

Canada) aurait permis à l'auteur de mieux situer la population et de dégager certains de ses traits spécifiques. Les structures démographiques de Louisbourg diffèrent-elles de celles des populations maritimes de l'Europe, généralement caractérisées par une forte mortalité masculine liée aux accidents maritimes, une rupture précoce des mariages, une réduction de la taille de la famille et une stagnation de la population (Cabantous). Ou bien se rapprochent-elles davantage du modèle colonial canadien marqué par des mariages précoces surtout chez les filles, une mortalité infantile réduite, un taux de fécondité élevé et une croissance rapide de la population (Henripin, Charbonneau, Légaré).

On peut regretter que l'auteur n'ait pas approfondi l'étude de la religion et des croyances populaires, de même que celle de la criminalité et des contraintes sociales. Plusieurs indices laissent penser qu'il règne à Louisbourg une certaine permissivité : les tribunaux ne se montrent pas très sévères (pp. 48-54), le jeu est répandu (p. 238), la consommation de boissons alcooliques semble forte (pp. 126 et 241) et la morale sexuelle très relâchée (p. 187). S'il y a laxisme des mœurs, est-il particulier au milieu colonial, au milieu urbain, au milieu maritime ou militaire?

Mais ces quelques remarques n'ont rien de restrictif; elles ne doivent pas masquer les grandes qualités d'un livre qui a valu à son auteur le prix du Gouverneur Général — distinction rarement accordée à un historien. Il ne fait aucun doute que professeurs, étudiants et érudits trouveront là, sous une forme séduisante, un riche enseignement d'histoire maritime et d'histoire sociale.

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GORDON T. STEWART, ed. — *Documents Relating to the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1760-1791*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1982. Pp. xxxvii, 299, xxiv.

JAMES BEVERLEY and BARRY MOODY, eds. — *The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline*. Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, for Acadia Divinity College and the Baptist Historical Committee of the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, 1982. Pp. 268.

GEORGE A. RAWLYK, ed. — *The New Light Letters and Spiritual Songs, 1776-1793*. Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, for Acadia Divinity College and the Baptist Historical Committee of the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, 1983. Pp. xxi, 361.

The religious revivals which took place in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, during the later decades of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, have an established place in the Canadian historiography of the period. While the number of scholars who have given detailed attention to these movements is not large, the products of their work have been deservedly influential in shaping our perceptions of the early development of the Maritime region during the phase of repopulation after the expulsion of the Acadians. The ground-breaking studies of Maurice W. Armstrong and S. D. Clark, published during the late 1940s, together with a comparative perspective arising from the historiography of the Great Awakening in New England, provided the basis for reassessments during the 1970s by historians including J. M. Bumsted, G. A. Rawlyk, and Gordon T. Stewart. Important questions were raised, especially concerning the complex relationship between evangelical individualism and social change. All could agree that the direct concern of those who led religious revivals was with the salvation of individual souls and not with the implementation of any social programme. Yet all could agree conversely that the historian could not be

content with a purely individualist interpretation, but had also the responsibility of searching out the wider social significance of these movements that typically involved large numbers of converts in certain communities.

More difficult to define, however, was the exact nature of that social significance. Were religious revivals powerful convulsions that led, regardless of professed individualism, to changed social and political attitudes? Stewart and Rawlyk argued in *A People Highly Favoured of God: The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972) that the preaching of the evangelist Henry Alline to the "Yankee" settlers of Nova Scotia assisted in the resolution of a collective identity crisis, brought about by the settlers' divided loyalties at the time of the American Revolution, by convincing them of their superiority and uniqueness as Nova Scotians and as the true heirs of the New England religious tradition at a time when New England itself had degenerated into militarism and general backsliding. Were revivals, on the other hand, events that made little difference to the existing social order but whose social significance lay in offering the historian a unique opportunity to glimpse the underlying popular passions that at other times were concealed? J. M. Bumsted's biography, *Henry Alline, 1748-1784* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), while attributing a genuinely egalitarian element to the evangelist's teachings, nevertheless insisted that Alline's deepest ideals were those of pietism and that the popular response to his preaching reflected the universal human religious impulse in a distinctive form created by the struggles and insecurities of life in a newly-resettled colony.

Given this historiographical background, it is not surprising that there should be a continuing interest in the interpretation and reinterpretation of the revival movements sometimes collectively described as "the Second Great Awakening" in the Maritime colonies during a twenty-year period extending from approximately 1790. This interest is clearly evinced in the publication of the three books under review. Although there is some overlap among these volumes of edited documents — the volume edited by Stewart contains extracts from the *Life and Journal* of Alline, which is made available in full in the edition by Beverley and Moody — in general they are complementary. All three reproduce documents that have already been known to historians, but have hitherto been accessible only in archives in Halifax or Wolfville, or in rare early published editions.

Gordon T. Stewart's *Documents Relating to the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1760-1791*, like its predecessors in the Champlain Society's principal series of publications, is a handsome book. It contains a variety of documents, including the extracts from Alline's *Life and Journal*. The centrepiece, however, covering almost 200 pages, is a collection which Stewart aptly describes as having "long been known but too little appreciated" (p. xiii): the records of the Congregational church of Jebogue in Yarmouth. The Allinite revivals can hardly be understood without a prior understanding of the Congregationalism against which Alline reacted, and in the Jebogue church records we have a detailed account of the development from 1761 onwards of the congregation whose minister, Jonathan Scott, was the evangelist's most formidable opponent. Part of the significance of the records lies in the inclusion of detailed accounts written by Scott of his debates with Alline; Scott's recollections often differ interestingly from those recorded by Alline in his *Life and Journal*. The Jebogue records then go on to deal with Scott's recurrent disputes with those members of his congregation who sympathized with the revival, until Scott departed to a church in New England in 1791. Yet the most revealing passages are those dealing with the years prior to Alline's arrival, for it is there that we find that the revival was no sudden outpouring. Within the limits set by its Calvinist theology, the Jebogue church had already experienced religious awakenings, characterized by prayer meetings in private houses as well as Sunday meetings. Furthermore, Scott had alienated powerful members of his congregation through disputes arising in part from the censures passed from time to time by the church on the behaviour of individual members. Alline's arrival in Yarmouth in 1781, therefore, must be understood in the context of circumstances that included the Jebogue congregation's prior

familiarity with a form of evangelicalism, and the existence of serious conflicts between minister and church members.

The *Great Awakening Documents* also offer other insights. The inclusion of a 1764 "return of the settlers" of Yarmouth, which includes details of family size, holdings of cleared land, and ownership of livestock, is useful in locating individuals in their socio-economic context (pp. 1-2). One could only wish for more such data, but for Yarmouth this is apparently an isolated document. The introduction provides additional comment on the social background of the revival: although holding few surprises for those familiar with Stewart's previous work, it is crisp and concise. Its examination of the early development of New England settlement in Nova Scotia, and of religious movements including the chief case study of the awakening in Yarmouth, are tightly organized and clearly delivered. Both introduction and documents give considerable detail on the Yarmouth case and suggestive observations on the religious history of the province as a whole. The Yarmouth episode was, Stewart concludes, "a moving story that gives us a glimpse into the mental and social world of farmers and fishermen in the outsettlements of Nova Scotia during the last 40 years of the eighteenth century" (p. xxxvii).

The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline, edited by James Beverley and Barry Moody, is part journal, part autobiography. Like Rawlyk's *New Light Letters and Songs*, it is part of the *Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada* series, sponsored by the Acadia Divinity College and the Baptist Historical Committee of the Atlantic region. In their brief but carefully-constructed introduction, Beverley and Moody describe Alline's *Life and Journal* as "the principal document" of the Allinite movement, and express the hope that its availability will stimulate new research on "this facet of our ideological roots" (p. 25). Whether the work is indeed the principal document of the movement is debatable. From literary and theological standpoints, claims have been advanced for the superiority of other of Alline's works, while the historical reliability of the *Life and Journal* is limited by the fact that Alline's recollection of events was, as Beverley and Moody freely admit, often self-serving (p. 23). Yet there is much in the *Life and Journal* that is revealing. The work is indispensable in any study of the psychological roots of Alline's beliefs and actions, for it contains a detailed account of childhood fears of death and suicidal impulses, which he came to blame on fear of the vengeful and capricious Calvinist God of whom he had been taught. Alline's conversion not only convinced him of the role of individual decision in determining salvation or damnation, as against the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, but also led directly to his itinerant preaching of an emotional and experiential form of religion.

While Alline often chose to emphasize the emotional exaltation that he and his listeners experienced — "some of the Christians," he wrote of one meeting at Annapolis, "were so carried away, that they were almost past speaking" (p. 193) — the *Life and Journal* inevitably refers also to the impingements of the world upon even the Christian life. The foundation of "a visible church" at Newport, N.S., in September 1776, followed the next year by the gathering of a church in Cornwallis Township which was in direct opposition to an existing Congregational church, committed Alline in future to strenuous efforts to maintain unity in the face of disputes over such issues as infant or adult baptism. The formalization of the movement also added to the bitterness of Alline's disputes with opponents such as Scott, who saw in him not only an unorthodox preacher but also the leader of a rival church organization who was "breaking through all order" (p. 84). Alline's travels exposed him to violence from hostile crowds at Windsor, and to the indifference of Halifax, which he harshly condemned as "a land of darkness" where "the people in general are almost as dark and vile as in Sodom" (pp. 153, 210). Yet on current issues of the day, Alline was less forthcoming. His views on war, for example, are not expressed in the *Life and Journal* to the same extent as in sermons and theological works, although his experience in being temporarily imprisoned aboard a New England privateer at Partridge Island in 1781 led to the terse observation that "methinks a privateer may be called a floating hell" (p. 182). Of

such social phenomena as poverty and slavery, he had little to say beyond observing that they need not be obstacles to conversion. "I have often seen in the compass of my travels," he wrote while in Falmouth in March 1781, "poor servants and slaves shouting forth the Redeemer's praise, while their masters stood in open rebellion, and rejected the simplicity of the gospel" (p. 154). From the opening affirmation that "Christ is the fountain of life" (p. 29) to the final account of Alline's death and funeral by the New Hampshire minister with whom he was staying during his final mission to New England, this is a spiritual life and must be read as such. Nevertheless, as Beverley and Moody make clear, its significance as a historical source is not confined narrowly to the elucidation of one individual's experiential faith.

The New Light Letters and Spiritual Songs, 1778-1793, edited by George A. Rawlyk, are drawn not only from the writings of Henry Alline but also from those of his spiritual successors during a period of some ten years after his death. Rawlyk's full introduction breaks new ground in its insistence upon two crucial factors operating during the middle and late 1780s to influence the working out of Alline's legacy. The first of these factors, he argues, was the successful Methodist revival inspired in the Maritime colonies by the Maryland preacher Freeborn Garrettson between 1785 and 1787, which had the paradoxical result of prompting a "New Light Baptist counter-offensive" (p. 36), which in turn succeeded largely in claiming the Allinite heritage for the Baptist denomination. Secondly, the arrival of many thousands of Loyalists in the region during the years following the conclusion of the American Revolution produced a sense of social dislocation and undermining of traditional authority, whereupon "many Nova Scotians sought a renewed sense of 'community-belonging' in order to neutralize the powerful forces of alienation then sweeping the colony" (p. 38). It was in this situation, Rawlyk suggests, that New Light Baptist preachers such as Harris Harding, Edward and James Manning, and Joseph Dimock were able with great effect to put forward their message of evangelical renewal.

The letters and songs themselves convey much spiritual urgency. Alline's hymns do not only give forceful expression to his theological tenets. They also above all give evidence of his emotional appeal to his followers, as in one hymn in which Alline looks ahead towards death: "My Soul so ravish'd in that Sea / I've lost myself and Wondering Gaze / This God is all I feel or See / I'm lost in his Meridian Blaze" (p. 235). The New Light letters convey a similar intensity. They include a few written by Alline himself, but the large majority date from the early 1790s and comprise correspondence directed to or by such evangelists as Harris Harding and Joseph Dimock. Harding's letters, written at a time when he was emerging as the leader of the "New Dispensation" movement — the wing of the New Lights that came closest to Antinomianism — are filled with descriptions of spiritual ecstasies and struggles. "The Lowing of the Milch-kine is heard in this Land", he wrote in 1791 to the father of Henry Alline, "The Angel of the Lord is riding on the White Horse thro Barrington Three are Converted, Numbers under great distress Groaning for Mercy..." (p. 159). Dimock, on the other hand, appears as a more pragmatic figure who — as we learn from extracts from his journal appended to the collection — was not above inserting into his services special prayers for "the leading man of the settlement" or for "piety and good order in society" (p. 280). Also appended, however, are four examples of the writings of critics of the evangelists, of whom Bishop Charles Inglis was clearly unimpressed by any such professions of regard for social order: the "Fanatics", he wrote in 1799, "are for Leveling every thing both sacred and civil; and this is peculiarly the case of our New Lights, who are, as far as I can learn, Democrats to a man..." (p. 312).

Rawlyk argues strongly for the value of the New Light letters and songs as evidence of the popular culture of revivalism, stating that they provide "the best available reservoir of written material dealing with religion from what has been called 'the bottom-up', from 1785 to 1820, for any group of Christians anywhere in North America" (p. 70). While that is a large claim to make, there is no doubt that this collection provides important insights

into a religious culture so strong that in some areas of the Maritimes Alline's hymns have been preserved for two hundred years purely by oral transmission. There can be no doubt either that the three documentary collections under review have a considerable combined force. Alline, his critics, his successors, and their critics are all allowed to speak for themselves in these volumes. Yet in certain significant areas, the documents are strangely inconclusive.

The opponents of Alline and of later preachers such as Harris, Dimock, and the Mannings, persistently accused them of endangering the existing order, both civil and ecclesiastical, through their excesses of enthusiasm. Such accusations, although sometimes crude and exaggerated, have often been taken seriously by historians as evidence of the social effects of revivalism, not only in the Maritime region but also in the pre-revolutionary thirteen colonies. Outside of the statements of the critics of evangelicalism, however, there is little sign to be found in the documents under review of any such social impact. This is not to say that social questions are absent. Alline's hostile accounts of Halifax give us a revealing glimpse of urban-rural tensions. His reference to slavery in the *Life and Journal*, quoted above, is complemented by other references showing black and white converts participating in the same revivals, and by Harding's contrasting of the spiritual recalcitrance of "the White-People" he had met in Shelburne with the flourishing and racially-mixed congregation of the black Baptist preacher David George (*New Light Letters and Songs*, p. 155). Also striking is the number of women who appear as participants in the revivals, a phenomenon attributed by Rawlyk to the equality and independence women might enjoy as Christian converts, to a degree not permitted by conventional roles in society at large. Although such equality may be questioned on the ground that it did not lead to the establishment of women in leadership positions in religious denominations, it should not be forgotten that it was the evangelical denominations which made the first tentative moves towards the higher education of Maritime women later in the nineteenth century.

All these examples of social issues touched upon in the documents, however, are essentially vignettes. Even the Jebogue church records, while supplying enough data to dispose of any notion that Alline's supporters in Yarmouth were drawn exclusively from the lower ranks of society, give little basis on which to differentiate the New Lights from the rest of society either by attitudes or by social status, or to place religious conversions in any well-defined social context. It is this problem that gives importance to the formulation of general interpretations based on the concept of the undermining of confidence and social stability by the pressures arising from the American Revolution and the subsequent influx of Loyalists. In general terms, such formulations are persuasive enough. To believe that the timing of the major revival movements was coincidental would strain credulity, just as it would seem impossible to accept that evangelicalism did not in some way alter the social fabric during this formative time period of the first two generations after the resettlement of Nova Scotia. The new-old character of the colony gave rise to exceptional characteristics: almost the entire population outside of Halifax and Lunenburg was newly arrived since the expulsion of the Acadians, and yet Nova Scotia can hardly be regarded as a colony carved from the wilderness. As Graeme Wynn has argued, "the Acadian adaptations to the unique Fundy environment provided a ready model for emulation by post-expulsion settlers" (Wynn, "Late Eighteenth-Century Agriculture on the Fundy Marshlands", *Acadiensis*, 8 [Spring 1979]: 81). Nova Scotia was characterized by an especially complex blend — arguably, an especially impressionable mixture — of change and continuity.

Yet how did the blend vary from locality to locality? As both Stewart and Rawlyk rightly point out in their introductions, the Maritime region in the late eighteenth century was characterized by scattered and heterogeneous settlements. Just how did the religious history of the Fundy marshland townships differ from that of the settlements on the Atlantic coast or on the Gulf of St. Lawrence? Apart from obvious differences of denominational affiliation, how did the Scottish or Scotch-Irish responses to evangelism differ from those of Yorkshire settlers or New Englanders? Important clues can be found in the documents

relating directly to the revivals, as in Alline's account in the *Life and Journal* of his mixed reception in the Ulster Presbyterian communities of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry. In assessing the clues, however, one is constantly reminded of Barry Moody's warning in the historical portion of the introduction to the *Life and Journal* that for this period "we have a very imperfect understanding of rural Nova Scotian society" (p. 12). The documentary collections under review contain basic source materials which have already prompted valuable scholarly work and are capable of sustaining more. Nevertheless, historians must guard against the assumption that further detailed exegesis of the statements of Alline, Scott, Harding, Inglis, or other contemporary participants, will in itself lead to an interpretation of the revivals that takes account of the heterogeneity not only of the settlements but also of the reactions to evangelical preaching. Even such accepted general concepts as "the Great Awakening" and "the second Great Awakening" may need reappraisal. Those terms do have the virtue of stressing the undoubted links of the Maritime revivals with those further south, and yet even in the United States the term "Great Awakening" has recently come under criticism as a "label...[that] does serious injustice to the minutiae it orders" (Jon Butler, "Enthusiasm Described and Decried: The Great Awakening as Interpretative Fiction", *Journal of American History*, 69 [September 1982]: 308). In the Maritimes, too, there are minutiae that still deserve examination, and may yet affect overall interpretations.

In the meantime, however, it is safe to say that the Maritime colonies were affected between the 1770s and the early nineteenth century by a series of religious revivals, which were intimately linked with similar movements that had previously arisen in parts of the thirteen colonies. Furthermore, as Stephen E. Marini has recently shown in his work *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982, pp. 40-43, 139-44, 158-62), the Allinite movement also played a role in stimulating later phases of evangelicalism in New England. In the Maritimes, the revivals as social movements lend themselves to general interpretation in terms of the conditions of Nova Scotia resettlement and the subsequent pressures associated with the American Revolution and its aftermath. Nevertheless, within that general framework, many local and cultural variations remain to be explored, as do the claims of the evangelists' opponents that these movements represented a threat to the established order. The volumes edited by Stewart, by Beverley and Moody, and by Rawlyk, are important in making available a variety of essential documents relating directly to the revival movements. In each case, the documents are presented by editors whose adherence to the canons of historical edition is matched by the clarity and currency of their introductions and notes. The three volumes are significant for what is said, sung and recorded in them by Henry Alline and others. Yet, in some important areas, they are also significant for what these protagonists do not say. Perhaps the editors, as authors, will build in future upon the present state of knowledge of the revivals to provide a fuller understanding of the social context in which these movements arose and flourished.

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B. C. CUTHBERTSON and JEAN PETERSON, eds. — *The Loyalist Guide. Nova Scotia Loyalists and their Documents*. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1983. Pp. 272.

This *Loyalist Guide* was prepared to mark the bicentenary of the arrival in 1783 of the bulk of the American loyalists in Nova Scotia. It lists both published and manuscript material found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Printed sources include some 433