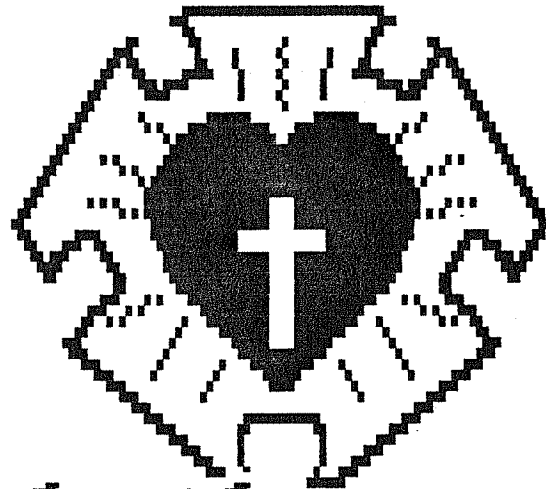


A Tale of Two Cities:

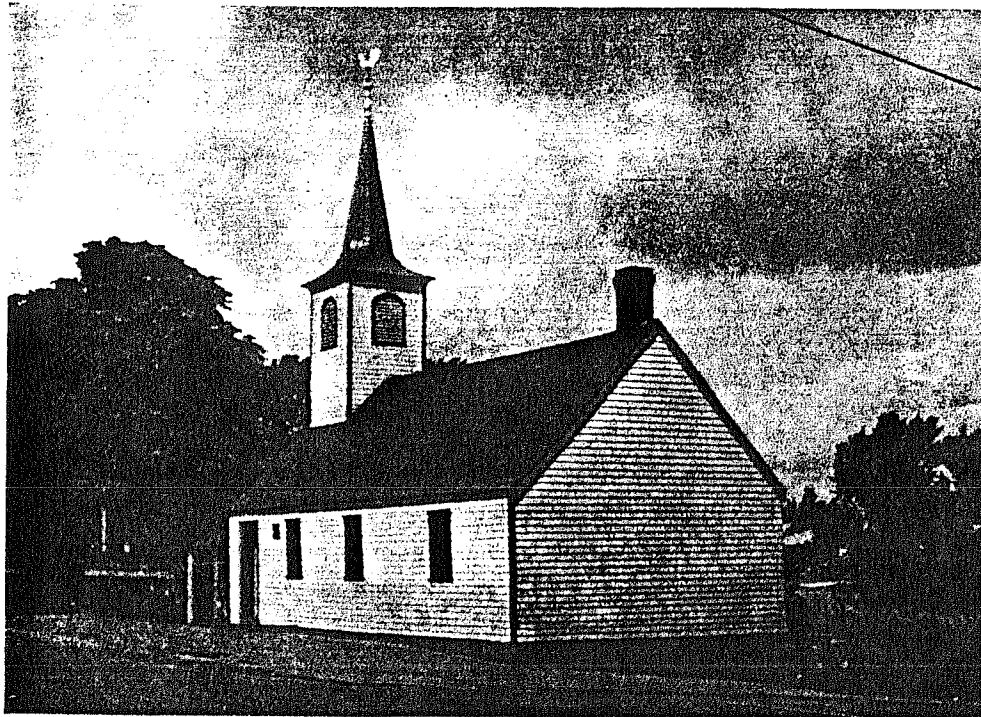
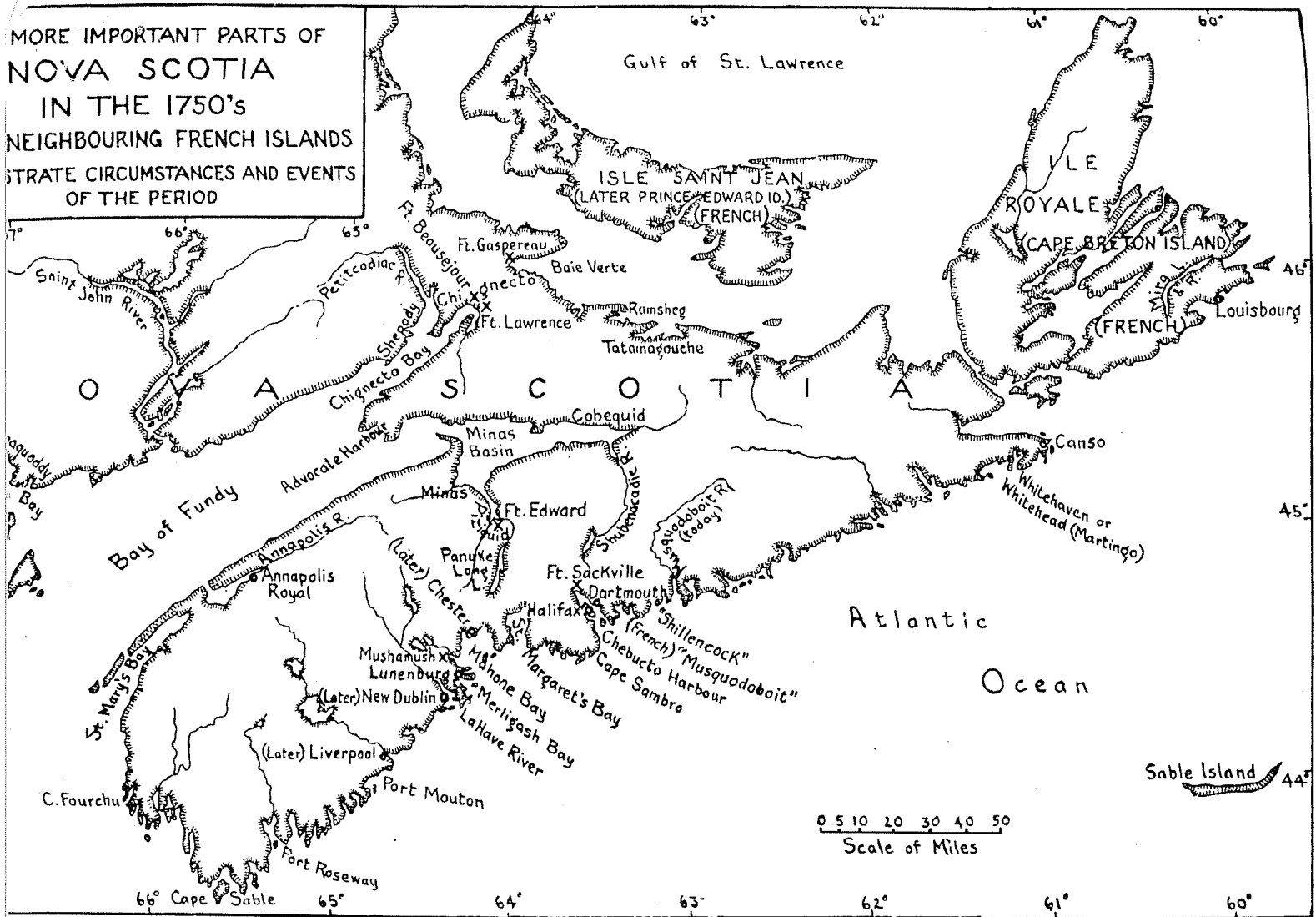


Lutheran Beginnings in Nova Scotia

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**MORE IMPORTANT PARTS OF
NOVA SCOTIA
IN THE 1750's
NEIGHBOURING FRENCH ISLANDS
STRATEGIC CIRCUMSTANCES AND EVENTS
OF THE PERIOD**



Part One

On the surface, the experiences of the first Lutherans in Nova Scotia are no different from those who settled in other parts of North America. All experienced harsh living conditions to some degree. Yet, one aspect of the history of Nova Scotia stands out. It is the degree to which the English government and the Church of England influenced the lives of the Lutherans. Perhaps no other group of settlers were subjected to such deliberate proselytizing influences. Throughout their early history, the Lutherans at Halifax and Lunenburg were shaped by constant interaction and pressure from England.

To fully understand the situation in which the first Lutherans found themselves, a brief history of the area and the politics will be helpful. Although it was Cabot of England who discovered Nova Scotia, Samuel Champlain claimed it for France in the early 1600's. The province was ignored for many years. Their major attention was focused on the rich fur trade of the Quebec region. France did practically nothing to establish her claim to Nova Scotia. One notable exception was the settlement of Acadian farmers along the Annapolis River basin.

In 1713, France was defeated in the War of the Spanish Succession. The effects of defeat were felt even across the Atlantic. "The French were ejected from the [Hudson's] bay and, more important, from Acadia and a foothold in Newfoundland by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713."¹ With a signature and a handshake, Nova Scotia became the property of Her Royal Majesty.

For Nova Scotia, nothing really changed. Britain also showed little interest in her new possession. Although as early as 1711,

there was some talk of attempting to populate Nova Scotia. Colonel Samuel Vetch, the first governor of Annapolis Royal in a rather prophetic letter to the Lords of Trades and Plantations, offered this suggestion:

What I am now to say is, in my humble opinion, the most effectual and easy way to make this a populous and flourishing country. The first is that your Lordships would be pleased to advise Her Majesty to give as an encouragement to all her Protestant subjects of Britain and Ireland who are willing to come over and settle in the country, free transportation, tools and a 12 month subsistence, as she was pleased to do with the Palatines in New York.²

Nothing came of his suggestion.

As the years went by, the political winds began to blow more strongly on the North American continent. Across the Atlantic, the War of the Austrian Succession broke out. In America, France and England were locked in a struggle for control in the new land. For her part, France built a string of forts from Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, down along the St Lawrence River, inland to the Great Lakes and the Ohio River Valley. English settlers were understandably concerned about this French presence at their very doorstep. To counter this threat, the decision was made in London to establish a naval base on Nova Scotia. This decision brings us to the year 1749 and the founding of Halifax.

Part Two

England needed to counter the French expansion in the new world. Her best defense, it was felt, was to aggressively assert her influence in Nova Scotia. England's plan was to do more than simply establish a new naval base in Nova Scotia. She intended to establish at least six cities, and to populate the province with loyal subjects of the crown as a buffer against the French.

With the decision to establish a settlement on the Atlantic

coast of Nova Scotia, Great Britain was embarking on an untried course. Elsewhere in the new world, settlement primarily had been carried out as an exercise in free enterprise. Individuals formed companies, and obtained the rights to settle and exploit an area, e.g. William Penn and Pennsylvania. In Nova Scotia, England determined to handle the entire enterprise herself. Responsibility for the project was given to the Lords of Trades and Plantations. And as it turned out, this was one of the most carefully directed and supervised of all the British schemes of colonization. Which is not to say it was her most successful effort.

Even as the details for the settlement were being worked out, the question of finding settlers came to the fore. When in 1748, King George's War came to a close, returning soldiers seemed to be the natural choice. The first recruitment campaigns hoped to attract large groups of ex-soldiers. The standard offer was free land and the promise of government subsistence for the first year. As we shall see, the campaigns met with mixed results.

Eventually arrangements were made and carried out. The first settlers arrived at Chebucto Harbor [see map] in late June of 1749. "Some 2576 people were on the 13 vessels, probably more than 500 being officers and crew." The townsite was chosen and work began immediately on fortifications for Halifax. Governor Cornwallis soon discovered that his settlers were ill-suited to the job at hand. They were more interested in receiving a free ride for a year than they were in carving a home out of the wilderness. Missionary William Tutty, in his first report to the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), was not enthused about the population of Halifax. They were:

The lower sort, who were in general a sett of most abandon'd wretches...so deeply sunk into almost all kinds of Immorality as to scarce retain the shadow of religion. ⁴

Another resident of Halifax wrote home with this observation:

The business of one half of the town appears to be to make rum, of the other half to drink it, from this our morals may be judged, and infer that we are not enthusiastic in religion. ⁵

With winter of 1749 approaching, the residents had no choice but to work and put up some type of shelter. Those who were able, erected crude log shelters that could hardly be called cabins. Few settlers had any experience building with the rough materials available. Many simply resigned themselves to wintering in tents.

This was the fate of one notable group of latecomers. London newspapers reported a number of German Protestants still in London near the end of July:

London, Saturday July 1, 1749 'Three vessels came up the river with about 300 German Protestants who were ordered to remain at Lambeth and Vauxhall till they can be conveniently shipped to Nova Scotia.'⁶

London, Friday 21st July, 1749 'A great number of German Protestants from the Palatinate attended the Baron Munchausen, Chief Secretary for Hanover with a petition soliciting a passage to Nova Scotia.'⁷

No explanation was given for the delay. But as a result of their late start, these first German Protestants did not arrive until late in September or early October. Their late arrival caused no small problem for the government there. Cornwallis said:

All I could do was to build boarded barracks for them. They must be sustained by Gov't until they are capable of raising something of their own; most of them are poor and wretched, and have scarce a farthing of money among them.⁸

They were not happy campers. But their situation was hardly worse than the rest of the settlers. One observer noted that things were tough all over that first winter:

Many unfortunate People died of Cold the first Winter after the Settlement. This indeed may be imputed to the Want of Houses, which only as such as could build were able to obtain; and to see the vast Flakes of Snow lying about the Tents of those who had been accustomed to warm fires about Newcastle and London was enough to move the Heart of Stone.⁹

At the conclusion of 1749, it seemed England's bold plan for Nova Scotia was off to an inauspicious start.

Part Three

Although we know little about the small band of Lutherans who struggled through that first winter at Halifax, we do know it was only the beginning. This was only the first trickle of what the Lords of Trades and Plantations clearly hoped would be a flood of "Foreign Protestants" into Nova Scotia. This is plain from many early records. And at the time it made sense.

For years, Germans had been streaming into Pennsylvania. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts echoed the earlier suggestion made by Colonel Vetch:

As great a Number as can be had from the Protestant Swiss Cantons, Palatines and other Northern parts of Germany which have increased Pennsylvania within the past 20 years with perhaps 100,000 inhabitants, and who are all good settlers, should have due Encouragement to transport themselves into the province.¹⁰

Add to that the mind set of that time which was averse to any emigration from England which might deplete their source of cheap labor. Christopher Kilby, British agent for the colony of Massachusetts, wrote to the commissioners in 1744 that, "Nova Scotia may be peopled to any extent without taking off the industrious poor from hence".¹¹ As soon as the war was over he was confident it would be possible to get thousands from the continent of Europe, who would be "glad to remove from the scene of their distress, and will be the best settlers in that country."¹²

Cornwallis himself, after seeing how poorly the veteran soldiers and other settlers were working out, wrote to the commissioners already in March of 1750:

Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to hear that your Lordships have fallen upon some means of sending over German and other foreign Protestants. ¹³

Perhaps a note is in order here. One finds the term "Foreign Protestant" used frequently in the original correspondence. This term included Swiss and French Montbeliard Lutherans, as well as Reformed. The majority, however, were Lutherans from a number of German states.

Simply stated then, England wanted and needed German Lutherans to settle Nova Scotia. Many Germans wanted a way out of their country. This was still especially true of the Palatine region. Mutual need then formed the basis for a partnership between England and the Germans who found their way to Nova Scotia. It also serves as partial explanation for the influence which the country and the church exerted once they were settled.

With this plan in mind, the Board contracted John Dick to act as their agent in the German areas. As was the practice of the day, Dick was to recruit settlers for Nova Scotia and arrange their transportation. To that end, the commissioners provided Dick with money, and a slightly optimistic description of the promised land. This handout was distributed throughout Germany:

The Climate is as healthy, and the Soil as Rich and fertile as any other of the British colonies, affording, when cultivated, all the Comforts and Conveniences of Life. That the Seacoast abounds with Fish in greater plenty and variety than any other part of America and is peculiarly adapted to Commerce and Navigation...That the Inland Parts are very proper for the cultivation and Produce of Grain, Hemp, Flax and all other Commodities that are to be found or produced in other parts of America...that the said Settlers have had constant Supplies of fresh provisions from the French

Inhabitants...and whose Farms produce Corn and Cattle in great Abundance.¹⁴

As added incentives to those willing to become loyal subjects of His British Majesty, Dick was able to offer:

To each a grant of fifty acres of land, free of quit rents and taxes for ten years, and thereafter not more than one shilling per annum for any fifty acres so granted...They shall be furnished with Arms and Ammunition as far as will be judged necessary, with a proper Quantity of Materials and Utensils for Husbandry, clearing and cultivating their Lands, erecting Habitations, carrying on the Fishery, and such other Purposes as shall be necessary for their Support.¹⁵

Finally they were offered the ability to pay off the cost of their trip with a period of indenture that appears to have been almost 1/4 the time they might have faced in southern colonies.

Despite all the incentives, people were slow to accept the offer. They were leery about moving to an unknown region. In addition Dick was a newcomer to the recruitment game. He had to overcome the desolate picture of Nova Scotia painted by his competitors. As a result, he had trouble coming up with sufficient numbers of prospective settlers to satisfy the Board. As a result he appears to have recruited an unusually high number of aged and destitute individuals, of whom many died on the voyage over.

Nevertheless, by late Spring of 1750, a sufficient number of people were assembled for the trip west. Three ships, the Ann, the Alderney, and the Nancy set sail in late June and early July. The Alderney arrived first on the 24th of August. She was the first of at least twelve ships which carried foreign protestants to Halifax between 1750 and 1752. Over 2000 people made the voyage. Several hundred died en route. After 1752, the high cost of maintaining their new colony forced the Board to postpone future emigration. England's grand vision of six flourishing settlements was replaced

by the reality of life in Nova Scotia.

Part Four

Every aspect of the settlement of Nova Scotia had been carefully planned. These plans also included provisions for the spiritual care of the settlers. Early in the planning process a letter was addressed by the Lords of Trade and Plantations to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dated April 6, 1749, recommending the Society:

To appoint ministers and school masters for the new settlement at Chebucto, and for such other townships or settlements as should from time to time be formed in Nova Scotia.¹⁶

This seemed a good idea to the Society. They made provisions to send six clergymen and six schoolmasters when the settlements were formed. The first missionaries appointed under this arrangement were Reverend William Tutty of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and the Reverend Mr Anwyll who both came out with the settlers in June 1749. A certain Jean Baptiste Moreau also arrived with the first settlers and shortly returned to England to be ordained for work in the province.

Which was all well and good, if you happened to be an Englishman of the Anglican persuasion. After the first year, this was not true of the majority of settlers. German Lutherans found themselves in something of a bind. They were without a pastor or the means to support one. Although several individuals were listed on ships' rosters as German clergy, none ever appeared on the Halifax victualing lists. They apparently died before reaching Nova Scotia.

In addition, the Germans who emigrated were extremely poor and were dependent upon the government for everything. They could

not begin to support a pastor on their own. Add to that the general shortage of Lutheran pastors in North America in general, and you have a difficult situation.

In 1753, according to plan, the majority of the Lutheran population was transplanted some 50 miles down the coast. They were ferried to a site on Merligash Bay which was eventually named Lunenburg. Many Lutherans remained in Halifax, and from this time on, their fortunes and history take quite different turns. Each congregation handled the problem of finding a suitable pastor differently. We will take up the story of the Halifax Lutherans first.

Part Five

It is in connection with the Lutherans in Halifax that we can see most clearly the influence of the Church of England. Although many writers ridicule the idea of sheep stealing on the part of the Anglican clergy, it was the official policy. A circular letter sent to all Bishops outlined the conditions to which a missionary must agree to before being sent out. One condition was:

That they frequently visit their respective Parishioners;... those that oppose us, or dissent from us, to convince and reclaim them with a Spirit of Meekness and Gentleness.¹⁷

These instructions were taken to heart by the Halifax men. At the same time, the Lutherans had neither the resources nor the inclination to refuse the help given by the SPG men. Certainly they were not coerced or pressured to accept help as has been asserted by some. This most notably by pastor and historian D. Luther Roth.

Until the summer of 1753, all the Lutherans were together. In June of that year the larger portion moved to a separate

village, leaving only a handful of Lutherans in Halifax. Until that time, the Germans received assorted ministerial help. In 1750 the Reverend Peter Christian Burger, arrived with the Swiss on the Alderney. Reverend Tutty in a report to the SPG noted that for nearly a year after:

Reverend Peter Christian Burger...minister of the German Swiss foreigners in Nova Scotia...carefully and diligently attended his people, much to their edification.^{1a}

The first Lutheran services in Nova Scotia then were carried out by Burger in his own home.

His presence was not a total blessing however. Within a very short time Burger was working under the auspices of the Church of England, no doubt in order to have some means of support. Tutty stated in a separate report:

I have administered the Holy Sacrament in High Dutch to the Palatines 3 several times...Mr Burger was of great help to me in this. He translated the Common Service for me, and taught me to pronounce it not only intelligently but as well...as a tongue long used to the comparative smoothness of the English tongue, can be supposed to fall into the guttural roughness of the German.^{1a}

Already at this early date, the Lutherans were willing to receive communion according to the Common Service of the Church of England from an Anglican priest.

They were also willing to support Burger as an ordained priest in the English Church. On August 3, 1751, Tutty wrote a revealing letter to the SPG:

Recommending Mr Christian Burger to the favour of the Society for Holy Orders and to be employed as a Missionary to the Germans in Nova Scotia. He had been ordained in Holland but prefers Episcopal Ordination as the only true and regular one and has taken great pains to reconcile his people to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in consequence whereof they have constantly received the Sacrament by means of my Ministrations.^{2a}

Burger was ordained, but he never returned to fulfill his mission.

He was lost at sea on the return passage from England sometime after February of 1752.

In spite of their actions, the Germans were hardly ready to give themselves over completely to the church of England. In fact, October 1752 also marks the year that the Halifax Lutherans officially organized themselves into a separate congregation called St George's. Despite receiving communion regularly from the Anglican priests, and on several occasions having them in as guest preachers, they certainly still considered themselves to be good Lutherans.

After the death of Burger, they called upon the services of a young man known only as T. Schumacher, whose occupation was listed on the ship's record as Candidate of Theology. A parishioner's letter gives some details:

During this time some of those of our faith took steps to arrange for services in a dwelling house. There was also a preacher who had come from Germany who preached and expounded the Word of God to us, but he was not installed because he had no proper calling.²¹

The small congregation soon lost his services also. Already in the earliest records, his property is reported as being up for sale. No further mention is made of Schumacher.

Throughout this time, the congregation was actively seeking a regular trained Lutheran pastor. Their search met with little success. It was presumably in response to an appeal from the settlers that five German pastors in London memorialized the Board to secure a German speaking Lutheran pastor. And if such an individual were to be found at Halle, they also hoped that the government would provide him with passage and support him once there.

On March 29, 1754, the Lords of Trade and Plantations wrote to one of the pastors with the news that Parliament had granted an annual stipend of seventy pounds for such a pastor. They also directed those who made the request to take responsibility for procuring and sending out:

*A proper person to officiate as Minister to the Foreign Protestants in Nova Scotia, taking care that he is of good Life and Morals, and of Principles well affected to His Majesty and His Government.*²²

For reasons unknown, the post was never filled. Year after year Parliament set aside funds for a German speaking pastor to care for the congregation at Halifax. And every year they were left in want. One can only imagine the feeling of desertion and isolation this little band of Germans felt in the midst of an overwhelming population of English speaking Anglicans.

As the years went by, the congregation tried to continue its high wire balancing act between Lutheranism and the Church of England. Whenever it was convenient, one of Tutty's successors, Reverend John Breynton or Reverend Thomas Wood administered the Sacrament and delivered a sermon. Breynton especially made himself available for baptisms, weddings and funerals. The congregational minutes duly recorded each event, noting that a present was always made to "*Herr Prediger*"²³

At the same time as they sought and accepted the services of a John Breynton, they adopted rules to govern his presence in their midst. This is just one example of the congregation's attempt to theologically ride the fence. Drawn up in 1761, they stated:

The Elder shall preside [at the service], even though a minister shall be present, and that even if there should be a minister, he shall undertake nothing of himself without the

*concurrence of the Elder and Church Wardens.*²⁴

From our vantage point, it may seem a feeble effort at maintaining orthodoxy. But given their situation, one can at least be sympathetic.

Without a Lutheran pastor of their own, it was inevitable perhaps, that the congregation would lose its Lutheran identity and become attached to the Church of England. Especially with the SPG missionaries doing whatever they could to foster that attachment. It seemed for a time in 1783, with the arrival of Bernard Michael Houseal, that the situation might improve. It actually was the beginning of the end.

Houseal was born in 1727 at Heilbronn, Wurtemberg, and received his education at the University of Tubingen. Houseal's early years are really quite fascinating. For our purposes though, it is enough to say that in 1770 he held the post of Senior Minister of the Lutheran Church in New York City.

As the war swept the country, Houseal strongly espoused the cause of the King, and missed no opportunity to denounce the revolutionaries. He soon developed warm ties with clergy of the Church of England who naturally took a firm stand also. At war's end, America became an unfriendly place for Loyalists such as Houseal. So with thousands of other Loyalists, Houseal moved to Halifax, along with most of his congregation.

Here Houseal enters the scene at St George's. Here at last, they thought, was an educated, well bred pastor who could minister to them in their own tongue. And a native of the Fatherland, no less. But who would pay him? There was the rub! Even at this point in time, some thirty years after Halifax was founded, the

people were too poor to support a pastor.

The congregation thus had to decide, should they turn to the SPG for help as they had been doing for so many years? If they did that, they were bound to accept the SPG stipulation that a missionary from them would have to be a regularly ordained Anglican priest. Apparently no move was made to have Parliament fund a Lutheran pastor as had been offered in the past. Perhaps the offer had long since been withdrawn. The congregation had to decide, were they Lutheran or Anglican?

On October 30, 1784, the decision was made to submit a petition to the SPG asking them to appoint Mr Houseal as their Missionary. Portions of this petition are recorded below:

The Petition of the German Church of St George, in communion with the Church of England in Halifax, Nova Scotia most respectfully showeth: ...Being from their numbers, as well as circumstances, incapable of affording a sufficient living for a Clergyman, have for these eighteen past, only enjoyed the benefit of having the Service of the Church and a Sermon read to them by a German Reader; and the Revd Dr Breynton, Rector of St Paul's here, was kind enough occasionally to administer the Lord's Supper to those who could take it in English. That they have now as their Officiating Minister to the above Church, the Rev Bernard Michael Houseal, who preaches to them in German, in the Communion of the Church of England, to general Satisfaction and Edification...Your Petitioners humbly pray that your Illustrious Society will take the Infant State of the Church, as well as the situation and circumstances of the Rev Mr Houseal into your serious consideration, and grant him such an allowance as to your Wisdom shall deem meet.²⁵

With this step, the decision was final. They would throw in their lot with the Church of England. Notice it was a step willingly taken with full knowledge of the implications. For them it was a matter of expediency. And Houseal was more than willing to accept ordination from the Church of England.

Various concerns over property rights kept the matter from being settled completely until 1827. For our discussion, this

chapter of Lutheran history may be closed. One can only speculate on what might have occurred if the position offered by Parliament had been filled, or if one of the other German mission societies had been able to send a man. Regardless, the first Lutheran congregation in Nova Scotia went the way of so many others and was embraced by the open arms of the Church of England.

Part Six

We now turn our attention to the bulk of the German population, which was transported to Merligash Bay for permanent settlement. Immediately a different spirit may be seen. And this spirit continues through their long history. Zion congregation formed at Lunenburg, is the oldest Lutheran Church in Canada, with a continuous history up until the present day.

Early on the morning of Tuesday, May 29, 1753, those who were scheduled to leave Halifax on the first ships were mustered. By the seventeenth of June all settlers had been transported to the new townsite. That very day they petitioned Charles Lawrence, who was in charge of the settlement, to have the day to themselves for worship. He agreed and "the service was read for the first time at Lunenburg by Reverend Jean Baptiste Moreau."²⁶ Baptiste was the SPG missionary to Lunenburg.

He continued to preach to the Germans throughout the summer of 1753 out of doors. At first it appeared that the congregation at Lunenburg might suffer the same fate as the congregation in Halifax. Yet, there were several important differences which favored the Lunenburgers. Isolated from Halifax, they were sheltered from the strongest influences of the Church of England. They had strength in numbers. The victualing list for 1754

included some 1,995 settlers. While that number included some Reformed, some French Lutherans, the majority were German Lutheran. By contrast, only fifteen German families had remained in Halifax.

Finally, the Germans in Halifax seemed to have developed some attachments in town which made them more favorably disposed to the English. This also may have influenced their decision to stay. Such was definitely not the case at Lunenburg. Several incidents made it clear that the Germans were rather skeptical about the intentions of their English patrons.

On the whole, Lunenburg was a fine area for settlement. It was the site of some of the only fertile soil in the area. Several hundred acres had already been cleared by previous French settlers. According to the Halifax Gazette of June 16, 1753, "It is fine open Country, the Soil exceeding good, the Grass almost as high as a Man's knees, the Fruit Trees all in bloom etc."²⁷

Despite the good press, there was a very real danger of Indian attack in this area. French priests were doing their very best to stir up the Micmac Indians, and were quite successful. Lawrence therefore was understandably eager to fortify the town with blockhouses and picket palisades as had been done at Halifax. Quite often he was frustrated by the settler's attitude. Requests for help were ignored, while they labored on their own homes. The people were also becoming impatient. They wanted the land which had been promised to them so they could start farming. By September only a "Plan of Thirty Acre Farm Lotts of Land contiguous to the Town of Lunenburg to be given to the settlers there,"²⁸ had been drawn up.

Bad feelings came to a head late in the fall. Rumors surfaced about a letter containing information about the provisions and building materials the settlers were receiving. The charge was made that not all food and material promised to the settlers was being released to them. A small riot ensued and it was found necessary to send a Colonel Monkton from Halifax with a body of regular troops to suppress the riots.

As it turned out, the letter was a hoax. The mischief was the work of one Mr Hoffman who was taken to Halifax, fined and imprisoned. Overall it was a relatively minor incident, but it was indicative of the attitude held by the settlers at Lunenburg. They had been induced to emigrate by a number of promises, which to their mind had not been fulfilled. Chronic shortages, epidemics, Indian attacks all did little to improve the German's outlook on life. It also did little to improve their view of the English, who they certainly held responsible for their situation.

Part Seven

Despite evidence of ill will, the Lunenburgers seemed destined to duplicate the experiences of the Halifax congregation. Many of the pressures and influences were the same. From the very first day they were willing to accept the services of Moreau, provided and paid for from Anglican sources. He was a diligent worker with a good working knowledge of German. But he also had the desire to bring the Lutherans back into the fold of the English church.

This desire was shared by Lawrence who thought religious differences were a great threat to the well being of the province. He felt that if the people were offered, "Anglican rites and

teaching by a man of good Life and Understanding,"²⁹ they would soon become united with the Church of England. Obviously not a student of church history or he would have known a common service does not a union make.

Still, during the first years in a spirit of cooperation did exist. All hands pitched in to erect a church building. Moreau did what he could to foster this attitude and effort. In a letter to Cornwallis' successor dated August 8, 1753 Moreau said:

I am desired by the body of the people to move Your Excellence for boards and nails for putting up some kind of fabric wherein they may have divine Service. The labour (being devoutly disposed) they say they will cheerfully give. In this I must own, I wish they were indulged; for although they are unrighteous enough in other respects, yet in their public worship they seem serious and decent.³⁰

Material was supplied and work began very slowly on the structure.

It is not altogether certain who is included in the "body of people." It appears to have been comprised mostly of individuals who were in conformity with the Church of England. Though others evidently helped and made use of this building. This building eventually became the home of St John's Anglican Church.

This incident points out one difficulty in tracing the early history of the Lunenburgers. Few records have come down to us from Lutherans themselves for the first few years. We are thus heavily dependent on Moreau's reports to the SPG, which are often somewhat misleading.

For a time, Moreau was conducting three services every Sunday for all the settlers. Once in French, once in German, and once for the English speaking. Eventually his congregation of Anglicans grew, and with it his responsibilities. Apparently the entire population of French protestants had converted. The SPG book of

reports states that:

His congregation was increased...by the arrival from Montbelliard of '500 Protestants of the Confession of Augsburg,' who conformed to the Church, receiving with the greatest satisfaction, copies of the Book of Common Prayer in French, kissing his hand and the books for joy.³¹

The remaining German Lutherans were feeling the need therefore to have a pastor of their own. Or at the very least a schoolteacher, as they felt their children were growing up wild without the proper training. In 1760, some action was taken. The Lutheran body had channeled a request through the government for a German speaking pastor of their own. Lawrence, who was now Governor of the province, was agreeable. It was his feeling that such a pastor might reside at Lunenburg and also serve the congregation at Halifax.

It is interesting to note that while the Halifax congregation had specifically asked the SPG for help, the Lunenburgers only specified a German speaking pastor. They were only following good order in asking the governor to operate on their behalf. They were not at this time looking to the SPG for help. Lawrence took it upon himself to channel that request through the Society. Another example of the subtle influences brought to bear on the Lutherans.

The post was quickly filled by the Reverend Mr Vincent. The new Governor Belcher expressed high hopes for the new man in a letter to the secretaries of the SPG. He hoped that Vincent:

Will fully answer all the expectations of the Society and this Government by perfectly conciliating these Foreigners and their Descendants to every branch of our Constitution, both in Church and State. That his residence there will be attended with the happy effect of training up the large generation of children on the principles of our Established Religion and in drawing off many of their parents from the errors of their Persuasion.³²

It did not turn out that way.

Vincent's stay at Lunenburg had just the opposite effect. In fact, he did as much as anyone to harden the Lutherans to the Anglican church. He did not speak German and he made it quite clear he had no intentions of learning the language. He was insistent upon educating the children in the ways of the Church of England, and in English. This caused an uproar among the Germans. Before more damage could be done to the Anglican cause, Vincent passed away.

The Lutherans then resumed their practice of gathering in private homes and worshipping there. We have no record of what took place at these meetings. Although it is probably safe to assume their experiences were similar to the Halifax congregation, with the schoolmaster or an elder reading from a book of sermons.

Meanwhile, the government continued to concern itself with securing a suitable pastor for the Germans. It seemed they had found a perfect in Paul Bryzelius. He had originally come to America as a Moravian missionary. He was soon befriended by H. M. Muhlenberg who convinced him of his error, and led him into service of the Lutheran church. Some time later he was contacted with an offer to serve the Lutherans of Lunenburg, as a missionary of the SPG. And we know what that meant.

He accepted, and on February 20, 1767, the SPG had the, "pleasure to inform the Publick, that the Reverend Mr Bryzelius, qualified to officiate in both languages, is now appointed to the Mission of Lunenburg, in the room of Mr Vincent."³³

Bryzelius finally arrived on December 8, 1767 when he took up his charge in earnest. Initial reaction was quite favorable. Andreas Jung, a member of the congregation and historian reported

happily that they had worshipped, "Nach unsere Evangelische Lutheranischen Art und Weise wie es bey uns in unsere Kirchen gehalten wird."²⁴ They seemingly had pulled off a nifty trick. They had been given a Lutheran pastor, and the SPG was picking up the tab.

Their excitement did not last however. The very next year they were treated to an Easter service in which he followed precisely the Anglican ritual. Roth later pointed to this incident as an example of the treachery of the Anglican church and its underhanded dealings with the Lutherans. In reality, it was the clearly stated policy of the SPG at work. Missionaries for the Society were held to be faithful to the Church of England.

The first year Bryzelius was present, he used the German materials at hand to conduct services. When Anglican materials in German were sent the next year, he followed the "proper" order of service. Thus the presence of false hopes surrounding the new pastor. When Bryzelius' true colors began to show, the congregation objected. They also were forced to make a decision. To their credit, they rejected Bryzelius as their pastor. They also turned their backs on the SPG and determined to go it alone.

The decision was made to build their own church, and find an orthodox pastor without help from the English government or the SPG. The English magistrate was quite upset at this news, and demanded to know why Bryzelius was unsuitable. The only reply was, "In the holy communion we receive under the bread and wine the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."²⁵

With this confessional conviction, the congregation wrote to Muhlenberg, asking for help in securing a pastor. They were

disappointed going this route for a number of reasons. Muhlenberg was a friend of Bryzelius. He also was sympathetic to the Anglican cause, and also felt strongly about proper channels. Rather than answer their letters, he replied instead to Bryzelius who apparently did not share the contents with the congregation.

Receiving no reply from Muhlenberg, the congregation shifted its attention to another pastor. A certain Mr Umstatt from the congregation moved to New York. He was given authority by the congregation to find a pastor for the congregation. Eventually this came to the attention of a Pastor Gerock of Christ's Church in New York. In August of 1770, he wrote that he would be willing to attempt to find a pastor for them. He included in the letter guidelines for a call which they could personalize and send back.

It is interesting to note the promises made by the congregation for the support of a pastor. Several are listed:

1. *L50 Halifax currency per annum: a pound to be reckoned at four Spanish dollars.*
2. *Forty bushels of grain: half rye and half barley.*
3. *A commodious and comfortable parsonage, free of rent.*
4. *Twenty cords of good firewood delivered at the house.*
5. *The perquisites shall be discussed and verbally agreed upon.*
6. *The expenses of moving and traveling we agree faithfully to pay.³⁶*

In spite of the tempting offer, Gerock was not able to find a willing candidate. A major obstacle was the reluctance of many congregations in the southern colonies to part with their own pastor.

In October 1771, Muhlenberg finally penned a reply directly to the congregation. He was apparently satisfied that their motives for wanting another pastor were genuine and pure. He promised to help in their search as long as they did not:

On this account despise the English Mother or High Church, and her ministers and missionaries must be held in just and proper esteem...There can be no suspicion that you are trying to originate a new sect...because our Evangelical Lutheran Church is the nearest relative to the English Mother or High Church. If we are to interest ourselves in your behalf, it must be done openly and with the knowledge of the kind authorities.³⁷

With those warnings, Muhlenberg's aid was enlisted.

A flurry of letters passed between the Lunenburgers, Muhlenberg and Gerock while the search for a pastor went on. Late in 1772, a possible candidate, Freiderick Schultz, agreed to go to Lunenburg for a trial period and a look around. Jung relates the momentous occasion:

[He] arrived here in safety on the 27th of October, 1772. On the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, being the first day of November, 1772, he preached the first sermon in our new church, and the following Sunday, November 8th, he dedicated it and gave it the name ZION'S CHURCH. The first Sunday in Advent he administered for the first time the Holy Communion to one hundred and fifteen communicants, and at the same time confirmed thirty-five catechumens.³⁸

In general, the congregation prospered under his care for the next several years. Although his ministry was not without its problems. Jung records a six month period during which Schultz remained inactive because of a pay dispute. The situation was eventually settled, and he continued his ministry until April 28, 1782.

As this paper deals with the Lutheran beginnings in Nova Scotia, we could reasonably end our story here. Since Zion congregation is still in existence today, it might prove interesting to briefly follow its history a bit farther.

Johann Gottlob Schmeisser followed immediately on the heels of Schultz, beginning his ministry May 1, 1782. He married a daughter of the congregation soon after his arrival. He had a

fruitful, but short ministry, as his health began to fail in 1789. The schoolmaster, John Aulenbach, took over many of Schmeisser's responsibilities and conducted his funeral on December 21, 1806.

Zion's third pastor, Ferdinand Conrad Temme, arrived in April of 1808. An odd set of circumstances preceded his arrival. Political considerations forced him to flee Europe when Bonaparte came on the scene. He came to America and was stranded when an embargo closed Germany's harbors. He was at this time called to Lunenburg. Zion might have been thrilled had they known the joy with which he accepted. Temme says:

I reluctantly accepted this call, for reasons to myself to this day unaccountable and unknown, and on the 5th of February, 1808, commenced the voyage to this Siberia of America.³⁹

The congregation flourished and did quite well, despite Temme's early enthusiasm. He served faithfully for twenty-four years, before dying in 1832. His successor ushered in the period of real growth and stabilization of Lutheranism in Nova Scotia.

Charles Ernst Cossmann arrived from Halle in 1835. Cossmann arrived with impressive credentials. While in Germany he had been a pupil of Gesenius, and had even worked with him on his Hebrew Grammar. During his ministry, Cossmann annually travelled, by his own account, "about four thousand miles for many years, and the most part in the saddle."⁴⁰

As a result, several daughter congregations were formed. And it was during his ministry that Lutheranism really took hold in that province. The congregations in Nova Scotia were formed into the Nova Scotia conference of the Pittsburgh Synod in 1867. In 1903 the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Nova Scotia was set up, embracing 32 congregations with a total membership of 7,814.⁴¹

Beyond 1903, the history of the Synod in Nova Scotia, and thus Zion's, were bound to the trends of the General Council. Today, Zion is a congregation in the ELCC.

So it came to pass that Lutheranism found a permanent home on the rocky Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia. Nineteen years after the founding of Lunenburg, the small band of faithful Lutherans finally had their very own Lutheran pastor. Only this small handful resisted the influences and gentle pressure applied by the Anglican priests and English government. An interesting footnote to the history of Lutheranism in America.

-The End-

Endnotes

¹The New Encyclopedia Britannica, volume 15 Macropedia. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1986, p502.

²Nova Scotia Historical Society. Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections. volume 4, Halifax: Wm McNab, Printer, 1885, p48.

³Andrew Hill Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760. Madison: UW Press, 1968, p335.

⁴C.F. Pascoe, 200 Years of the SPG. 1701-1900. London: Published at the Society Office, 1901, p110.

⁵Nova Scotia Historical Society, Nova Scotia Historic Society Collections. volume 2, Halifax: Morning Herald Office, 1881, p104.

⁶T.B. Akins, "History of Halifax City," Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, volume 8, Halifax: Nova Scotia Morning Herald Printing and Publishing Company, 1895, p250.

⁷Ibid., p250.

⁸Ibid., p36.

⁹op.cit., Clark, p337.

¹⁰Winthrop P. Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961, p11.

¹¹Ibid., p56.

¹²Ibid., p56.

¹³Ibid., p9.

¹⁴Ibid., p131.

¹⁵Ibid., p130.

¹⁶op.cit., Akins, p21.

¹⁷C.E. Thomas, "St George's Church, Halifax. From Lutheran to Anglican." Nova Scotia Public Archives, p1.

¹⁸op.cit., Bell, p390.

¹⁹Nova Scotia Historical Society. Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections. volume 7, Halifax: Morning Herald Printing and Publishing Co., 1891, p123.

²⁰op.cit., Thomas, p1.

²¹op.cit., Bell, p393.

²²Ibid., p392.

²³op.cit., Nova Scotia Historical Society, p79.

²⁴Ibid., p78.

²⁵op.cit., Thomas, p5.

²⁶op.cit., Bell, p424.

²⁷Ibid., Bell, p422.

²⁸Ibid., Bell, p446.

²⁹Ibid., Bell, p590.

³⁰Ibid., Bell, p447.

³¹op.cit., Pascoe, p111.

³²op.cit., Bell, p591.

³³Ibid., Bell, p594.

³⁴Ibid., Bell, p596.

³⁵Ibid., Bell, p597.

³⁶D.L. Roth, Acadie and the Acadians. Utica, NY: Childs & Son, 1891, p290.

³⁷Ibid., p299.

³⁸Ibid., p317.

³⁹Ibid., p369.

⁴⁰Ibid., p399.

⁴¹H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956, p221.

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