

RELIGION AND THE WAR OF 1812 IN UPPER CANADA - PART ONE

BRITISH MILITARY CHAPLAINS

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Religion is a rare subject in books on the War of 1812.¹ This article is one of a series on the general topic as it relates to the war in Upper Canada between 1812 and 1815. It will be of interest to those in the community of reenactors who might wish to portray a Military Chaplain in the British encampment. As with all portrayals of people from the period, a thing done well is the most satisfying, and the information below might help to achieve this. In the Upper Canadian communities in 1812 religion played a very important role in daily and weekly life. Large numbers of the Loyalist settlers who had moved north following the American Revolutionary War were Methodists.² or from other Dissenting groups. But, as in England, “establishment” religious life was dominated by the Church of England.

1. Abolition of Regimental Chaplains

Partly because of the wish to control chaplains, and partly because of widespread abuse, the position of Regimental Chaplain had been abolished in 1796. In many cases such men tended to be cronies of the Regimental Colonel who appointed them, and, according to the Chaplain General, in a letter to the Commander of the Forces in the West Indies, “*by strange abuse considered themselves exempt from duty.*”³ In 1796 Chaplaincy Department was established with primarily “Non-Residential Garrison Chaplains”,⁴ and then in 1809 a system of Brigade Chaplains was introduced. Brigade Chaplains received a King’s Commission for their duties, were placed on the Army Establishment and under military discipline. The recommended ratio of Chaplain to troops under his care was approximately 1:3000.

2. Becoming a Chaplain

The reputation gained by Regimental Chaplains before 1796 necessitated a stricter system of Chaplaincy if the public purse was to bear the cost. The system in place from 1796 until 1809 was an improvement, but on Dec. 25 1809 new regulations were introduced which made the Chaplaincy department and its servants much more accountable for their activities.

First, all applicants for the position of Chaplain were to be judged according to their physical and emotional fitness, *“for the fatigues and duties of their employment before it becomes necessary to order them on foreign service”*⁵

Second, no Chaplain destined for home or foreign duty was to have a *“Benefice with the cure of souls”*. In other words he was to be independent of responsibilities at home. He was to hold a King’s Commission, and would be placed under Army discipline. This meant he could be ordered wherever the Army wished, and removing him from the responsibility of a local parish avoided any clash of loyalties.

Third, to be considered for Chaplaincy the applicant had to be supported by two bishops and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and confirmed by the Commander in Chief. The Secretary at War wished to have more say in the matter, and eventually did. This seems to be the result of local military commanders wishing to have as little to do with what they might consider nonmilitary matters. In any event the volumes of correspondence between the Secretary at War and the Chaplain General generated during wartime demonstrate Palmerston’s keen interest in the Department, especially in its expenditures.

Chaplains on foreign duties could be appointed and removed by the local Commander in Chief, in the case of Canada, Sir George Prevost. On the occasion of the removal of a Chaplain deemed unsuitable for the position (and there many such cases) the local C-in-C could provide a substitute *“whose moral and intellectual character may be equal”*.⁶

Discipline of Chaplains for failure in their duties was not uncommon, and supported a

high set of expectations for the Chaplain in their performance. Extensive correspondence over two and half years exists on the matter of the Rev. Mr. Holloway of Sheerness, who was dismissed from his post for unspecified reasons.⁷ A Rev. Mr. Dennis was dismissed for “*a scandalous neglect of his duty*”⁸ in a manner similar to that of the Rev. Thomas Williams stationed in Portugal. Williams had performed no recognizable duties, and was asked for his resignation.⁹ More fortunate was the case of the Rev. Richard Burnett who, in 1814, had deserted his post at Heligoland, and had returned home to be with his sick son and impecunious wife. He was dismissed on half-pay and allowed to teach in his local parochial school in Essex.¹⁰

In effect, the new system made it more difficult to become a Chaplain than it did to become an officer. For the latter an education befitting a Gentleman, and enough money to purchase a commission in a Regiment with a vacancy were sufficient to secure an ensigncy.¹¹

3. Chaplain’s Ecclesiastical Connection

All Chaplains of the Army on the Establishment were members of the Church of England. The civilian establishment was reflected in the Military. Non-Anglicans who had applied for positions as Chaplains in the Army - mostly Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, and one Baptist - were denied.¹² As the Chaplain General wrote to the Secretary at War, “*Soldiers prefer the Church Establishment & they have more confidence in what comes from those they are in the habit of obeying.*”¹³ In truth the opinion of the soldier had nothing to do with it. The close link between the established institutions in England was simply duplicated in the Army.¹⁴ There was a very small number of exceptions made to this rule later in the War. These exceptions were made on the basis of expediency, and illustrate how pragmatic the Army could be when needed.¹⁵

4. Local Parochial Clergy

In the event of the absence of a proper Army Chaplain local Parochial Clergy (“*Clergymen of Good Character...on the spot*”¹⁶) were brought in by the local commanding

officer to offer the duties of the Chaplain. They were prohibited from being on the Army Staff because they were already employed by the Church. They served whatever troops happened to be in the vicinity, and it was expected that their churches would be opened for local troops. This did cause some considerable tension in local parishes.¹⁷ Such men were paid per duty. Their performance was recorded and approved by the CO.

This arrangement was particularly appropriate in England during the Napoleonic Wars when the size of the Army increased greatly. Troops were spread throughout the country and stationed in numerous garrisons and barracks. In Upper Canada the arrangement is modified by a combination of the office of Garrison Chaplain and Local Parochial Clergy.

5. Duties of the Chaplain

The regular duties of the Chaplain were carefully delineated. Divine Service, according to the rite of the Church of England, was to be given at least once per Sunday for the troops who were on compulsory Church parade. The service would follow the pattern as set down in the Book of Common Prayer. In writing to the Rev. Robert Hoblys, Army Chaplain at Colchester in 1810, the Chaplain General states:

*Army Chaplains on the Establishment will be expected to Perform
Divine Service to the Troops, to Baptize their Children, and to Bury
their Dead.*¹⁸

But this offers only the barest outline of their duties. The Divine Service was to be accompanied by a sermonette, for “*It is the Commander in Chief’s particular wish that there shall always be a Discourse with the Divine Service.*”¹⁹

In addition to the performance of Divine Service, visitation of the sick and wounded in Military hospitals was compulsory twice per week. This was a special concern for the Chaplains General, John Gamble and John Owen. Owen himself served in India and the West Indies, and

had developed an admirable reputation for visiting the sick. In a dispute with no less a person than the Adjutant General over the advisability of insisting that his Chaplains visit even soldiers with infectious fevers, Gamble was adamant. He regarded the Adjutant General's favour of the 'rights' of the Chaplain to resist such a duty as breathing "*too much of the intolerable spirit of Methodism which I think ought to be suppressed.*"²⁰ This was an opinion which Owen clearly shared.

Even the visitation of the sick was to be accompanied by a brief discourse which would be "*suited to the habits, Moral and Intellectual of the Soldier.*"²¹ Based on his own extensive experience, Owen regarded the young soldier, sick, and alone in a Hospital bed as particularly susceptible to words of encouragement and spiritual guidance. He refers to this in many pieces of correspondence.

The final duty of the Chaplain was to take administrative control of the numerous Regimental schools which were being established wherever the Army was stationed. Under the patronage of the Prince Regent and with the enthusiastic support of the Duke of Wellington, Regimental schools were set up in Lisbon in 1811, and in other parts of British influence, such as North America. One such school had been in existence at St. John's, Prince Edward Island, for several years by 1811. Modeling themselves on the pattern of the Royal Military Asylum in Chelsea, they were "*For the Management and Education of a Certain Number of Orphan and other Children of Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers of the Army.*"²²

These schools were revolutionary and far-sighted in their day, and were designed to teach boys and girls reading, writing and certain necessary skills for life. Although educational reform was in the wind in the early part of the 19th century in England, the first major reform did not take place until 1833, and the first official Education Act was not passed until more than thirty years after this. The pride with which Owen regarded these schools is obvious in his report to

the Secretary at War in 1812, and in which he states “500 little ragamuffin children of both sexes who were wandering about the streets of Lisbon are now taught and disciplined.”²³

Although this does not affect the situation in North America, Chaplains were also appointed to hold services on the numerous prison ships dotted around the harbours of England and which held prisoners of war from Napoleon’s armies and from the American Army.

6. Chaplaincy in Upper Canada

Troops overseas were less well served than those in Britain, and in the Chaplain General’s Office there was a constant concern expressed about “*the much neglected state of our Foreign Garrisons*”²⁴ The Secretary at War’s instructions to Governor General Prevost were that [1] the selection of Chaplains was to be left up to the General Officer Commanding (Prevost); [2] occasional reports on their performance should be sent to the Chaplain General and the Secretary at War; [3] no additional payments beyond what was specified should be made; [4] all extra allowances were forbidden; [5] an attempt at equivalence in pay be made; [6] records and returns to be sent twice a year to the Secretary at War.²⁵ The Chaplaincy arrangements the Army made in Upper Canada were similar to those made in other parts of the British possessions in North America and the West Indies. The duties of Chaplains in Canada are little different from those demanded of Chaplains throughout the world. A summary is contained in a letter written by the Chaplain General to the Rev. Mr. Brisay, at St. John’s garrison, Prince Edward Island in 1811. They were to visit the sick, preach earnestly, “*rail against drunkenness*”, and watch over the schools for soldiers’ children.²⁶ The majority of Brigade, or Garrison Chaplains, that is, Commissioned Chaplains on the Army Establishment were stationed either in England, or in the Iberian Peninsula. Initially, in Upper and Lower Canada there was an almost complete reliance upon local Parochial Clergy, the men “*on the Spot*”. But, whereas in England local parochial Clergy were paid according to the specific duty they had performed, in the Canadas all Chaplains

were eventually given a regular annual salary. By the end of 1813 most of them were placed on the Army Establishment as Garrison Chaplains, while still maintaining their local parish responsibilities. Additional Military Chaplains were brought to Canada in 1814. This was a case where local conditions determined a slight bending of the rules, and for good reason.

The variance in the local systems is nevertheless consistent with the goal of the Office of the Chaplain General. Enough money should be made available for Chaplains “*sufficient to induce respectable clergyman to undertake the duty in question,*”²⁷ but, on the other hand, the Office was committed to constructing “*the most frugal and most efficient modes of affording Divine Service to the Troops*”.²⁸

In Canada at the outbreak of the War the number of Anglican clergymen available to serve the troops was small, as was the number of regular troops serving in the country. In Upper and Lower Canada there were eight Churches of England and one mission between the city of Quebec and the settlement of Sandwich (Windsor), and they were served as follows:

Quebec	T.J. Mountain
Montreal	D. Mountain
Three Rivers	R.J. Short
William Henry	J. Jackson
Kingston	G.O. Stuart ²⁹
Cornwall ³⁰	Rev. Ballaynes
York	J. Strachan
Fort George (Niagara)	R. Addison
Amherstburg	R. Pollard ³¹

In addition to these local parish clergy arrangements were made with other clergy who served as Brigade Chaplains. The Rev. Mr. Robitaille was appointed in February 1813 as

Chaplain to the Embodied Militia.³² The Rev. Robert Addison of Niagara was appointed Brigade Chaplain to the Centre Division of the British army in Upper Canada in August, 1813.³³ In July of 1814 the Rev. Mr. Norris was appointed Chaplain to the Forces and Brigade Chaplain at Montreal.³⁴ Whatever duties the Rev. D. Mountain in Montreal had, they were transferred to the Rev. Mr. Mills on August 20th, 1814.³⁵ In the same month the Rev. Mr. Jenkins was appointed Chaplain to Headquarters in Quebec.³⁶ The subject of Roman Catholic priests appointed as Chaplains to various brigades will be dealt with in a future article.

7. Upper Canada's "good men on the spot"

At the outbreak of the War of 1812 the available clergymen in Upper Canada consisted of a remarkable group of men, some of whom had a considerable reputation for adventure (Pollard), business dealings (Addison), political ambition (Strachan) and ecclesiastical correctness (Stuart).

a. *Robert Addison (1751-1828) Niagara*

English-born Robert Addison was one of the longest serving clergymen in Upper Canada. Although educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (MA 1785) his prospects in the church in England were not promising, so he applied as a missionary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. In the summer of 1792 he arrived at the Provincial capital of Upper Canada, Newark, where he began the rest of his life's work.

He became Chaplain to the legislature, missionary to the Six Nations and local parish priest in an area populated mostly by Dissenters. He oversaw the construction of the first building of St. Mark's Church, Niagara, and witnessed its destruction by the American Army in 1813. Constantly short of money³⁷ he engaged in some questionable business ventures, and land speculation.

Politically he was critical of the government and became linked with radicals like Joseph Willcocks, but he remained loyal to the crown. As a preacher he was indifferent,³⁸ although he

built up a good reputation as a parish priest. He was a remarkably active man during his long life of seventy seven years, and this in spite of his self-confessed laziness.

During his long tenure at St. Marks he had served the local garrison soldiers at Fort George, but it was not until the outbreak of war that he was made the Garrison Chaplain with an annual stipend of £60.³⁹ It was in this capacity that he officiated at the funeral of Isaac Brock and James MacDonnell, and was able to receive a Captain's share of the prize money from the attack on Old Fort Niagara, Black Rock and Buffalo later in 1813.⁴⁰

b. *George O'Kill Stuart (1776-1862) York and Kingston*

Stuart was one of the less remarkable clergy in Upper Canada. Born of Loyalist parents, he returned to the United States at the turn of the century to enroll in Harvard College. In 1801 he was awarded the AB degree. Although ordained in the previous year, Stuart's main concern in his early life was education and he opened schools in Kingston and York. In the latter place he followed the teaching methods of Joseph Lancaster, similar to that of Dr. Bell's, in which older, more experienced children were used as mentors of the younger ones. It was an effective, and inexpensive form of education.

In 1801 Stuart was appointed as parish priest in York under the auspices of the SPG, and served at the Home District Grammar School as its Head Master from 1807. In 1812 he was removed to Kingston, and replaced by John Strachan.

Stuart also lived a long and successful life, becoming involved in the lesser hierarchy of the Church of England, and in the year of his death had been appointed the first Dean of the Diocese of Ontario.

c. *Richard Pollard (1753-1824) Sandwich and Amherstburg*

Richard Pollard seems the most attractive, and indeed the most interesting of the Anglican clergymen in the province at this time. English-born and educated (only in

grammar school), he trained as a lawyer and had a modest career in business. Following his brother to North America he arrived in Quebec in 1775 and took part in its defence against the attacks of Benedict Arnold. He also petitioned the British government to send sufficient arms and powder to the Province.

Trading and conducting business from Catarqui, Niagara and then Detroit he eventually became involved in the politics of the region, serving in numerous capacities, including Sheriff of Essex and Kent, and registrar and Judge of the Surrogate Court. Financial losses and increasing debts plagued Pollard, and in the late 1790s he made the unusual decision to become ordained as an Church of England priest. His ordination took place in Quebec in 1801, and he returned to Sandwich the following year.

His responsibilities included offering Divine Service and the visitation of the sick, not only at Sandwich, but also at the garrison in Amherstburg, which was growing in importance, and all stations between. His involvement in politics, business and local government certainly encroached on the time he could spend as a Chaplain, and his visits to Amherstburg were restricted to once per month. This led eventually to a protracted correspondence, prompted by the Chaplain General's comment that *"I have no reason to suppose that the troops have in another place been so scantily supplied as at Amherstburg, as far as I can collect they have at other stations, had Divine Service once each Sunday."*⁴¹ For this truncated service, Pollard was offered only £12 per year, a compensation he protested.⁴²

When the Right Division retreated from the Detroit frontier Pollard accompanied the troops, and was captured by the Americans at Moraviantown. He was returned to his parish within weeks, but his church had been burned and his parishioners scattered. He traveled to York in early 1814 where he conducted occasional services in the city and at the Head of the Lake. By 1815 he had returned to Sandwich and spent much of the rest of his life founding churches in the

growing towns and cities along the Thames River. He died in 1824, not a wealthy man, but remembered for his personal charm and kindnesses.

d. *John Strachan (1778-1867) York*

If Pollard was the most attractive of the Chaplains, John Strachan was the most controversial. Strachan was born into a Presbyterian family in Aberdeen, Scotland, and had begun an academic career at the University of Aberdeen (AM in 1797), and at then went on to further studies at St. Andrew's University. This second stage was never finished, and in 1799 he emigrated to Canada to pursue life as a teacher. His early life in Canada was disappointing, and he did not achieve his ambition to found an academy in Kingston. Instead he was confined to being tutor to the children of a few local business families.

Strachan then sought ordination, first with the Presbyterians, then with the Anglicans. He was ordained priest in June, 1804. Some thought this was an example of his opportunism. For the next eight years he lived and worked in the Anglican mission at Cornwall, initially with little success. He did, however, make a good reputation as a teacher, and among his pupils were many young men who were to achieve prominence in society. In 1811 the University of Aberdeen awarded him the degree, Doctor of Divinity.

Hoping to succeed his mentor, John Stuart, at Kingston, he was disappointed when Stuart's son, George O'Kill Stuart was moved to Kingston from York. Strachan succeeded the younger Stuart at York, a place he did not hold in very high opinion. At York he remained as parish priest, and as Military Chaplain for many years. He also became extremely active in local politics and business and achieved a large measure of power and influence during and after the war.

Ambitious, opinionated, and some would say prejudiced, he was not an easy man to get on with. He made enemies among the loyalists, yet cultivated numerous political partnerships,

most of which turned out to his advantage. He disliked anything “non-establishment” especially in matters of religion, and maintained an ongoing crusade against the style of religion of the Methodists. His parish work, and his work as a military chaplain were conscientiously done. He held divine service for the troops on a regular basis, and visited the sick and wounded in the military hospitals. However, one person he visited was not too impressed with either his theology or his demeanour. George Ferguson, the Methodist soldier of the 100th Regiment of foot had been wounded at the Battle of Chippewa, and evacuated to the hospital at York. His opinion of Strachan was expressed in the following words he wrote in his journal:

Dr. Strachan visited us and read prayers. On one occasion he lectured on the seventh Chap. of Romans. He gave us the marrow of Calvinism. He presented Paul as under the dominion of sin, and thus encouraged men in their sins. May God save us from such spiritual guides.⁴³

These sketches of the Church of England Chaplains who served the troops in Upper Canada are offered to demonstrate that these men were men of stature, and not the ineffective weaklings often portrayed in literature and film. They worked against almost overwhelming odds, were underpaid and often over-extended.⁴⁴ They served in their duties as Chaplains well, gave comfort whenever they could to sick and wounded men, and eventually contributed to the growth and culture of the province.

8. Chaplain's Compensation

The War Department had taken responsibility for Chaplaincy in 1796, and revised the Office in 1809. With the increase in expenses with the growth of the conflict in the Iberian Peninsula, the need for more troops, and the consequent need for more chaplains, the amount of money set at the disposal of the Chaplain General's office was limited. The policy was simple,

to get the best form of chaplaincy for the smallest expense.⁴⁵

a. *Salary*

The Chaplain General's salary was a generous £500 per year⁴⁶, but it is clear that John Owen was a conscientious and industrious man who earned his money. Accounts submitted for 1811 showed that the current costs for active clergymen, whether chaplains or local parish clergy paid for their services, was somewhat less than the bill for half-pay retirees.⁴⁷ The regular salary for a Chaplain on the Establishment was the same as that of a Major in the Army.⁴⁸ This was a policy accepted by Prevost for North America.⁴⁹

Regular Chaplains may have been given a salary, but local Parish Clergy were paid per duty performed. Although in some correspondence from the Chaplain General's office it appears that the salary was fixed, for the colonial postings it was quite flexible, and at times appears arbitrary. The problem was that in the Colonies, and especially North America, few Chaplains fit the criteria of those on the Establishment without a local parish. As we have seen, all of the Chaplains assigned in Upper Canada had their alternative sources of income from their parishes, or the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

b. *Allowances*

In addition to the salary, Home Chaplains were given an allowance to provide for one horse to be used in public service,⁵⁰ and provision for forage on an annual basis.⁵¹ Also for Home Chaplains accommodation was to be supplied in barracks as for field officers, or the alternative of one guinea per week was to be paid for housing.⁵² In London the allowances were even more generous. Housing was to be set aside for those Chaplains, presumably from brigades stationed in or near the city, who visited the sick regularly in the capital.⁵³

Sometimes local parish clergy tried to take advantage of the system of allowances, either by exaggerating their service, or the number of soldiers who attended their church services.

Careful note was taken of the performance of their duties by the local commanding officer and this was reported to Headquarters. The Secretary at War, noting the trend towards a “*whimsical accumulation of allowances*”, refused to increase the allowances for a Brigade Chaplain or for local parish clergy.⁵⁴

In any event the payment of Chaplains in North America in general and Upper Canada in particular, was different. On Prevost’s recommendation, the salary for local parish clergy, doubling as Garrison Chaplains - itself an unusual arrangement - was fixed, but not according to the regulation pay for a Major serving in the field. Some received more, some considerably less. No allowances for North American Chaplains were granted. The reason being their independent income and housing. In Upper Canada salaries were fixed as follows:⁵⁵

Kingston	George O. Stuart	£60
York	John Strachan	£120
Fort George	Robert Addison	£60
Amherstburg	Richard Pollard	£12

T.J. Mountain in Quebec received £150 per year, and George Wright in Halifax received £130 per year. These were, of course, Headquarters appointments.

Richard Pollard of Sandwich seems to have been unfairly treated. Although he provided Divine Service only once per month at Amherstburg, he was also responsible for the troops garrisoned along the entire Detroit frontier, a point he makes clear in his complaint to the Military Secretary, Noah Freer.⁵⁶ An added burden for Pollard was that he could not claim payment for travel from Sandwich to Amherstburg, nor was he supplied with accommodation when he arrived at Amherstburg. Both Addison of Niagara and D. Mountain of Montreal also protested their small remuneration.⁵⁷

c. *War Office with a Heart*

Although salaries were small, and regulations placed always in favour of the War Department, there were some remarkable incidents of generosity, particularly to retired and infirm chaplains.

The Chaplain General prior to Owen, the Rev John Gamble, retired in 1810 and died shortly afterwards. His retirement pay was set at £107.13.6 per year.⁵⁸ However following his death his widow's allowance was reduced to £40. Palmerston simply doubled the amount.⁵⁹ In a similar manner James Tunstall, living in Montreal, had been a loyal chaplain during the American Revolutionary War and had retained his commission until 1809, at which time it was revoked. Because of this Tunstall was not eligible for a pension. Because he had spent sixteen years in prison for his loyal stance in the United States, and because by 1811 he had deteriorated in both mind and body, his commission was reinstated, and he and his family were allowed a modest pension. The Rev. Matthew Byles, of New Brunswick, was an old loyalist Chaplain who was now old and sick. He was retired on full pay.

In spite of these gestures, Chaplains were generally overworked, and underpaid, a point conceded by their champion, John Owen.

9. Chaplain's Dress

Although they held the King's Commissions, were duly gazetted and were under military discipline, Chaplains on the Establishment wore no formal uniforms. These were issued to chaplains only in 1861. Like all clergy who performed Chaplain's duties for troops they would have worn civilian clothing - usually black, with a white shirt and 'clerical tabs' at the front.

When performing Chaplaincy duties by the offering of Divine Service on Sundays, they would be dressed as normal clergy, with an ankle-length black cassock, over which was worn a white, loose-fitting surplice. Sometimes they wore a stole (like an embroidered scarf). Nothing

was worn on the head during service. No clergyman of the day would wear facial hair. It was completely out of fashion for middle, and upper classes. It was usually a symbol of the 'working man', who could not afford the luxury of hot water and a razor. I know of no contemporary illustration of clergymen from this period with facial hair.

Divine Service was always taken from the Book of Common Prayer, in the 17th century (1662) version. All service are listed there, the most common one for soldiers was "Matins", at which a brief 'discourse', or sermon was given. Chanting of some psalms, some Biblical poems, like the "Te Deum" or "Magnificat" with a little hymn-singing comprised the music. Church parades were compulsory when soldiers were stationed in barracks. Since this was an official parade, uniforms were clean and all belts properly whitened with pipe-clay. Whether officers were duty-bound to attend is not clear. The Officer of the Day would certainly accompany the troops, as would any zealous regimental or brigade commander.

During thw war there was a growing number of Roman Catholic soldiers in Upper Canada, whether Canadian Militia, or recruits from Ireland. When Methodist services were held many troops and officers attended. The largest religious group in Upper Canada during the war were Methodists. Both of these phenomena demanded some adjustments on the part of the Military Establishment. But these topics are the subjects of other articles.

¹ One exception is the excellent study of religion in the United States during the War of 1812 by C. Gribbin, *The Churches Militant: The War of 1812 and American Religion*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973). One British author, George Robert Gleig, served as a subaltern during the Peninsular Campaign and after the war became a clergyman and chaplain. He joined General Ross's campaign down the east coast of the United States in 1814, and was an observer at the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815. He wrote much on these experiences, but always from the perspective of the professional soldier. By 1844 he had achieved the rank of Chaplain General, and brought in many fine reforms to the Chaplaincy Department. Unfortunately, his most creative work lies outside the scope of this paper. Edward M. Spiers' *Making Saints: Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885*. (London:1999) is marginally useful for the War of 1812.

² It is estimated that about one third of the population of the Niagara Peninsula between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie were Methodists. Many of the villages in the Big Creek Area (Norfolk County) were founded by Baptists. Along the Niagara River and on the Upper Grand River were settlements of Mennonites, and not a few villages in the Norfolk County region were founded by Quakers.

³ Rev. John Owen, Chaplain General to Lieut. General Beckwith, July 10th., 1810 (WO 7/60, p. 85).

⁴ That is, a Chaplain with official garrison duties who did not live on military premises. This system continued for some time in Upper Canada.

⁵ Palmerston, Secretary at War to George Harrison of the Treasury Department, Nov. 29, 1811 (WO 4/345, p. 126).

⁶ Palmerston, Secretary at War to George Harrison of the Treasury Department, Nov. 29, 1811 (WO 4/345, p. 127).

⁷ The matter involved a serious dispute with another clergyman. Opposite sides were taken in the matter by the Secretary at War and the Chaplain General, but the matter seems to have been settled when it was discovered that Mr. Holloway had stolen fittings and other items from the Chaplain's quarters. Secretary at War to the Chaplain General, July 10, 1813 (WO 4/345 p. 116).

⁸ Palmerston, Secretary at War to John Owen, Chaplain General, April 11, 1814 (WO 7/62, p. 16).

⁹ John Owen, Chaplain General to Williams, January 8, 1811 (WO 7/60, pp. 161-162).

¹⁰ John Owen, Chaplain General to Palmerston, Secretary at War, March 18, 1814 (WO 7/62, p. 7-8). Burnett was fortunate not to have been charged with desertion.

¹¹ Some officers rose from the ranks, but their number was relatively small. The purchase of commissions was not abolished in the British Army until 1870. On the system in general see R. Holmes. *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket*. (London: Harper Collins, 2001), pp. 156-179.

¹² Presbyterian Chaplains were placed on the Army Establishment first in 1827, Roman Catholics in 1836, Methodists and Baptists in 1881. In 1892 the first Jewish Chaplain was appointed.

¹³ The Rev. John Owen, Chaplain General to the Secretary at War, Sept. 15, 1810 (WO 7/60 p. 41).

¹⁴ One point worth mentioning at this stage is that the above-quoted letter was written in reaction to the activities of Methodists and Baptists, of whom there were large numbers in the Army. If anything, the soldiers preferred the more personal religion of the Dissenters.

¹⁵ This will be the subject of Part Two of this series.

¹⁶ Rev. John Owen, Chaplain General to Lord Palmerston, Secretary at War, Nov. 19, 1811 (WO 7/60, pp. 91-93)

¹⁷ Troops stationed at Berry Head, Torbay had "inconvenienced" the local parishioners at their worship. The situation was relieved by the appointment of the Rev. M. Hicks as Garrison Chaplain. See the letter from George Merry to the Chaplain General, Sept. 20, 1813 (WO 4/345, p. 292). Almost a year later the Chaplain General is compelled to write to the Commanding Officer of the garrison at Lewes, Sussex, after having received a complaint that troops visiting the local parish church had stained the seats with their pipeclay! (WO 7/60, p. 28-29).

- ¹⁸ John Owen, Chaplain General, to the Rev. R. Hoblys, May 26, 1810 (WO7/66, p. 180).
- ¹⁹ John Owen, Chaplain General, to the Rev. Mr Wooley, July 2, 1812 (WO 7/61, p. 114).
- ²⁰ John Gamble, Chaplain General to Sir. J.W. Putteney, Feb. 23, 1809 (WO 7/66, p. 34).
- ²¹ John Owen, Chaplain General, to the Rev. A. Thomas, Barbados, Nov 19, 1811 (WO 7/60, p. 96).
- ²² From the original Warrant for the establishment of the Royal Military Asylum, 1801.
- ²³ John Owen, Chaplain General, to Lord Palmerston, Secretary at War, Aug. 28. 1812 (WO 7/61, pp. 158-159).
- ²⁴ John Owen, Chaplain General, to Lord Palmerston, Secretary at War, Jan. 7, 1811 (WO 7/60, p. 153).
- ²⁵ The Secretary at War, Lord Palmerston to George Prevost, April 17th., 1812. (WO 4/345, pp. 157-159).
- ²⁶ The letter is found in the correspondence of Lt. Col. Hercules Scott of the 103rd Regiment (See NAC MG24, p. 9).
- ²⁷ The Military Secretary, George Merry to the Rev. John Owen, Chaplain General, Jan. 24, 1811 (WO 4/345, p. 229).
- ²⁸ The Rev. John Owen, Chaplain General to the Rev. R. Henna, Plymouth, Sep. 10, 1810 (WO 7/60, p. 36).
- ²⁹ Stuart moved to Kingston in 1812, and was replaced at York by the Rev. John Strachan.
- ³⁰ Cornwall was a small Anglican Mission. Ballaynes was sent there in June of 1813, and between his arrival and the end of the war several military burials were conducted there. (NAC MG9 D7.3 vol. 2). His position was that of Military Chaplain “*while a sufficient regular force is stationed there*” (General Order Nov. 30th, 1813 (WO 28/308, p. 171).
- ³¹ Pollard was the Parish incumbent at Christ Church, Sandwich, but was responsible for the troops several miles south, at Amherstburg. This was a situation which allowed him only one visit per month to the garrison, and for which he was penalised.
- ³² See General Order, February 12, 1813 (WO28/306, p. 139).
- ³³ See General Order, August 25th, 1813. WO 28/308 pp. 32-33. This is something of a meaningless gesture. Niagara at this time was under the control of the United States Army, and by December of 1813 the Central Division had ceased to exist. However, this did not stop him receiving, in December, 1813, the same number of shares as a captain (32 which amounted to £32.0.0) as “Garrison Chaplain” at Fort George from the prize money taken from the Americans in the Niagara Peninsula. See Return of the Distribution of Shares from Black Rock and Buffalo, December 1813 (WO 164/155, p. 6).
- ³⁴ See General Order, July 9, 1814 (WO 28/310, p. 24).
- ³⁵ See Gneral Order, Aug. 28th., 1814 (WO 28/310, p. 164).
- ³⁶ See General Order, Aug. 20th, 1814 (WO 28/310, p. 138).
- ³⁷ The £100 per year promised by the SPG hardly ever materialized.
- ³⁸ Amelia Harris, a young settler at Long Point made the following comment on one of Addison's' infrequent visits to the settlement, “*The Surplice and Gown made a much more lasting impression than the sermon, and I thought Mr. Addison a vastly more important person in them than out of them.*” See A. Harris “Historical Memoranda” in J. Talman, *Loyalist Narratives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 142.

³⁹ This amount was fixed in June 1813, shortly after the British had abandoned the town of Niagara and the peninsula. See WO 4/345, pp. 271-272. This amount was an increase over the original allotment of £25. See Chaplain Establishment for Foreign Assignments WO 7/61, n.d., n.p.

⁴⁰ See WO 164/155, September 1814, p. 6.

⁴¹ See John Owen, Chaplain General to Sir George Prevost, March 31st, 1812 (WO 7/61, pp. 45-46).

⁴² See R. Pollard to Noah Freer, Military Secretary, June 21st, 1813 (NAC RG Series 'C', vol. 63, pp. 207-208).

⁴³ *The Journal of George Ferguson*, typescript and transcription, p. 44. The Journal is being edited for publication.

⁴⁴ This was a point eloquently and frequently argued by their patron, the Chaplain General, in correspondence with the Secretary at War. Citing a letter from a young Chaplain, Owen noted that he was conscientious in his duties, whatever the weather, was monitored by officers who cared little for his work, and who were generally uncooperative. The man was poorly paid, and then suffered under the new system of income tax, and was allowed only the barest of supplies to supplement his income and cover his expenses. See John Owen, Chaplain General to the Secretary at War, Nov. 30th, 1812. (WO 7/61, p. 212).

⁴⁵ See above, Note 27, Owen's letter to the Rev, Henna in Plymouth (WO 7/60, p. 36).

⁴⁶ See return of "Supplies for the Chaplain General's Office" May 8th., 1812 (WO 4/345, p. 207).

⁴⁷ See Accounts for 1811, January 19th, 1811 (WO 7/60, p. 180). The costs for half-pay Chaplains were £8979, whereas the costs for currently active chaplains were £7500.

⁴⁸ See Merry to Chaplain General, Jan. 28th, 1811 (WO 4/345, pp. 53-54).

⁴⁹ See Prevost to the Secretary at War, Mar, 19th. 1813 (WO 4/345, p. 239). This would normally amount to £115.11.8 per year, with allowances. In Upper Canada few Chaplains received anything close to this amount. Allowances were another matter,

⁵⁰ See The Secretary at War to the Chaplain General, Dec. 27th, 1810 (WO 4/345, p. 46).

⁵¹ See The Secretary at War to the Chaplain General, Feb. 12th., 1811 (WO 4/345, p. 57).

⁵² See The Secretary at War to the Chaplain General, Feb. 2nd, 1811 (WO 4/345, p. 55).

⁵³ See The Chaplain General to the Secretary at War, Oct. 30th., 1810 (WO 7/60, p. 108-109).

⁵⁴ See The Secretary at War to the Chaplain General, March 24th, 1813 (WO 4/345, p. 286-287).

⁵⁵ Consolidated rates for Chaplains in North America May 30th, 1813 (WO 4/345 pp. 271-272).

⁵⁶ Pollard to Freer, June 21st., 1813 (NAC RG8 Series 'C', vol. 63, pp. 207-208).

⁵⁷ NAC RG8 Series 'C', vol. 63, pp. 196-197, 199.

⁵⁸ Warrant issued July 12th., 1811 (WO 4/345, p.96).

⁵⁹ Secretary at War to George Harrison, Treasury Department, Aug. 1st., 1811 (WO 4/345, p. 201).