Alexander Crawford (1785-1828)

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Alexander Crawford may not have reached national prominence but he did play a significant role in the Baptist beginnings in Prince Edward Island. While one article has been written about him in this century by M. Allen Gibson, new materials have come to light. Four letters from Crawford to Rev. Edward Manning, pastor of the Baptist Church in Cornwallis, N.S., were found in the Manning Collection at Acadia University. In addition, a book by Walter Johnstone, published in Edinburgh in 1824 mentions Crawford in several places. Crawford’s Will and several old church histories are available in the Prince Edward Island Archives. In the light of this previously unused material, the Crawford story needs to be retold. The retelling is not without difficulties, however, for he spoke little of himself and less of his family. His wife’s name is mentioned only in the filing of his Will and of his children we know practically nothing. In spite of this a rather clear picture of the man and his ideals, theology, and activity can be pieced together.

Alexander Crawford was born on the Island of Arran off the west coast of Scotland in 1785 or 1786.1 He joined the Independent Church on the Island sometime after James Haldane’s preaching tour of the Island in 1800.2 In 1805, at the age of nineteen, he went to the Haldanes’ Seminary in Edinburgh to train to be a lay preacher.3 This schooling was at the expense of the Haldanes’ for they provided room and board, medical care, class books, library and teachers.4 They “aimed not at training scholars” but evangelists and teachers. The course of study included English grammar and rhetoric, elements of Greek and Hebrew, Latin and systematic theology. In addition, each student wrote essays on prescribed subjects and delivered sermons which were commented upon by the tutor.5

James and Robert Haldane were Presbyterians who had been influenced by the eighteenth century revival movements. They left their professions and Robert sold the ancestral home to devote themselves to the evangelization of Scotland. In 1797, Robert Haldane and twelve directors founded The Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. Home missions and the foundation of a seminary and Sabbath Schools were the major emphases of the society.6 By 1798, Robert Haldane began plans for “building a number of chapels throughout Scotland and educating preachers” on the Whitefield model.7

The Haldanes’ doctrinal position developed along with their plans for evangelization and in some cases because of the reaction they received. By 1804, Robert Haldane could say that their Circus Church in Edinburgh was evangelical Presbyterian in doctrine and Congregational in policy.8 They were becoming like the Sandemanians or Glasites in holding to weekly closed communion, mutual exhortation and the plurality of elders. Mr. Grenville Ewing, who taught at the Seminary, stressed these ideas and also influenced Alexander Campbell who founded the Disciples of Christ.9 In 1807-8 the Haldanes added adult believer’s baptism to their beliefs.10 Over thirty affiliated congregations joined them and they added a distinct tone to Scottish Baptist life.11

When the Haldanes became Baptist, so did Alexander Crawford.12 He imbibed deeply of the Haldanes’ doctrine in other areas and made it his creed for the rest of his life. Before accepting adult baptism, however, he subjected it to his usual thorough scrutiny.

Before I renounced Pedobaptism, I gave the subject such a thorough investigation, that I was fully satisfied, while the sacred writings were referred to as the touchstone of truth, it would be easy to look in the face any thing that could be said in favour of infant baptism. . . .14

In 1808, Crawford left Edinburgh and preached some months to “the Gaelic people in the Highlands.”15 Later in the same year he was married.16 He and his wife emigrated to Nova Scotia and settled in Yarmouth in November of 1810.17 There “he kept school, and preached as he found occasion.”18
One of the significant things about Crawford is the unique insight he gives into the early development of the Baptists in Nova Scotia. He went to Yarmouth expecting a brightened economic prospect and an opportunity to preach in a local Baptist church. He was disappointed on both counts for a teacher’s salary was very lean and the Baptists were far from what he expected. In a letter to Edward Manning he suggests that he had heard unpleasant things about the Baptists in Yarmouth but had ignored them until he could draw his own conclusion. The first Baptist he met could not give a reason for his faith except for dreams and visions while the second one he met was too drunk to talk much. Crawford suggested that the reasons for this inadequacy were the lack of soundness of teaching on the part of the Baptist leadership in the area and too much emphasis upon emotional revivalism.

He was astute in his observations for the Baptist community in Yarmouth was dominated by the revivalist preacher, Harris Harding, from his arrival in 1797 until his death in 1854. In 1806-7 alone, after a series of revival meetings, he baptized two hundred converts. George Levy comments that “no feature of the denominational life... received a more marked emphasis than the revival service.” George Rawlyk portrays Harding as a master of such services as he used his dramatic voice and stories to draw people “to repentance.” In 1809 Harding withdrew from the Nova Scotia Baptist Association when, under the direction of Edward Manning, it adopted closed communion. While Harding maintained contact with the others from a New Light background, he certainly adopted a less regulated approach to doctrine and churchmanship.

Crawford found the emotionalism and lack of teaching among the Yarmouth Baptists to be foreign to his ideas. He then began a friendship by letter with the Regular Baptist leaders who were closer to his position. His letters to Edward Manning of Cornwallis are open, frank and interesting and demonstrate a growing friendship and respect between the two. Crawford took great pains to explain his theology and the efforts he had made to make contact with the Baptists in Yarmouth. His relationship with Harris Harding was somewhat cool although until the Spring of 1813, he had occasionally been asked to preach if Harding was away. As the doctrinal differences between Crawford and Harding slowly clarified, tensions grew. Crawford tells of several efforts to get together with Harding to discuss theology at various places but Harding never appeared and always had an excuse. Crawford’s relationship with Harris Harding becomes more comprehensible when it is understood that Harding considered himself to be the successor of Henry Alline. Harding had asked Crawford to read some of Alline’s work. Crawford was very frank for he wondered if anyone could be saved “by believing the doctrines which his [Alline’s] books contains” because he felt Alline “ridiculed the atonement and intercession of Jesus Christ.” Crawford told Manning:

Mr. Harding was heartily resolved fully to defend Mr. Alline as a servant of God, and one who, if he was not infallible, had an uncommon measure of the Spirit, and his writings as being the mind of God.

Crawford also said that he had heard Harding preach and then knew why people were so ill informed about the Gospel. He asked Harding to visit him because “my worldly affairs rendered it impossible for me to visit Mr. Harding.” Harding did visit twice and even invited the Crawford to dinner. Crawford felt he was being patronized and so did not return the invitation.

The doctrinal differences between the two lay in Crawford’s strong adherence to the Haldane tradition and, as a result, he took exception to several areas of Baptist life in Nova Scotia. One of the major areas was the question of ordination. Crawford himself was never ordained although, on occasion, he may have used the Rev. before his name. For Crawford ordination was simply the setting aside of elders by a congregation to “preside” at meetings and to “feed them with knowledge and understanding” and to “watch for their souls.” He commented that a clergyman is a character that ought to have no existence in the church of God that everything which goes to distinguish a clergyman from the body of disciples is abominable to God and contributes to the support of Antichrist...

To him, every church was complete and independent and ought to observe every part of worship every first day of the week. This would include prayer, praise, reading of Scripture, salutation, breaking of bread, contributions for the poor, exhortation, and discipline “when necessary.” He felt believers and unbelievers should not observe “the ordinances” together and would hold all of the above list to be of equal importance. He further considered Associations of clergy and churches to be unscriptural and to be part, with the clergy, of “the distinguishing pledge of antichrist.” All church articles and covenants were wrong for “the church itself is the epistle of Christ known and read of all men. Majority decisions of
church meetings were also “sinful as setting aside the rule which God has given to direct us” in the Bible.43

Crawford’s firmness of position and directness of speech at times led him into conflict. In February 1813, he wrote to Manning that the Yarmouth Baptists’ mode of worship and beliefs were “so contrary to divine direction” that he could “by no means hold fellowship with them unless they change.”44 Manning replied: “Perhaps you think that some have better hearts than heads. If so, the word of the Lord is the only antidote.”45 In October the same year Crawford told of a further confrontation with local Baptists:

I thought it only fair to give my reason and so told them plainly that I had not evidence enough to convince me that there was a single Christian in Yarmouth.46

Because Harris Harding practiced open communion, Crawford felt there was no hope of discipline or true doctrine.47 In 1813 and again in 1814 Crawford urged Edward Manning to come to Yarmouth to help change the situation.48 Crawford’s distrust of Harding and others who had “that enthusiastic idea of having a personal internal sensible irresistible call from God to preach the Gospel” caused him to suggest that preaching was the easiest task of a pastor.49 He goes on to say that a call to preach is not the same as a call to be a pastor.50 He felt the teaching and preaching ministry should not rest only on the pastor.51 He seemed to perceive of himself as a teacher whose gifts were not being used.

In spite of his alienation from the local Baptist congregation, Crawford offered several far-sighted suggestions to Edward Manning. In 1814 he suggested that the Baptists hire two full time itinerate preachers on the Haldane model to do home mission work.52 A small beginning had been made that same year under the inspiration of Manning as two men were sent east of Chester to preach. This concept would grow to be a major thrust for the Maritime Baptists and one of the major reasons for their remarkable growth in the nineteenth century.53 Crawford also saw the need for a religious magazine. In May 1815 he wrote to Manning that because of the War “the spirit of reading has been greatly roused in Yarmouth and I suppose throughout the province by means of the war and the newspapers.”54 He felt that there would be a vacuum of interest in public papers and therefore it would be a good time to begin a magazine. He asked Manning to “lay this consideration before the friends who may meet at the association.55 He also remarked with true Scottish economy that such a paper would eliminate the need and expense of printing association minutes etc.56 It was not until 1827, however, that the

Baptists followed his advice and published The Baptist Missionary Magazine.57

As Crawford considered his future in 1813, he made one of his few references to his own condition.

Take the world in general and I think I have suffered as much as a dozen of my age. . . . How then at all should it have been if I enjoyed uninterrupted health and prosperity.58

Crawford never mentioned what his illness was nor does a commentator in 1861 who commented that he had many trials in his career and “he was ill able to bear them, having naturally a weak and sick constitution.”59 His ill health and lack of fellowship caused him to consider leaving Yarmouth.60 A Yarmouth Baptist summed up Crawford’s experience there:

Mr. Crawford was a Scotchman, and a Scotch Baptist. He had learned to think; our people had been taught to feel. Had there been more of the emotional in his religion and more of the intellectual in theirs all parties would have been improved.61

Prince Edward Island began to be a real option for Crawford. He had written to several of his friends there and they asked him to come help them for they had set up worship in various places.62 One was probably John Scott from Perthshire who apparently studied at the Haldanes’ school and emigrated to North River, P.E.I. in 1806 or 1807.63 There were several Scottish Baptists near Tryon as well and a number of others who met with them but who had not received believer’s baptism.64 There was also a church at Cross Roads with five members, one of whom, John R. Stewart, had been baptized in Scotland by the Haldanes.65 One other member had been baptized before coming to the Island. Stewart administered the Lord’s Supper and “generally exhorted and preached at the meetings.”66

Crawford visited the Island for the first time probably in October, 1812.67 In Three Rivers, the present day Montague, “he preached a sermon on baptism, and baptized eight persons, which, says Deacon Kennedy, ‘was the first scriptural baptizing that ever took place on P.E.I.’”68 He then organized the Three Rivers Baptist Church on the Scottish model with closed communion.69 William McLaren, one of the original members provided the leadership for some years.70 A few days after the baptism, a violent storm wracked the Island “which was said by many to be an immediate judgement from the Almighty, on account of Mr. Crawford’s plunging people in the water.”71 He returned to Yarmouth to his teaching but he had found “congenial
spirits" on Prince Edward Island and "longed to fix his residence there."  

His second visit to the Island took place in 1814. Crawford stopped at various places in Nova Scotia on his way there and back and was welcomed by the local Baptist churches and asked to preach in a number of them. He was overwhelmed by his welcome on Prince Edward Island where he was asked to preach at least once a day. He told Manning that they had "a great desire to hear sermons and requested much that I should go and stay with themselves." He made a serious study of the needs and opportunities and found there was one Roman Catholic priest, one Episcopalian, one Methodist and two Presbyterian clergymen on the Island.  

The Methodist and one of the Presbyterians are supposed to be Christians but the others serve their own masters. Both Presbyterians are of the anti-burgher sect.  

Because of their poverty, the people could only pay a pastor by great self-sacrifice. He said the Island needed "good government, good schools, good ministers, good doctors, good roads and men of property and public spirit to give life and activity to trade." He added: "In two places my friends proceed as a church but in the third place my friend has none to associate with him." One of these places was apparently Cross Roads where a mixed group had built a 30 x 20 feet log meeting house in 1813. Crawford baptized several members of this open communion church.  

The appeal to him from Prince Edward Island was obviously very strong. He wrote to Manning asking for prayer and advice for he wondered if he should go without a place or position. Crawford wrote:  

They wished me much to go among them and it is probable I may for it seems there is not much good to be done in Yarmouth by me. ... But still if men cry "come over and help us" we should go and leave events to God.  

His final decision was made between April 30 and May 22, 1815 when some friends came from the island and urged him to move. In his letter to Manning, the first pages of which were written on the first date, he does not mention the Island but May 22 finds him in Halifax on his way out of the province. He tells Manning that his health is better and that his wife and family are with him.  

The Scottish Baptists believed that only a "hireling ministry" would expect to be paid which meant that Crawford had to search for employment. One author says that "he spent the first year in a small log house, affording scanty accommodation and little comfort." He did secure a teaching position in Charlottetown in 1815 or 1816 and used his Sundays to preach, particularly among the people on Lot 48. While in Charlottetown, he helped found a Bible Society "for the express purpose of distributing bibles among the poor." Sometime during 1816 Crawford formed an official relationship with the Cross Roads Baptist Church. For a time he continued to teach in Charlottetown but left that when the church undertook to help him acquire a farm and to give him liberty to travel and preach. He ministered there about a year and a half before dissension arose. Levy comments that his "good work as an evangelist was often undone when he turned administrator, and the groups under his care were usually rent by schisms." There is no case, however, where he took a fragment of a congregation and began a new work. Because he saw the church "in a state of separation from the world," he exercised strict discipline in conduct and theology. The problem at Cross Roads probably related to his removal of fellowship from anyone who married outside the fellowship and the fact that the plans for the farm fell through.  

Crawford and his family then moved to Tryon where he gave pastoral leadership to the little group there from 1818 to 1821. He settled on a farm and remained there for the rest of his life. He added a number to the church but by 1820 trouble arose. George Bynon wrote:  

Mr. C. officiating as their pastor although not an ordained minister, preaching the word and breaking the bread of life to them and thus it continued ... to somewhere about 1820 or '21 when some differences arising between Mr. C. and his people about church government and some doctrinal points a coolness was engendered between them, which ended in the entire withdrawal of Mr. C. from his charge; accelerated no doubt by the arrival of Mr. Hyde, a Presbyterian minister who was ordained and settled here as Pastor of that church, this was in the summer of 1821.  

After his experience at Tryon, Crawford never accepted another pastorate but "itinerated in various parts of the Island" and often spoke in the churches from which he had withdrawn. Bynon in the same sketch quoted from above also suggested Crawford's orthodoxy was in doubt in two areas. The first was that he emphasized intellectual faith more than election which made him an Arminian. The second was that Crawford publicly denied "the eternal sonship of
In none of Crawford's writings is there any intimation of the above, nor are they mentioned by anyone but Bynon. The only question about his orthodoxy raised by others was the role of the Holy Spirit in salvation and that was because of his distrust of emotionalism.

One of the few glimpses of Crawford's private life comes from Walter Johnstone, a Scotsman who travelled in Prince Edward Island in 1820-1821 selling books and setting up Sabbath Schools. On July 15, 1820 he was taken to visit Alexander Crawford in Tryon. He remarked:

His farm, it was evident had been ill attended to, and some marks of poverty might be seen about his house . . . these are badges of honour to Mr. Crawford, . . . his poverty was occasioned by his abundant labours in the vineyard of his master.98

Crawford welcomed Johnstone and helped him set up a community meeting to consider setting up a Sabbath School. The village decided to set up both a Presbyterian and a Methodist school.99 Johnstone commended Crawford for his efforts to reach the Scottish settlers.

As there was no other Gaelic preacher of the Protestant faith upon the island, he [Crawford] had preached over it at great distances with little fee or reward.100

Johnstone then suggested that "some of the societies, who are attending to the wants of these [Highlanders] at home, . . . send this Gaelic preacher some assistance to enable him to itinerate at large, preaching the Gospel of Christ."101 Johnstone makes one further interesting comment about the English Presbyterian, Mr. Hyde, who had caused Crawford distress in 1821:

Indeed I found the prevailing opinion of the settlers [Scottish] was that English preachers did not answer the island, at least in the Presbyterian connection.102

There is no evidence that funds ever came from Scotland for his support and so he continued to depend upon his farm for support. Even though he preached all over the Island and founded churches at East Point, Three Rivers, Lot Forty-eight, Tryon, Cross Roads and Belfast he received no pay. At those times when the people gave him goods, he was able to carry them home.103 In spite of his poverty he sought to respond to every invitation to preach. There is one interesting story of two women, Mrs. John Kennedy and Mrs. James MacDonald who walked fifty miles in 1823 to invite Crawford to the east end of the Island. They borrowed a horse and the three travelled, with one walking while the other two rode, to Montague and from there they went by boat to Souris and then by foot to Kingsboro. Services began immediately and the two women were the first to receive adult believer's baptism in that area.104

By 1825 it was obvious to Crawford that he was unable to provide pastoral leadership to the Baptists of Prince Edward Island. Therefore, when Rev. Charles Tupper wrote him from Nova Scotia to enquire about opportunities to minister, Crawford "promptly replied" and, in Tupper's words, "urgently pressed me to visit the Island, as an inviting field of missionary service."105 Tupper arrived in June, 1825, and was "cordially received" by Crawford who then introduced him to various key places around the Island.106 Tupper, writing of Crawford in 1861, said:

He was a truly pious and exemplary man. Some of his peculiarities, however, appeared to me to diminish the usefulness of his labours.107

Tupper felt that Crawford's exclusion from the church of anyone who married outside the fellowship and his refusal to allow "singing in public worship" were the main reasons Prince Edward Island Baptists would not accept his pastoral leadership.108

Tupper was followed to the Island in 1826 by Elder Joseph Crandall of New Brunswick and Elder Theodore Seth Harding of Nova Scotia. Crandall does not mention Crawford at all but T.S. Harding apparently sought him out in Tryon and Crawford joined him in his travels to various points on the Island.109 Crandall and Harding organized a Regular Baptist Church in the Tryon-Bedeque area on October 28, 1826. The following year this church was received into the Nova Scotia Regular Baptist Association meeting at Chester, Nova Scotia.110 It would be 1833 before the rest of the Scottish Baptist Churches on the Island would negotiate entrance into the Association.111 Crawford understood that the coming of the Regular Baptists would lead to emphasis he did not like, but he still welcomed them.112

Crawford's relationship with the Regular Baptists was a strange one and somewhat typical of the man. While he never joined one of their churches, he attended the Nova Scotia Association meetings at Amherst in 1825, at Wilmot in 1826 and at Chester in 1827.113 He was obviously held in respect for at Chester he was invited, by a vote of the Association, "to take a seat with us in Council."114 He even preached the closing sermon. He had been held in suspicion by some
"of being unsound in reference to the work of the Holy Spirit" but in his sermon he "expressed himself very clearly and decidedly on the direct influence of the Holy Spirit in conversion." It was sound enough to please the strongly reformed Regular Baptists for, as was the custom of the day, Edward Manning, Joseph Dimock and James Munro "witnessed" to his sermon.116

Crawford's contact with the Nova Scotia Baptist Association never drew him into the mainstream of Baptist life. He did, however, contribute in several unique areas. One such area was a movement he began on the Island which was picked up on the mainland. He organized prayer meetings "on behalf of the heathen, on the first Monday of every month." A letter of his which had been circulated on the Island was published twenty years after his death in The Christian Visitor because of the number of useful suggestions it contained.118

A second major contribution to Baptist life was his book on Baptism which was published in Charlottetown in 1827. This was one of the few scholarly efforts by Baptists in the Maritime region for they were not usually drawn from educated circles of society. Crawford was obviously well read and may have had a sound library for he quotes from a number of works, many of which dealt with Greek and Hebrew texts in the Bible. His position is obvious from the title: Believer Immersion as Opposed to Unbeliever Sprinkling, In Two Essays: First on the Abrahamic Covenant; Second, On Baptism to which are added Three Letters to Mr. Ross of Pictou. A debate had arisen between the Presbyterians including Mr. Munro of Antigonish, Mr. Ross of Pictou and Mr. Jackson and the Baptists led by a Mr. Elder. Crawford entered the fray because he felt there was a segment of the argument yet to be debated. He argued with Ross on the Abrahamic Covenant which was Ross's home ground. Crawford argued that the Abrahamic Covenant was temporal and that circumcision and baptism were not initiating ordinances. Birth was the initiating ordinance in Abraham's family. Crawford also argued that "if the divine promises are hereditary, election is excluded." Much to the delight of the Calvinistic Regular Baptists, he argued that the Baptists had the truly consistent reformed position. The work was well thought out. M. Allen Gibson comments: "Crawford was a master apologist, his style is scholarly, his arguments cogent, and his treatment is thorough." Crawford did not think of himself as a scholar but as one "whose chief time of study is while walking the road, or handling the ax or grubbing hoe."126

One final glimpse of Alexander Crawford is found in a fourteen page letter to R.D. Creed written on January 13, 1828. The letter was written to encourage Creed in the Halifax church divisions and demonstrates that Crawford consistently held to the Haldanes' theological position to the very end. The letter shows him to be depressed and, as he faces death questioning the purpose of his life

I have become a burden to my friends and family. I once thought the Lord had called me to preach the Gospel . . . I have always had to provide for a large family, and through much bodily affliction, want of something to begin with and want of knowledge of my employment, I never arrived at a competence, I fear much that I ran unsent.128

The letter includes the reasoning of a man who is still intellectually alert. He ends his letter with words of hope "for we shall be rewarded according to our faithfulness and not according to our success."129

Alexander Crawford died on May 15, 1828, at the age of 42. He was buried in the People's Burial Ground in Crapaud, Prince Edward Island. A tombstone was erected with money raised by public subscription. The inscription calls him the "Late Pastor of the Baptist Church, P.E. Island." He made his will on April 8, 1828, in which he left everything to his wife, Jane.131

Five years after Crawford's death, the majority of Scottish Baptist Churches on the Island joined the Nova Scotia Baptist Association. They had reaped the harvest which Crawford had sown. One further mention must be made of the fate of his converts for a number of them became followers of Alexander Campbell and joined the Disciples of Christ. This denomination also looks to Alexander Crawford as its founder on the Island for, when it arrived fifteen years after his death there was a ready made group of sympathizers.132

M. Allen Gibson calls Crawford "the most interesting figure in the story of Island Baptists." One reason for this is that he is such an enigma. While holding strong convictions which he lived by implicitly, he was also warm and open. While refusing to join a fellowship which did not meet his exacting requirements he still fellowshipped with and preached for those who had rejected his leadership. While living a life filled with poverty and ill health, he would leave everything and travel great distances to minister. Deacon Kennedy, who had sat under him, wrote:

His character was unimpeachable. He was a humble self-denying spirit - of a kind disposition - had a great degree of patience and forbearance; - and above all he was influenced by the spirit of
meekness which is not easily provoked, and which suffers injuries without a desire for revenge. In the pulpit, he enforced religion; in his conduct he exemplified it. 134

If Alexander Crawford had been less convinced of his own convictions and more open to change he would have been a natural leader in Maritime Baptist circles. Yet it is impossible to separate the man from the theology for he is one of those rare individuals who sought to live a thoroughly consistent life. His legacy therefore must lie in the churches he planted, in the scholarship he displayed and in the insights he gave into early Baptist life in the Maritimes.

NOTES

1I.E. Bill, Fifty Years With the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces of Canada (Barnes and Co., Saint John, 1880), p. 662.
3Bill, Fifty Years ..., p. 662.
5Haldane, Memoirs ..., p. 301.
6Haldane, Memoirs ..., pp. 165-188.
7Ibid., p. 207.
8Ibid., p. 216.
11Haldane, Memoirs ..., p. 326.
14Alexander Crawford, Believer Immersion as opposed to Unbeliever Sprinkling, In Two Essays: First on the Abrahamic Covenant; Second On Baptism to which are added Three Letters to Mr. Ross of Pictou (James D. Hazard, Charlottetown, 1827), p. 130.
16Ibid., p. 248.
17There are several dates given for Crawford's arrival in Yarmouth but Crawford's Letter to Edward Manning from Yarmouth to Cornwallis, February 8, 1813, gives the date as November 1810. This letter and three others to Manning between 1813 and 1815 are in the Manning Collection at Acadia University.
18Cramp, The Baptists ..., p. 248.
19Alexander Crawford, A Letter to Edward Manning (Manning Collection, Acadia University) February 8, 1813, p. 1.
-----, A Letter to Edward Manning (Manning Collection, Acadia University) October 2, 1813, p. 1.
20Crawford, Letter to Manning, October 2, 1813, p. 1.
21-----, Letter to Manning, February 8, 1813, p. 1.
22Levy, The Baptists ..., pp. 53-54.
23Ibid., p. 80.
24Ibid., p. 79.
26Levy, The Baptists ..., p. 75-78.
27Only four letters to Manning survive and until 1980 had not been used for any discussion of Crawford.
28Crawford, A Letter to Manning, October 2, 1813, p. 1.
29Ibid.
30Rawlyk, "From New Light ..., pp. 11 ff.
31Crawford, A Letter to Manning, October 2, 1813, p. 1.
32Ibid.
33Ibid.
35Crawford, A Letter to Manning, February 8, 1813, p. 1.
36Ibid., p. 2.
37Ibid.
38Ibid.
39Crawford, A Letter to Manning, February 8, 1813, p. 2.
40Ibid.
41Crawford, A Letter to Manning, October 2, 1813, p. 2.
-----, A Letter to Manning, February 8, 1813, p. 2.
42-----, A Letter to Manning, February 8, 1813, p. 3.
43Ibid., p. 2.
45Ibid.
46Crawford, A Letter to Manning, October 2, 1813, p. 1.
47-----, A Letter to Manning, December 28, 1814, pp. 1 and 3.
48-----, A Letter to Manning, October 2, 1813, p. 3.
49Ibid.
Alexander Crawford, A Letter to Edward Manning from Halifax to Cornwallis (Manning Collection, Acadia University) May 22, 1815, p. 2.
50Ibid.
51Crawford, A Letter to Manning, October 2, 1813, p. 2.
52-----, A Letter to Manning, December 28, 1814, pp. 2-3.
Ibid.

55Crawford, A Letter to Manning, October 2, 1813, p. 3.
56Cramp, The Baptists . . . , p. 249.
58George Bynon, Tryon Prince Edward Island United Baptist Church, An Historical Sketch of the Church (Manuscript, Acadia University, 1847).
59Sinnott, History . . . , p. 4.
60Cross Roads Baptist Church, Record of Events: 1810-1896 (Manuscript, Prince Edward Island Public Archives), p. 044.
61Crawford visited Prince Edward Island for the first time in either 1811 or 1812. The records are not conclusive either way. It is even unclear as to how many times he visited. It seems that a visit in 1812 and 1814 before moving there in 1815 is probably the correct sequence. Butchart and Cramp say 1811, Gibson and Levy say 1812 and Sinnott suggests there was a trip each year. In the light of the Manning letters and the clarification of the 1814 visit I have opted for the dates used by Levy and Gibson.
64Sinnott, History . . . , p. 4.
66Ibid., pp. 2-3.
67Cross Roads Baptist . . . , pp. 044-045.
68Ibid., p. 045.
69Crawford, A Letter to Manning, December 28, 1814, p. 3.
70Ibid., pp. 2-3.
71Ibid., p. 3.
73Ibid.
74Ibid., pp. 2-3.
75Ibid., p. 2.
76Ibid.
77Ibid.
78Ibid.
79Ibid.
80Cross Roads Baptist . . . , pp. 044-045.
81Ibid., p. 045.
82Crawford, A Letter to Manning, December 28, 1814, p. 3.
83Ibid., pp. 2-3.
84Ibid., p. 3.
85Crawford, A Letter to Manning, May 22, 1815, p. 3.
86Levy, The Baptists . . . , p. 89.
87Cramp, The Baptists . . . , p. 249.
88Ibid.
89Ibid., p. 250.
90Ibid., p. 249.
91Cross Roads Baptist . . . , pp. 045.
92Levy, The Baptists . . . , p. 98.
94Cramp, The Baptists . . . , p. 249.
96Cramp, The Baptists, p. 249.
97Bynon, Tryon . . . , pp. 27-28.
98Walter Johnstone, Travels in Prince Edward Island, Gulf of St. Lawrence, North America, In the Years 1820-1821 undertaken with a Design to Establish Sabbath Schools (James Robertson and Co., Edinburgh, 1824), p. 30.
99Ibid., p. 35.
100Ibid.
101Ibid., p. 30.
102Ibid., p. 115.
104Sinnott, History . . . , p. 9.
105Bedeque, P.E.I. United Baptist Church, An Historical Sketch of the Church (Manuscript, Acadia University, n.d.), p. 5.
107Sinnott, History . . . , p. 6.
109Ibid.
110Ibid.
113Ibid., p. 85.
114Bynon, Tryon . . . , pp. 16-17.
119Alexander Crawford, A Letter to R.D. Creed from Tryon to Halifax (Baptist Collection, Acadia University) January 13, 1828, p. 2.
121Ibid., p. 8.
122Minutes of the Nova . . . , p. 8.
123Cramp, The Baptists . . . , p. 250.
124Ibid.
125Ibid.
127Crawford refers to about 8 different works of reference in this book.
A.N. Bethune (1800-1879)
Scottish Canadian Anglican

D.C. MASTERS

I

An interesting feature of the history of the Anglican Church in Canada was the number of Presbyterians who left their church to join the Anglican Church. John Strachan, the redoubtable Bishop of Toronto (1778-1867) was the best known but there were others. W.T. Leach (1805-1886), a Scot who was minister of St. Andrews Church, Toronto for seven years left the Presbyterian Church in 1842. He was ordained into the Anglican ministry by Bishop G.J. Mountain and had a long career in the Anglican ministry in Montreal and on the faculty of McGill University. Another convert was Robert Machray, the Bishop of Rupert's Land (1865-1904).

Why these men decided to shift from Presbyterianism to Anglicanism is a large topic which might well provide the basis for a major study. Leach said he had become convinced that the Anglican form of church government was superior to the Presbyterian. Explanations of Strachan's "conversion" vary with the general attitude of particular historians to Strachan. Some explain it as the result of self-interest. Others are more charitable.

A.N. Bethune, the subject of this article, was another convert from