

Towards Community: Black Methodists in Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia¹

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Works on African Canadian and Canadian Methodist history are virtually silent on black Methodism. This is surprising for black Methodists have been a continuing part of the provinces' institutional religious life. In the Maritime provinces they participated in the post-revolutionary Loyalist migration to Nova Scotia and maintained a provincial presence throughout the nineteenth century. This paper examines black Nova Scotian Methodism to the mid-nineteenth century as an aspect of black associational activity in nineteenth-century British North America.²

Methodists were among the 3,500 black Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia at the close of the Revolutionary War. They were most numerous on the province's south shore around Shelburne where blacks settled in considerable numbers. Their principal leader was Moses Wilkinson, a blind and lame former slave from Virginia, who arrived in Shelburne on board the *L'Abondance* in August 1783 with 409 other blacks. Already evidently an avid Methodist, Wilkinson immediately began preaching in Birchtown, an adjacent black settlement. He was an effective exhorter for a religious awakening occurred among black immigrants there in the winter of 1783-1784. When William Black, the province's future Methodist leader, visited Shelburne in the spring of 1784, he reported preaching to 200 blacks at Birchtown, sixty of whom were Wilkinson converts.³

Wilkinson's first convert was Violet King, the wife of Boston King, a former slave from a plantation near Charleston, South Carolina. Violet, a North Carolina fugitive, and Boston met and were married in New York

late in the war. The Kings were Wilkinson's fellow passengers on the *L'Abondance*.⁴

As William Black evangelized the province during the early 1780s, he sought help from Thomas Coke who was organizing American Methodism at the Christmas Baltimore Conference of 1784-85. Coke assigned Rev. Freeborn Garrettson who shortly arrived in Halifax and took charge of the Methodist work, launching a preaching mission in March that saw him spend six weeks in Shelburne. Some whites opposed Garrettson, but blacks welcomed him and many, including Boston King, were converted. Within two months he had a class of sixty. Garrettson remained in Nova Scotia until the spring of 1787.⁵

Boston King was an important addition to Wilkinson's Birchtown flock, for soon he was exhorting in "families and prayer-meetings," where the "Lord graciously afforded me assisting presence," he claimed. Cooperation with Wilkinson and Garrettson over the next two years helped King to gather the largest Methodist congregation in the town. His energetic faithfulness was rewarded in 1791 when Black, Garrettson's successor as Methodist superintendent, gave King charge of the Preston Methodists, a predominantly black congregation of thirty-four a short distance across the harbour from Halifax.⁶ Richard Ball was another former South Carolina slave among Wilkinson's parishioners who became a preacher.⁷

Wilkinson and King worked harmoniously with Garrettson and Black, but discord arose when John Marrant arrived in the province. He belonged to the Countess of Huntingdon faction, a Calvinist offshoot of mainstream Methodism. Garrettson regarded Marrant as the devil's emissary, but soon the newcomer had a forty-family congregation, with some from the Wilkinson-King flock including the prominent Ball. When Marrant returned to Boston in 1787 some Birchtown Huntingdonians re-entered the regular black Methodist fold, but his congregation remained in tact under Richard Ball's leadership.⁸

Black Loyalists also settled on western Nova Scotia's fertile land bordering the Annapolis and Minas basins and the Annapolis River. About 1200 homesteaders were at Digby by late 1783, and a June 1784 muster counted 211 free blacks among them. By mid-summer sixty-five black families were at Brindley Town, the province's second largest black settlement on Digby's outskirts. A Methodist church was organized there in July of 1786 with seventy-eight members, sixty-six of whom were black.⁹

By 1790 approximately one quarter of the province's 800 Methodists were black. But the congregations at Birchtown, Brindley Town and Preston had no time to mature. Failing to secure the land that British authorities had promised them during the American Revolution, nearly 1,200 African Nova Scotians emigrated to Sierra Leone in 1792. Some 600 from the Shelburne-Birchtown area, 200 from Digby, including about 150 from Brindley Town, opted for the West African site, among them Boston King and his Preston chapel.¹⁰

After the Sierra Leone exodus decimated their congregations, black Methodists attended biracial churches for several decades. Separate black and white Methodist classes were already meeting when William Black visited Halifax in the spring of 1784. Later in the decade, when Halifax Methodists worshipped in Philip Marchinton's hall, blacks occupied their own gallery, and black and white class contributions were recorded separately. Halifax Methodists built Zoar Chapel on the west side of Argyle Street in 1792, and its marriage and baptismal registers, like its 1834 Brunswick Street's offshoot, contain the names of numerous blacks for half a century.¹¹

Blacks also belonged to the Liverpool Methodist Circuit on the province's south shore at the turn of the century. They had entered the area around 1760 as "servants," and their numbers grew when others from the Shelburne area moved to Queen's County shortly after Shelburne was settled. Simeon Perkins, a prominent merchant and long time Liverpool resident who kept a detailed diary, counted just under one hundred in Liverpool and the county in the spring of 1787. In 1793 Liverpool Methodists built their own chapel, a project that Perkins helped to oversee. During construction, his diary noted, "eleven or twelve black men give each a day's work to level the ground in front of the Chapel. I attend upon them and Give them some Rum, which I charge to the Chapel. They work well." While Perkins's account is not explicit, these men hardly would have volunteered their services without belonging to the church. The Liverpool Methodist Circuit's baptismal and marriage records show blacks participating in church life, especially in Liverpool Town, for the next half century. For example, in 1827 black children were attending the Methodist Sunday School, while in 1842 Liverpool's black Methodist class numbered 62, almost one quarter of the entire circuit.¹²

Black Methodists in Liverpool and Halifax, and presumably elsewhere, continued participating in mixed congregations in the ensuing years. However by the 1840s they had recovered from the social trauma

inflicted on their communities by the Sierra Leone migration. With numbers strengthened by the arrival of the "Refugee Negroes" after the War of 1812, the continuing influx of fugitive slaves and freeborn blacks from the United States, and the newly emancipated West Indians, black Methodists again ventured to form their own congregations.

An observer in the *Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the Year Ending April, 1847* claimed that Halifax's black Methodists had "long been anxious to have a minister of their own colour." When Jesse Coleman arrived from Baltimore in 1836, he found his fellow black Methodists "scattered," some at Zoar Chapel and others at the recently-formed Brunswick Street meeting. Frequently they met by themselves for prayer meetings at Mrs. Smithers's house on Hog (Albemarle) Street. Coleman tried to start a church soon after arriving, he recalled, but was unsuccessful until the appearance in Halifax of "Mr. Garey," whom he described as an "able young man" from the West Indies. At the suggestion of the churches' black members presumably, the Rev. John Wedall, Zoar Chapel's minister, invited him to preach on Friday evenings, but for some unknown reason the Methodist superintendent overruled Wedall and closed the pulpit to Garey. The offended black congregants then resolved to organize their own church, and when Rev. Richard Preston offered his Cornwallis Street African Baptist Church, Garey preached two trial sermons. They evidently met expectations, for the black Methodists quickly rented Harmonic Hall on Grafton Street for their meeting place. Combined with current emigration to the United States, this brought the withdrawal of the "great majority" of blacks from the Halifax Methodist churches.¹³

Three months later the new congregation decided to seek Garey's ordination since he lacked ecclesiastical credentials. Coleman undoubtedly had African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ) affiliations in Baltimore before coming to Halifax, otherwise he would not have consulted Christopher Rush, the denomination's second bishop, while in Boston on his way to Nova Scotia in 1836. Relying presumably on Coleman's connection, the Haligonians sent Garey to New York where Rush ordained him. Thus Jesse Coleman forged a tie between Halifax's black Methodists and the AME Zion denomination in the United States that continued for two decades. By 1852 the church's Eastern District encompassed New England, British Guyana and Nova Scotia.¹⁴

Although Garey's ordination was a promising development, difficulties arose shortly when the congregation could not meet his

increased salary expectation, and he left. The fledgling congregation stoutly marshalled its scant resources to face the crisis. "Mr. [Charles] Morris suggested that he would do the reading and Solomon Bushenpin [another trustee] and I [Coleman] should do the talking," Coleman stated, "and we would try to keep the people together till we could get Bishop Rush to send us another man from New York." Fortuitously Rev. Peter Ross, whom Rush had sent to see how Garey was faring at his post since ordination, arrived before the next Sunday. "He preached for us that Sunday," Coleman recalled, and "remained with us four years at a salary of 100 pounds a year."

About eighteen months after assuming the pastorate Ross concluded that the time had arrived to build a church. Sympathetic supporters in the city helped the trustees obtain a desirable lot on Gottingen Street for 200 pounds. Coleman's account lacks a detailed time line, but newspaper reports confirm that these events occurred in the first half of 1846. Fundraising soirees enabled the congregation to begin construction and Zion Church, as it was named, was dedicated in August, although the edifice was unfinished and Ross presided over ceremonies in the roofed-in basement. The congregation then obtained a mortgage from J.B. Uniacke, a prominent member of the legislature, presumably to pay the balance due the contractor, for which the trustees and their wives signed. Ross preached for the remainder of his four-year pastorate in the basement, for the church was still incomplete when he returned to New York.¹⁵

Although the building was completed four years later, the mortgage remained a troublesome burden. The congregation weathered a debt crisis, when Uniacke suddenly demanded a large payment, by holding what must have been a remarkably successful, if hastily organized, soiree. More serious trouble erupted over fears that the title's wording would allow the trustees to get future ownership of the property and leave the membership without equity. The rumour threatened disruption and caused the church to "run behind a good deal," Coleman claimed, resulting in the creditors threatening to foreclose. But the congregation rallied when an agreement allowed it to retire the debt at ten pounds per month. After this, according to Coleman, the church got on "fairly well."¹⁶

There are no extant Zion congregational records, but Halifax newspapers reported its activities from time to time. For example the congregation's women sponsored numerous fundraising Tea Meetings in the early 1850s, while in the winter of 1855 Zion Church began collecting money to help educate the city's black children, and in the following year

purchased a school building. In 1857 the church held a bazaar to raise money for a manse.¹⁷

Meanwhile a similar course of events was unfolding in Liverpool, where by the early 1840s the number of blacks had risen to nearly 300. They formed a Methodist congregation about 1840, probably from the nucleus of people who had been affiliated with the Liverpool Methodist Circuit, for initially the new body was under the supervision of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society's agent. They built a chapel "near the Town of Liverpool," "assisted by the liberality of some Christian friends" in the town, on land donated by Robert Barry.¹⁸

Little more is known of the congregation's activity for the remainder of the decade, but by 1852 it had severed its connection with the white Methodists, seemingly after an incident like that which caused Halifax black Methodists to separate. They bought a building on the road leading from Liverpool to Moose Harbour and affiliated with the AME Zion Church. The congregation was commonly known as Zion Church, Mount Pleasant Church, or the "new African Chapel."¹⁹

Most Liverpuddlians probably paid scant attention to the church, if one judges from the fragmentary information about it in the local press. Yet the congregation was a fixed presence in the community enjoying a measure of recognition and respect. When the Baptist Convention met in annual session at Liverpool in 1855, the new African Chapel, like the town's other churches, received the courtesy of having a Baptist clergyman preach on Sunday morning. Public opinion rallied around Zion after drunken sailors violently disrupted a church meeting in 1855. The *Liverpool Transcript* excoriated the seamen's crude behaviour and applauded their punishment. When Zion ladies held Tea Meetings to bolster the church's finances, the *Transcript* publicized the events and urged the community to lend support. Sometimes Zion hosted meetings where blacks considered important issues such as Joseph G. Smith's lecture on "Education and disadvantages of the Coloured people through the province." Beyond these few details, however, little is known of the Mount Pleasant congregation's life at mid century.²⁰

A third black Methodist church with twenty members was organized on the western side of the province at Cornwallis in King's County in the mid 1860s, in conjunction with missionary work by the AME Zion Church's New England Conference. The work extended to the Granville area where a number of people at Lower Granville also awaited formation of Methodist classes.²¹

The success at Halifax, Liverpool, Cornwallis and Lower Granville, kindled enthusiasm among distant AME Zion denominational leaders. The 1856 General Conference planned to set off Nova Scotia as an annual conference and named Zion Church in Halifax to host the first session in September 1857. However this optimism was premature, for there is no record that the 1857 meeting took place, and the projected Nova Scotia Conference withered on the vine.²²

In fact by the early 1860s an ominous cloud had enveloped the Halifax church. In the interval between 1860 and the next General Conference in 1864 difficulties of an unknown nature arose in the church. By the latter date it had seceded from the denomination, for the bishops informed the General Conference that Zion Church was about to *rejoin* the connection. Whether this ever occurred is uncertain.²³

Moreover Zion Church at Liverpool also had come on hard times. The bishops' Annual Address to the 1864 General Conference euphemistically asserted that the church at Liverpool was "not in a very prosperous condition," but this was a considerable understatement. In reality the church had virtually ceased to exist, for in the spring of 1863 the Zion Church trustees requested the Liverpool Circuit to bring their congregation "into our society and take them under our discipline." The June Quarterly Meeting agreed to do so if the Zionites annually contributed twenty-five pounds to circuit funds. The meeting also sought the Nova Scotia Annual Conference's permission to sell "our African Chapel," implying that Zion Church had been turned over to the Liverpool Circuit.²⁴

While hard evidence is lacking, there is reason for suspecting that the nearly simultaneous disruption of the Halifax and Liverpool churches was not merely coincidental. In the early 1860s a second black American Methodist denomination – the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) – was beginning missionary activity in Nova Scotia. The New England Conference had launched its first missionary venture in 1862 in the American South and doubtless was looking for other fields of endeavour. The New England leaders must have known that there was a substantial black presence in the neighbouring British province. Precisely how it came to be involved in Nova Scotia is unknown, but by 1866 the AME Church had established a beachhead in Queen's County, for that year the New England Conference requested Bishop William Quinn to "supply the church at Liverpool, Nova Scotia," where there were twenty members, with a "minister as soon as a proper man can be procured." As we have seen, some members of Zion Church had already gone to the

Liverpool Methodist Circuit; likely the others joined the new AME congregation. Within two years the AME Church had also slipped into the vacuum left by the Halifax church's dissociation from the AMEZ denomination, and the former congregation had twenty-three members. Probably some dissatisfied Zion Church members were among the nucleus that formed this new AME body in Halifax.²⁵

The Nova Scotia black Methodists' new trans-border AME connection was short-lived, however, for both American denominations withdrew from the province soon after the close of the American Civil War. According to Bishop J.W. Hood, the AMEZ Church abandoned Nova Scotia in the late 1860s because "every available man" was needed for missionary work among the freedmen of the South. The church fathers also knew that missionary efforts launched in British North America would meet stiff competition from the British Methodist Episcopal Church (BME) in central Canada, and its aggressive bishop, Willis Nazrey. This black denomination "carried everything before it in the Dominion of Canada as long as Nazrey lived," Hood declared, and for "about thirty years we made little headway in that direction."²⁶

Similar considerations likely influenced the decision of AME leaders to withdraw from the province. The immediate background of the 1868 AME-BME "reciprocity treaty," as it has been called, is unknown, but after talks between the two denomination's leaders the 1868 AME General Conference relinquished its claim to the Nova Scotia churches and withdrew its missionary. This cleared the way for the Ontario-based church and, after black Methodists in Nova Scotia contacted him, Nazrey went east and organized the first BME Nova Scotia Annual Conference in Liverpool that summer, thereby adding Nova Scotia's black Methodists to the BME fold.²⁷

Moses Wilkinson brought the Wesleyan message to provincial blacks after the American Revolution, and he and his proteges cooperated with William Black and Freeborn Garrettson to carry Wesleyan Methodism beyond Birchtown to black communities at Brindley Town and Preston. The Sierra Leone migration, however, decimated this first wave of black Methodism, but its leaders' wise cooperation with Black and Garrettson paved the way for the remaining black Methodists to merge with their white counterparts for half a century. Numbers gradually recovered, however, and in the 1840s African Nova Scotian Methodists began rebuilding the religious structure their predecessors had begun fifty years earlier. The appearance of separate black churches in Halifax and

Liverpool coincided with an awakened missionary interest among African American Methodists, resulting in the Nova Scotia churches looking to the American denominations for recognition and assistance. However these new-found American associates, facing the new challenge of four million needy freedmen in the American South, and the probability of stiff competition from Nazrey's BME Church, abandoned the Nova Scotian black Methodists. Rather than re-submerge themselves in provincial white Methodism as they had in the 1790s following the Sierra Leone venture, however, the Nova Scotians sought to advance their autonomy and preserve their identity by affiliating with the BME Church. The black Methodist churches could continue fulfilling their primary mission – providing moral guidance and religious fellowship as black Nova Scotians settled in their new homeland. This qualifies Nova Scotian and central Canadian black Methodists for membership in the Canadian Methodist brotherhood, a status that historians of Canadian church history have been slow to recognize.

The black Methodist experience also had a broader social significance for African Nova Scotians. Methodism gave black Nova Scotians who came from diverse backgrounds – rural and urban, skilled and unskilled, literate and unlettered, North and South, slave and free – a focal point. As they met in homes for prayer meetings, formed committees to organize churches, cooperated in congregational work bees and fundraising events, and worshipped together, black Nova Scotians became acquainted, won each other's confidence, and exhibited the group loyalty from which community grew. Assuredly churches were primarily places of worship, but they were also communal assembly points that hosted social events, and sites where blacks gathered to debate societal issues and watch aspiring leaders display their talents. Thus churches not only nurtured their members, but also fostered social cohesion as blacks grappled with life in a new setting. Moreover black Methodist churches mediated between their adherents and the larger community, for they were the main venue where blacks, ever conscious of being newcomers who needed approval and verification of their legitimacy, presented themselves before the host society. The same processes occurred among the province's more numerous black Baptist churches.

Forming churches, of course, was only one type of associational activity that blacks practised on entering the provinces. They also established fraternal and self-help societies, anti-slavery committees, volunteer military companies, and organized annual Emancipation Day cele-

brations. In sum, African British North Americans were not merely marginalized objects of prejudice and discrimination whose lives were defined largely by the slavery they had experienced in their former homeland, and the racism of their new white neighbours, as one might infer from the existing literature. Rather there is reason for saying that African British North Americans, like other settlers, in large measure were self-directed autonomous people who collectively identified their needs, established their goals, and devised means to achieve them. Nova Scotia's black Methodists are a case in point.

Endnotes

1. The author wishes to acknowledge the generous financial assistance of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Program for the preparation of this paper. I also wish to thank Professors A.A. MacKenzie (retired) and Laurie Stanley-Blackwell, my colleagues in the St. Francis Xavier University History Department, for reading and commenting on drafts of the essay.
2. Most early works on Methodism, even those dealing with British North America, are silent about black Methodists in the provinces. Typical are George Smith, *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859-1862); Abel Stevens, *The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, Called Methodism*, 3 vols., new ed. (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1878); William Henry Withrow, *Makers of Methodism* (Toronto: William Biggs, 1898); Ammi Bradford Hyde, *The Story of Methodism Throughout the World . . . to which is added "The Story of Methodism in the Dominion of Canada"* (Toronto: W. Biggs, 1894); Alexander Sutherland, *Methodism in Canada: Its Work and Its Story* (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1904); George H. Cornish, *Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada*, 2 vols. (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881-1903); J.E. Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada*, 2 vols. (Toronto: W. Biggs, 1908-1910). W.J. Townsend, H.B. Workman and George Eayers, eds., *A New History of Methodism*, 2 vols. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919), is an exception with its single sentence on the (black) British Methodist Episcopal Church (2:527). Even Nolan B. Harmon's relatively recent *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, 2 vols. (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), gives very limited space to the topic. For example, there are no references to blacks in its articles by G.S. French and John Webster Grant on Methodism in British North America and Canada, although Grant Shockley's piece on the African Methodist Episcopal Church (2:65) devotes eight lines to Canada West, and there are 100-150 word items on R. R. Disney (1:689), and Willis Nazrey (2:1705). The only reference to Nova Scotia's black

Methodists occurs fleetingly in David H. Bradley's essay on the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church under the heading "Missions" (1:67-68). See also John Webster Grant, "Methodist Origins in Atlantic Canada," in Charles H.H. Scobie and John Webster Grant, eds., *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 43. Among the few sources that give any details about black Nova Scotia Methodists are D.W. Johnson, *History of Methodism in Eastern British America, including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and Bermuda* (Sackville: Tribune, n.d.); and E. Arthur Betts, *Bishop Black and His Preachers*, 2nd ed. (Halifax: Maritime Conference Archives, 1976), 17, 25, 35, which shed minimal light on the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Neil Semple's recent *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), unlike previous studies, recognizes that blacks were part of the Canadian Methodist fabric; he discusses them in a two-page passage that includes information on Nova Scotia, in a 562-page text (125-126). T Watson Smith's *History of the Methodist Church Within the Territories Embraced in the Late Conference of Eastern British America, Including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Bermuda*, 2 vols. (Halifax: Methodist Book Room, 1877), is the fullest and most reliable source of information on black Nova Scotia Methodism (1:143, 157, 161-163, 166, 239, 250, 340, 380, and 2:316). It leaves the reader feeling that Smith knew considerably more about black Methodism in the province than he included in the book which, unfortunately, provides no documentation.

3. Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976), 85, 124; James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 73; Boston King, "The Memoirs of Boston King," *The Methodist Magazine* XXI (March 1798), 157-158; Mathew Richey, *A Memoir of the Late Rev. William Black, Wesleyan Minister, Halifax, N.S. Including an Account of the Rise and Progress of Methodism in Nova Scotia* (Halifax: William Cunnabell, 1839), 128; John MacLean, *William Black: The Apostle of Methodism in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada* (Halifax: The Methodist Book Room, 1907), 28; Betts, *Bishop Black*, 16-17.
4. James W. St. G. Walker, "Boston King," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (hereafter DCB) 5: 468-469; and Phyllis Blakely, "Boston King: A Negro Loyalist Who Sought Refuge in Nova Scotia," *Dalhousie Review* 48 (1968): 347-56.
5. MacLean, *William Black*, 30-31; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 126; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 72-73; and Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson Compiled from His Printed and Manuscript Journals and Other Authentic*

Documents, 3rd ed. (New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh at the Conference Office, 1832), 164.

6. King, "Memoirs," 159-161, 213; "Rev. William Jessop Journal, 1 January to 11 March 1788," 9, 17, 20, MG 100 vol. 169, 27-27a, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS); Walker, "King," 468-469, and *Black Loyalists*, 73; and Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 125-126, 128-129.
7. There is disagreement about Ball's first name. Simeon Perkins's diary refers to him only as a black man "named Ball," while James Walker calls him "John." Ellen Wilson, another authority, names him "Richard," and Grant Gordon also uses "Richard," but says he was sometimes called 'John.' See Charles Bruce Fergusson, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins 1790-1796* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1961), vol. 39, 130; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 73-74; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 129; and Grant Gordon, *From Slavery to Freedom: The Life of David George, Pioneer Black Baptist Minister* (Hantsport: Lancelot Press Ltd., 1992), 97.
8. *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings With John Marrant . . . By the Late Rev. Mr. Aldridge* (Boston, 1802), 7th ed., in Dorothy Porter, *Early Negro Writing 1760-1837* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 427-447; James W. St. G. Walker, "John Marrant," DCB, 4:514-516, and *Black Loyalists*, 71-72; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 128; Graham Russell Hodges, ed., *The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile After the American Revolution* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), xxiv; Garrettson to an unidentified correspondent but likely John Wesley, 25 April 1786, and Garrettson to Wesley, 25 September 1787, cited in Bangs, *Garrettson*, 174 and 181 respectively; Fergusson, *Diary of Simeon Perkins*, vol. 39, 365, 1, 3 April 1787; Marion Robertson, *King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburn, Nova Scotia Founded in 1783 by the Port Roseway Associates Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1983), 97-98.
9. Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 24; Isaiah W. Wilson, *A Geography and History of the County of Digby Nova Scotia*, Facsimilies ed. (Belleville: Mika Studio, 1972), 86; Richey, *William Black*, 153; and MacLean, *William Black*, 28, 32.
10. Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 73, 123-4; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 218-219; Isaiah Wilson, *County of Digby*, 91, 145; Robertson, *King's Bounty*, 105.
11. Betts, *Bishop Black*, 17, 35; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 74; D.A. Sutherland, "Philip Marchinton," DCB, 5:574-575. On the matter of separate classes for blacks and whites among Halifax Methodists in the 1790s, see "Halifax Methodist Class Book 1791-93," PC 127, Maritime Conference Archives (United Church of Canada), Sackville, NB, which records weekly contributions of blacks and whites separately. The only specific reference to a black

class is the entry for 16 March 1792, which is headed "Black Class." The entry for 30 March 1792 has the word "Class" crossed out and replaced by "people" (Anonymous, *Historical Sketches of St. Andrew's Church Halifax, N.S., United Church of Canada* [Halifax: n.p., 1949], 1-5; and "Churches. Halifax, N.S. Brunswick Street United," Books 1-3, mf reel 11402, PANS).

12. James F. More, *The History of Queen's County N.S. (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1873), 125-126; Place-Names of Nova Scotia. With an Introduction by Charles Bruce Fergusson* (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1967), 457; Fergusson, *Diary of Simeon Perkins*, vol. 36, 369, vol. 39, 214, 4 March 1793, 300, 9 July 1794; "Baptisms 1796-1817," "Baptisms 1818-1835" and "Marriages 1818-1833," and "Baptisms 1835-1889," vols. 1, 2, and 3 respectively, "Records of Zion United (formerly Methodist), Church, Liverpool, Nova Scotia, From 1796-1957," mf reel 11623, PANS. On the black Methodist classes in Liverpool, see "Members of the Methodist Society in the Liverpool Circuit, 1817, 1823, [1824], 1827, 1833, 1836, 1838," and "1835 Names of the Members of the Wesleyan Methodist Society on the Liverpool Circuit," and "Names of the Members Belonging to the Classes for the Year Ending 1842," vols. 9 and 2 respectively, "Records of Zion . . . Church, Liverpool . . . 1796-1957," mf reels 11624 and 11623 respectively, PANS. On black children attending the Zion Sunday School, see "Minutes of the Quarterly Meeting of the Liverpool Circuit, 1817-1870," 24 May 1827, vol. 9, "Records of Zion . . . Church, Liverpool . . . 1796-1957," mf reel 11624, PANS.
13. This account of the forming of Zion Church in Halifax, as the congregation was generally known, is largely based on Rev. Jesse Coleman's presentation at the church's thirty-fifth anniversary in 1883, as reported in the *Halifax Acadian Recorder*, 4 October 1883. See also *Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the Year Ending April, 1847* (London, n.d.), 128, and Smith, *History of the Methodist Church in Eastern British America*, 2:316.
14. David Henry Bradley, *A History of the A.M.E. Zion Church Part II 1872-1968* (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1970), 34, 36, 53, 223; John Jamison Moore, *History of the A.M.E. Zion Church, in America. Founded in 1796, in the City of New York* (York: Teachers' Journal Office 1884), 215, 221, 230; Bishop J. W. Hood, *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; or, the Centennial of African Methodism* (New York: A.M.E. Zion Book Concern, 1895), 188-90; *Souvenir Program of the Hood Thank Offering May 28-30 [1911]. African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church 1831-1911*. Rev. R.M. Bolden . . . Author (n.p. n.d.), 8; and William J. Walls, *The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church* (Charlotte: A.M.E. Zion Publishing House, 1974), 131.

15. Coleman identifies the ten trustees as Solomon and Peter Bushinpen, Charles Morris, Moses Johnson, Henry Gross, John Davis, Mark Butler, General Jackson, Samuel Parker and himself, the lot owner as "Captain Maynard" of the Willow Grove section of Halifax, and "Mr. Wisell" as the contractor, Halifax *Acadian Recorder*, 4 October 1883. See also Halifax *Novascotian*, 26 January, 6, 20 July, 24 August 1846.
16. See Hutchinson's *Nova Scotia Directory for 1866-67 . . .* (Halifax: D. McAlpine and Co., n.d.) 106. Coleman's account refers only to "Mr. Burton" threatening to foreclose, but almost certainly this John W. Burton who was secretary of the Building Society in 1866.
17. Halifax *British Colonist*, 19 August 1851, 20, 30 March 1852, 2 April 1853; Halifax *Morning Journal*, 6 February 1855, 25, 27 February, 3 March, 2 April 1856, 22 June, 20 July 1857, 30 August 1858; Halifax *Morning Chronicle*, 25 February 1851.
18. "Petition of James Gousely and six others, 1 March 1841," # 95, vol. 43, series P, RG5, PANS; #3, vol. 836 Gooseley Family, MG1, PANS.
19. On the separation from the white Methodists of Liverpool, see Smith, *History of the Methodist Church in Eastern British America*, 2:316; and 677, Book 18, Queen's County Deeds, PANS.
20. Liverpool *Transcript*, 20 September 1855, 12 June 1856, 23, 30 April 1857, 6 January 1858, 22 September 1859.
21. Bradley, *History of the A.M.E. Zion Church Part II*, 54, 211; and *Minutes of the New England Annual Conference of the A.M.E. Zion Church . . . 1865*, 9, 20-1, 28, 35.
22. Moore, *History of the A.M.E. Zion Church*, 221, 230, 241; and *Minutes of the New England Annual Conference of the A.M. E. Zion Church . . . 1865*, 35.
23. Bradley, *History of the A.M.E. Zion Church Part II*, 54.
24. "Records of Zion United Church Liverpool N.S. From 1796-1957," vol. 9, "Minutes of Quarterly Meeting of the Liverpool Circuit, 1817-1870," 27 May, 8 June 1863, mf reel 1164, PANS.
25. See *Minutes of the New England Annual Conference of the AME Church in America* for 1866 and 1868, 11, 18, and 10, 19-20 respectively for references to the Liverpool and Halifax churches.
26. Hood, *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church*, 96.

27. *Minutes of the New England Annual Conference of the AME Church in America . . . 1868*, 7, 10; Dennis C. Dickerson, *Religion, Race and Region : Research Notes on A.M.E. Church History* (Nashville: AMEC Sunday School Union/Legacy Publishing, 1995), 60-61; *Proceedings Eleventh Annual Conference BME Church*, 4; *Proceedings of the Twelfth Session of the Annual Conference of the British Methodist Episcopal Church*, 3, 4.

