

## **‘The Great Association Above’: Maritime Baptists and the War of 1812<sup>1</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

This article examines the impact of the War of 1812 on Maritime Baptist churches and its influence on cross-border relations, as well as the convictions which shaped Baptists’ actions and attitudes towards Americans. The war between Great Britain and the United States might have engendered division between Baptists from opposite sides of the conflict, however, the evidence suggests that the spiritual connection between co-religionists transcended political differences. More specifically, this article argues that the ideological underpinnings of the lack of rancor between wartime Baptists was the conviction that Nova Scotian, New Brunswick and New England Baptists – regardless of national or imperial loyalties – were members of one large spiritual family that would someday be united in the ‘Great Association Above.’ Maritime Baptist devotion to a radical evangelicalism that was often otherworldly and unconcerned with secular affairs meant that their spiritual identity in that ‘Great Association’ trumped all temporal identities, and loyalty to that otherworldly association transcended earthly loyalties.

Maritime Baptist itinerant preacher Edward Manning’s (1766-1851) wartime diary reveals his compassion for his ‘American brethren’ and his revulsion for the ongoing war between Great Britain and the United States. On 9 January 1813 he wrote: ‘This day felt uneasy in the morning...but in reading and meditation found my mind sweetly led out after God and a sweet union to American brethren, notwithstanding the dreadful war that exists between the two powers.’<sup>2</sup> Postcolonialism has

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Pat Townsend for her help at the Baptist archives in Acadia, Wolfville. The Acadia Center for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies (ACBAS) graciously provided financial assistance for researching this subject.

<sup>2</sup> See diary of Edward Manning, 9 January 1813. All references to Manning correspondence taken from ‘Manning Correspondence,’ Box D1846.001, Box 1 (Acadia archives, Wolfville). See dates for specific letter. There are no copies of

made scholars sensitive to constructions of the 'other,' particularly in times of war. What is striking is that Manning's wartime reflection suggests that Americans were not constructed as the 'other,' but as an 'us.' Other evidence indicates that Manning was not alone in his musing – other Baptists shared his amicable attitude towards Americans.

A number of socio-economic factors in the Maritimes contributed to an open border and relatively friendly wartime cross-border relationships. John Boileau portrays both wartime New Englanders and Nova Scotians as 'half-hearted enemies' who were primarily concerned with continuing their prosperous trade.<sup>3</sup> Family ties and a common heritage meant that Loyalists and Planters were American-born settlers (with American relatives still in New England) living in British territory. New England and Maritime messengers, missionaries, and itinerant preachers and pastors were often friends who co-labored in the difficult task of founding churches. The need for assistance was also a factor, for the smaller and poorer churches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick relied on the support of New England missionaries and cross-border evangelists. While such dynamics contributed to why Maritime Baptists did not exhibit an ardent wartime hatred for the enemy, this research focuses on an important ideological reason for the cordial cross-border Baptist relationships.

Rev. Charles Inglis, the Church of England Bishop of Nova Scotia (1787-1816), described the period in which he lived as 'these times of Democratic rage and delusion.' Inglis was convinced that the democratic reforms in the United States and France were connected with the evangelical revivals sweeping through the Maritimes. As Nancy Christie notes, a culture defined by rank and deference to authority was giving way to evangelical ideals of individual self-expression, social equality, and democratic consent.<sup>4</sup> This emotional, revolutionary and democratic evangelical religion of the Allinites, Baptists and Methodists flourished in

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out-going mail, only in-coming letters. Fortunately Edward Manning comments on the war in his diary, although one wished he said more and that more of the diary had survived. Most of 1813 is missing, along with January and February 1814. Manning was seriously ill in early 1815, so there is limited material in that period as well. Note that when Manning and others speak of 'Americans' they usually mean New Englanders.

<sup>3</sup> John Boileau, *Half-hearted Enemies: Nova Scotia, New England and the War of 1812* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Nancy Christie, 'In These Times of Democratic Rage and Delusion,' In *The Canadian Protestant Experience*, edited by George Rawlyk (Burlington: Welch, 1990), pp. 10.

the frontier situation, for as Goodwin notes, it was adaptive, provided comfort for those in hardship, and had minimum requirements for leaders.<sup>5</sup>

Radical evangelicalism was, as George Rawlyk argues, ‘the heart of Canadian evangelicalism.’<sup>6</sup> And Maritime Baptists were firmly in the ranks of radical evangelicalism. Their services were informal and often emotional. Itinerant ministry was commonplace, with numerous itinerants on the road preaching revival and seeking converts.<sup>7</sup> Regeneration, as Rawlyk notes, ‘was the pivotal and quintessential Christian experience,’<sup>8</sup> and Baptist preachers sought to make converts at every stop. They were also eager to baptize.<sup>9</sup> This passion for believer’s baptism meant that pastors and itinerant preachers took great pains to baptize, and the surviving diaries of itinerant preachers detail such events.<sup>10</sup> The radical evangelicalism of Baptists was so extreme that it ‘was able to cut itself free from largely secular concerns and preoccupation.’<sup>11</sup> It also provided an ideological framework for Baptist identity and relationships.

George Rawlyk states that he took ‘religious beliefs seriously’ in his exploration of radical evangelicalism among Baptists in Nova Scotia and

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<sup>5</sup> Daniel Goodwin, *Into Deep Waters: Evangelical Spirituality and Maritime Calvinistic Baptist Ministers, 1790-1855* (Montreal/Kingston/London/Ithaca: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010) pp. 5.

<sup>6</sup> George A. Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775-1812* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), pp. xv. See also George A. Rawlyk, ‘A Total Revolution in Religious and Civil Government’: The Maritimes, New England, and the Evolving Evangelical Ethos, 1776-1812,’ In *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, edited by Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 137-155.

<sup>7</sup> Goodwin, *Into Deep Waters*, pp. 102ff. For a discussion of the broader context of itinerant ministry, see Stephen A. Marini, ‘Evangelical Itinerancy in Rural New England: New Gloucester, Maine, 1745-1807,’ In *Itinerancy in New England and New York*, edited by Peter Benes and Jane Montague Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1986), pp. 49-64.

<sup>8</sup> Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire*, pp. xvi.

<sup>9</sup> Baptists separated from the Church of England in the early-seventeenth England century in part due to their belief in baptizing adults who made a profession of faith, rather than baptizing infants who had it made for them.

<sup>10</sup> Goodwin claims that the Nova Scotia Baptist debates over baptism may have excited their passions even more than the debates for responsible government. See Goodwin, *Into Deep Waters*, pp. 127.

<sup>11</sup> Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire*, pp. xvi.

New Brunswick.<sup>12</sup> This article follows Rawlyk's example, for it is concerned with the ideas which shaped Baptist life and practice.<sup>13</sup> It argues that the ideological underpinnings of the lack of rancor between wartime Baptists was the conviction that Nova Scotian, New Brunswick and New England Baptists – regardless of national or imperial loyalties – were members of one large spiritual family that would someday be united in the 'Great Association Above.' Maritime Baptist devotion to a radical evangelicalism that was often otherworldly and unconcerned with secular affairs meant that their spiritual identity in that 'Great Association' trumped all temporal identities, and loyalty to that otherworldly association transcended earthly loyalties. The primary task of this transnational spiritual family was to spread the gospel and build the church, and the war between the United States and British Empire was deemed to be an unfortunate interruption.

Despite the significant historical research on the War of 1812, there has been little sustained focus on the impact of the war on the churches in British North America.<sup>14</sup> Ray Hobbs' research on Upper Canadian

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<sup>12</sup> Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire*, pp. xviii.

<sup>13</sup> This work focuses on the role of ideas, but of course there are other factors that shape political loyalties and actions. For instance, for an examination of the impact of government policy on political loyalties and identity, see Elizabeth Mancke, *The Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, ca.1760-1830* (New York/London: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>14</sup> William Gribbin's study is the authoritative work on the subject of the American churches and the war. He notes how the war exacerbated tensions in the States that already existed between the various denominations, and was both a challenge and an opportunity to the various churches. He also makes it clear that there was no religious uniformity; in general, Baptists (especially in the Southern States) and Methodists were supportive of the war effort, whereas New England Congregationalism was 'the heart of religious opposition to the war.' See William Gribbin, *The Churches Militant: the War of 1812 and American Religion* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1973). For other works on the war and American churches, see Ralph Beebe, 'The War of 1812,' in *The Wars of America: Christian Views*, edited by Ronald A. Wells (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), pp. 25-43; William Gribbin, 'Covenant Transformed: the Jeremiad Tradition and the War of 1812,' *Church History* 40 (September 1971): pp. 297-305; William Gribbin, 'War of 1812 and American Presbyterianism: Religion and Politics during the Second War with Britain,' *Journal of Presbyterian History* 47 (December 1969): pp. 320-339; William Gribbin, 'American Episcopacy and the War of 1812,' *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 38 (March 1969): pp. 25-36; J. Earl Thompson, 'An 'Unnecessary, Unjust, and Inexpedient' War: Congregational Clergy Dissent against the War of 1812,' *Andover Newton Quarterly* 11 (September 1970): pp. 35-47; Lawrence S. Kaplan, 'A New Englander defends the War of

churches has been presented in various contexts, but his conclusions have so far remained unpublished.<sup>15</sup> James Robertson's 'Band of Brothers' examines Methodists in Upper Canada and some of the cross-border problems faced in that province.<sup>16</sup> Peter Brock explores the dilemma Mennonite, Tunker and Quaker settlers faced when pressured by the government in Upper Canada to support the war effort.<sup>17</sup> Gordon Heath deals with Upper Canadian Baptist wartime ideology as well the impact of the war on Upper Canadian Baptists.<sup>18</sup> In all these cases, however, the experiences of the churches in the Maritimes have been ignored. This research initiates an undertaking that needs to be widened to explore additional Protestant groups, as well as Roman Catholics.

The extant primary sources present challenges for a study of wartime Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptists. There were no denominational newspapers published at that time,<sup>19</sup> no printed Baptist sermons that survived the war, and limited Baptist commentary on the war in what has survived (copious amounts of information on baptisms and revivals in the diaries, but not much commentary on political events). Nevertheless, there are a variety of sources that are helpful. Local church minutes and association records provide important details.<sup>20</sup> Other records consulted include the diary and personal correspondence of the above-mentioned

1812: Senator Varnum to Judge Thacher,' *Mid-America* 46 (October 1964): pp. 269-280.

<sup>15</sup> See Ray Hobbs, 'Religion and the War of 1812 in Upper Canada – Part One: British Military Chaplains,' unpublished paper. Interviews with Hobbs revealed a number of important insights, especially about Baptists serving in the militia.

<sup>16</sup> James Tyler Robertson, 'Band of Brothers: Connection and Tension within Upper-Canadian Methodism during the War of 1812,' paper presented to the Canadian Society of Church History, 2010. Robertson is working on a PhD dissertation at McMaster Divinity College that explores Upper Canadian churches and the War of 1812.

<sup>17</sup> Peter Brock, 'Accounting for Difference: The Problem of Pacifism in Early Upper Canada,' *Ontario History* 90, 1 (Spring 1998): pp. 19-30.

<sup>18</sup> Gordon L. Heath, 'Ontario Baptists and the War of 1812,' *Ontario History* 103, 2 (Autumn 2011): pp. 41-63.

<sup>19</sup> The first Baptist publication in British North America was the *Baptist Missionary Magazine of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick* in 1827. For a brief summary of the development of the religious press in Canada, see Gordon L. Heath, "Forming Sound Public Opinion: The Late Victorian Canadian Protestant Press and Nation-Building,' *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XLVIII (2006): pp. 109-159.

<sup>20</sup> Local church records and the yearly association minutes (they were printed and bound for publication and circulation) are located at the Baptist archives at Acadia University, Wolfville, NS.

Edward Manning, an itinerant evangelist whom Daniel Goodwin declared to be one of the most important figures in Maritime Baptist history. Manning has also been called a ‘father’ of the Baptists in the Maritimes.<sup>21</sup> There are also the diaries of Henry Hale, an American Baptist missionary to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick<sup>22</sup> and of Ziba Pope, an American Baptist missionary to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.<sup>23</sup> The *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine*, an American Baptist publication, provides additional information about events in the Maritimes. These sources – limited as they are – do provide a window into the war, its impact on the churches, and the convictions of Baptists.

The first section below will detail the impact of the war on Maritime Baptist churches, with a particular focus on the war’s influence on cross-border relations. The second section considers Baptist convictions that shaped their actions and attitudes towards Americans. The evidence in both sections supports the contention that what formed Baptist cordial actions and attitudes towards their co-religionists was their conviction that all Baptists – whatever side of border – belonged to the ‘Great Association Above.’

## I. The Impact of the War on Cross-border Relationships

Baptists arrived in Nova Scotia with the Planters to take over land that had been vacated by the expulsion of the Acadians. Ebenezer Moulton (1709-1783), the first Baptist minister in Nova Scotia, arrived from New England and settled near Yarmouth in 1760. In the following years he preached in various locations and then established the first Baptist church at Horton (Wolfville). Other Baptists continued to arrive from the Thirteen Colonies (later the United States), and churches were begun in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Baptists benefited from the New Light revivals led by Henry Alline (1748-1784) and by the end of the eighteenth century the first Baptist association of nine churches was formed.<sup>24</sup> At the outbreak of

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<sup>21</sup> Goodwin, *Into Deep Waters*, ch.4. Manning was born in Ireland, but c.1769 his family moved to Falmouth, NS.

<sup>22</sup> Diary of Henry Hale is located at the Baptist archives at Acadia University, Wolfville, NS.

<sup>23</sup> Diary of Ziba Pope is located at the Vermont Historical Society. Thanks to David Bell at UNB for pointing me to this journal.

<sup>24</sup> On 23-24 June 1800 nine churches met at Lower Granville, Nova Scotia: eight were from Nova Scotia, and one from New Brunswick. See Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon*, pp. 53 for list of participating churches. An ‘association’ is the name of a

war, Baptists were primarily concentrated in the Annapolis Valley and South Shore Nova Scotia, and the St. John River Valley.<sup>25</sup>

This research supports John Moir's claim that 'regionalism seems to be the most important factor in determining the degree of American influences, both positive and negative, on Canadian Protestantism'<sup>26</sup> for the war did not impact the churches in the Maritimes as it did in Upper Canada. For instance, upon the outbreak of war, Nova Scotia Lieutenant Governor Sir John Coape Sherbrooke established a truce with New England; no molestation of peaceful towns and trade was to occur across the border (although the lucrative privateering business thrived in Nova Scotia).<sup>27</sup> This peace and open border lasted until 1814, when a relatively small-scale invasion of Maine was carried out from New Brunswick and by the sea.

There is conflicting evidence regarding the impact of the war on cross-border Baptist relations. Manning's journal, Ziba Pope's journal or association minutes indicate that the churches benefited from this peaceful situation, for revival and local church work seemed to continue unabated during the war: itinerant preachers and pastors travelled freely on land, services were held, revivals occurred, converts were made, people were baptized, the association met every year, and church property was unharmed. The circular letter from the 1814 association meeting states that the churches of the association 'witness nothing of the calamities of war' and they 'know but little of its effects.'<sup>28</sup> Not exactly a wise or pastoral statement to make if the churches had been struggling due to the war, and a statement that challenges contemporary assumptions about the negative impact of the war on evangelicalism.<sup>29</sup> In the years following the

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group of Baptist churches in geographical proximity that choose to associate with one another and work together on common projects. A group of associations often form a convention or denomination. A Baptist church does not have to join an association, but most did (and still do).

<sup>25</sup> Goodwin, *Into Deep Waters*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>26</sup> John Moir, 'American Influences on Canadian Protestant Churches before Confederation,' *Church History* 36 (1967): pp. 440.

<sup>27</sup> See Boileau, *Half-hearted Enemies*.

<sup>28</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1814), pp. 8. The authors of this circular were Edward Manning and William Chipman.

<sup>29</sup> Christie argues that the 'spectacular expansion of popular evangelicalism was abruptly curtailed' (especially in Upper Canada, but also in the Maritimes) by the war. See Christie, 'In These Times of Democratic Rage and Delusion,' pp. 41. However, Rawlyk is closer to the mark when he notes that the war had a 'negligible influence on the religious culture of the [Maritime] region.' See Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire*, pp. 138.

war the churches continued to experience growth.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, the war did lead to some adversity for the Maritime churches. The number of those attending the association meeting in 1813 was around half the number that attended in 1812, but since attendance figures waxed and waned before and after the war years it is not clear if the war was to blame for this decline in attendance.<sup>31</sup> Also, as will be detailed below, formal ties with American associations were broken during 1813 and 1814. Informally, personal relationships such as Manning's were hindered by the breakdown of cross-border communications and trade. And most distressing for Baptists was the global mission work that was stalled due to the war.

While the Maritime Baptist churches may not have been as dependent upon New England missionaries as were the churches in Upper and Lower Canada, they did have on-going relationships with their counterparts in the United States. The minutes of the association meetings show Americans Henry Hale and Daniel Merrill visited in 1810 (they were usually called 'messengers').<sup>32</sup> Isaac Case was the messenger in 1811,<sup>33</sup> and in 1812 the minutes show Henry Hale attended, brought greetings, preached, and served on a committee (more on Hale below).<sup>34</sup>

Arthur Lower states that during the war there was no break in communications between the Maritime Baptists and their counterparts in

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<sup>30</sup> Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon*, pp. 80. Interestingly, one positive benefit of the war was identified by a Baptist leader in Yarmouth at the end of the war. He suggested that the war had 'greatly aroused' the 'spirit of reading' and that it was an ideal time for Manning to proceed with his plans for beginning a Baptist magazine. See Manning Correspondence, Letter from Alexander Crawford, Yarmouth, 30 April 1815.

<sup>31</sup> John Mocket Cramp records that the distance to the New Brunswick location, and the costs associated with such a trip, deterred many Nova Scotia Baptists from attending in 1813. See John Mocket Cramp, *The Baptists of Nova Scotia* (np.: 1860-1863), pp. 118.

<sup>32</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1810), pp. 3. For more details on the visits of Hale to the Maritimes, see 'Extract of a Letter from Rev. Henry Hale, to the President of the Society, dated Salisbury, New Brunswick, May 30, 1811,' *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 3 (September 1812), pp. 203-204. Cramp notes the frequent exchange of messengers, as well as the impact of the war on the exchange of these messengers. See Cramp, *The Baptists of Nova Scotia*, pp. 105.

<sup>33</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1811), pp. 5.

<sup>34</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1812), pp. 6.



New England.<sup>35</sup> However, a closer look indicates that the war did interrupt cross-border communication. The association minutes for 1813 and 1814 make no mention of messengers from any American Baptist associations,<sup>36</sup> and in 1813 the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association decided to stop the corresponding letter with their 'sister associations' in the States, and no letter was sent in 1814.<sup>37</sup>

However, if there were any lingering resentments towards Americans after the war, there is no evidence of it in the association records. Not long after peace was declared, American participants Isaac Case and Enoch Hunting, both missionaries for the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, arrived for the June 1815 association meeting.<sup>38</sup> Case brought with him the minutes of Cumberland, Bowdwinham and Lincoln associations to present them to the Maritime Baptists, and the Maritime Baptist association minutes record that they 'proved very pleasant.' A vote was taken at the association meeting to renew their correspondence with the American associations, and to reciprocate by sending David Harris and Nathaniel Cleveland across the border as messengers to the American associations. The re-establishment of a corresponding letter was also instituted in 1815.<sup>39</sup>

The minutes of the association meeting for the following year record the continuation of the normalizing of relationships between Maritime and New England Baptists. After a vote of approval, Isaac Case returned, along with Stephen Dexter, to act as messengers for their associations (it

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<sup>35</sup> Arthur Lower, *Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada* (Toronto: Longmans Green, 1958), pp. 181.

<sup>36</sup> Saunders confirms this when notes that the Baptist Associations of Maine had exchanged delegates from c.1807 until 1840, and that the only two years where they did not was during 1813 and 1814. See Edward M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax: Press of John Burgoyne, 1902), pp. 154.

<sup>37</sup> A 'circular letter' was sent to the churches of the association, whereas a 'corresponding letter' was sent to other Baptist associations that shared a close relationship and common ministry. A corresponding letter (as mentioned here) was sent every year by the association to their New England counterparts as a way of expressing unity and communicating important news items. See *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1813), pp. 8.

<sup>38</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1815), pp. 4. Case had a history of visiting the Maritime Baptists before the war. See 'Extract from the Journal of the Rev. Mr. Case, during his late Missionary Tour in Nova Scotia,' *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 3 (September 1812), pp. 196-202.

<sup>39</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1815), pp. 11-12.

was recorded that the content of their reports 'proved nourishing').<sup>40</sup> It was also voted that, in the future, messengers from 'sister associations' simply take a seat without needing a vote. Isaac Case preached a sermon at the meeting, and both Case and Dexter served on a committee that dealt with a matter of local church discipline. The newly reinstated corresponding letter was also sent in that year.<sup>41</sup> These actions imply a formal normalizing of relations between the two Baptist groups. They also support John Moir's contention that anti-Americanism was not a dominant motif in the postwar years, at least for Baptists,<sup>42</sup> and indicate that Maritime Baptists did not experience a post-war purging of American leadership like the Methodists.<sup>43</sup>

A few more comments on the above-mentioned Hale are in order. Hale was a missionary with the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, and in 1812 he attended and participated in the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association meeting. The fact that war was declared on 18 June 1812, and the association meeting was held in Upper Granville, Nova Scotia, on 22-23 June 1812, meant that Hale was preaching during the early days of the war; however, it is unlikely that they knew that soon that the war had been declared.<sup>44</sup> In the weeks after the June association meeting he travelled throughout parts of Nova Scotia.<sup>45</sup> The entry for 1 July 1812 reads that he 'tarried at the Mannings' (with no mention of what they talked about). A few weeks later on 31 July 1812 he noted briefly in his journal that he visited with the 'governor for permission to continue in the Province, and obtained it.' He then continued his itinerant ministry traveling through Windsor, Newport and Falmouth in August, and then into New Brunswick in September. His diary entries end in September 1812, so there is no more record of his travels in the Maritimes.<sup>46</sup> The

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<sup>40</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1816), pp. 5.

<sup>41</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1816), pp. 10-11.

<sup>42</sup> Moir, 'American Influences on Canadian Protestant Churches before Confederation,' pp. 440.

<sup>43</sup> John Moir, *The Church in the British Era: from the British Conquest to Confederation* (Toronto/New York: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), pp. 93.

<sup>44</sup> Isaac Brock in Upper Canada only found out about the declaration of war on 24 June 1812. See George Sheppard, *Plunder, Profit, and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada* (Montreal/ Kingston/London/ Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), pp. 47.

<sup>45</sup> See diary of Henry Hale, June to September 1812.

<sup>46</sup> A few years later the *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* printed a letter dated December 1813 that announced Hale had become a pastor of a church in the States. After the war there is no record of Hale returning to the Maritimes. See

example of Hale reveals that American itinerants in the early months of the war could continue to operate in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick – and with government approval. The example of Ziba Pope shows that, in places, such openness continued throughout the war.

Ziba Pope was an American Baptist itinerant preacher, who in April and May 1813, worked his way towards Boston, Massachusetts, and then northeastwards up the coast on a preaching tour: the language used in his journal was that he was attempting ‘to bring a Reformation’ to the towns in which he preached. Items painstakingly noted in his journal were locations, conversions, baptisms, and the activities of the churches (especially in regards to revivals). On 29 May 1813 he continued his preaching ministry in Machais, Massachusetts (what would become Maine). The next day he was in Little River, Massachusetts. On 1 June 1813 he continued northeast and crossed the border to the Island of Campobello, New Brunswick. If there was any difficulty crossing the border, he did not mention it in his diary. His ministry then carried on among churches and towns in Magaguadavic River, New Brunswick, and the surrounding area. In early September, 1813, he boarded a ship and set sail for Halifax. The hope that he expressed in his journal was that he would, like the apostle Paul in his day, convert the ship’s crew and passengers to Christianity. After seeing Halifax on 7 September 1813, the ship kept sailing to Newfoundland. He departed a few weeks later after an intense but brief preaching tour. His ship sheltered in Owl’s Head Harbor, Nova Scotia, and arrived back in New Brunswick on 21 October 1813.<sup>47</sup> Throughout this extensive trip, the only mention of the war was a reference to being boarded by a frigate off Shelburne on 16 October 1813. Pope returned to Nova Scotia again in 1814 and 1815, taking a key role in successful revivals in Barrington and Argyle.<sup>48</sup> If Pope’s journey is indicative of wartime cross-border relations, travel to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was not entirely prohibited, and that the Baptist churches

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‘Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Henry Hale, dated Sedgwick, Dec 11, 1813, Addressed to the President of the Society,’ *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine*, March 1814, pp. 25-26. Earlier on the *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* mentioned that he was to be supported by the Baptist Missionary Society as a missionary. ‘Baptist Missionary Society,’ *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine*, September 1813, pp. 349.

<sup>47</sup> See diary of Ziba Pope, April to October, 1813.

<sup>48</sup> See diary of Ziba Pope, June to July, 1814, and July to August, 1815. For a description of Pope’s visits in 1814 and 1815, see Michael Christie and Roland McCormick, *The Early Years of Barrington’s Free Baptists* (Yarmouth, NS: Sentinal Printing, 2007), pp. 19ff.

in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick needed and appreciated the presence of American itinerant preachers in their midst.

The surviving wartime correspondence of Edward Manning provides a glimpse of how the war affected his personal relations with fellow-Baptists in the States. One letter from a New Englander bemoaned the imminent war, warned Manning not to come to the States until hostilities were over, and concluded with a greeting to Manning's wife.<sup>49</sup> Another letter was from Rev. Daniel Merrill, Boston, dated 2 June 1812. Merrill was a Baptist minister in Sedgwick, Maine,<sup>50</sup> and had been a messenger at the 1810 Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association meeting. Part of it reads:

The legislature, of which I am a member, is now in session, and upon important business [ ]. They are about memorializing the general government, relative to the subject of peace, or war. I wish the differences between your government and ours may be so [ ] as to promote the good of both, and [ ] [ ] [ ] good. But I fear a contest is before us. However the differences may be between the governments among men, be it our concern to be in obedience to the government of God. Very considerable reformatations are, and [ ] have been, progressing in the states....[he then comments on books being sent to Manning]...I really am, with great respect and unabating affection, yours in the fellowship of the gospel of J.Cr, Daniel Merrill.<sup>51</sup>

This letter to Manning illustrates the common commitment to the Christian faith – and the book trade – of both Manning and Merrill. In the few wartime letters that do survive between New England and Manning, the interruption of the book trade was continually bemoaned.<sup>52</sup> Manning

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<sup>49</sup> Manning Correspondence, Letter from Thaddeus Hubberd, Eastport, 14 June 1812.

<sup>50</sup> Manning Correspondence, Letter from Daniel Merrill, Boston, 2 June 1812. Merrill was instrumental in the formation of the Baptist Colby College in Massachusetts. See Ernest Cummings Marriner, *The History of Colby College* (Waterville, Mass.: Colby College Press, 1963).

<sup>51</sup> See diary of Edward Manning, 2 June 1812. It is worth noting that despite his friendship with Manning and other Maritime Baptists, Merrill passionately preached to his congregants support for the war effort. See Gribbin, *The Churches Militant*, pp. 87.

<sup>52</sup> The next letter from Merrill to Manning that has survived was dated after the war, and the subject was about some reading materials that he was going to send to Manning in a load of other materials that were being sent by someone else. See Manning Correspondence, Letter from Daniel Merrill, Boston, 17 (or 11) April

made no mention of the loss of materials in his diary, but one letter from David Benedict provides a sense of how the loss of trade was lamented in the States.

I rejoice with you on the return of Peace. The War has been a serious evil not only to our country but to me in my book concern...I sent a number of subscription papers into your country, and anticipated a considerable number of subscribers, but I suppose owing to the War none were returned except from you....[he then invited Manning to Boston and to association meetings, and commented on revivals in his area]. Yours in the gospel, David Benedict.<sup>53</sup>

This brief glimpse of the loss of New England trade with the Maritimes was indicative of a much wider resentment among New Englanders regarding the war and its economic ramifications.<sup>54</sup> It also is a personal example of the impact of the war on the Maritime Baptist relationship with other New England Baptists, as well a glimpse of American Baptist openness to having visitors from the Maritimes attend their association meetings.

There was also movement southward during (or just before) the war. A summary of the 1813 annual meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society in Massachusetts that met in Boston on 26 May 1813 dealt with one of the missionaries that the society was supporting from Nova Scotia. The minutes read as follows: 'In addition to the above the Trustees have aided Brother Reis from Nova Scotia, who has been stirred up to leave his

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1816. See also Manning Correspondence, Letter from Lincoln Edmands, Boston, 22 September 1814; Letter from Th(?) Baldwin, Boston, 15 August 1815; Letter from Lincoln Edmands, Boston, 13 April 1816; Letter from Lincoln Edmands, Boston, 24 October 1816; Letter from David Benedict, Boston, 29 October 1816. The *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* also lamented the interruption of the trade: in one brief article it was noted that the privateer capture and sale of Bibles and other literature had hurt their ministry. See 'Miscellaneous,' *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* (December 1812), pp. 253.

<sup>53</sup> Manning Correspondence, Letter from David Benedict, Pantucket, date uncertain, but in 1816 file.

<sup>54</sup> For instance, see Harvey Strum, 'Smuggling in Maine during the Embargo and the War of 1812,' *Colby Library Quarterly* 19 (1983): pp. 90-97; Jamie H. Eves, 'The Poor People Had Suddenly Become Rich: A Boom in Maine Wheat, 1793-1815,' *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 27 (1987): pp. 114-141.

family and country to preach the Gospel to the destitute in New-Orleans and adjacent parts of that country.<sup>55</sup>

## II. A Transnational Community with a Global Mission

While there were military, social, cultural and economic factors that contributed to relatively friendly wartime cross-border relationships, in order to understand the above examples of amiable cross-border Baptist relations and freedom of movement during a time of war, as well as the immediate reinstatement of formal ties at the war's end, one must take seriously Baptist radical evangelicalism that was often otherworldly and unconcerned with secular affairs. The belief was that a spiritual identity in the 'Great Association Above' trumped all temporal identities, and loyalty to that otherworldly association transcended earthly loyalties.

The radical evangelicalism that contributed to social and political differentiation between Nova Scotia and New England during the American Revolution<sup>56</sup> had a markedly different impact a generation later during the War of 1812, for in 1812 it contributed to cross-border unity that downplayed political loyalties. A common citizenship that transcended national boundaries was expressed in the above-noted phrase used to close the 1816 letter: 'we wish a continuance of your agreeable correspondence, and hope to meet with you in the Great Association above.'<sup>57</sup> A number of scholars have noted the cross-border links between denominations in the United States and British North America. Mark Noll notes the importance of not downplaying the 'significant commonalties

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<sup>55</sup> 'Baptist Missionary Society,' *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 3 (September 1813), pp. 348-351. The Nova Scotia and New Brunswick association minutes indicate that there was an ordained minister named Edmund J. Reis from Saint John, New Brunswick. See *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1815), pp. 4. David Benedict's history of Baptists provides a brief narrative of Reis' ministry in New Orleans. See David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, and Other Parts of the World* (London: Lincoln & Edmands, 1813), pp. 416. Cramp notes that he was originally from France, but had been captured on a privateer and eventually settled in Yarmouth. He was converted and became a Baptist, and after 1807 began a preaching ministry. After his New Orleans experience, he moved to Baltimore in 1816. See Cramp, *The Baptists of Nova Scotia*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>56</sup> Gordon Stewart and George A. Rawlyk, *A People Highly Favoured of God: The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1972).

<sup>57</sup> 'Corresponding Letter,' *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1816), pp. 10-11.

that have always bounded Canadian and American churches together.<sup>58</sup> Both Rawlyk and Christie have identified the strength of evangelicalism during this period, and how it was a dynamic cross-border movement.<sup>59</sup> More recently, Sam Reimer has identified a subculture that continues to exist across the border that, in many ways, transcends national boundaries.<sup>60</sup> In the War of 1812 one gets a glimpse of this type of dynamic evangelical subculture that united Baptists.

As for loyalty to the Crown, there are no indications of Baptist disloyalty in the Maritimes (unlike in Upper Canada where a number of Baptist ministers expressed seditious pro-American sentiments<sup>61</sup>). But what of nascent Canadian nationalism often associated with the war? The most passionate loyalty expressed was a cross-border ecumenism that testifies more to the power of the evangelical impulse rather than to any supposed Canadian nationalism. The 'Great Association above' was rooted in the conviction that all Baptists, American or otherwise, belonged to one family and had one providential purpose that transcended national boundaries. This study of Baptists and the war confirms and illustrates Rawlyk's claim that the radical evangelicalism of Baptists was so extreme that it 'was able to cut itself free from largely secular concerns and preoccupation.'<sup>62</sup> When secular or world affairs were commented on, God's providence was usually invoked.

World events were interpreted through the lens of providence, and perspectives were shaped by the conviction that God 'was a conscious agent who actively intervened in creation'<sup>63</sup> and would bless those nations that obeyed him and judge those that did not. The following extensive quote from Manning's diary taken from his comments after the announcement of Napoleon's defeat in 1814 illustrates how providence shaped his understanding of world events. On 24 May 1814 he wrote:

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<sup>58</sup> Mark Noll, 'Canadian Evangelicalism: A View from the United States,' In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, edited by George A. Rawlyk (Montreal/Kingston/London/Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Christie, 'In These Times of Democratic Rage and Delusion.'

<sup>60</sup> Sam Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

<sup>61</sup> Heath, 'Ontario Baptists and the War of 1812,' pp. 41-63.

<sup>62</sup> Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire*, pp. xvi.

<sup>63</sup> Michael Gauvreau, 'Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867,' In *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, edited by George A. Rawlyk (Burlington: Welch, 1990), pp. 54.

Heard of the Defeat of Buoneparte and the Coronation of the French King and the success of the British Arms on the Continent of Europe. O that these successes may be a means of the establishing a general peace and permanent all over the world. Amen. O that the successes of the British nation tend [not] to puff them up with pride lest they fall into ruin and disrepute, For Righteousness exalteth a nation but sin is a reproach to any people. O that the American people may be induced to come upon pacific terms, that they may not return themselves by continuing a war that they precipitated themselves into lest their obstinacy prove their ruin. But the scripture prophecies are fast accomplishing that there should be wars and rumors of wars until the commencement of the Millenium, when the nations shall not learn the dire art any more, when warlike instruments shall be beaten into instruments of husbandry. Then shall the curse be removed and the earth be a paradise again. Then shall the watchman see eye to eye and all be of one mind, speak the same thing and be perfectly joined together with the same judgment, and no divisions among professing people of the Lord. Amen. Amen. Amen.<sup>64</sup>

His interpretation of global events was quite common among Christians in his day (whether evangelical or not): history was moving towards God's purposes, war was God's providential judgment of nations, and increased numbers of wars indicated that they were in the end times.<sup>65</sup> His caution against hubris and call for national righteousness was also widespread, for God was seen to strike down the proud and raise up the weak – nations and empires included.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> See diary of Edward Manning, 24 May 1814.

<sup>65</sup> Maritime Presbyterian minister Thomas McCulloch (a friend of Manning) preached a sermon that contained similar themes. See Thomas McCulloch, *The Prosperity of the Church in Troubled Times, A Sermon Preached at Pictou, Friday, Feb 25<sup>th</sup>, 1814* (Glasgow: S.M. Mackenzie, 1882). Located at Acadia archives.

<sup>66</sup> Manning was willing to take part in services that celebrated the victory of British arms over the French. Nevertheless, however willing he may have been to take part in celebrating victory, and even thank God for the victory, he was careful to avoid getting caught up in unbridled passions that often went hand-in-hand with celebrations. The danger lurking in every celebration was that the pride that came with victory would lead to God's judgment against the British. See diary of Edward Manning, 27 May 1814; diary of Edward Manning, 27 October 1814. In this regards Baptists were not alone among evangelical Protestants. For a discussion of the connection between righteousness, sin, and the support for (and criticism of) empire in Britain, see David Bebbington, 'Atonement, Sin, and



The concept of national righteousness was rooted in the Old Testament notion of God's covenantal expectations for the nation of Israel. If the nation followed God's commands, God would bless the nation. If the nation sinned, then God would foil the plans of rulers and generals. In other words, the temporal success of the nation depended on its spiritual condition. This correlation between the spiritual health of a nation and its wars is clear in the association circular letter in 1813 (penned by Manning). After noting the sins and lack of faith of the churches, the letter goes on to say:

Dearly beloved Brethren, has not God begun to visit us with his rod? Does not the Holy Jesus say to his Churches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 'As many as I love I rebuke and chasten.' Be zealous therefore and repent. The present calamities arise not out of the earth, but are an awful accomplishment of Christ's own words. Wars and rumors of wars, famines, and divers calamities abound: All these are the beginning of sorrows. O! Brethren, let us all as out of one broken and contrite heart, cry mightily unto the Lord for strength to stand in this evil day; and when we have done all, to stand, having on the whole armor of God...If he send the sword, we may run in the name of the Lord and he will be our strong tower and safety.<sup>67</sup>

The conviction that God opposes the proud and brings success to the righteous led Manning and other Baptists to observe the day of fasting and prayer in the churches. On 1 January 1813 and 1815 he noted that he and others observed a day of fasting and prayer.<sup>68</sup> He did not say why in his diary, but the minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Association meeting in 1813 indicate the reason:

Voted, To advise the Churches belonging to this Community to observe the FIRST TUESDAY OF NOVEMBER, as a Day of Thanksgiving, and the FIRST DAY OF JANUARY as a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer before the Lord, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the dreadful calamities of War, and cause

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Empire, 1880-1914,' In *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, edited by Andrew Porter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), pp. 14-31.

<sup>67</sup> 'Circular Letter,' *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1813), pp. 11-16. In this letter one gets a glimpse of an oft-repeated sentiment that the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick churches had a distinctive role to play in God's providential plans. See Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire*, pp. 133.

<sup>68</sup> See diary of Edward Manning, January 1813 and January 1815.

a more general spread of the Gospel, to establish Peace among all Nations.<sup>69</sup>

Manning did not say how many churches faithfully followed through with this directive, but church records indicate that Prince William Baptist Church, New Brunswick, did in 1814.<sup>70</sup>

Although it seems as though local revivalism continued unabated during the war in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the conflict had adversely impacted the global missionary efforts of the Maritime churches. What was most pleasing for Manning and other Baptists was that the end of the war meant that global mission work could continue unimpeded by the hazards of war.

The nineteenth century has been coined the 'great century of Protestant missions.'<sup>71</sup> Until then British Protestants were relatively unconcerned about the spiritual condition of the non-European world.<sup>72</sup> Over the course of the nineteenth century, however, Protestant missions (and with them mission societies) grew from relative obscurity to a position of prominence within the church. British Protestant denominations were at the vanguard of this missionary movement.<sup>73</sup> In fact, 'by the middle of the nineteenth century, the 'missionary spirit' was being hailed by contemporaries...as the 'characteristic feature' of the religious piety for which the Victorians were rightly renowned.'<sup>74</sup>

As for Baptists and missions, Brian Stanley observes 'If you wish to mobilize Baptists (and evangelicals as a whole) on an issue that divides the nation down the middle politically, the way to do it is to persuade them that liberty to preach the gospel is at stake.'<sup>75</sup> His point is that the Baptist *raison d'être* is

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<sup>69</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1813), pp. 8.

<sup>70</sup> Prince William United Baptist Church Minutes, 1 January 1814, located at Acadia Archives, Wolfville.

<sup>71</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Great Century, A.D. 1800-A.D.1914* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing, 1941), 1. As Brian Stanley argues, however, numbers alone would make the twentieth century an even greater century for Protestant missions. See Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollon, 1990), pp. 83-84.

<sup>72</sup> Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, pp. 55.

<sup>73</sup> The next closest Protestant missionary-sending nation was the United States. See Stanley, *Bible and the Flag*, pp. 83.

<sup>74</sup> Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 5.

<sup>75</sup> Brian Stanley, 'Baptists, Antislavery and the Legacy of Imperialism,' *Baptist Quarterly* 42 (October 2007): pp. 289.

to spread the gospel, and everything else gets subordinated to that all encompassing goal. There was considerable zeal for this missionary enterprise in both the American and Maritime evangelical churches (not surprisingly, since one of the defining characteristics of evangelicalism was its emphasis on conversion<sup>76</sup>). For instance, as Stuart Ivison and Fred Rosser note, the *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* continued to publish 'work done by Baptists in Britain as though the two nations were at peace. The progress of William Carey's mission to India was fully reported, and the magazine included long letters from Carey himself to friends in the United States.'<sup>77</sup> There was even the willingness to suppress personal views for the sake of harmony and the task of missions. Manning's diary indicates that he believed the Americans were the ones responsible for the war, but in his public statements he made no mention of such opinions; mentioning only their shared friendship and goals as Baptists.<sup>78</sup> This missionary spirit can also be seen in the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Association circular letter of 1814 and the corresponding letters of 1815 and 1816.

In the 1814 circular letter, the end of the war with Napoleon was celebrated and in the same sentence the global mission work of the church was emphasized. In fact, it was argued that God's providence had brought about the victory for the spreading of the faith – if only the churches would move away from their iniquity and coldness so much more could be done.<sup>79</sup> In that same year the denomination also began to make plans for overseas missions work; something that Harry Renfree calls a 'milestone' in the denomination.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> David Bebbington's four-fold characteristics of evangelicalism are generally recognized as the most helpful description of evangelical identity: Biblicism, Conversionism, Activism and Crucicentrism. See David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989).

<sup>77</sup> Stuart Ivison and Fred Rosser, *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada before 1820* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), pp. 57.

<sup>78</sup> See diary of Edward Manning, 24 May 1814.

<sup>79</sup> 'Circular Letter,' *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1814), pp. 5-10.

<sup>80</sup> Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon*, pp. 62. Saunders states that the future described in the circular letter sent to the churches by Edward Manning in 1814 was filled with hope 'because of the going out of missionaries to heathen lands, and the formation of societies to support them and to give general circulation to the scriptures.' Saunders, *History of the Baptists*, 169. See also *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1814), pp. 4.

The corresponding letter of 1815 to their American co-religionists contained (not surprisingly) no mention of God giving the victory to the British, but there was mention of the providential opening of doors for all Baptists to spread the gospel abroad.<sup>81</sup> That corresponding letter to the American association reveals aspects of this missionary impulse: first, the breaking of Christian bonds due to war; second, the relief that the war was ended and normal relations could resume; and third, the global mission work that they were all a part of.

We rejoice that hostilities have ceased between the nations to which we respectively belong; which was the only cause of our discontinuing our correspondence with you, during the unhappy contest in which so many precious lives have been lost. That the gracious Lord hath caused the devouring sword to be sheathed; and restored the blessings of Peace to our American continent; which will admit of our resuming our agreeable, and we trust, profitable correspondence. Dear Brethren, it is a matter of great joy to us, that the gracious Lord hath put it into the hearts of so many of all orders of society in great Britain, and the other nations of Europe, &c. &c. &c. And that the dire calamities of war in Europe and elsewhere do not in the least, (upon the large scale) impede the progress of those Benevolent Institutions: But that all things that transpire in the Kingdom of Divine Providence, manifestly tend to open the door very wide for the word of our Lord to be published to all nations under Heaven, in their own tongues, wherein they were born. We likewise rejoice to find that our America Brethren shew themselves remarkably spirited in forming so many societies for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, and the strenuous exertions they are daily making; together with the united efforts of their Brethren, in other parts of the world promise under God to introduce

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<sup>81</sup> Commentary in the *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* indicates that this sentiment was shared by their fellow Baptists across the border. The *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* reported on the concern that Baptist Missionary Society had expressed at the beginning of the war regarding the impact of the war in missions. See *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 3 (December 1812), pp. 219-223. At the end of the war, relief was expressed due to what it meant for missions. One article read: 'The return of Peace opens again those vast fields for missionary labour, from which we had been excluded by the terrors of war; and we confidently hope and expect, that it will also increase our means of sending the Gospel to the poor and destitute, wherever they may be found throughout our land. The return of Peace relieves us of another difficulty respecting our India mission. Our brethren can now go and return in safety.' See Editor, 'Return of Peace,' *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 4 (March 1815), pp. 159.

the latter day's Glory. Their zeal in the end, will we doubt not, give the American Brethren a distinguished rank among the host of nations....We entreat that you may strive together with us in our prayers for us, for the Israel of God, and for the whole world that lieth in wickedness – that we may all be enabled to pray as our blessed Lord taught his Disciples to pray in substance; but particularly that short petition, 'they kingdom come,' Amen – so pray your unworthy Brethren in Christ.<sup>82</sup>

It was this commitment to the development of a larger kingdom – one that transcended national boundaries – that was powerful ideological motivation for the rapid reinstatement of relations after the war. And it was this commitment to a grand global enterprise that made the war between the United States and Britain seem - by comparison - immaterial.

The missionary spirit continued into the following years. The 1816 circular letter, as Baptist historian Saunders states, was 'highly seasoned with the spirit of missions,'<sup>83</sup> and was replete with calls for 'a shilling, a dollar, a guinea, a doubloon, or a hundred dollars annually (if they were able)' to support missions in order to 'wrest poor sinners from eternal woe and misery.'<sup>84</sup> The war had not diminished the passion for missions, in fact, its ending was deemed to have opened exciting new opportunities.

## Conclusion

While a number of factors in the Maritimes contributed to an open border and relatively friendly wartime cross-border relationships, this research focuses on an important ideological reason for the cordial cross-border Baptist relationships. It argues that the ideological underpinnings of the lack of rancor between wartime Baptists was the conviction that Nova Scotian, New Brunswick and New England Baptists – regardless of national or imperial loyalties – were members of one large spiritual family that would someday be united in the 'Great Association Above.' Maritime Baptist devotion to a radical evangelicalism that was often otherworldly and unconcerned with secular affairs meant that their spiritual identity in that 'Great Association' trumped all temporal identities, and loyalty to that otherworldly association transcended earthly loyalties. The primary task of

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<sup>82</sup> *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1815), pp. 11-12.

<sup>83</sup> See Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, pp. 169.

<sup>84</sup> 'Circular Letter,' *Minutes of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptist Association* (1816), pp. 10.

this transnational spiritual family was to spread the gospel and build the church, and the war between the United States and British Empire was deemed to be an unfortunate interruption.

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