significant and the one that had the most lasting effect on the Catholic Church in Nova Scotia as well as in Canada was the part that he played in the ecclesiastical separation of Nova Scotia from Quebec.

Nova Scotia had been directly under the spiritual jurisdiction of Quebec since October, 1674, when Bishop François de Laval was named first Bishop of Quebec. The new Diocese of Quebec was composed of all the French possessions in North America which included Newfoundland and Louisiana, while the Vicar Apostolic of London supervised the English speaking colonies along the Atlantic seaboard of present day United States. Newfoundland was separated from the Diocese of Quebec after the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Louisiana in 1759 and Saint Pierre and Miquelon in 1763.¹

With the division of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada in 1791, the guarantees given to Catholics by the Quebec Act of 1774 remained intact; yet, difficulties existed everywhere: correspondence with Rome was officially suspended², episcopal succession was subject to the approbation, if not the will, of the Governor General and there was a great shortage of priests for the vast diocese. No one realized more than Father Burke that some type of division was absolutely necessary in order that the outlying districts of the diocese might have the required spiritual

attention. On October 24, 1789, Bishop Jean-François Hubert suggested to Rome some sort of division. The agent behind this measure could have been Father Burke who, shortly after his arrival in North America, appealed to Doctor John T. Troy in Dublin to make a request to Rome for the faculties of apostolic missionary which would enable him to administer holy oils. Dr. Troy sent this request to the Prefect of the Propaganda, Antonelli, through the intervention of Mgr. Zondadari, apostolic nuncio at Brussels.³ It was important that Cardinal Antonelli know the character of Father Burke; therefore, acting on the suggestion of Dr. Troy, he wrote to Bishop Hubert a propos Father Burke.⁴ The Bishop's response to the Cardinal was generally favourable. He stated that if ever it became possible to establish at Detroit a yicariate apostolic without offending the English government, he was prepared to urge Father Burke to take on the responsibility.⁵ Bishop Hubert's opinion of Father Burke had changed, however, by 1794 at which time he saw an inconsistency in the priest and no longer considered him as an apt candidate to become an apostolic prefect.

In February, 1795, Father Burke wrote again to Dr. Troy requesting that he intercede for him in obtaining an extension of his priestly powers.

I'm in the administration of Upper Canada with every Episcopal power except what requires Episcopal order; yet I find a very great want of power for here the limits of jurisdiction is uncertain and unsettled. The very parish in which I live may be a subject of dispute between the Bishop of Quebec and Baltimore.⁶

Among the reasons for asking Dr. Troy to seek special powers for him, Father Burke included the fact that the Indians north of the Lakes were warring with the United States. In conclusion, he stated that "a mission from the court of Rome is absolutely necessary to authorize clergymen in these regions, and I once more request that Your Lordship will obtain it for me and transmit it . . . on second thoughts I send you a testimonial, it may be necessary to send it to Rome".⁷

In August, 1797, Father Burke appealed to Dr. Troy on behalf of the Irish and Scotch who were neglected by the Canadian clergy of Quebec and Montreal. He said that the same situation prevailed in Upper Canada where "'tis of absolute necessity that schools be established for their instruction and clergymen brought from Ireland until they can be formed here in the province."⁸ He mentioned that the St. Sulpicians at the seminary of Montreal agreed to undertake the mission for the whole province if Father Burke could get the Bishop's consent. That, however, never came to pass.

The next day, Father Burke sent Dr. Troy his "Statement on the Missions" which he asked him to read, seal, send to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda and support, "in favor of your unfortunate countrymen scattered in this country and to whom the Canadian clergy pay not the slightest attention."⁹ In his "Statement on the Missions" he presented strong reasons for the necessity of establishing a new bishopric in the city of Montreal; the limiting of the Diocese of Quebec to that part of Quebec which is east of Three Rivers; establishing a new

episcopal see in Montreal to administer the remainder of Lower Canada; separating the ecclesiastical government of the Maritime Provinces where an English speaking Apostolic Missionary should be appointed and the passing over of the missions of Upper Canada to the Congregation of St. Sulpice under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See.¹⁰ Now that the ball had been set in motion, it was incumbent on successive bishops at Quebec to keep it rolling; there was no turning back. Rome had already taken up the issue when Bishop Denault succeeded Bishop Hubert, for the Propaganda wrote from Rome on June 26, 1801:

it would be a propos then that the Bishop of Quebec, if he is of the same sentiment as his dignified predecessor, Mr. Hubert, make a formal request to the Sovereign Pontiff, or to the Congregation of the Propaganda, to the effect of forming a hierarchy in Canada of a metropolitan and three or four bishops.¹¹

As Coadjutor to the Bishop, in 1803 Mgr. Plessis officially replied to the correspondence. Here, he early shows his hand.

No one knows better than I . . . Monseigneur, the importance of such a division . . . But as the proposal could meet with great difficulties, as much from the part of the British Government, as from the aspect of the means of providing for the temporal establishment of these bishops and their seminaries, I am withholding my report on this affair to the Congregation.¹²

Three years later, when Bishop Plessis became Bishop of Quebec, he suggested to Rome the possibility of having three coadjutors working with him. When he got approval for this, however, he failed to carry it any farther, giving the reason that he wanted to wait until the new governor was appointed before submitting the proposal to government. The new Prefect of the Propaganda,

Cardinal di Pietro, respected this mode of action but suggested that, while waiting, Bishop Plessis could be searching into priests worthy of the episcopate. Bishop Plessis then turned his attention to Upper Canada where possibly a vicariate apostolic might be erected with Father Alexander MacDonnell as Vicar General.

Division of the Diocese of Quebec was further delayed by difficulties in Europe where nothing could be done until the Pope was released from prison in 1814. Meanwhile, it became increasingly evident to Father Burke that the old system of ecclesiastical government could not continue successfully. Communication was slow; there were delays in correspondence and it was impossible for the Bishop to supervise his diocese adequately. Father Burke realized, however, that, in face of considerable anti-Catholic sentiment, the erection of new dioceses would have to take place gradually. His plan was to separate Nova Scotia from the Diocese of Quebec by erecting it into a Vicariate Apostolic under the immediate control of the Pope, represented by a vicar having episcopal consecration and holding a title of some see at that time no longer existing (in partibus infidelium).

When it became evident that troubles in Europe were coming to an end, Father Burke sought permission to take a trip to Europe for his health. It has been suggested that he was perfectly well and did not need medical care but was simply waiting for the opportunity when

the road to Rome where the Sovereign Pontiff returned was open to him. That is what he has been waiting for for a long time; because the ambition for the

mitre haunted him in his old age, as in his youth. He secretly premeditated a trip to the Eternal City, where he himself wanted to plead his cause.¹³

There is no doubt that when Father Burke left Halifax on July 16, 1815, a trip to Rome was included in his plans. This could have been uppermost in his mind; however, it is a certainty that he was suffering from an illness and planned to seek medical assistance abroad.

Father Burke spent seven days at Cork before going on to Dublin. He stayed in Ireland seventeen days in all before going on to London where he wrote, "[h]ere I am in London . . . health very much stronger than at Halifax."¹⁴ In London on September 16, he drew up a memorial to the Congregation of the Propaganda which was mainly a duplicate of the description of the state of the Catholic Church in British North America which he had made in 1797. Once again he gave a full account of ecclesiastical affairs while suggesting that Prefect Apostolics be appointed to alleviate the need.¹⁵

A letter from Father P. Mignault, the priest who had come to serve at St. Peter's while Father Burke was away, indicated that Father Burke planned to spend the winter on the continent.

The boat [from Dublin] brought me a letter which tells me that Mr. Burke has taken his passport on 25 Sept. for France. So we cannot count on Mr. Burke for this year. . . . He went to France, and from there on to Italy, I do not know why; without doubt it is to become a bishop, at least it is the polity of Sir John.¹⁶

Father Burke was in Rome on December 11, 1815, when the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda decided that "upon consent of the Bishop of Quebec, a petition should be sent to the Holy Father for the erection of the mainland of Nova Scotia into a Vicariate Apostolic, which would, of course, be immediately subject to the Holy See."¹⁷ The next day, December 12, Father Burke wrote to the Cardinal Prefect applying for the appointment as head of the new vicariate apostolic.¹⁸

While in Rome, Father Burke made his third report on the state of the Catholic religion in the English colonies in North America. Regarding conditions in Nova Scotia he wrote,

the Catholics who exist in large numbers are excluded from all public offices. . . . There are only ten or eleven priests . . . many live and die without spiritual help. There is not one priest for the Indians, all Catholics. The Bishop of Quebec could never find enough priests to fill the vacancies in . . . Lower Canada. Hence he has to leave many missions without priests. The laws forbid foreign priests to enter and the Bishop, who does not dare to do anything without the consent of the Governor General . . . gives faculties only to those who have a passport from the Minister of State . . . English speaking priests are excluded.¹⁹

On April 16, 1816, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda wrote to Bishop Plessis informing him of their decision regarding the division of his diocese, requesting his reaction to the division. The letter was given to Father Burke who was to send it on to Quebec when he returned to Nova Scotia. Leaving Rome towards the end of April, he returned to Halifax early in August when he immediately forwarded the letter to the Bishop.

On October 15, Bishop Plessis wrote the following response to Rome: "I renounce purely and simply and forever all episcopal jurisdiction on the peninsula of Nova Scotia . . . and I give my full consent to whomever the Holy See appoints on said peninsula as a bishop independent of the See of Quebec."²⁰ This letter did not reach its destination, at least not before May 19, 1817, on which day the Sacred Congregation appointed Father Burke Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia, then submitted their decision to the Pope. On July 26, Cardinal Litta wrote to Father Burke notifying him that the Pope approved of his appointment as Titular Bishop of Sion and head of the new Vicariate of Nova Scotia immediately subject to the Holy See. Father Burke had requested that his jurisdiction be limited to the peninsula of Nova Scotia. He did not wish to have Bermuda incorporated into the Vicariate but promised to find a priest to make a yearly visit to the island. In informing Bishop Plessis of his appointment, he wrote: "Nova Scotia has been erected into a Vicariate Apostolic immediately subject to the Holy See and his holiness has named me the Bishop of Sion and his Vicar in Nova Scotia. I have already asked you to renew my letters of vicar general."²¹

Bishop Plessis wrote a congratulatory letter to Father Burke on December 24, 1817. This was followed, on January 15, 1818, by Bishop Plessis' final pastoral letter to the Catholics of Nova Scotia which was concluded by an appeal for cooperation of the people with their new Bishop.²²

On July 5, 1818, Bishop Burke, in his sixty-sixth year, was consecrated in Quebec by Bishop Plessis. The immediate issue at hand was the position of the French Canadian priests who had been serving in Nova Scotia. Bishop Plessis gave them the option of remaining under Bishop Burke's jurisdiction or returning to Quebec.²³ Choosing the latter course, Father P. Mignault, who had been in Halifax since 1814, and Father A. Manseau, who was serving at Tracadie, returned to Quebec in 1817.

The significance of Father's Burke's success in achieving complete autonomy from Quebec cannot be underestimated. The ideas entertained by Bishop Plessis regarding the division of the Diocese did not coincide with those put forth in the memorials of Father Burke. Bishop Plessis' plan was to have four suffragan bishops -- one in the North West, another in Upper Canada, a third at Montreal, a fourth in the Maritime Provinces all under the Bishop of Quebec who would be the Metropolitan of all Canada.²⁴ When Bishop Plessis wrote to the Bishop of Baltimore informing him that Rome wanted his consent for the dismemberment of Nova Scotia from Quebec, he must have been acting out of character by adding, "[y]ou do not doubt my haste in giving it. But what is Nova Scotia in comparison with all the rest that I have?"²⁵ His true feelings came through in the official consent to Rome:

I will take the liberty to point out to Your Eminence that these Vicars-General Bishops, these Vicars Apostolic, these coadjutors without succession, in a word, these isolated bishops, would not be as respected, nor as imposing, nor as

strong, for the maintenance of religion as a hierarchy composed of a metropolitan and some suffragan bishops.²⁶

Father Burke, however, knew the Penal Laws well and had realized that the British Government would not consent to the appointment of several Bishops in Canada; therefore, he clearly used this argument in his memorial, calling instead for the appointment of Prefects Apostolic.

Having lost the ecclesiastic control of Nova Scotia, in a determination to preserve the primacy of Quebec and a certain degree of centralized authority, Bishop Plessis left for Europe in 1819. While there, he wrote to Rome suggesting that future bishops should be appointed as suffragans to the See of Quebec. Opposition from the British government which had not wished to recognize Plessis as a Metropolitan, resulted in a modification of Plessis' plan. The remainder of his diocese was not dismembered but divided into districts for four suffragan bishops, with the title in partibus infidelium, who were to continue to be subject to the authority of Bishop Plessis.²⁷ Of direct interest to Nova Scotia is the fact that Father Angus Bernard MacEachern became suffragan Bishop for the district comprising New Brunswick, the Magdalen Islands, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton. He was consecrated by Bishop Plessis at Quebec on June 17, 1821, with the title 'Bishop of Rosea'.

The Bishop of Quebec, therefore, was Bishop of all his former territory with the exception of Nova Scotia. He had all the authority that he had previously while the auxiliary bishops had no more power than they had as vicars general. Frustrated

in his attempts to help his people, Bishop MacEachern laid bare his feelings to Bishop Plessis. "What has Canada ever done for this Island since the conquest? What provision for the Acadian settlers in spirituals before our people arrived on the Island? and what has been done for us since?"²⁸ Allegations of Quebec's neglect and lack of interest became frequent. In 1827, Bishop MacEachern wrote: "I am now approaching my 69th year of age. I do not see any chance of receiving any spiritual succour from Quebec. I never received any salary from the Diocese. . . . They will not educate one priest for us."²⁹ Bishop MacEachern then compared his district with the peninsula of Nova Scotia:

Doctor Fraser who acts for himself will soon have plenty of hands in his District. Were I independent of Quebec, I would in concert with him provide hands for the Missions. . . . Had I been independent as Doctor Fraser . . . I would have our youth educated before this day and would compel the Canadians to furnish us with priests among the French Settlers until we would raise a sufficiency for ourselves. . . at all events we never could be worse off than we are.³⁰

These letters are reminiscent of earlier letters of Father Burke and, indeed, are typical of what he and his successors would have continued to write if he had not achieved autonomy for the Roman Catholic Church in Nova Scotia.

It has been charged that Father Burke longed for the day when he should wear the mitre; also that, as Vicar General of Quebec, he should have consulted his superior before taking action in Rome for dismemberment from Quebec. Each of these accusations might have some validity. What is more important,

however, is that only when Nova Scotia became emancipated from Quebec could Bishop Burke act with a free hand; thus, in the few short years of his episcopacy, he laid the foundation of a solid episcopal see. In the ecclesiastical history of Nova Scotia, a stepping stone to the dignity of a diocese was laid when Father Edmund Burke was named Bishop of Sion and Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia. In wider circles, he will go down in the annals of Canadian ecclesiastical history as a pioneer in the dismemberment of the Diocese of Quebec.

CHAPTER VIII

APPROACHING THE END: GRASPING FOR CONTINUITY

Although Father Burke had not received episcopal consecration until 1818, from the time of his return to Halifax from Europe in 1816 and with renewed vigor, he made provisions and plans for the spiritual and temporal needs of his vicariate. Ranking among the top priorities in his planning was a project which had been latent in his mind for some years, namely, the establishment of the Trappist monastery in Nova Scotia. The project was enthusiastically received by Bishop Plessis who, in 1815, in the hope of alleviating the spiritual poverty of the Micmacs, wrote to Governor Sherbrooke on behalf of the Indians stating that "there is not anywhere in the world a community more suited to supply to these different needs than the Trappists."¹

Indeed, fate has played a part in bringing to fruition Father Burke's dream of establishing this order in Nova Scotia. Father Vincent de Paul, a Trappist, visited with Father Burke for some time prior to Father Vincent's intended departure for Europe. Having missed his boat, however, he turned to Father Burke seeking an opportunity to work at St. Peter's until he received orders from his superiors in France. As Father Burke himself was due to leave for Europe, Father Vincent received permission to serve as an assistant at St. Peter's during the former's absence. From Father Vincent's Memoire it is apparent that his first few months were spent solely at St. Peter's. He then went to

Chezzetcook where for three years he ministered to the Acadians and Indians until circumstances at Tracadie were to call him there.

Upon the departure of Father A. Manseau from Tracadie in the summer of 1817, the people of that place had to depend upon Father F. Lejantel of Arichat for their spiritual needs. Finding it difficult to extend his services to the Tracadie areas, in the autumn of 1817 Father Lejantel sent an appeal to Bishop-Elect Burke who immediately asked Father Vincent to take charge at Tracadie. He left Chezzetcook in March, 1818, to make Tracadie his place of residence while also taking care of Harbour Boucher and Pomquet. It was his intention while there to select a site to build a monastery. Bishop Plessis expressed the wish that he would select a site in Cape Breton which still came under the Diocese of Quebec; however, following the urging of Bishop Burke, in the spring of 1819 he purchased a 300 acre tract of land at Tracadie at a cost of £150.² Bishop Burke did not live to see Father Vincent's project completed; yet he was fully confident that it would be accomplished as in 1818 he wrote, "I think he will succeed. . . . It will be of great benefit to these poor Indians because Your Grace knows how zealous he is."³

Uppermost in Bishop Burke's mind was the necessity of ensuring a supply of priests for his vicariate. Ambitious to educate his own clergy, on his return from Europe he immediately began preparing six young men for the priesthood. In the spring of 1818 he wrote, "I will endeavour to form ecclesiastics here and I would rather leave the missions empty than to send them

useless priests."⁴ Following his consecration, Bishop Burke occupied the second floor of the 'College' where his seminary would soon be opened. By the autumn of 1818 he reported:

I have presently four young men studying theology; one at Sigogne's house, another at Father Vincent's and another at my house and when Carroll comes I'll begin a small seminary. I want to leave the two Scottish youths in Canada so that they can be well trained to establish the chant and ceremonies among the Scots.⁵

These first seminarians came to Bishop Burke from various backgrounds; some were partly trained in Ireland; others were partly trained in Quebec while others received all their theological training under Bishop Burke.

James Grant, a native of Ireland, had been studying in the Seminary of Quebec at the time of Bishop Burke's consecration. He decided to return to Halifax with Bishop Burke to complete his theological studies under the new Bishop's direction. Following his ordination by Bishop Burke on June 10, 1819, Father Grant was assigned to Manchester (now Guysborough), Guysborough County⁶, where he was parish priest at the time of Bishop Burke's death.

On June 5, 1819, Thomas Rice and Denis Geary were ordained in Halifax by Bishop Burke.⁷ The first, a native of Ireland, was appointed to Antigonish on August 28, 1820, serving there for one year. Anticipating the proximity of his own death, Bishop Burke expressed the wish that this newly ordained Irish priest would return to St. Peter's to assist his own Irish-born nephew, and more recently ordained priest, Father John Carroll, in the administration of the Vicariate. Fate again intervened in the

plans of the Bishop as Father Rice, because of failing health, went to Paris in 1821 for treatment, dying there during the winter.

Following the ordination of Denis Geary, Bishop Burke appointed him to Chezzetcook where he was serving at the time of the demise of the Bishop. After forty-three years of missionary work, Father Geary died in Dartmouth in 1862.⁸

Two young men, James Dunphy and John Carroll, were promoted to minor orders on June 5, 1819, the day that Fathers Rice and Geary were ordained. Until the autumn of 1818 James Dunphy had been studying in Halifax under Father André Doucet.⁹ Following a recommendation of Bishop Burke, he was accepted at the Seminary of Quebec for further study. Bishop Burke was reluctant, however, to send many prospective priests to study at Quebec. In the following excerpt from a letter to Bishop Plessis, his reasons are given.

As soon as our young people go to Canada, they see there a flourishing church, a country rich and abundant in everything . . . and they do not want to return. If they do not join the Canadian clergy, they become either solicitors or lawyers or finally they find means to stay there and thus they are lost to us.¹⁰

These temptations did not lure James Dunphy away from Nova Scotia for he returned to Halifax to be ordained by Bishop Burke in 1820 and to work with him in his new Vicariate.

John Carroll was studying at the Quebec Seminary when he wrote to his uncle, Bishop Burke, requesting a change. The latter explained: [w]hat I foresaw has happened. Carroll is very tired

of Quebec. I am writing him to come immediately on the first boat."¹¹ Having finished his studies at Halifax, Father Carroll was ordained by his uncle in 1820.¹²

The Irishman, John Loughnan, came to Halifax in 1818 recommended by Bishop William Coppinger of Cloyne and Archbishop Bray of Cashel.¹³ Continuing his studies under Bishop Burke, he received minor orders on June 29, 1819 and then proceeded to Boston where, on February 2, 1821, he was ordained on the strength of demissorial letters left by Bishop Burke. Following his ordination, he returned to Nova Scotia as pastor at Manchester¹⁴ from 1821 until 1823 at which time he was appointed pastor at Prospect.

As a further guarantee that his missions would be supplied with a sufficient number of priests, Father Burke had entered upon a project with Father Angus MacEachern to establish a seminary at Arisaig (then, St. Margaret's), Nova Scotia. Shortly after returning from Europe, referring to the plan, Father Burke wrote to Bishop Plessis: "I am going to establish a seminary on land I got from the Crown two miles from the village Arisaig."¹⁵ No one looked forward to the proposed seminary more eagerly than did Father MacEachern. He and Bishop Burke had fully discussed the project in the autumn of 1819 when the Bishop was on an episcopal tour of the eastern countries. In the following excerpt from a letter to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, Father MacEachern manifests an ardent anticipation of the project coupled with complete confidence in the competency of Bishop Burke:

[b]ecause the Rt. Rev. Dr. Burke, Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia can act for himself, he is placing and will place these numerous and extensive missions . . . on a sound basis. . . . He will establish next summer a seminary at St. Margaret's, which will provide not only for the needs of his Lordship, but will also be an advantage to us because of its proximity to our island and to Cape Breton. . . . Had he been made Vicar Apostolic 15 years ago, these Missions would now be provided with a sufficient number of priests."¹⁶

During the summer of 1820 the Bishop made a second episcopal tour of eastern Nova Scotia. Writing from Charlottetown in 1821, Father MacEachern mentioned the visit:

[o]n the 29th July I met the Rt.Rev.Doctor Burke at St. Margaret's in order to put a finishing hand to the intended seminary. . . . I left on the first of August for Three Rivers to visit a sick man, and never saw the Rt.Rev. Doctor since. What the idea of his successor may be, I know not, neither did I learn how he has dispensed of what means he had.¹⁷

Unfortunately, Bishop Burke's untimely death, as well as the delay in the appointment of his successor was the coup de grâce to the intended seminary of St. Margaret's.

Bishop Burke's efforts in the name of education were not confined to training young men for the priesthood as he also set up schools for younger boys and for girls. The boys' classrooms were on the first floor of 'the college'. By 1820, with more than 100 boys studying, the Bishop related that "the number is increasing daily. Those who pay give only half of what they are obliged to pay elsewhere; thus I shall soon have them away from the Methodist schools."¹⁸ With the assistance of two seminarians, Father Carroll directed the boys' studies.¹⁹ The

old presbytery which had been built in 1785 was moved to another site where the Bishop fitted it up as a school for girls which was financed by the ladies' sodality of the parish. In 1820, the Bishop noted that "there are now 193 little girls being instructed in this school."²⁰ The following statement of the Lieutenant Governor indicates that the schools were given official recognition by the province:

[y]ou are hereby directed to pay unto the Revd. John Carroll and the Revd. James Dunphy, Trustees, the sum of seven pounds ten shillings for the support of a school established in Halifax whereof Michael McSweeney is the teacher and continued from 24th July 1820 to 24th January 1821.²¹

Bishop Burke spent the summer of 1819 visiting the western part of his Vicariate where he found that the Acadian settlements had rapidly extended westward as far as Cape Sable. Here he found that Father Sigogne, in charge of the whole area, had succeeded in building a church at Cape Sable in 1808, one at Pubnico in 1815 and another at Metagen in 1817.²²

Having made tours in each of the three years of his episcopate, Bishop Burke had first hand information on the state of religion in the Vicariate. Returning from his final tour, he drew up a pastoral letter to his priests and people on September 25, 1820.²³ In this letter the clergy were instructed to enforce the disciplinary laws of the Church while the people were cautioned against excessive indulgence in alcoholic drink. He told them that he was surprised to hear that in some missions that

large quantities of rum were consumed at funerals, and quarrels sometimes took place in the graveyard. . . . We have heard also that at marriage feasts a great multitude of men and women assemble, eating and drinking during the whole night and day, perhaps for several days, so that the marriage of a daughter is at times the ruin of her parents as well as of her husband.²⁴

He restricted attendance at marriage feasts, "except the parents of the spouses and their relatives and friends, to the number of twenty-five only",²⁵ while frolics were to be attended by men alone, or women alone, "according as the work to be performed was peculiar to men or women."²⁶

At this time, the Catholic residents of Dartmouth found it most inconvenient and expensive to come across the harbour to St. Peter's for religious services. In 1819, therefore, they sent the following petition to Lieutenant Governor Dalhousie:

[p]etition of John Skerry and Wm. Henry Worthy respectfully showeth that your petitioners profess the Roman Catholic religion and are very anxious in common with the other Roman Catholics of Dartmouth and its vicinity to have a place of worship without being obliged to go to Halifax . . . pray your Lordship would be pleased to grant them as many vacant town lots as . . . sufficient for the purpose of a church, Priest's house and church yard.²⁷

Lord Dalhousie did not concur with the thinking of the Dartmouth petitioners. His rationale is contained in his reply to Mr. Worthy:

I am fully disposed to comply with the request . . . but I have made inquiries as to the number of Catholics in the Dartmouth side. I do not find that they are anything like a congregation and besides I do not wish to see at present any new establishment to take away from the highly respectable church of Bishop Burke.²⁸

For several years Bishop Burke had realized that his church was no longer adequate for a congregation which was expanding on both sides of the harbour. In fact, what he felt Halifax needed was a cathedral. Shortly after his consecration he wrote of his plans. "[W]e are beginning to make preparations to build a church. Let us hope that God will give us the means."²⁹ The foundation stone of the new church was laid by the Bishop on June 9, 1820. In his last letter to Archbishop D. Murray of Dublin, he wrote, "[w]e have just begun to build a cathedral here which will cost us at least ten pounds sterling. The extreme length of the church is 106 feet and the breadth 66 feet; the wall, lime and stone; cut stone in the whole front."³⁰

It is only natural to expect that a man of the **organizational** ability and foresight of Bishop Burke would not be content unless he had the assurance that the results of his many years of **diligent** effort would not be aborted. With this in view, he undertook a two-pronged attempt to consolidate his Vicariate. In 1817 he **began** to search for a prelate to rule the Vicariate after his death; he also took steps to prevent the possibility of the Vicariate **being** reannexed to Quebec. That this latter was an actual possibility can be drawn from a letter of Bishop MacEachern in 1825:

I have seen his [Plessis'] correspondence with the Holy See on the subject . . . and moreover when at Rome he took every pain and means in his power in case the late Doctor Burke should die without appointing a coadjutor, to have Nova Scotia reannexed to Quebec on the same footing as this island is.³¹

It has been suggested that, upon the death of Bishop Burke, Bishop Plessis did not wish to reannex the Vicariate Apostolic of

Nova Scotia to Quebec but rather that he tried to find a way of annexing it to the other ecclesiastical provinces of the east under the authority of Bishop-elect MacEachern.³² Bishop Plessis used the argument that since civilly, a single government would soon rule Nova Scotia and Cape Breton³³ and it was rumoured that Prince Edward Island might be added to Nova Scotia also, then all of Nova Scotia should be added to the vicariate of Bishop-elect MacEachern. The uncertain ecclesiastic status of the island of Cape Breton was settled on February 1, 1820,³⁴ when a brief of Pope Pius VII withdrew Cape Breton from the Jurisdiction of Newfoundland³⁵ and placed it under the jurisdiction of Bishop MacEachern who was consecrated in 1821 taking the title titular Bishop of Rosea. As a suffragan of Quebec, Bishop MacEachern became Vicar General of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, the Magdalene Islands and Cape Breton Island. If, as Bishop Plessis suggested, the peninsula of Nova Scotia had also been added to Bishop MacEachern's Vicariate, then it would, in fact, be re-annexed to the See of Quebec. In 1825, Bishop MacEachern clearly stated his position: "we are only Vicars General with Episcopal character subordinated and subservient to the will of Quebec . . . we never could be worse off than we are."³⁶

Any attempt of Bishop Plessis to reannex the Vicariate of Nova Scotia, directly or indirectly was anticipated by Bishop Burke, a man of foresight. In order to protect the religious autonomy of Nova Scotia, therefore, for several months before his death he had continued corresponding with the Prefect of the

Propaganda advising him not to trust the choice of Bishop Plessis concerning his coadjutor.³⁷ In his eagerness to insure that his Vicariate would have a ruler after his death, he began a concerted effort to obtain a coadjutor. He wrote to Bishop Plessis on December 22, 1818, enclosing an application to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda praying that he send Father Thomas Maguire³⁸ of Quebec to Halifax. Although the Congregation approved of Father Maguire, the latter did not accept the position.³⁹ Disappointed over Father Maguire's refusal and after recovering from a severe illness, Bishop Burke wrote again to Rome, this time asking for Father Paul Long, Rector of the Irish College in Paris.

In the event of my dying before His Holiness grants me a coadjutor, I earnestly beg and beseech you to consult the Coadjutor of Dublin . . . about the choice of my successor, and not the Bishop of Quebec. For sad experience has shown me the sort of successor he once destined for me. . . .

Now, since I know of no one else in the Diocese of Quebec who really knows the English language -- the only one used in this city -- . . . I humbly beg Your Eminence to intercede for me with His Holiness, asking him to grant me as coadjutor Father Paul Long. . . . If this priest, however, should also refuse . . . then the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Dublin should be consulted.⁴⁰

Bishop Burke then wrote to Archbishop John Troy of Dublin to suggest that if Father Long refused, he would recommend Father Denis Lyons, a priest of the Diocese of Cork. The Prefect of the Propaganda wrote to Doctor Troy to persuade Father Long to accept the coadjutorship to Bishop Burke; but Father Long refused the position giving as his reasons that the severe climate of Nova

Scotia would be too much and the charge too difficult for a man of his age (sixty years). According to the wishes of Bishop Burke, the Cardinals of the Propaganda then discussed the recommendation of Father Lyons.⁴¹ Discussion was interrupted, however, by Bishop Plessis who again proposed that Nova Scotia come under the control of Bishop MacEachern. After several years of interference, investigation and delay, Rome turned a deaf ear to Bishop Plessis' proposal by appointing the Right Reverend William Fraser of Scotland as the second Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia.⁴²

Reference has earlier been made to the pastoral letter which Bishop Burke issued to his priests and people focusing attention on spiritual and moral realms. Having completed the task of establishing order and continuity in the spiritual realm and goaded by thoughts of impending death, in September, 1820 he turned to things temporal by drawing up his last will and testament. Since there was no episcopal corporation to hold the church property in trust in those days⁴³, the Bishop bequeathed all his real and personal property, both in Upper Canada and Nova Scotia to Bishop Plessis of Quebec and to Father John Carroll and Michael Tobin of Halifax.⁴⁴ The witnesses to the will were Fathers T. Rice, John Loughnan and Michael McSweeney.

Bishop Burke's illness and death are described in the following excerpts from two letters written by Father Carroll.

Your dear friend Dr. Burke is no more. . . .
 He returned here, after his episcopal visitation, which was for five weeks, on the 28th August, attacked by a tumor in his groin. He then applied to Dr. Keegan, who

strove to prevent its progress without obliging him to undergo an operation; but all in vain. He was obliged to submit to an operation performed by Dr. Keegan and Dr. Almond. . . . The tumor weighed 15 oz. He seemed almost recovered but a small kernal began to appear within the old wound,. . . so he was obliged again to submit to the knife. . . on the 19th. Novem. He appeared stout after the operation, but in the course of that week began to languish, and on Wednesday, the 29th ult. he died at 2 o'clock p.m.⁴⁵

A letter of Michael Tobin to Bishop Plessis reveals the name of the priest whom Bishop Burke wanted to administer the parish upon his death.

It is with the deepest regret that I announce to you the death of our honourable and truly esteemed Bishop Burke The Rev. John Carroll is a nephew of the late Bishop and has been by him appointed our parish priest.⁴⁶

Regarding the appointment, Father Carroll wrote to Bishop Plessis that Bishop Burke

has left a letter addressed to me, the true copy of which I send to Your Lordship, but some hours before his death he said that you would send a priest here to take care of this Vicariate. I think that his intellect was weak when he spoke those words, as he raved on the same day, and he never mentioned a word of the invalidity of the letter addressed to me. In his letter to me, he also enclosed a printed paper, which he had received from the Pope, in which are contained all the faculties granted to him⁴⁷

From November 29 to December 2, 1820, Bishop Burke lay in state in St. Peter's church where thousands visited to pay their last respects. One eyewitness stated:

I remember the death of Bishop Burke, and saw him lying in state. . . . The dead Bishop was attired in full canonicals, with his staff of office by his side. Altogether he presented a dignified appearance in death, as he did when living. He had been a thorough scholar, gentleman and christian.⁴⁸

On December 2 the Bishop was buried among the laity in a corner of the old churchyard.⁴⁹ The sentiments of the community were fittingly revealed in the obituary printed in the Acadian Recorder of the day.⁵⁰

On November 29, 1845, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death, the parishoners of St. Mary's celebrated a solemn High Mass in in honour of their first Bishop. The Catholic paper of the time recorded the event.

On Saturday last, the anniversary of the demise of the Right Rev. Edmund Burke. . . . an office and solemn Mass for the repose of his soul were celebrated in St. Mary's Church. . . . The Cathedral was hung in black. A catafalque surrounded with lights was placed in the middle of the choir, and on the coffin were placed the usual Episcopal emblems. The High Mass was chaunted by the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh. . . . Though a quarter of a century has now elapsed since the death of Bishop Burke, the memory of his virtues, learning and zeal is still fondly cherished by the Catholics of Halifax.⁵¹

At the time of the consecration of the new cemetery of the Holy Cross, July 26, 1843, Bishop William Walsh had set aside a large part of the ground for the interment of clergy and religious. It was his wish that Bishop Burke should be buried there. Accordingly, it has been reported that,

on April 30, 1846, Bishop Burke's grave in St. Peter's cemetery was opened; the coffin was found to be in perfect state. In the presence of the Clergy and a multitude of

people the body of this illustrious Bishop was transferred to Holy Cross cemetery, and surrounded by candles, placed before the Altar in the Chapel, remaining there until May 4, when it was conveyed to its last resting place. During these few days crowds of the faithful hastened to the cemetery to offer their prayers for the soul of the Bishop.⁵²

In 1847, Bishop Walsh gave directions that an appropriate tomb stone in white marble be erected at his expense over the grave of Bishop Burke. Again, from The Cross, it is learned that this directive had been observed.

This very interesting monument has been erected this week, and it will serve to perpetuate to future generations the memory of a great and good man. Beneath a richly sculptured mitre in high relief, is placed the following (a most suitable) inscription.⁵³

D. O. M.

TO HIS LORDSHIP
D. EDMUND BURKE
IRISH BISHOP OF SION
AND FIRST
VICAR APOSTOLIC OF NOVA SCOTIA
A MAN DISTINGUISHED
FOR EVERY TYPE OF VIRTUE
VERY FAMOUS FOR HIS LEARNING
AND WRITINGS
WHO CARRIED OUT FRUITFULLY
ALL THE FUNCTIONS
OF A GOOD SHEPHERD
AND AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY-EIGHT
CAME TO A HOLY END
NOVEMBER 29, 1820
AMID THE TEARS OF THE POOR
AND OF ALL HIS PEOPLE

THIS MARBLE WAS DEDICATED
TO HIS EVERLASTING MEMORY
BY WILLIAM WALSH, ARCHBISHOP
OF HALIFAX, IN THE YEAR 1848

GOOD LORD JESUS
GIVE HIM REST
AMEN.

CONCLUSION

In recapitulating the time that Reverend Edmund Burke laboured in Nova Scotia, it becomes apparent that the most fruitful years were those of his all too brief but active episcopate. On his arrival, encountering rampant dissention in the parish, he quickly restored order, inaugurated a system of church records then invested his energies in the erection of an educational institution in anticipation of the needs of an educated Catholic laity as well as the education of priests. Frustrated on the one hand by the reluctance of government to certify his school and on the other by many unsuccessful attempts to obtain competent clerics to staff the school, he nevertheless refused to deviate from his purpose.

A strong advocate of religious Orders, Father Burke made several fruitless attempts to bring the Jesuits to Nova Scotia. He was instrumental, however, in attracting the Trappist Order to Nova Scotia.

During the three years that this prelate had control over the Vicariate, in spite of advancing years and waning health, his record of achievement is outstanding. These accomplishments include the establishment of a seminary where five priests were ordained and other aspirants were progressing towards Holy Orders; three episcopal visitations throughout Nova Scotia; a cathedral of stone under construction; finally a school for boys and another for girls.

Of the ten priests who were assisting Bishop Burke in administering to the needs of the Roman Catholics in the peninsula of Nova Scotia at the time of his death, five were personally trained by him at his Halifax Seminary while he was responsible for attracting to the Vicariate three others. A perusal of the names of these priests indicates a nationality distribution of six Irishmen (Fathers Thomas Grace, Thomas Rice, John Carroll, James Dunphy, Denis Geary and James Grant); three Frenchmen (Fathers Jean Mandé Sigogne, André Doucet and Vincent de Paul; and one Scotsman (Father Colin Grant who emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1818 when Bishop Burke asked him to serve at Arisaig). Although this distribution shows a balance in favor of Irish missionaries, a survey of all the missionaries who served in Nova Scotia from 1801 to 1820 would support the position that the Roman Catholic religion in this region was kept alive by the combined efforts of Scottish, French and Irish missionaries.

In 1964 the memory of Bishop Burke's efforts towards the training of young men for the priesthood was revived in the city of Halifax. At this time when the "crisis in vocations" was beginning to manifest itself in a decrease in the number of young men offering themselves to serve as priests, Archbishop Gerald Berry, upon the recommendation of his Vocations Director, Father Jerry MacKey, sanctioned the establishment of Bishop Burke House. On January 19, 1963, Reverend A.M. O'Driscoll was appointed Director and Father Lloyd Robertson, Dean of Studies of Burke House program which officially came into being in September, 1964. The students who take up residence at Bishop

Burke House receive their academic training at Saint Mary's University while their religious formation is directed by the resident priests who administer Burke House. It seems most fitting that an institution whose ultimate purpose is the formation of young men for the priesthood in the Archdiocese of Halifax should bear the name of Bishop Edmund Burke whose crowning educational achievement as first Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia was the establishment of the first seminary for the training of young aspirants to the priesthood.

NOTES TO CHAPTERS

Abbreviations

- A.A.C. Archives of the Diocese of Charlottetown
A.A.H. Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax
A.A.Q. Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec:
A. Angleterre (England)
I.P.E. Ile Prince Edouard (Prince Edward Island)
N.E. Nouvelle Écosse (Nova Scotia)
T.N. Terre Neuve (Newfoundland)
P.A.C. Public Archives of Canada
P.A.N.S. Public Archives of Nova Scotia

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹Burke to Bishop Plessis, March 26, 1810, A.A.Q. N.E. IV:35
(author's translation from French)

²It is thus concluded that the year of his birth was 1753

³Ibid.

⁴M. Comerford, Collections Relating to the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, I (Dublin, 1883), p.227.

⁵Ibid.

⁶John Thomas Troy, O.P. was born in 1739 and was Bishop of Ossory from 1776 to 1786 when he became Archbishop of Dublin until his death in 1823.

⁷Burke to Rt.Rev. Dr. Troy, July 7, 1788, A.A.H. Burke Letters, No.1., Burke Papers, I.

⁸Daniel Rops, The Church in the Age of Revolution 1789-1820, trans. John Warrington (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1965), p.355. "Forbidden to recruit members under the terms of the capitulation of Montreal, the Canadian Jesuits had struggled on with dwindling numbers until suppression of the order in France in 1764 and the papal dissolution of the order in 1774 culminated the great upsurge of anti-Jesuit feeling which began as a national phenomenon and ended as an international one supported by the papacy. . . . By 1787 there were only four surviving Canadian members of the order, . . . the crown took over the Estates in 1800 at the death of the last Jesuit." Mason Wade. The French Canadians 1760-1967 (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1968), I, 83-84.

⁹Rops, The Church in the Age of Revolution, p.356.

¹⁰From 1766 to 1778 Sir Guy Carleton had been governor of Canada, successor to Murray. He received the title Lord Dorchester and returned to govern Canada a second time in 1786.

¹¹Father Jean-Oliver Briand was consecrated in Paris on 16 March, 1766, as seventh Bishop of Quebec. Although Mgr. Briand had on all occasions used his title as 'Bishop of Quebec', the government officials always referred to him as the 'Superintendent of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec'.

¹²Bishop Louis-Philippe M.D'Esglis succeeded Bishop Briand as Bishop of Quebec in 1784.

¹³Archives of Seminary of Quebec, Docket 85.

¹⁴Archives of Seminary of Quebec, Docket 88.

¹⁵Bishop Hubert to Bishop of Baltimore, June 24, 1792; A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres, I, p.327. On June 4, 1788 Bishop Jean-Françis Hubert became ninth Bishop of Quebec.

¹⁶William R. Riddell, The Life of John James Simcoe 1792-96 (Toronto:McClelland and Stewart, 1926), p. 263.

¹⁷Rev. Brother Alfred, "The Rt.Rev. Edmund Burke, D.D. Apostle of Upper Canada", Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report (1940-1941), p.36.

¹⁸Hubert to Simcoe, September 15, 1794; A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres, II, p. 151.

¹⁹Hubert to Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, November 21, 1794; A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres, II, p. 166.

²⁰See Burke's Letters 1795-1797, A.A.H.

²¹William Richard Harris, The Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula 1626-1895 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895), pp.174-175.

²²Riddell, The Life of John James Simcoe, p.264.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Simcoe to Burke, September 5, 1796 in "The Right Rev. Edmund Burke, D.D. Apostle of Upper Canada" by Brother Alfred, Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report (1940-1941), p.36.

²⁶The only viable religious order in Canada after 1763 was the Sulpician Order. This was due mainly to the gradual extinction of the other religious orders by the British government. Since the Recollets and Jesuits had trained most of the teachers, gradually their numbers decreased. "Even the Quebec Seminary found it difficult to fill vacancies in its faculty." Helen Manning, The Revolt of French Canada 1800-1835 (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p.19.

²⁷ See Burke to Troy, August 17, 1796; A.A.H. Burke Letters, No.7. For many years there had been diversities between the Sulpicians whose Seminary was in Montreal and the Jesuits in Quebec and although the Jesuit Order had been repressed, strong feelings remained.

²⁸ On May 23, 1794, Father Pierre Denault, then curé of Longueuil, became coadjutor of Bishop Hubert. On September 1, 1797, when Hubert resigned, Denault became the tenth Bishop of Quebec.

²⁹ Burke to Lt.Col. McDonnell, May 22, 1801, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I.

³⁰ Father Burke explained that Mrs. Dame and her child were neglected by an alcoholic husband and were in dire need of material assistance which the Church supplied.

³¹ Denault to Mgr. de Canathe, May 27, 1801, A.A.Q. Copie de Lettres. V:645 (author's translation from French).

³² Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803-1804 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1958), p. 316.

³³ Denault to Burke, September 1, 1801, A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres, IV:83 (author's translation from French).

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹Cornelius O'Brien, Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, Bishop of Zion: First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia (Ottawa: Thoburn and Co., 1894), p.56(footnote).

The Right Rev. Cornelius O'Brien, native of Prince Edward Island and fourth Archbishop of Halifax was consecrated on January 21, 1883. He was a distinguished scholar, preacher, historian, novelist and poet. He died on March 9, 1906 when the Most Reverend J. McCarthy became his successor.

²A. Johnston, A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, I, 1611-1827 (Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Press, 1960), p.133.

³Ibid., p.135.

⁴Ibid., pp. 162-163.

⁵Wentworth to Lord Hobart, August 6, 1803, Governor Wentworth's Letter Book, Vol.53, No.118, P.A.N.S.

⁶Uniacke's Sketches of Cape Breton and Other Papers Relating to Cape Breton Island, edited with an Introduction and Notes by C. Bruce Fergusson, p.31.

⁷See The Impact of Irish Catholic Immigration in Nova Scotia 1750-1850, thesis by Sister Mary Liguori, S.C.H., 1961, p.58.

⁸Helen I. Cowan, British Immigration to British North America 1783-1837 (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1928), p.137.

In the first six years after the war at least 19,000 passengers had sailed from the customs ports of Scotland to British North America. The greatest movement in the first years 1816 and 1817 had been . . . to Pictou in Nova Scotia, where Lord Dalhousie was in favor of developing the province by opening roads and giving easier land terms to new arrivals. In 1819 . . . even greater emigration took place to Nova Scotia. Ibid., p.121.

⁹Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803-1804, p.62.

¹⁰Wentworth to Lord Castlereagh, February 3, 1806, P.A.N.S. Governor Wentworth's Letter Book, Vol.54, p.146.

¹¹The total population of Halifax in 1802 was 8,532, "451 of whom were blacks." T.B. Akins, "History of Halifax City", Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, VIII, 1895, p.134.

¹²These Maroons had been settled at Preston on land and houses bought for them by the government of Jamaica. Unaccustomed to life in Nova Scotia, they soon became dissatisfied, became troublesome and eventually a financial drain on the treasury. Thus they were transported to Sierra Leone.

¹³John Martin, The Story of Dartmouth (Dartmouth: Privately printed for the author, 1957), p.110.

¹⁴Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, 3 Vols., III (Halifax: James Barnes, Printer and Publisher, 1867), p.424.

¹⁵"The figure usually given for the population of the peninsula in 1817 is 82,053. . . . When the census of 1827 was tabled, the comparative figures for 1817 were given. These totalled 82,052 and have been accepted as correct. But in the General Information Book of Charles Morris, Surveyor-General of Nova Scotia (Imperial Blue Book), the figures for the population add up to 86,688. The difference lies mainly in the fact that Morris included under the head of "Counties", the districts of Yarmouth and Argyle (population 5,892) which are omitted in the list for 1817. . . . An unsigned manuscript list found among the Halifax Court Land Grants in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, gives the Population of Counties in 1817 as follows: Lunenburg: 6,428; Sydney: 7,090; Cumberland: 2,965; Kings: 7,145; Shelburne: 7,719; Annapolis: 9,817; Hants: 6,318; Queens: 3,098; Halifax: 30,196; Yarmouth and Argyle: 5,892. Total: 86,668." J.S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration From Nova Scotia From 1815-1838,

P.A.N.S. Publication No. 6, 1942, p.8 (footnote)

¹⁶C. Bruce Fergusson, Uniacke's Sketches, p.32. By 1827 the population of Cape Breton had increased to 18,700.

¹⁷Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803-1804, p.58.

¹⁸John Parr was Major General and Governor of Nova Scotia from October 19, 1782 to November, 1791.

¹⁹Winkworth Tonge was an army officer in the Seven Years' War; at Chignecto under Lawrence; afterwards, engineer officer at the siege of Louisburg. He obtained grants of land in Hants County and cultivated an extensive farm. He was father of William Cotnam Tonge, noted orator and active member of the House of Assembly, 1792-1807. The Tonges resided at Windsor.

²⁰Michael Tobin (1775-1844) was Secretary of the Charitable Irish Society for many years and served as President in 1822. He was a successful business man and active in St. Peter's Catholic Church. "It was Mr. Tobin's custom while presiding at the banquets of the society, to have beside him a big Irish potato and a sod of Irish turf". Occasional's Letters. Vol.I, July 8, 1916. P.A.N.S.

²¹The Reverend Charles Inglis had been rector of Trinity Church, New York and came to Nova Scotia as an exiled Loyalist. He was consecrated on August 12, 1787 as Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia but his jurisdiction extended over Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Bermuda, and Newfoundland. He died in 1816.

²²Lawrence Kavanaugh was a rich Irish catholic merchant of Saint Peter's, Cape Breton. On January 15, 1813 he was appointed Colonel, Commandant of the 2nd. or Southern regiment of militia on Cape Breton Island by Brigadier General Swaine, President of His Majesty's Council for the Island of Cape Breton and its dependencies. Occasional's Letters, Vol.I, S.B.No.78, Dec.1, 1917, P.A.N.S.

²³Lawrence Doyle was a native of Ireland and a leading merchant of Halifax in the early years of the nineteenth century. His place of business was on the waterfront. He was a faithful member of the Roman Catholic Church.

²⁴Included were toasts given in memory of Holy St. Patrick, the King, Prince Regent, Duke of York, Royal Family, St. George and Old England, "the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, and the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Sion Bishop Edmund Burke , with the clergy of all denominations of Christain Societies among us". The Halifax Journal, March 21, 1820.

²⁵John Martin, The Story of Dartmouth, p.108

²⁶Norah Story, "The Church and State Party in Nova Scotia, 1749-1851," Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. XXVII, 1947, p.33.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Maurice W. Armstrong, The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, Hartford, Connecticut: The American Society of Church History, 1948, p.115.

²⁹The Congregationalists had churches located at Barrington, Liverpool, Chester, Halifax, Cornwallis and Cumberland.

³⁰The "Meeting House" was built on the southwest corner of Hollis and Prince Streets. It stood there until "destroyed by the great fire which swept Hollis Street in 1857." David Allison, History of Nova Scotia, II, p. 918.

³¹"The Historian from St. Matthews tells us that though the pulpit had been filled by Presbyterian ministers for over thirty years 'the name Presbyterian' did not enter the Congregational minutes until 1818, and did not finally oust Protestant Dissenters till 1815'." Allison, II, p. 920.

³²M.W. Armstrong, The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, p. 131.

³³C.F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts - 1701 - 1900 (London: Published at the Society's Office, 1901), p. 118. This 'revival' had been influenced by the preaching of Henry Alline, New Light preacher in Nova Scotia from 1776 until 1784.

³⁴M.W. Armstrong, The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, p. 131.

³⁵David Allison, History of Nova Scotia, II, p. 780.

³⁶Arthur W. Eaton, The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution. Second Edition. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892), p. 281.

³⁷Rev. Brother Alfred, "The Right Rev. Edmund Burke, D.D. 'Apostle of Upper Canada', 'Bishop of Zion', 'First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia': 1753-1820", Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report (1940-1941), p. 45.

³⁸Sister Mary Liguori, S.C.H., The Impact of Irish Catholic Immigration in Nova Scotia 1750-1850, Unpublished thesis, 1961, pp. 161-162.

³⁹The Abbé Antoine Simon Maillard was made Vicar General of Louisburg in 1740. He was most popular among the Indians. In 1760 he was brought to Halifax by the English civil authorities and was the only priest permitted to remain in Nova Scotia after 1760. Because of his pacification of the Indians he was kept here and allotted an annual salary of 100 pounds. When he died in 1762 the Micmacs demanded another priest. In 1768 Governor Carleton brought Father Bailey in. In 1784 Father Joseph Maturin Bourg continued the work of Father Bailey.

⁴⁰³² George II, Cap.5, 1758, in Statutes at Large of the Province of Nova Scotia. Volume I, 1758 - 1804.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Statutes at Large of the Province of Nova Scotia, 1758-1804,
stat. 6th. Geo. 3rd. Cap. 7.

⁴⁴Herbert L. Stewart, The Irish in Nova Scotia, Annals of
the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax (1786-1836) (Kentville,
Nova Scotia: Kentville Publishing Co., 1949), p. 98.

⁴⁵The petition to Lieutenant Governor Hammond was signed by
William Meany, John Cody, James Kavanagh, John Mallowney and John
Murphy.

⁴⁶Occasional's Scrap Book No. 79, Vol. II, 1923-1925,
Dec. 4, 1920, P.A.N.S.

⁴⁷A. Johnson, History of the Catholic Church in Eastern
Nova Scotia, p.112.

⁴⁸Father James Jones was a Capuchin from Cork. "While
Father Bourg was the first parish priest of St. Peter's Church . . .
it was Father Jones who first organized the parish. From Quebec
came a document constituting him 'Superior of the Missions' of
Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton' P.E.I., the Magdalen Islands,
and part of New Brunswick." Liguori Thesis, p. 173. He was "subject
to Father Bourg as Vicar General, the latter residing at Chaleur
Bay and the Bay of Fundy." A.Johnson, History of the Catholic
Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, p.128.

⁴⁹A. Gosselin, L'Eglise du Canada, II, p. 165 and quoted
in McCarthy, Margaret A. (Sister Francis d'Assisi, S.C.), Changing
Religious Liberty in Nova Scotia 1604-1827 A Study in Political
History, 1932, unpublished thesis.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Wentworth to King, January 25, 1794 (Private) in A W I,
Vol. 598, 1794 and cited in Liguori Thesis, p. 173.

⁵³M.W. Armstrong, The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, p.37.

⁵⁴Margaret Ells, "Governor Wentworth's Patronage",
Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXV, 1943, p.70.

⁵⁵Wentworth to Rt. Hon. William Windham (one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State), Halifax, March 23, 1807, P.A.N.S. Governor Wentworth's Letter Book, Vol.54, No.162.

⁵⁶Occasional's Letters. Vol.I Scrap Book No.78, July 8, 1916. Michael's brother, James, was the first Roman Catholic to be admitted to the Executive Council of Nova Scotia. When James died, Michael succeeded him as representative of the Catholic Party. William C. Tonge left Nova Scotia in 1808. He held an official post at Demarara in the West Indies and did not return to Nova Scotia.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹ Although the name has been spelled in a variety of ways, McCulloch will be the standardized form used in this thesis.

Reverend Thomas McCulloch of Scotland received his philosophical education at the University of Glasgow and studied Theology at Whitburn. Arriving at Pictou in 1804 with his wife and family this noted clergyman, writer, scholar and educator worked unceasingly towards the promotion of the Secession Presbyterian religion as well as the development of all levels of education in Nova Scotia.

² Robert Stanser was a clergyman of the town who later became Rector of St. Paul's and successor of Bishop C. Inglis.

³ Cornelius O'Brien, Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, p.128.

⁴ Published in Halifax by A. Gay and sold by Michael Bennett, Water Street, 1804.

⁵ Edmund Burke, Letter of Instruction to the Catholic Missionaries of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies, pp.11-13.

⁶ Ibid., 36.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 37-38.

⁹ Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, February 16, 1804, P.A.N.S. Inglis Letter Book No.4, 1798-1811.

¹⁰ Burke, Letter of Instruction,

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid... 51.

¹³ Ibid., 56-57.

¹⁴ Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, February 16, 1804, P.A.N.S. Inglis Letter Book No.4.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶James L. O'Donel, born in Ireland, arrived in Newfoundland in 1784 as Prefect Apostolic with power to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. He was consecrated at Quebec as Bishop of Thyatira on September 21, 1796. He left Newfoundland in 1806 dying in Ireland on April 15, 1811 at the age of seventy-four.

¹⁷Father Burke had written to Bishop O'Donel that it was a Mr. Lister who advised him to write the Pastoral Letter, "but he never advised to go as far as he did." O'Donel to Bishop of Quebec, July 2, 1804, A.A.Q. T.N. I - 23.

¹⁸In his Letter of Instruction, Father Burke used the arguments of these two men. Henry de Bracton, the leading English jurist of the thirteenth century, wrote On the Laws and Customs of England, a comprehensive treatise which is of fundamental importance in the development of English jurisprudence. Sir William Blackstone, was the most famous English jurist of the eighteenth century, when the meaning of liberty was so important.

¹⁹O'Donel, to Burke, April 8, 1804, A.A.Q. T.N. I - 20.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, February 16, 1804, Inglis Letter Book No.4.

²³Reverend John Inglis was rector of St. Mary's Church, Aylesford from 1801 to 1816; from 1802 to 1815 was Commissary to his father, Bishop Charles; 1816 to 1824, Commissary to Robert Stanser. He succeeded Dr. Stanser as Rector of St. Pauls. In 1825 he succeeded Dr. Stanser as Bishop of Nova Scotia.

²⁴Robert Stanser, An Examination of the Reverend Mr. Burke's Letter of Instruction to the Catholic Missionaries of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies (Halifax: A. Gay, March 7, 1804), p.5.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., 6.

²⁷Ibid., 21.

²⁸Ibid., 39.

²⁹Ibid., 40.

³⁰Ibid., 87. Here Mr. Stanser made reference to St. Peter's Chapel.

³¹Ibid., 92.

³²Ibid., 94.

³³Burke's postscript in his Reply to Palaeologus' Second Letter written on April 16, 1804, printed in the Nova Scotia Royal Gazette and printed for the Halifax Gazette by A. Gay, p.55.

³⁴Palaeologus' Third Letter, Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, April 19, 1804, P.A.N.S.

³⁵Reverend Mr. Cochran's Fifth and Last Letter from the Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, May 24, 1804 and printed for the Gazette by A. Gay, p.1.

³⁶Ibid., 3.

³⁷Ibid., 7.

³⁸Ibid., 8.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid., 11.

⁴¹Edmund Burke, A Reply to the Rev. Mr. Cochran's Fifth and Last Letter to Mr. Burke (Halifax: A. Gay, 1805), p.110.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Edmund Burke, Remarks on the Rev. Mr. Stanser's Examination of the Rev. Mr. Burke's Letter of Instruction to the Catholic Missionaries of Nova Scotia (Halifax: A. Gay, 1805), p.20.

⁴⁴Ibid., 21.

⁴⁵Burke to Bishop of Canatha, Quebec, July 17, 1804, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, (author's translation from French).

⁴⁶O'Donel to Bishop of Quebec, July 2, 1804, A.A.Q. T.N. I - 23.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Burke to Bishop of Quebec, March 25, 1805, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I. This reference most likely pertains to Burke's Remarks on Mr. Stanser's Examination (author's translation from French).

⁴⁹Robert Norris was born in England, May 24, 1764. He was ordained to the priesthood of the Catholic Church in 1787 and renounced Catholicism on March 17, 1797. From 1797 to 1800 he was at Chester as Missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was transferred to New Brunswick serving there from 1801 to 1804; at Cornwallis, 1805-1828; died October 16, 1834.

⁵⁰Robert Norris, A Candid Discussion of the Principal Tenets of the Roman Faith (Saint John, New Brunswick: Jacob S. Matt, 1806), p.114.

⁵¹Burke to Bishop of Quebec, February 15, 1807, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁵²Burke to Bishop of Quebec, September (?), 1807, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I, (author's translation from French).

⁵³William McCulloch, The Life of Thomas McCulloch, edited by his granddaughters, Isabella Walker McCulloch and Jean W. McCulloch, 1920, p.29.

⁵⁴Thomas McCulloch, Popery Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers being a Refutation of the Principal Popish Doctrines and Assertions maintained in the Remarks of the Rev. Mr. Stanser's Examination of the Rev. Mr. Burke's Letter of Instruction to the Catholic Missionaries of Nova Scotia and in the Reply to the Rev. Mr. Cochran's Fifth and Last Letter to Mr. Burke, Edinburgh: J. Pillans and Sons, 1808, (preface).

⁵⁵Ibid., iv.

⁵⁶Burke to Bishop of Quebec, July 25, 1808, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Burke to Bishop of Quebec, August 1, 1809, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁵⁹Edmund Burke, Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled Popery Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers (Halifax: Howe and Son, 1809), p.1.

⁶⁰William McCulloch, The Life of Thomas McCulloch, p.30.

⁶¹Thomas McCulloch, Popery Again Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers (Edinburgh: A. Neill and Co., 1810), p.v.

⁶²Ibid., xii.

⁶³Ibid., xvi.

⁶⁴Ibid., 424.

⁶⁵Ibid., xix.

⁶⁶Burke to Bishop of Quebec, January 29, 1810, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹George Patterson, A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia (written in 1877; reprint ed. 1916. Published by the Pictou Advocate), p.171.

⁷⁰Burke to Bishop of Quebec, November 19, 1810, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I. (author's translation from French).

⁷¹Burke to Bishop of Quebec, September 9, 1811, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁷²Burke to Bishop of Quebec, March 29, 1814, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I, (author's translation from French).

⁷³Edmund Burke, A Treatise on the Ministry of the Church, (published in Dublin, 1817).

⁷⁴Burke to Dr. Murray, July 17, 1819, A.A.H., Burke Letters, Burke Papers, I.

⁷⁵See George Patterson, A History of the County of Pictou, p.171.

⁷⁶W.M. Brown, "Recollections of Old Halifax", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XIII, p.85.

⁷⁷William McCulloch, The Life of Thomas McCulloch, p.29.

⁷⁸The Casket, Antigonish, October 15, 1891.

⁷⁹O'Donel to Bishop of Quebec, July 2, 1804, A.A.Q. T.N. I - 23.

⁸⁰Letter of Reverend John Carroll, Orphan Asylum, Chicago, October 30, 1882 and cited in Reverend M. Comerford's Collections Relating to the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, 1883, p.279. John Carroll studied under his uncle at Halifax and was ordained by him on June 29, 1820.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹Register for Baptisms, Marriages and Interments for the Parish of St. Peter's in the City of Halifax. The first entry was the baptism, on October 3, 1801, of Anne, daughter of Edward Ford and Mary Lynch.

²Register of Papers Relating to the Parish Church of St. Peter's in the City of Halifax and also of the Accounts of the Wardens. Entry, October 28, 1801.

³Occasional's Letters, I, Scrap Book No. 78, August 17, 1918.

⁴Cornelius O'Brien, Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, p. 65. In 1843 "the new cemetery chapel was built. There is a tradition that it [bell] was taken there. From this place it was removed some years ago, remained in the basement of St. John Baptist Church. All this is uncertain." A.A.H. (on file).

⁵Burke to Bishop of Canatha, October 10, 1801, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁶Among the rules listed was one which forbade membership to any person "where three or more black beans appear against him when the ballot goes round." Ibid. Among the standing members were James Ryan, Michael Tobin, J. Butler, James Newman, Peter Lynch, Francis Maguire, Edmund Butler, Daniel Farrell, Patrick Ryan, Lawrence Doyle, John Maguire, Wm. Newman, Patrick Heffernan and James Kavenah. Among the honorary members were Reverend Edmund Burke, Pat Lanigan, John Ballard, B. Conway, Patrick Tobin, Wm. Shea, Michael Flinn, Andrew Power and Michael Power.

⁷Dr. B. Sullivan, a royalist refugee from Boston, had served as an army surgeon with the British forces in the American Revolutionary War. A prominent member of St. Peter's Church, he left a large sum of money in his will for the building of old St. Mary's Church. He died in 1808 and was buried in the cemetery near St. Peter's where Father Burke had a monument inscribed in his honour. In 1850 his remains were transferred to Holy Cross Cemetery.

⁸The Rules and Constitution of the Singing Society.

⁹Father James Jones sailed for Great Britain on August 8, 1800. Father Edmund Burke, a Dominican, was a native of Tipperary, Ireland who came to Halifax following missionary work in Newfoundland. He took charge in Halifax after Father Jones's departure and was replaced by Father Edmund Burke, the subject of this thesis.

¹⁰Edmund Burke, O.P., to Bishop of Quebec, May 15, 1801, A.A.Q. N.W. III: 57. (author's translation from French).

¹¹Letter to Bishop Denault, August 20, 1801, A.A.Q. N.E. II:47. This letter was signed by Michael Bennett, John Maguire, Peter Lynch, Michael Tobin, C.Connor and P. O'Brien.

¹²Bishop's Denault's Pastoral Letter to all Catholics of Nova Scotia, September 8, 1801. A.A.H. Register of Papers Relating to the Parish Church of St. Peter's, p.3.

¹³Ibid., 5. An abridgement of the regulations of the Church with remarks made upon them is recorded on pages 13-22 of the Register of Papers.

¹⁴Burke to Bishop of Canatha, Coadjutor of Quebec, October 10, 1801, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

¹⁵Burke to Bishop of Canatha, January 16, 1802, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

¹⁶Wardens to Bishop Denault, January 18, 1802. A.A.H. Copy in Register of Papers Relating to St. Peter's, p.24.

¹⁷Ibid. The new wardens were Pat Ryan, Michael Bennett, Edmund Butler and James Tobin.

¹⁸Ibid. 25. This letter was signed by the old committee -- Michael Tobin, C.Connor, John Maguire, P. Lynch and P. O'Brien.

¹⁹In 1689 Bishop Saint-Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec visited Port Royal. It was Bishop Hubert's intention to visit Nova Scotia, but, owing to illness, this was not possible. Johnston, History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, I, 201.

²⁰Denault to Monsieur Plessis, Coadjutor, June 18, 1803, A.A.Q. Copie de lettres, V:661 (author's translation from French).

²¹Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, May 4, 1805, P.A.N.S. Inglis Letter Book, No.4 (1798-1811).

²²Denault to Plessis, June 18, 1803, A.A.Q. Copie de lettres, V:661 (author's translation from French).

²³Register of Papers Relating to the Parish Church of St. Peter's, p.28.

²⁴The church itself faced Grafton Street but was situated well in from the street. The cemetery between the church and the street was entered from Grafton Street.

²⁵Register of Papers Relating to St. Peter's, entry in 1803 (no date).

²⁶W.M. Brown, "Recollections of Old Halifax", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XIII, p.85. The cemetery was not removed in Father Burke's time. On July 26, 1843, work on the new cemetery of the Holy Cross began. (See The Cross, August 4, 1843, I, No. 23, P:A.N.S.). On August 31 of the same year the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows was erected in Holy Cross Cemetery in one day. (See The Cross, September 22, 1843, I, No.30).

²⁷J.E. Burns, "The Story of Historic St. Mary's", A.A.H. The little four-roomed glebe house was used as the priests' residence until after the consecration of Bishop Burke. He and his curate, the Rev. P. Mignault, were living there when Bishop Plessis visited Halifax in 1815. When they moved, sometime in 1817, the building became a school for girls and this it remained until 1841 when St. Mary's convent was erected. Ibid.

²⁸The parishoners referred to the building as 'the glebe house'. It was used for formal instruction when Father Burke returned from Europe. Later, it is said, James Fitzgerald used it for an elementary school. Still later it became the residence of the Roman Catholic Archbishop, possibly in Archbishop Walsh's time, and was such till it was used extensively as a glebe house when the Butler property on Dresden Row became the Archbishop's residence. It was demolished in 189(8?) and was replaced by the present brick building. A.A.H. Papers of Father John Quinan.

²⁹See notes to Chapter II, no. 23.

³⁰Provision for support of the missionary varied throughout Nova Scotia. When Bishop Denault visited Tracadie, the people were ordered to "assess themselves so as to pay him annually 80 pounds in Halifax currency, and each new family . . . shall pay . . . in addition to the amount mentioned above, one pound a year in the same currency." Johnston, History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, I, p.208. The Scots on mainland Nova Scotia were also burdened with a tithe of "the twenty-sixth part of all grains, delivered in the pastor's barn and payable by each inhabitant cultivating the land." Ibid., 209.

³¹Burke to Bishop of Canatha, November 8, 1802, A.A.H., Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I, (author's translation from French).

³²Burke to Bishop of Canatha, July 28, 1803, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I, (author's translation from French).

³³Burke to Bishop of Quebec, December 21, 1812, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I, (author's translation from French).

³⁴Burke to Bishop Plessis, May 2, 1811, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

³⁵The Plessis Diary of 1811 and 1812, translated into English by A. LeBlanc and Rev. A.A. Johnston, 1954 (Xavier College - Cape Bretonnia), p.46. Bishop Plessis did not make any mention of Father Burke in this Diary.

³⁶Father Angus B. MacEachern, born in 1759, came from Scotland in 1790 with a group of his countrymen. He served as missionary on Prince Edward Island and extended his labours to the Catholics of Cape Breton and the northern shore of Nova Scotia. On January 12, 1819 he was appointed Vicar General to the Bishop of Quebec for Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Cape Breton. On January 17, 1820 he was consecrated Titular Bishop of Rosen. He became the first Bishop of Charlottetown on August 11, 1829, the same year that Cape Breton was added to the Vicariate of Nova Scotia. The Casket, July 22, 1943.

³⁷A. Johnston, History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, I, p.228.

³⁸ Father Alexander MacDonald became the second pastor of Arisaig in 1802. In 1803 Father Augustine MacDonald went to Prince Edward Island where he remained until his death in 1807.

³⁹ Six of these missionaries resided in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.

⁴⁰ Father Pichard was born in France in 1754 and ordained on December 21, 1782. During the French Revolution he was exiled to England. He and Abbé de Calonne, brother of the former finance minister of Louis XVI, arrived at Halifax in 1799, obtained faculties from Father Jones and continued on to Prince Edward Island. A. Johnston, I, pp. 212-213. While Bishop Denault was on his tour in 1803 he established St. Peter's Parish at Tracadie, Nova Scotia and appointed Father Pichard as its first pastor.

⁴¹ Father Thomas Power from Ireland arrived in Arichat in 1787; ministered in the eastern area until 1794; then in Prospect and thence to Memramcook, New Brunswick, where his mission extended into Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. He died on May 5, 1806.

⁴² In 1792 Fathers Allain and Lejantel were requested to take the schismatical oath of the French Revolution while labouring in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon. They both refused and fled to the Magdalen Islands. Father Lejantel made his way to Halifax and was sent to Arichat on September 27, 1792. Johnston, I, pp. 153-154. In September, 1798, because of ill health, Father Allain went to Arichat with Father Lejantel. The Plessis Diary of 1811 and 1812 (Xavier College - Cape Bretoniana), p.13.

⁴³ Father Augustine MacDonald from Scotland came to Nova Scotia in the summer of 1801. He was parish priest at St. Margaret's Parish, Arisaig, until 1802. He then went to Prince Edward Island (1803) where he died in 1807.

⁴⁴ An Irish priest, Father Thomas Grace of the Capuchin order was ordained in 1778. He was thirty-seven years old when he arrived at Halifax in 1789. "From 1794 to 1823 he had charge of the extensive mission of Sherbrooke, now within the Diocese of Antigonish. He died at Ketch Harbour on 2 March 1827. On the east side of the road leading out of Ketch Harbour is "Father Grace's Well," which is said to have been blessed by the saintly priest during times of draught." Johnston, I, p.132. Father Grace also served as missionary at Chezzetcook. "According to the parish registers the first missionary of Chezzetcook was P. Jacques (Thomas de Grasse), called P. Grace) from 1799 to 1801. . . the registers of 1801 to 1814 were sent to Tracadie and lost in a fire." Journal Des Visites Pastorales de 1815 et 1816 par J.O.Plessis, p.178 (footnote) (author's translation from French).

⁴⁵Father Gabriel Champion was ordained in France in 1778. Refusing to take the schismatical oath, he was exiled to England on September 6, 1792. In 1800 he came out to Prince Edward Island whence he was given charge of Cheticamp and Margaree.

⁴⁶Burke to Bishop of Quebec, June 12, 1805, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁴⁷Burke to Bishop of Quebec, August 10, 1805, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁴⁸Burke to Bishop Plessis, May 5, 1808, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁴⁹Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.160.

⁵⁰The Casket, Antigonish, August 12, 1943, "The county of Antigonish- XIV- Arisaig District". In 1890, the editor of The Casket invited Reverend Ronald MacGillivray, parish priest at Arisaig, to write the history of Antigonish County for publication. Father MacGillivray's frequent contributions to The Casket had been appearing for some years over the signature 'S.A.' (Sagart Arasaig, i.e., the priest at Arisaig), and he continued to use that pen name when finally he met the wishes of the editor to began his historical sketches. Eleven of the sketches appeared in 1890-1891; then there was a break of several months. This work was resumed in the latter part of 1891 until about fifty chapters had been completed. Then in July, 1892, Father MacGillivray went down to the shore at Arisaig for a swim and lost his life. The Casket, June 3, 1943. In response to many requests, The Casket reprinted Father MacGillivray's sketches in 1943.

⁵¹Father Jean-Louis Beaubien was the Bishop's secretary on this tour. Pleased at finding a new church and parochial house almost completed at Rustico, the Bishop installed Father Beaubien there as resident pastor. "Father Beaubien was the first Canadian priest to reside permanently in Prince Edward Island". J. MacMillan, The Early History of the Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island (Quebec: the Evenement Printing Co., 1905), p.159.

⁵²Ibid., 196.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Sigogne to Abbé Des Jardines à Quebec, September 7, 1802, A.A.Q. N.E.: V-39 (author's translation from French).

- ⁵⁵Sigogne to Bishop of Quebec, 1803, A.A.Q. N.E.:
V - 46 (author's translation from French).
- ⁵⁶Plessis to Sigogne, August 21, 1806, A.A.Q. Registre Des-Lettres, V, No. 164 (author's translation from French).
- ⁵⁷Sigogne to Bishop, Quebec, January 25, 1808, A.A.Q. N.E.: V - 60 (author's translation from French).
- ⁵⁸Denault to Burke, January 10, 1805, A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres, IV, p.187 (author's translation from French).
- ⁵⁹Plessis to Burke, November 8, 1812, in Memoir sur les Missions de la Nouvelle-Ecosse du Cap Breton et de L'ile du Prince Edouard de 1760 à 1820. p. 215 (author's translation from French).
- ⁶⁰Ibid.
- ⁶¹Burke to Plessis, December 21, 1812, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁶²Burke to Bishop of Quebec, August 10, 1805, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁶³Burke to Plessis, June 13, 1814, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁶⁴Father Mignault, whom Bishop Plessis sent from Quebec, came to Halifax in the autumn of 1814. His name appears in the Register of St. Peter's for the first time on October 8, 1814.
- ⁶⁵Burke to Plessis, May 1, 1815, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers I (author's translation from French).
- ⁶⁶Ibid.
- ⁶⁷Mignault to Plessis, February 28, 1815, Memoir sur les Missions, p.230 (author's translation from French).
- ⁶⁸Mignault to Plessis, May 1, 1815, Memoir sur les Missions, p.233 (author's translation from French).
- ⁶⁹Burke to Plessis, August 25, 1817, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁷⁰Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.290.

⁷¹Journal Des Visites Pastorales de 1815 et 1816 par Monseigneur Joseph Octave Plessis, Publie par Mgr. Henri Tetu, Quebec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1903, p.45 (author's translation from French).

⁷²The nine religious were: the Bishop; his secretary; Claude Gauvreau; Rémi Gaulin; Charles-Marie Boucher-de-Boucherville; Francois Lejamtel (of Arichat); Antoine Manseau (Tracadie); Alexander MacDonald (second pastor of Arisaig); and Angus Bernard MacEachern (Prince Edward Island). Johnston, I, pp.312-312.

⁷³Father Rémi Gaulin was born in Quebec in 1787. Bishop Plessis took him with him on his episcopal tour leaving him at Arichat with instructions to go to Antigonish as parish priest, also to serve as missionary to Cheticamp and Margaree.

⁷⁴Born in Quebec, Father Manseau replaced Father Pichard in 1814. He came to Nova Scotia with Father Pierre-Marie Mignault who went on to Halifax to serve as assistant to Father Burke.

⁷⁵Memoir of Father Vincent de Paul, Religious of La Trappe. Translated from the original French by A.M. Pope with a preface by the Right Reverend Dr. Cameron, Bishop of Arichat (Charlottetown, P.E.I.: John Coombs, Steam Printer, 1886), P.A.N.S. (microfilm), p.12.

⁷⁶A reply from Father Vincent's Superior informed him that he could remain in Nova Scotia until further orders and occupy himself with the salvation of the Indians.

⁷⁷Memoire of Father Vincent de Paul, pp. 13 - 15.

⁷⁸Burke to Plessis, February 9, 1813, Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁷⁹Plessis to Burke, March 16, 1813 in Memoir sur les Missions, p.225 (author's translation from French).

⁸⁰Plessis Journal de 1815 et 1816, p.77 (author's translation from French).

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid., 86. "This brave act of the Canadian Prelate did not have the expected results. For excellent reasons, no doubt, the bishops of the province of Halifax did not wear the soutane and did not make their priests wear theirs. One must no less admire the perfect ecclesiastical character of Monsieur Plessis. . . . The Catholics, moreover, with the exception of Quebec -- were far from having this exactitude of doctrine, this firm judgment, this exquisite tact which distinguished their bishop." Ibid. (footnote).

⁸⁴Ibid., 94.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

¹Chapter I.

²Burke to Bishop of Quebec, September 21, 1803, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I, (author's translation from French).

³Helen Manning, Revolt of French Canada, p.36.

⁴Burke to Bishop of Quebec, June 30, 1806, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁵Ibid.

⁶Fred C. Hamil, "Lord Selkirk in Upper Canada", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, XXXVII (1945), p.48.

⁷Ibid., 36.

⁸Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803-1804, A Journal of His Travels in British North America and the Northwestern United States. Edited with an introduction by Patrick T. White (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1958), Entry September 30, 1804, p.313.

⁹At this time, General Hunter was Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

¹⁰Fred Hamil, "Lord Selkirk in Upper Canada", p.35.

¹¹Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803-1804, entry September 30, 1804, p.313.

¹²Ibid.

¹³^{mm}The amount of land sold however in the western parts of this Province does not appear to be considerable --the Townships of Dereham and Norwich -- put up at public auction by the Gov't in lots of 3,000 acraa -- 27 lots were sold. Father Burke [bought] 1". Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-1804, p.147

When Father Burke came to Nova Scotia, he left his lands in Upper Canada to the Honorable James Baby who gave the following account of the prelate's lands to the Bishop of Quebec, five years after Bishop Burke's death: "the first lot is sold -- 3000 acres. Lot No.3 in the township of Norwich; 1000 acres in Township of Caester ? County of

Lincoln and home district consisting of lots No. 17, 18, 19 in the third concession and lots 17, 18 in the fourth concession registered in the register office 22 Aug. 1799, Liber E folio 497; 850 acres in the township of Percy County of Northumberland and home district consisting of Lots No. 19, 20 in the 13th concession, 19 in the eleventh and 12th concession and the Brahen lots No. 9 in the 12th concession and 21 in the 14th concession purchased from Lieutenant Titus Somers of the town of York; 140 acres in the township of Percy County of Northumberland purchased from Elizabeth Johnson of Newark; South part of lot No. 21 in the 8th concession; 1 acre in the township of Niagara No. 207; 200 acres in the township of York." James Baby to Bishop of Quebec, April 11, 1825, A.A.Q. N.E.: II - 103.

¹⁴Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-1804, entry October 3, 1804, p. 314.

¹⁵Ibid., 315.

¹⁶Ibid., 315-316. J.Do. here refers to John Douglas of Halifax who was a relative of Lord Selkirk. They entered into a discussion together on an 'American Scheme' for settlement in the United States.

¹⁷The Abbé (Prince de) Broglio was head of Kensington House Seminary near London which was connected with the remainder of the Jesuits. Father Broglio revealed a keen interest in Father Burke's views.

¹⁸Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-1804, entry October 29, 30, p.353.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Selkirk to Alexander McDonell, Halifax, November 6, 1804, P.A.C. Selkirk Papers, Vol. 54, Bundle D, p. 14,536(Microfilm).

²¹Ibid.

²²Selkirk to Alexander Mc Donell, November 17, 1804, P.A.C. Selkirk Papers, Vol. 54, Bundle D (Microfilm). A copy of this letter was sent to Father Burke.

²³Fred Hamil, "Lord Selkirk in Upper Canada", p. 48.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Burke to Bishop Plessis, August 25, 1806, A.A.Q. N.E.: III-113 (author's translation from French).

²⁷Plessis to Burke, October 1, 1806, A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres, Vol.V, p.126, No. 211 (author's translation from French).

²⁸Burke to Plessis, November 10, 1806, A.A.H. Copies of Letters Vol. I, Burke Papers, Vol. I (author's translation from French).

²⁹Burke to Plessis, September 21, 1807, A.A.Q. N.E.: IV - 12 (author's translation from French).

³⁰Burke to Plessis, May 5, 1808, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

³¹Herman W. Ryland, the Governor's civil secretary had arrived in Quebec in 1792 with Bishop Jacob Mountain.

³²Jacob Mountain became Anglican Bishop when Quebec was made a diocese in 1792. He also served in the Legislature and Executive Councils of both Canadas.

³³Mason Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1967, I, p.112.

³⁴Many of the French-Canadian historians refer to Craig's rule as the "Reign of Terror."

³⁵Burke to Plessis, January 29, 1810, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Burke to Plessis, June 18, 1810, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

³⁸Burke to Plessis, May 5, 1808, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰David Allison, History of Nova Scotia, II, p.575.

⁴¹Ibid.

- ⁴² Burke to Plessis, January 31, 1809, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁴³ Burke to Plessis, April 15, 1809, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, Vol.II, Burke Papers, Vol.I.
- ⁴⁴ Burke to Plessis, June 18, 1810, Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁴⁵ Burke to Plessis, December 21, 1812, A.A.H., Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁴⁶ Burke to Plessis, August 13, 1811, A.A.Q. N.E. IV:51 (author's translation from French).
- ⁴⁷ Burke to Plessis, November 18, 1811, Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁴⁸ Plessis to Burke, January 26, 1812, A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres, VII: 371 (author's translation from French).
- ⁴⁹ Journal Des Visites Pastorales de 1815 et 1816 par J.O. Plessis, p.75 (author's translation from French).
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., 76.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Burke to Bishop of Quebec, May 17, 1795, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁵⁴ Burke to Plessis, September 21, 1807, A.A.Q. N.E. IV:12 (author's translation from French).
- ⁵⁵ Burke to Plessis, October 10, 1807, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁵⁶ Memoire sur les Missions de la Nouvelle-Écosse du Cap et de l'île du Prince Edouard de 1760 à 1820, p. 221 (author's translation from French). General Sherbrooke received his appointment as Governor in Chief of all British North America on June 18, 1816.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Burke to Plessis, November 25, 1811, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁵⁹James O'Connor, History of Ireland 1798-1924, 2 Vols., I, New York: George H. Doran Company, (n.d.).

⁶⁰Burke to Plessis, June 13, 1814, A.A.H. Copies of Letters II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁶¹Mignault to Plessis, November 7, 1815, in Memoirs sur les Missions, p.235 (author's translation from French).

⁶²James MacCaffrey, History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century 1789-1908, 2 Vols. II, Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son, Ltd., 1910, p.159. Father Burke arrived in Ireland on August 16. Since he spent seventeen days in Ireland, he was there when this important meeting took place.

⁶³Ibid., 160.

⁶⁴Burke to Doctor Murray, May 24, 1817, Burke Letters, Burke Papers, Vol. I.

⁶⁵Peter Guilday, The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore 1735-1815, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1922, p.822.

⁶⁶Burke to Plessis, May 18, 1809, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Burke to Plessis, October 7, 1806, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁶⁹Burke to Plessis, January 29, 1810, Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁷⁰Burke to Plessis, April 30, 1810, Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁷¹Burke to Plessis, August 2, 1816, A.A.H., Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁷²C.O'Brien, Memoirs of the Rt.Rev. Edmund Burke, p.111.

⁷³Burke to Doctor Murray, December (n.d.) 1818, A.A.H., Burke Letters, Burke Papers, Vol. 1. "Archbishop Neale succeeded to the metropolitan see of Baltimore, but, as he was old and infirm, he applied for an assistant, and in 1817, Abbé Maréchal was appointed coadjutor." MacCaffrey, History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century, II, pp.276-277; Bishop Louis William De Bourg was Bishop at New Orleans; Bishop Benedict J. Flaget at Bardstown and the Bishop of New York was Connolly.

⁷⁴Burke to Doctor Murray, November 14, 1817, A.A.H. Burke Letters No.18, Burke Papers, I.

⁷⁵Peter Guilday, The Life and Times of John Carroll, p. 685.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

¹Statutes at Large of the Province of Nova Scotia, 1758-1804,
Stat. 6th. Geo. 3rd. Cap.7.

²Statutes at Large of the Province of Nova Scotia,
Stat. 26, Geo. 3rd. Cap.1, 1786. This did not apply to Cape
Breton which was a separate colony from 1784 to 1820.

³Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.186.

⁴Burke to Plessis, January 16, 1802, A.A.H. Copies of
Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁵Ibid. Father Thomas Maguire spent his boyhood days in
Halifax then completed his studies at Quebec where he was ordained
in 1799.

⁶Manuscript Documents, Province of Nova Scotia, House of
Assembly, P.A.N.S. Vol.303, No.33, March 1, 1802.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Assembly Papers, P.A.N.S. Vol.IX, Doc.No.46, March 13,1802.

⁹Wentworth to Lord Hobart, March 22, 1802, P.A.N.S.
Dispatches of Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, No.340.

¹⁰Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, March 30, 1802,
P.A.N.S. Bishop Inglis Letter Book No.4, 1798-1811.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Burke to Bishop of Canatha, Coadjutor of Quebec, July
12, 1802, A.A.H. Copies of Letters Vol.I, Burke Papers, Vol.I
(author's translation from French). "This building was known
later as the Glebe House, and stood for eighty-nine years on
the corner of Barrington Street and Spring Garden Road." O'Brien,
Memoirs of Rt.Rev. Edmund Burke, p.81.

¹⁴Burke to Bishop of Canatha, September 5, 1802, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

¹⁵Wentworth to Lord Hobart, September 10, 1802, P.A.N.S. Dispatches of Lieutenant Governor to Secretary of State, Governor Wentworth's Letter Book, Vol.53, No.105.

¹⁶Hobart to Wentworth, November 4, 1802, P.A.N.S. Governor Wentworth's Letter Book, Vol.53.

¹⁷Burke to Bishop of Canatha, July 12, 1802, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

¹⁸Bishop of Quebec to Burke, April 6, 1803 A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres, VI - 212. (author's translation from French).

¹⁹Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, February 16, 1804, P.A.N.S. Bishop Inglis Letter Book No. 4, 1798-1811,

²⁰Inglis to Lord Hobart, February 16, 1804, P.A.N.S. Bishop Inglis Letter Book No.4, 1798-1811.

²¹Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-1804, p.353.

²²Burke to Bishop of Quebec, June 12, 1805, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

²³Burke to Bishop of Quebec, June 2, 1806, A.A.Q. N.E. III - 109 (author's translation from French).

²⁴Burke to Bishop of Quebec, September 15, 1805, A.A.H. Copies of Letters I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

²⁵The Jesuit society had been suppressed everywhere in Europe except in Russia and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Wherever a Bishop wanted them, Pope Pius VII, would grant permission 'by word of mouth'; thus, they were in England but not working outwardly as a society.

²⁶Father General T. Brezogowski to Burke, July 19, 1806, A.H.H. (author's translation from Latin).

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Burke to Bishop of Quebec, October 7, 1806, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, I, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

³²Memoir sur les Missions, p.198 (author's translation from French).

³³Ibid., 200.

³⁴Burke to Chief Justice, February 11, 1807, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I. The Judge was known by Father Burke to be a favourite of Lord Howick, First Minister at London.

³⁵Burke to Bishop of Quebec, May 1, 1807, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

³⁶Burke to Bishop of Quebec, June 19, 1807, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

³⁷Father A.P. Strickland, London, to Burke, July 31, 1808, A.A.Q. A:I-70.

³⁸Ibid. The difficulty referred to arose out of the Treaty of Tilsit signed between Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia on June 25, 1807. At this time Alexander confessed resentment against Britain because of her failure to pay Russia the subsidy of 6,000,000 pounds which it had granted to Austria. Russia also wanted to annex Finland, then possessed by the King of Sweden, one of England's allies. Therefore, Alexander bound himself to act as an ally of France against England, joining with France in the continental blockade of Britain.

³⁹Burke to Bishop of Quebec, November 8, 1807, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French). Stulto labore consumitur (we are expended by fruitless effort). Father Burke frequently interspersed his letters with Latin phrases for emphasis.

⁴⁰ Burke to Bishop of Quebec, November 8, 1807, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Plessis to Burke, April 6, 1808, Memoirs sur les Missions, p.210 (author's translation from the French).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 212.

⁴⁶ Burke to Bishop Plessis, May 18, 1809, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French). A convinced proponent of religious orders, Father Burke held nothing but disdain for Jansenism which in the seventeenth century emphasized inner regeneration of the church coming into conflict with Jesuitism which stressed external reorganization. Shaken by the conflict, the papacy suffered further harm during the enlightenment of the eighteenth century to the extent that by the time of the French Revolution it appeared as an ineffectual and superfluous institution.

⁴⁷ Burke to Plessis, January 29, 1810, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁴⁸ Burke to Plessis, March 23, 1812, Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

⁴⁹ In 1794 an Act was passed provide for the Support of the Grammar School in Halifax -- "a sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds per annum shall . . . be drawn . . . and applied to the Grammar School." Statutes at Large of the Province of Nova Scotia 1758-1804; Geo. 3rd. Cap. 15, Sec.II.

In 1808 an "Act for Encouraging the Establishment of Schools throughout the Province" was passed. It established the principle of assessing real and personal property and striking rates for school purposes.

Deficiencies in the Act of 1808 were remedied in the more important Act of 1811 which is significant it that it gave state recognition of the procedure of providing schools and teachers and voting assistance from the public treasury. In these schools the scholars were to be taught free from all expense other than their books, stationery and individual proportion of fuel. Statutes at Large of the Province of Nova Scotia 1805-1816. Geo.3rd. Cap;II.

⁵⁰ Established in England in the nineteenth century by Joseph Lancaster, the Lancastrian system accommodated a large number of children in a large room where they were divided by grade level into several classes. The school master was assisted by superior senior pupils who acted as teaching monitors. The advantage of this type of school was that hundreds of pupils could be instructed at little cost.

⁵¹ Halifax City School Papers 1808-1845. P.A.N.S. Petition of the Reverend Edmund Burke of the Committee of the Acadian School. No.30. The petition was received on February 29, 1820, referred to the Committee of Supply on March 4 and on March 10, 500 pounds was granted for the building.

⁵² Patrick W. Thibeau, Education in Nova Scotia Before 1811, Unpublished doctoral thesis, Catholic University of America, 1922.

⁵³ John MacDonald, former Laird of Glenaladale and Glenfinnan, Scotland, purchased a large tract of land in Tracadie, Prince Edward Island. He led a group of 210 emigrants to Prince Edward Island in 1772. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, he began recruiting a force of compatriots on the Island, which in conjunction with a similar body of Nova Scotia Highlanders raised by Captain John Small, became the 2nd. Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment to which MacDonald was appointed Captain. He was a brother of Father Augustus MacDonald.

⁵⁴ Memoire sur les Missions, p.206. (author's translation from French).

⁵⁵ Captain John MacDonald

⁵⁶ Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, p.265.

⁵⁷ The Plessis Diary of 1811 and 1812, p.98. In September, 1815, Charles MacInnis and Donald MacDougall from Cape Breton along with William B. MacLeod and John Chisholm from St. Margaret's Arisaig, went to Quebec. MacLeod and Chisholm ultimately became the first two priests in what is now the Diocese of Antigonish, but MacDougall and MacInnis did not attain the priesthood. Johnston, p.266.

⁵⁸ Stewart, Herbert L, The Irish in Nova Scotia, Annals of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax 1786-1836, p.134. The "Gentlemen of Stony hurst" was the name given to the Jesuits until they resumed their own title after the restoration of 1814.

⁵⁹Ibid. (footnote).

⁶⁰Memoirs sur les Missions, p.242 (author's translation from the French).

⁶¹"Right Reverend Michael Power, First Bishop of Toronto, 1842-1847". A.A.H.

⁶²On October 1, 1847 Bishop Power died of ship fever in attending to the sick emigrants of Irish famine in the sheds of Toronto. Very anxious about his mother back in Halifax, he wanted to write a few lines to her but was too weak. He left the administration of the Diocese of Toronto to Rev. J. Carroll, formerly of Halifax and to Rev. J. J. Day. By his will, he left his mother during her lifetime thirty pounds a year to be paid by his successor and after her death, ten pounds to each of his three sisters as long as they remained unmarried. Ibid.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

- ¹Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.23.
- ²Lucien Lemieux, L'etablissement de la Première Province Ecclesiastique au Canada 1783-1844, 1968, p. 32 (author's translation from French).
- ³Ibid., 37.
- ⁴Ibid., 38. Cardinal Antonelli wrote to Bishop Hubert on April 6, 1791.
- ⁵Hubert to Antonelli, October 25, 1791, in Lucien Lemieux L'etablissement de la Première Province Ecclesiastique au Canada, p. 38 (author's translation from French).
- ⁶Burke to Troy, February 2, 1795, A.A.H. Burke Letters, No. 6, Burke Papers, I.
- ⁷Ibid.
- ⁸Burke to Troy, August 14, 1797, A.A.H. Burke Letters, No. 9, Burke Papers, I.
- ⁹Burke to Troy, August 15, 1797, A.A.H. Burke Letters, No. 8, Burke Papers, I.
- ¹⁰For a full account of the "Statement of the Missions", see C. O'Brien Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke pp. 35-37.
- ¹¹Lemieux, L'etablissement de la Première Province, p. 42 (author's translation from French).
- ¹²Plessis to Prefect of Propaganda, April 26, 1803, Ibid., 43.
- ¹³Memoire sur les Missions, p.229 (author's translation from French).
- ¹⁴Burke to Plessis, September 21, 1815, A.A.Q. N.E. IV:105 (author's translation from French).
- ¹⁵A copy of this letter, in Latin, can be seen in the A.A.H.

¹⁶Mignault to Plessis, November 21, 1815, in Memoire sur les Missions, p. 235 (author's translation from French). The authors of Memoire sur les Missions explain further that here Father Mignault refers to Sir John Sherbrooke, "whose good graces Father Burke had not neglected to confirm in view of his advancement." Ibid., 236.

¹⁷Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p. 349. Negotiations had been facilitated by the excellent relations established between Lord Castlereagh, Minister of Foreign Affairs in England, and Cardinal Consalvi, the papal Secretary of State, at the Congress of Vienna. They were usually preceded by conversations with Bishop Poynter, the papal representative in London, which took place at the Colonial Office. Helen Manning, Revolt of French Canada, p. 237.

Cardinal Consalvi knew that the erection of a vicariate apostolic in Nova Scotia would be looked upon favourably by London. Upon London's approval, Lord Bathurst informed Governor Sherbrooke of the matter. L.Lemieux, L'etablissement de la Première Province Ecclesiastique au Canada, p.94 (author's translation from French).

¹⁸Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p. 349.

¹⁹Burke to Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Propaganda, February 12, 1816, A.A.H. (author's translation from copy in Italian). See Appendix A.

²⁰Memoire sur les Missions, p. 239 (author's translation from French).

²¹Burke to Plessis, November 18, 1817, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

²²See Appendix B for the complete Pastoral Letter.

²³Plessis to Burke, October 14, 1816, A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres: IX - II (author's translation from French).

²⁴John C. Mac Millan, The Early History of the Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island, Quebec: The Evenement Printing Co., 1905, p. 221.

²⁵Plessis to Bishop of Baltimore, October 17, 1816, A.A.Q. Registre Des Lettres: IX - 17 (author's translation from French).

²⁶Plessis to Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, October 15, 1816, in Memoire sur Les Missions, p.240. (author's translation from French).

²⁷Bishop Plessis suggested to Rome that the British Government would more likely tolerate this type of appointment rather than have more bishops in Canada.

²⁸MacEachern to Plessis, October 17, 1825, A.D.C., Bishop MacEachern File.

²⁹Copy of letter of Bishop MacEachern to (?), December, 1827, A.D.C., Bishop MacEachern File.

³⁰Ibid. The Right Reverend William Fraser became the second Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia in 1827.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

- ¹Plessis to Sir John Sherbrooke, July 27, 1815, A.A.Q. Registre des Lettres: VIII-346.
- ²Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.373.
- ³Burke to Plessis, May 25, 1819, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁴Burke to Plessis, March 30, 1818, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁵Burke to Plessis, September (n.d.), 1818, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ⁶Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.404.
- ⁷Ibid., 409 (footnote).
- ⁸A.A.H. (on file).
- ⁹Father André Doucet, born in Quebec, became curé of Quebec cathedral from 1807-1814. In 1814 he entered the Trappist novitiate at Aiquebille, France. He left the novitiate and came to Nova Scotia where he served as assistant at Halifax and later at Eel Brook. He died at Tracadie, Nova Scotia in 1824.
- ¹⁰Burke to Plessis, August 5, 1817, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ¹¹Burke to Plessis, August 24, 1818, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).
- ¹²Following his uncle's death, Father Carroll wrote to Bishop Plessis: "Dr. Burke never registered one of our ordinations, tho he was often desirous to do it; but unfortunately he did not know the form." Carroll to Plessis, July 18, 1821, A.A.Q. N.E. I:169.
- ¹³Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.406.
- ¹⁴The parish of what is now Guysborough.

¹⁵Burke to Plessis, November 4, 1816, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I.

¹⁶MacEachern to Cardinal Fontana, November 9, 1819, A.A.H. (author's translation from a copy in Italian).

¹⁷MacEachern to ? , February 21, 1821, A.A.Q. I.P.E. - 76.

¹⁸Burke to Plessis, August 24, 1818, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

¹⁹On the second floor was the 'little chapel' A writer in the Mail of Feb.11, 1899 says: "Low Mass was celebrated in the room on the south-west of the glebe house every day, and frequently on Sundays until the arrival of Bishop Walsh who . . . built a vestry on the back of the church to take its place. . . . Most parochial activities went on in the lower floor of the glebe house. In the course of time the whole building was used as a residence for priests. . . . The Bishop continued to reside here until Archbishop O'Brien bought No.103 Dresden Row in 1890. During the next year the old house was torn down, and the present one commenced. This was ready for occupancy in 1892." J.E. Burns, "The Story of Historic St. Mary's", A.A.H.

²⁰Burke to Plessis, September 8, 1820, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French). "This building remained as a school for girls until St. Mary's Convent was erected in 1841." Burns, "The Story of Historic St. Mary's", A.A.H.

²¹Lieutenant-Governor James Kempt to the Treasurer of the Province, February 6, 1821. P.A.N.S. Halifax City School Papers: 1808-1845.

²²H. Leander d'Entremont, "Father Jean Mande Sigogne, 1799-1844", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIII (1936), p.114.

²³This letter was written in Latin so the pastor of each parish could translate it into the vernacular -- English, French or Gaelic, as the case may be, then read those paragraphs addressed to the people. It was not printed, but written copies were sent to the clergy. O'Brien, Memoirs of Rt.Rev. Edmund Burke, pp.121-122.

²⁴Ibid., 121.

²⁵Ibid., 122.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Nova Scotia Miscellaneous Documents from Various Government Departments, P.A.N.S. Vol.228, No.122.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Burke to Plessis, November 14, 1818, A.A.H. Copies of Letters, II, Burke Papers, I (author's translation from French).

³⁰Burke to Doctor Murray, June 20, 1820, A.A.H. Burke Letters, No. 25, Burke Papers, Vol.I.

The church was finished a few years later. Later again it was enlarged and modernized by Archbishop Connolly. The freestone front was replaced by a noble facade and imposing spire, all of cut granite. O'Brien, Memoirs of Rt.Rev. Edmund Burke, p.124.

³¹MacEachern to ? , December 17, 1825, A.A. P.E.I. (copy).

³²Lucien Lemieux, L'etablissement de la Première Province Ecclésiastique au Canada, p.130. (author's translation from French).

³³Cape Breton was reannexed politically to Nova Scotia on October 9, 1820.

³⁴Lucien Lemieux, L'etablissement de la Première Province Ecclesiastique au Canada, p.128 (author's translation from French).

³⁵With the exception of the period from 1817 to 1820 (during which the Roman officials recorded it as part of the Vicariate of Newfoundland), Cape Breton remained attached to the Diocese of Quebec until 1829 when it was transferred to the Vicariate Apostolic of Nova Scotia. Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, pp.2-3.

³⁶MacEachern to ? , December 17, 1825, A.A. P.E.I. (copy).

³⁷Lucien Lemieux, L'etablissement de la Première Province Ecclésiastique au Canada, p.131.

³⁸ Born in Philadelphia in 1776, . . . Maguire was taken as a child to Halifax, and finished his studies at the Seminary of Quebec, He was ordained in Quebec in 1799 . . . he accompanied Bishop Plessis on the latter's first visit to Nova Scotia. He became archpriest of Quebec in 1818, the year in which Bishop Burke cast eyes on him as a possible coadjutor.

Johnston, History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, I, p.507.

³⁹ In his letter Father Maguire gave no reason for declining the position.

⁴⁰ Burke to Cardinal Fontana, September 19, 1820 in Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.508.

⁴¹ Father Lyons had been approached by Rome to succeed to the Vicariate of Nova Scotia but he also declined. He wrote that if Bishop Burke were alive he would be happy to serve "under the rule of a prelate who was outstanding, not only in learning and piety, but also in prudence and in experience with divine and human affairs. But now, with that pious prelate gone, this hope has vanished." Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.514.

⁴² William Fraser of Scotland was ordained in 1804. He served the missions in Scotland until 1822 when he left Scotland for Cape Breton in company with 300 other Highland emigrants. Before his death, Bishop Burke offered Father Fraser a choice of the missions among the Highlanders in mainland Nova Scotia. In carrying out Bishop Burke's wishes, Father Carroll succeeded in obtaining Father Fraser as pastor of Antigonish in 1824. In that year the Propaganda again took up the problem of a successor to Bishop Burke. At this time Father Fraser was the only candidate considered. Although appointed to the Vicariate Apostolic of Nova Scotia in 1825, Bishop Fraser was not consecrated until June 24, 1827.

⁴³ O'Brien, Memoirs of Rt.Rev. Edmund Burke, p.134.

⁴⁴ See Bishop Burke's Instructions to Legators, Appendix O.

⁴⁵ Carroll to Plessis, December 5 and 6, 1820, A.A.Q. N.E. I-152 and I-154.

⁴⁶ Michael Tobin to Plessis, December 5, 1820, A.A.Q. N.E. I-150.

⁴⁷Carroll to Plessis, December 5, 1820, A.A.Q. N.E. I - 154. The copy of the letter sent by Father Carroll to Bishop Plessis was

that of a Latin document written by Burke on 25 September 1820. In it, by virtue of Article 28 of the faculties granted to him on 27 July 1817, he appointed Carroll to rule the Vicariate, and especially the Mission of Halifax, until such time as the Holy See should appoint a new Vicar Apostolic. The document also stated that Fathers Thomas Rice and James Dunphy were to be Carroll's assistants. The copy was certified by Fathers John Carroll, John Loughnan and Denis Geary.

Johnston, History of the Catholic Church, I, p.429 (footnote).

⁴⁸This was written by a Haligonian in 1881. P.A.N.S. Occasional's Letters, Vol.I, S.B. No.78, August 17, 1918.

⁴⁹The Cross, Vol.2, No.19, May 9, 1846.

In the Register of 1815-20 on a separate loose leaf the following entry appears.

The second of December one thousand eight hundred and twenty, I the undersigned, buried the Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Burke, Bishop of Sion and Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia, a native of County Kildare, Ireland, aged seventy-eight years.

Denis Geary. Pt. Miss.

Bishop Burke was not seventy-eight years of age at the time of his death, but in his sixty-eighth year (see Chapter I,p.1).

⁵⁰For the obituary of Bishop Burke printed in the Acadian Recorder of December 2, 1820, see Appendix D.

⁵¹The Cross, Vol.I, No.48, December 6, 1845.

⁵²"Holy Cross Cemetery: Its Origin", A.A.H. Saint Mary's Basilica Parish Bulletin (September 4, 1958), XVII, No.32.

⁵³The Cross, May 20, 1848, Vol.4, No.18. (author's translation of tombstone inscription from Latin).

APPENDIX A

REPORT ON NOVA SCOTIA*

Nova Scotia is a peninsula about 320 miles long and more than 100 wide. Halifax, which is the Capital, contains about 1,400 inhabitants, not including the Army and Navy. The Catholics of the whole province number more than 12,000. There are only five priests. There is no Chapter, nor are there any Religious, or Sisters, or schools. Father Burke has the personal care of the Halifax Catholics, who are more than 1,000 in number, without counting merchants, travellers, and the many soldiers.

There are 7,500 Catholics settled in other parts of the peninsula, and these are served by two Scottish priests, named Macdonal, one of whom is quite old, and the other of very limited ability.

Father Grace, an Irish Capuchin, ignorant but good, has charge of 500 fishermen; and Father Sigonne, a French priest who is well bred but not very learned, has under him 1,500 other Catholics who are scattered among Protestants and do not see priests, and the Indians who live in the forests.

There are three cities. Halifax has its own church, which is of considerable size, is well furnished, and has an organ. The other two have no church, but are visited once a year by a priest to administer the Sacraments in a private house. There are also other small churches, one of which is situated on the coast of the ocean 20 miles from Halifax for the use of fishermen. He says the only feasts of obligation observed there are the Sundays and the feasts of Christmas, the Conception, and the Ascension. The Assumption of the Virgin Mary is transferred to the following Sunday. On all other feasts Catholics are obliged to work, and all this without an Apostolic Indult. . . .

In Halifax he has already completed the building of a Seminary, with places for 60 students, and has provided it with everything needed. . . . When he returns he will

* While in Rome Father Burke prepared for the Cardinals of the Propaganda a detailed report on the missions of British North America, and in it he gave this description of the present Province of Nova Scotia. From A. Johnston, History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, pp. 348-349.

APPENDIX B

PLESSIS' FAREWELL PASTORAL LETTER*

The province you live in, Dearly Beloved Brethern, formerly known by the name of Acadie, and belonging to the French dominions in North America, happened to be a part of the Diocese of Quebec, at the date of its erection in 1674 by Pope Clement X. The first Europeans settled in Acadie, a French and Catholic Colony, chiefly holding that part of the Province, where now lie Kings County and the Counties of Hants and Annapolis, were distinguished by their faith, their simplicity and their purity of manners. Having been conquered by the British at the beginning of the last century, and finally ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, they were happy enough to preserve their religion amongst a nation who had not the advantage of knowing it.

But their very simplicity misled them, for although treated by their conqueror with an unexampled mildness and regard, they foolishly persuaded themselves that their religion could not be secured under a Protestant Government. Hence arose their unlawful connections with the French still in possession of Canada, which caused, in 1755, the forfeiture of all their lands and their general deportation to the English American Colonies.

With the former settlers, the Catholic religion was banished from Acadie -- at least it was confined to the Micmac Indians -- until a small number of its ancient inhabitants, having been at last allowed to come again to their native soil, and Emigration from Canada, as well as from Scotland and Ireland, having taken place, the Bishops of Quebec had a new opportunity of exercising their solicitude in behalf of that part of their Diocese. Since the year 1784, there has been amongst you an uninterrupted succession of Catholic Clergy, appointed to lead you in the way of salvation. Not satisfied with providing for your spiritual necessities by subordinate Pastors, our immediate predecessor undertook to pay you a Pastoral visit, and performed in it 1803, with a consolation which could not be exceeded by that which we ourselves experienced, when in our turn we visited your churches in 1812 and 1815. We were filled with joy

* On January 15, 1818 Bishop Plessis addressed this, his final pastoral letter to the Catholics of Nova Scotia. From A. Johnston, History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, pp. 350-353.

when we beheld in several parts of your Province, the people eagerly listening to the word of God, and sincerely devoted to the Catholic Faith.

Acadians, Irish, Scots, Canadians

We found in the new Acadians of Torbay, Chezet-Cooke, St. Mary's Bay, and Argyle, traces of the good character of their ancestors. We felt an inexpressible delight at seeing the simplicity of the Irish of Prospect, and the eagerness of those of Halifax to assist at the church, to receive the Sacraments, to procure their children an early knowledge of the tenets and morals of our blessed religion. The Highlanders of Merigomish, St. Margaret's, and Antigonish render themselves remarkable by the unprecedented affection shown to their Clergy. We are informed of the zeal which led those of St. Margaret's, in the spring of 1816, to repair to Halifax to take thence the body of the late Rev. Alexander MacDonald, and carry it over a road of above a hundred miles to their own grounds. We heard, likewise, of the degree of respect and obedience shown to Rev. Mr. Gaulin, during his short stay at Antigonish. The Canadians of Tracadie did not appear so strongly affectionate towards their Pastors, but there is every reason to hope that the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Manseau to reclaim them shall not have been unprofitable. What shall we say of the poor Micmacs of Pomquet and Shubenacadie? Our soul was moved by the multiplicity of their wants, and our heart broken by their groans. In vain did we try, by every means within our reach, to afford the spiritual help they so earnestly longed for: We were disappointed in all our measures. "The little ones asked for bread, and there was none to break it unto them." Lament. IV, 4)

Encomium of Bishop Burke

Dearly Beloved Brethern, although tied to you by the sacred bonds which unite a Pastor to his Flock, we felt sensible long ago that you could not remain, for ever, a part of a Diocese so extensive as is that of Quebec. Even from the year 1806 the first of our episcopate -- we applied to the Holy See on that account; and with eagerness we lately resigned to it, without reserve, the whole of our Episcopal Jurisdiction in your Peninsula. It has pleased the Sovereign Pontiff, whose paternal care extends over all the churches in the world, to yield to our remonstrances, to discharge us from our connection with the Province, to erect it into an

Apostolic Vicariate and intrust the care of the same to the Right Rev. Doctor Edmund Burke, appointed Titular Bishop of Sion. It is therefore he who succeeds us as your Pastor; to him is now committed the management of your souls; from his hands henceforward your children are to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation, and your clergy the Sacred Unction and the power of announcing to you the Truths of the Gospel and of administering the Sacraments of the Church. You will acknowledge for your Missionaries those only who shall be appointed by him, and whenever he may deem proper to dismiss any of them, it shall be unlawful for you to keep them or make use of their ministry.

The bitterness which we feel, Dearly Beloved Brethern, at our separation from you, is in a great measure relieved, when we consider that in becoming the Flock of the illustrious and Rt. Rev. Bishop of Sion, you acquire for your Pastor a man who rendered himself commendable to all the Catholic Church, by a number of learned and luminous treatises written in defence of sound doctrine; a man whose affection is warranted you by the kindness of his heart, as well as by a residence of more than sixteen years in your capital. We therefore cherish the hope, that you will do everything in your power to alleviate for him the painful burden of the Episcopacy. In the meantime, we will never cease to pray the Father of mercies that you may steadfastly persevere in His peace, and in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ.

APPENDIX C

OBITUARY*

Died:

On Wednesday last, universally regretted, as he lived respected, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Burke, in the 78th¹ year of his age. He was a native of the Co. Kildare (Ireland), and parish priest of the town of Kildare; which he vacated at the frequent and urgent solicitations of some of the professors of the Seminary of Quebec, and arrived in Lower Canada 2nd of August (1780).² There he officiated as a clergyman, and taught the higher branches of mathematics and philosophy with great credit to himself and benefit to the numerous students, who crowded to hear the lectures of a man celebrated in the University of Paris, as excelling most men of his day in mathematical science, and also the classics, particularly in the Greek and Hebrew Languages, till Lord Dorchester appointed him, as a faithful and capable person, to reconcile the many powerful tribes of Indians, inhabiting the country around Lake Superior, and the back parts of the Ohio and the Louisiana, who at that time manifested dispositions very hostile to the British Government.

Among the savage tribes of Indians he resided six or seven years, suffering every privation that civilized man could endure, till he fully accomplished the object of his mission. He instructed the heathen Indian in the principles of the Christian religion, and impressed on his mind a knowledge of the true living God -- by whose assistance he inculcated into his savage mind sentiments of loyalty, obedience and lasting friendship for his great wordly father, King George the Third. Government rewarded these important services by granting Dr. Burke a pension for life.

His vanity would have been excited, if he had any, by the sincere and cordial friendship of the late much lamented Duke of Kent; as also of every military and naval officer who successively commanded in British America for the last thirty years; very many of whom, it may be said, all entertained so good an opinion of his sound judgment and zealous loyalty, as to consult him on the most important

* Taken from the Acadian Recorder, December 2, 1820. This same obituary was printed in such other contemporary newspapers as The Novascotian.

¹ Bishop Burke was in the sixty-eighth year of age. See Chapter I, p.1.

² 1786 is the correct date.

points of their intended operations, before they put them into execution. His advice and opinions during the late American war were gratefully acknowledged by the two great men who then commanded, and by them honourably reported to His Majesty's ministers, who in approbation of Dr. Burke's loyalty and learning, used their influence with the See of Rome to appoint and ordain him Bishop of Zion and Vicar Apostolic in Nova Scotia.

It would appear superfluous to enlarge on the merits of this truly good and pious man, in this province, where his charity, disinterestedness, learning and loyalty are so generally known and acknowledged by all classes of the community, for the last twenty years that he has resided here as Vicar General of the Diocese of Quebec. But some men, ignorant of his true character, may attach bigotry and intolerance to it, from his polemical writings and publications! This would be a false picture, as he never wrote or published a controversial argument in his life with any other view than justification of himself and the tenets of his religion, every one of which he firmly believed and supported against learned and able assailants. Not one of these learned gentlemen will accuse him of bigotry, intolerance, want of charity and benevolence to all mankind, as there was not a son or daughter of Adam, no matter of what religious creed, or if any, that he would not cheerfully take by the hand, and, if possible, conduct them to heaven.

The numerous poor of Halifax, as also the unfortunate inhabitants of the gaol, will have ample cause to lament his death, as he always relieved their distress, even to the last shilling -- nay, more he would borrow money to do it. The writer can assert without fear of contradiction, that no man, let his creed, country or colour be what it may, ever departed from his door without receiving the boon of charity. Reader, let us imitate the good qualities and practise the benevolent actions of this worthy prelate, now no more. By so doing we will be true and loyal subjects to our king and constitution, charitable to our fellow creatures, moral in our conduct, respectful and obedient to the constituted authorities of the province, pious and honest in our sentiments and dealings; which will secure us respect and peace of mind here, and eternal happiness hereafter.

The mortal remains of this good man will, agreeably to his own injunctions, be entombed in a private manner, this morning, between the hours of 9 and 10 o'clock.

APPENDIX D

INSTRUCTIONS OF BISHOP BURKE TO LEGATORS*

As I have . . . bequeathed to the Rt.Rev. Joseph O. Plessis, Rev. John Carroll and Michael Tobin Esq. of this town, the whole of my property real and personal . . . the following instructions:

The whole of the real property in this town I hold in trust for the church My appointments from the Congregation being small I spend my own property in addition to my appointments on buying books, printing etc. . . .

There are however two thousand pounds which must be appropriated to the building of the Church now erecting in this town, the vacant lots on the property in Dutch town if well managed will bring that sum, if not Smyth's Bond for 350f and Patt Ryan's note must be added. There is a part of the property on the water side for which I find no title amongst Mrs. Blake's papers, there is a long procession. . . the old woman thought it her own. I don't wish that more of that property be sold than will suffice to pay them 2000f to the Church. My intention is that the rents in water street should be appropriated to the school-house and the support of the teachers. I appoint the Rev. John Carroll to conduct the school allowing him one hundred pounds per annum from the rents in Water Street. . . .

I recommend to him to pay the greatest deference to my successor but 'tis not my intention that a property intended for the use of the people should be at the disposal of a Prelate who may wish to make a figure in the world, if God in his wrath, which I humbly hope will not happen, should send such a man.

As to my library, I intend it for the use of the Clergy to be under the care of the Rev. John Carroll who will keep an account of every book that is borrowed. . . taking particular care that

* Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec, Nouvelle Écosse:IV - 165.

no work should be lost. My intention is that the rent of the house in which Mrs. Neilson now lives bought from James Blake, be appropriated after his decease to the support of the school for young girls now established immediately after the decease of James Blake who draws 50£ a year from the rent . . . and is entitled to 10£ more from my estate. There are also some bonds of James Blake's in the hands of Michael Tobin Esq. which upon his demise must be applied to the Church. . . . my debts annexed.

There is in the hands of the Hon. James Baby 250£ and 125£. 250£. . . for the lot sold to him 125 will be due the first of January next.

There are 1950 acres of land which may bring 1000 dollars by making a sacrifice the whole may amount to 650£ not sufficient to pay the debts, let therefore my property in this province be sold and the deficiency made up. Any part of my private property which remains must go to the Church as it is all devoted to the Virgin the Patroness of this Vicariate. the 150 acres may be left to the Lawlors and their mother. . . . Rev. John Carroll will also . . . send twenty pounds a year to James Burke for the years the poor man has to live. I recommend to his care my grand-nephew Patt Jacob, now coming out.

Signed with my hand the 23rd.day of September

+ Edmund Burke

Bishop of Sion, Vicar Apostolic
of Nova Scotia.

Debts to be paid out of the Estate of Rt.Rev. Edmund Burke

	£	s	d
To Trustees of Maynooth College, part of Dr. Sullivan's succession	563	6	0
To the representatives of James Barry Esq. formerly Spanish Consul in Baltimore or New York	15	0	0
To Richard Catheir Harry Sullivan- 8 miles from cork	43	10	0
To Owen Coffee now in poor house	13	16	0
Let there be given to the poor	50	0	0

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