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The Church of England, Print Networks, and the Book of Common Prayer in Atlantic Canada, c. 1750-c.1830

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The Church of England has featured only intermittently in histories of Atlantic Canada. Scholars focus on Roman Catholics and those Protestant evangelical groups – Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists – that supposedly injected a democratic and dynamic element to the region’s religious scene.¹ When it is discussed, the Church of England appears as a conservative and cumbersome institution, one that had struggled with financial and recruitment problems from its foundation in the early-eighteenth century. In the mid-1830s, for example, two-thirds of New Brunswick’s eighty Anglican parishes lacked resident clergy.² Mission work to indigenous communities was rarely prioritised, and the determination of churchmen to replicate old world traditions in new world environments, everything from the parish church to the Book of Common Prayer’s set services, meant Anglicanism extended itself unsurely in frontier environments.³

Yet historians who focus on the Church’s financial difficulties and recruitment troubles paint too bleak a picture of Anglican fortunes in Atlantic Canada. It was the Church of England that made an early and vital contribution to the development of higher education in Nova Scotia with the establishment of King’s College, Windsor, in 1789.⁴ The Church was also a more popular, adaptable and rooted institution than historians have appreciated. The Church’s historic relationship to the British crown (prayers for the monarch were offered in Anglican churches every Sunday), coupled with its accessible forms of worship, made attendance at Anglican places of worship undemanding and a strategic choice for many.⁵ The Anglican bishopric established at Nova Scotia in 1787 was a new kind of non-political or ‘limited’

episcopate specially adapted to colonial conditions.⁶ Michael Gauvreau's research also shows that the region was home to a uniquely lay-orientated and cosmopolitan Church.⁷ Both the clergy and the congregations they served were ethnically diverse, and as in colonial America, Canadian congregations wielded considerable power over church property and the appointment of clergy. Calvin Hollett, writing on Newfoundland fishing communities, has highlighted the strength of a 'popular', 'vernacular' or 'evangelical Anglicanism': this was a religion that emphasised 'the word' and that was not dependent on bishops, clergy or institutional churches.⁸

Recent research has also uncovered the networks which grew up within and outside the Church of England and which enabled Anglicans to maintain an overseas presence. Historians have described the range of metropolitan-based voluntary societies that supplied colonial churchgoers with bibles, prayer books, cheap tracts and printed sermons.⁹ Jeremy Gregory's research on pre-revolutionary America shows that texts maintained a viable Church of England in places with few resident churches and purpose-built churches. The provision of the Book of Common Prayer, the Church of England's manual, was particularly important, as without it, communities would not understand and could not participate in Anglicanism's distinctive forms and services. Indeed, through its provision of a standard set of forms of prayer and bible readings for every week in the year, the book had the potential to connect colonial churchgoers to far-reaching communities of worshippers.¹⁰ Historians have also appreciated the importance of religious literature in sustaining 'imagined communities' of worshippers in Atlantic Canada. Calvin Hollett has traced the distinctive evangelical spirituality that characterised nineteenth-century Newfoundland fishing communities to influential texts, namely the King James bible and the prayer book.¹¹

This chapter uses work by Gregory and Hollett as a starting point to examine the organisation of Anglican print networks in Atlantic Canada. The study of the circulation and

use of religious literature suggests that Anglicanism in Atlantic Canada was not as fragmented, lay-led or unpopular as much of the existing scholarship literature implies. It was the case that the Church of England took a variety of forms as it took root in communities of differing ethnic origins, and there was a long tradition of lay persons leading prayers, delivering sermons and providing unofficial baptism, marriages and burial services from the prayer book. Yet the prayer book was a flexible text that could meet local needs and preferences as well as provide a point of unity. There was considerable conformity to the prayer book's forms of worship and lay communities looked to ordained clergy to validate the Church of England's services. Anglicanism in Atlantic Canada may have been distinct because it was so cosmopolitan and diverse, but it still retained strong connections with both Church of England tradition and the wider 'Anglican communion'.

The study begins with the foundation of congregations in the middle of the eighteenth century and ends in the 1830s. This the moment when the authority of bishops pressed more heavily on congregations, and also the era when the provision of religious literature changed, as new forms of print and local sources of supply emerged. The first section surveys the patchy Anglican presence in Atlantic Canada up to the 1830s and shows that Anglicanism was much shaped by local circumstances and the decisions and preferences of lay communities.

The Church of England and Atlantic Canada to c. 1830

It was not until the American War of Independence – a conflict that transformed the Church of England's colonial ministry – that northeastern British North America became a primary focus of Anglican concern.¹² Since the early eighteenth century the British crown had relied on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), an Anglican outreach organisation formed in 1701, to maintain clergymen and schoolteachers in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, territories taken from the French in 1713 and 1749. Importantly, the initiative for church

expansion in Newfoundland came from the colony's fishing communities. In 1729 the inhabitants of Trinity petitioned the SPG for a clergyman and committed themselves to erecting a place of worship and paying part of the minister's salary.¹³ This example of lay initiative was replicated across Atlantic Canada in the decades to come, with women joining men in signing petitions to the SPG, bishops and the crown. Late in the eighteenth century black people who had come to Nova Scotia as part of the loyalist relocations of the American Revolution petitioned the Anglican authorities for bibles, prayer books and funds for schools.¹⁴ Colonial Anglicanism was not imposed on reluctant colonial populations but grew in response to local demand.¹⁵

In Nova Scotia after 1750, non-Anglicans enjoyed religious toleration, but the Church of England possessed privileges as the official state religion. British authorities used religion and the settlement of Protestant migrants to serve imperial goals, with the Church forming part of an effort to 'anglicise' the French-speaking Acadians. In the 1760s, Thomas Wood, vicar at Halifax, ministered among the indigenous Mi'kmaq, who, during French rule, had come under the influence of Roman Catholic priests.¹⁶ Charles Lawrence, governor of Nova Scotia from 1756, also thought the Church of England could be the agent through which the colony's plural mix of English, Scottish, New England, and German Protestant settlers could be brought into 'union & Harmony with the rest of His Majesty's subjects'.¹⁷ Initially, the SPG appointed bilingual missionaries to serve Nova Scotia's communities of French Protestants and German Lutherans, though a more aggressively anglicising strategy was adopted when Robert Vincent (appointed 1762), who spoke only English, was sent to Lunenburg's German community. Though the project was not entirely successful - later ministers were bilingual, and the German community broke off and formed a Lutheran congregation in 1771 when a minister became available - nothing like this was tried elsewhere in colonial America. Here is another reminder

that the interventionism and authoritarianism of the eighteenth-century British state in Atlantic Canada marks the region off from much of British North America.¹⁸

Yet in the 1770s the Church of England had only established a marginal presence in the region. Newfoundland was a backwater: religion there was largely led by the laity, as at any time before the second decade of the nineteenth century the island had only three Anglican clergymen (at St. John's, Harbour Grace and Trinity). After the American Revolution the imperial government made more concerted efforts to strengthen the established Church in Nova Scotia, St. John's Island (formed 1769 and renamed Prince Edward's Island in 1798) and New Brunswick and Cape Breton (both formed in 1784). The extension of Anglicanism was partly a response to the migration of thousands of loyalist refugees – not all of whom identified with the Church of England – from the revolted colonies. It also reflected new imperial policies: for the architects of Britain's 'second empire', a privileged Church of England establishment, complete with bishop, would project British authority and tie the colonies to the imperial centre.¹⁹ In 1787 Charles Inglis, a New York loyalist, became bishop of Nova Scotia, with episcopal jurisdiction over the whole of British North America, and the SPG provided funds for more missionaries. In Nova Scotia, the Church monopolised higher education until the 1820s, and from 1808 the bishop sat on the legislative council. In New Brunswick, only Anglican clergyman had the legal right to solemnize marriages after 1791. Newfoundland's 1817 marriage act prohibited (in all but exceptional circumstances) the celebration of marriages by anyone other than Anglican ministers and Roman Catholic priests.²⁰ In the 1810s the British parliament granted money for the support of additional SPG missionaries in Nova Scotia (from 1813), Newfoundland (1814) and New Brunswick (1816).²¹

For all this metropolitan backing, the 'Anglican design' was given limited support by the colonial authorities and was wound up in the 1830s.²² Anglicans remained a minority denomination in most regions (though concentrations of Church of England members grew up

in provincial urban centres and at Shelburne, Windsor and Annapolis in Nova Scotia).²³ In Newfoundland, Roman Catholicism was so dominant that one Anglican missionary called the island an 'Irish plantation'.²⁴ Yet even in the era of financial support Anglican bishops and clergy could not maintain an independent status or impose the required moral and spiritual authority. Charles Inglis had little control over the expansion of the Church: his clergy were paid by and answered to the SPG and he had to negotiate with governments and congregations before he could make appointments to vacant posts. Most clergy lived in poverty and most lacked the glebe lands that would have provided a source of remuneration and given the Church a foundation in the soil.²⁵ Michael Gauvreau points out that Anglican ministers had to negotiate with congregations about everything from the building of parsonages, the appointment of churchwardens, and modifications to church services.²⁶ With clergy in short supply, missionaries undertook demanding visitations of their huge 'parishes', with rough services offered to small congregations in private homes, the open air, or, worse still, places of worship belonging to other denominations. Ministry in Newfoundland was particularly difficult, as the seasonal nature of the fishing industry meant clergymen might have no congregation in winter months.

Yet despite these troubles, there is evidence that the Church drew into its fold Irish Calvinists, Scottish Episcopalians, American Loyalists, 'foreign Protestants' and the expected English 'church people'. The French- and German-speaking immigrants who settled in Halifax and Lunenburg in the 1750s - the so-called 'foreign Protestants' - initially attended Anglican services because none other was available.²⁷ Roger Aitken, missionary at Lunenburg, said in 1822 that the people of Nova Scotia made 'no distinction between one communion and another' and considered 'the best communion' the Church of England, because its services were cheap and provided by government and the SPG.²⁸ The SPG wanted to encourage local initiative, but in many cases the poverty of colonial congregations meant British donors covered

the missionary's entire income. Missionaries reported that colonists came to the Church to hear sermons and to have important rites of passage – baptism, marriage and burial – validated by the Church of England through the services in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Missionaries often reminded inhabitants of the Church's special relationship with the British monarchy, and for many – particularly those of non-British descent – attendance at church was a way to claim respectability, loyalty and British subject status.²⁹ Though clergymen often worried about what they called 'occasional conformity', it seems the Church of England community divided into a core of active laypersons who regularly attended church and frequently took holy communion, and a larger constituency that maintained dual or multiple denominational identities, and who accessed the Church for special services and occasions.³⁰

Atlantic Canada in the age of revolution was, then, a region where the authority of bishops tended to press lightly, and where congregations and churches had freedom to develop peculiar characters and features.³¹ One nineteenth-century missionary called Newfoundland an island of 'peculiar contrasts' where the character of neighbouring settlements differed so markedly the people seemed to be 'of quite difference races'.³² A similar diversity emerged in the Church of England. The composition of congregations varied considerably. In some places people who had grown up in other faith communities attended Church of England services if the missionary was personally liked and if non-Anglicans had no ministers and places of worship. Ministers who reached out to other faiths tried to be examples of 'moderation' who, on their own authority, might adapt Anglican forms of worship to meet local tastes and prejudices. Gauvreau cites examples of Nova Scotian clergymen giving up the sign of the cross at baptism to satisfy New England dissenters.³³ Wealthy church patrons, of both sexes, had the freedom to shape local church services. In 1830, Edward Wix, archdeacon of Newfoundland, found an influential American-born woman at Saint George's who included hymns and psalms from the American Episcopal Church in local services.³⁴

A multiplicity of forms of local church government emerged in Nova Scotia, with congregations developing different rulings on the composition, responsibilities and voting qualifications of vestries.³⁵ Some vestries, such as that at St. Paul's Halifax, exercised the same kind of 'lay trusteeship' found in Roman Catholic churches (the vestry of St. Paul's took its right to appoint new ministers so seriously that for a time in the mid-1820s it resisted crown authority).³⁶ Until 1811, St. George's church, Halifax - a congregation composed of Lutheran Germans - ran a system by which only people of German descent could stand as churchwardens, attend church meetings, and vote on new appointments. Though the process of anglicisation continued in the church through the appointment of an English clergyman in 1799 and the use of English-language prayers and sermons, the congregation insisted on retaining 'the Psalmody of our native Church in our native language' as a 'relic of our native worship'.³⁷

Within this context the circulation of religious literature took on tremendous significance. In their letters to the SPG, Anglican clergymen recognised that by distributing prayer books they could, at little expense, create a sense of unity, commonality and identity across huge territories, scattered populations and diverse congregations. Other kinds of religious literature, such as tracts, pamphlets and printed sermons, educated inhabitants on the meaning the Church of England's distinctive rituals and services. The next two sections consider how religious texts were distributed in Atlantic Canada before 1830, and how the use of this literature might work to strengthen lay authority and both fragment and unify the Church of England in Atlantic Canada.

Religious Literature and Church of England Print Networks

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries colonial Anglicans looked to the home country to provide clergymen, church bells and, on occasion, gravestones.³⁸ Atlantic Canada's

primitive printing industry meant that Anglicans also relied on Britain – and sometimes colonial America and the United States – for bibles, prayer books, tracts, sermons and other religious literature. These materials came to the colonies through various channels: some were formal, regular and institutional, others were personal and more ephemeral.

What might be termed Anglican ‘associational activism’ was an important element in the spread of religious literature at home and abroad.³⁹ The SPG and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), another Anglican outreach society formed in 1699, made huge efforts to connect metropolitan and colonial churchgoers through the spread of Church propaganda.⁴⁰ Like its SPG partner, the SPCK aimed to galvanise local action:⁴¹ a district committee was set up in Halifax in 1814, and other committees appeared in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. A third of the money gathered by these committees was sent to the SPCK in England, with the remainder returned as books to the parishes that contributed.⁴² Books would then be sold, lent out, or distributed gratis in each parish. Texts commonly distributed by the SPCK included bibles, prayer books, devotional aids, tracts that explained aspects of Anglican worship, religious literature for groups such as children and the military, and religious biographies and histories.⁴³

Religious literature also passed between individuals through personal and familial networks. Charles Inglis, Nova Scotia’s first Anglican bishop, particularly valued the episcopal ‘charges’ that he received from English bishop friends, particularly those that came from George Pretyman-Tomline, the bishop of Lincoln and metropolitan lobbyist and networker for the Canadian churches.⁴⁴ Inglis said that because he was ‘shut out from personal intercourse’ with fellow bishops, such texts served to connect his diocese to the episcopate in England. It is noteworthy that Pretyman-Tomline sent Inglis a copy of one 1794 charge, as the circulation of such a ferociously counter-revolutionary text reveals that the conservative reaction to ‘French principles’ was transatlantic in scope.⁴⁵ The Newfoundland historian Calvin Hollett notes that

religious literature also travelled across the Atlantic through family and personal links established by laypersons. In Newfoundland, in the mid-1830s, for example, archdeacon Edward Wix discovered isolated settlers who possessed Prayer Books that had been sent to them through family members who had represented their needs to English clergymen.⁴⁶

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was the missionary that served as the primary vector through which religious literature was distributed in the colonial world. Regardless of where they were stationed, the SPG provided each missionary in the Atlantic region with the same standard library that had been sent to missionaries in the pre-revolutionary American colonies. SPG libraries were for the private use of missionaries, and were to help them define, advance and defend the Church of England's teachings.⁴⁷ Much of the printed materials that came through clergymen were, however, cheap tracts and pamphlets that the SPG sent out in great quantities, and which missionaries distributed to inhabitants free of charge. The distribution of Anglican religious literature partly relied on official connections: in the 1790s, for instance, books for Newfoundland passed through Poole, Devon and the collector of customs, Richard Routh, who spent much of his year in England. The SPG recorded the books it sent to its missionaries in the field, and one surviving volume, that covering the period 1791-1821,⁴⁸ reveals that Anglican missionaries across Atlantic Canada received a standard set of titles, and that only occasionally were missionaries provided with specialist literature for their region. The literature sent out was of different types, and some explanation is therefore necessary.

First, missionaries received works that had been authored back during the moral reform campaigns (the 'reformation of manners' movement) of the early eighteenth century.⁴⁹ Why elderly works on swearing, lying, drunkenness and the 'profanation of the Sabbath' should have been sent out, or why missionaries continued to request them, can only be conjectured at. It is probable that such literature, with its emphasis on duties and obligations,

was considered particularly suited to new societies, such as those in Atlantic Canada, where the loyalty of inhabitants could not be assumed. The second class of religious literature were private devotional manuals, the type designed to encourage spiritual self-examination and repentance, and to prompt people to pray in their homes.⁵⁰ Key examples, such as James Merrick's *Short Manual of Prayers for Common Occasions* (1774), Henry Crossman's *An introduction to knowledge of the Christian religion* (1742), William Burkitt's *Help and guide to Christian families* (1787) and Thomas Wilson's *A Form of Family Prayer* (1790), provided colonists with forms of prayer for the morning and evening, for worship outside church and during services, for personal needs (such as during sickness and bereavement), and for old people and children. This literature was distinctively Anglican, as it stressed that private prayer would follow set forms, and not be improvised or extemporary. That missionaries requested such works is another example of how Anglican missionaries quickly adapted to 'personal religious rituals' and the culture of 'informal family worship' that blossomed throughout Canada.⁵¹ Encouraging family and private worship might seem to have boosted lay authority and furthered the fragmentation of the Church of England, but what the transatlantic spread of such prescriptive literature really shows is that clergymen wished to standardise worship in the Anglican communion, and ensure that even in private homes colonial inhabitants offered similar prayers as their co-religionists in other parts of the 'British world'.

Third, missionaries received works that defined and explained the Church of England's distinctive teachings and forms of worship. Paulus Bryzelius, a Swedish-born minister who served Lutherans in Lunenburg, had requested German translations of such works as early as the 1760s.⁵² This literature was premised on the notion that religious adherence was hereditary but also a matter of choice, and that non-Anglicans would only be weaned from 'that religion wherein they were bred' through discussion.⁵³ Sermons and private visits were useful for educating the illiterate, but books could help reach harder-to-reach communities. A popular

tract titled *The Englishman directed in his choice of religion* (1729), one which continued to be sent to Newfoundland as late as the mid-1810s, analysed the truths of the Anglican religion, disparaged the claims of Protestant dissenters, and said that Anglican membership was the duty of all British subjects as it alone promoted ‘Order and Decency’. Missionaries also asked for works that explained rituals, notably confirmation and holy communion. It was a long-running complaint of missionaries in North America, and not just those in Atlantic Canada, that worshippers were reluctant to participate in the sacrament because they felt unworthy and unprepared.⁵⁴ Well into the 1820s Atlantic Canada missionaries continued to ask for⁵⁵ and receive works on the sacrament by Thomas Wilson, Edmund Gibson, William Assheton, Edward Synge and William Fleetwood, all of which had been sent to missionaries in colonial America before the revolution.⁵⁶ So much emphasis was placed on regular participation in holy communion because taking the sacrament was considered a sign of true faith and a marker of Church membership.

The important point is that in sending this literature the SPG and SPCK did not, for the most part, take much notice of regional peculiarities and differences. As the historian Jeremy Gregory points out, Anglicans that assumed the threats to colonial churches took the same form everywhere.⁵⁷ Clergy who had served in one part of Atlantic Canada were moved on to parishes elsewhere in the region, and, as was noted earlier, Charles Inglis saw no difficulty with introducing in his part of the world the practices he read about in English episcopal charges. Nevertheless, the books sent to Atlantic Canada reveals that Anglican administrators had some appreciation of regional particularisms. Missionaries requested tracts – again, some very elderly – that challenged the claims of competitor denominations. The SPG sent Newfoundland missionaries tracts against ‘popery’, though some missionaries thought Anglicans were so exposed that such ‘controversial Pamphlets’ could not be distributed safely and might damage Anglican fortunes and strengthen attachment to Roman Catholicism.⁵⁸ In

Nova Scotia, where the Baptists had always been strong, missionaries asked for tracts that explained the necessity of infant baptism, justified Anglican baptismal ritual, and defended Anglican teaching on baptismal regeneration.⁵⁹ Abridged versions of William Wall's *History of Infant Baptism* (1705) were a standard issue in Nova Scotia up to the 1820s, and in 1815 the missionary at Fredericton received two bundles of 100 copies of a recent work by Lewis Bagot, bishop of St. Asaph.⁶⁰ Other deliveries of books give tantalising glimpses of the social issues confronting missionaries in particular places. In 1800, for instance, both Roger Viets and John Harries, missionaries at Digby, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, Newfoundland, respectively, received copies of a tract on suicide by Zachary Pearce.⁶¹

Interestingly, towards the end of the period some missionaries developed a sharper sense of regional peculiarity and doubted whether tracts written for eighteenth-century England were appropriate for the colonies. Abel Gore, a schoolmaster in Halifax, told bishop John Inglis in 1829 that all books sent out by the SPG should be selected by missionaries, as they were 'best acquainted with the wants of the people' and most of the texts on the SPG catalogue (he mentioned *The Englishman directed in his choice of religion*) had little use in Atlantic Canada, presumably because such works assumed that the Church of England was the majority, 'national' church, when in Atlantic Canada it was not.⁶² Indeed, around this time the SPG was winding down its provision of literature, and new forms of print, notably locally-produced church periodical literature, would become important vehicles by which Anglicans advanced the claims of their denomination. Those who advocated a Church of England press in the 1820s reckoned that Nova Scotians should follow the example of the productions of the Episcopal Church of the United States, as that institution also faced the task of 'explaining and vindicating' forms of worship 'not generally understood or duly valued'.⁶³ Colonial Anglicans had begun to diversify their networks and to look beyond metropolitan Britain for inspiration.⁶⁴

If literature was to have an impact, missionaries had to rely on laypeople to circulate copies and read texts aloud to the illiterate. The available sources reveal little about how inhabitants used this printed material. What is known is that some clergymen granted laypersons a considerable degree of authority in the use of religious literature. Lay preaching was a radical step; indeed, in parts of the empire this was policed, as while reading prayers could be allowed, as prayers were addressed to God, preaching was an exhortation to a community on how individuals should act and think.⁶⁵ Yet lay sermonising was encouraged to a surprising extent, especially in Newfoundland, even though this practice threatened to collapse the distinctions between the Church of England and its ‘dissenting’ rivals. What was preached had to be regulated. Ministers approached the SPG for ‘plain’ and ‘practical’ printed sermons which laymen could read aloud, and David Rowland, minister at St John’s, Newfoundland, wanted only sermon books authored by the ‘most orthodox divines’, citing such eighteenth-century orthodox high churchmen as Thomas Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man.⁶⁶ But the SPG and SPCK never had a monopoly on importing religious literature into Atlantic Canada and senior Anglicans, among them Edward Wix in Newfoundland, worried that sermon books distributed by non-Anglican societies, such as interdenominational Religious Tract Society (formed 1799), spread damaging evangelical principles.⁶⁷ Senior clergymen who identified with the high church tradition, such as Wix, particularly resented the influence of the Newfoundland School Society (NSS), an evangelical voluntary organisation that had been set up in 1823 to teach Newfoundlanders ‘the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the way of salvation’.⁶⁸ Wix suspected that NSS fraternised too closely with Methodists and taught the bible without the prayer book.

Senior clergymen assumed that for all Atlantic Canada’s variety, a sense of simultaneity, unity and common identity could be promoted if worship was standardised around set forms – this meant providing inhabitants with copies of the Book of Common Prayer and educating

them on its use. The prayer book was the most requested and most circulated Anglican religious text in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The final section considers how the book was adapted to local conditions, as well as used to create an imperial and global community of settlers, converts and missionaries.

The Book of Common Prayer in Atlantic Canada

Ever since 1662 and the act of uniformity, the prayer book had been, alongside the thirty-nine articles, the foundational text of Anglican belief and identity. Every ordained clergyman was required to follow the forms of prayer and worship as laid down in the 1662 book: its rules for when and how the bible and psalms should be read; the collects and epistles to be used throughout the week; its services of morning and evening prayer; and the forms for baptism, marriage, confirmation and ordination. Dissenters argued that prayer book liturgy made services in the Anglican Church repetitive, rigid and, as one Nova Scotian missionary put it, ‘forms without spirit’.⁶⁹ Anglicans, by contrast, emphasised the value of set forms of prayer. Thomas Taylor’s *Why are you a churchman?*² (1811), a tract widely distributed in Atlantic Canada, noted that ‘the purposes of prayer are most effectively answered, when all the congregation unite in a known and accustomed formulary’.⁷⁰ Set forms of prayer made worship understandable and collective: they were shared by the community, and strengthened the bonds between worshippers and between congregations and ministers. Forms also reminded worshippers that other people, elsewhere in the world, participated in the same services with ‘identical words and formulations’.⁷¹ Interestingly, one Nova Scotian missionary thought set forms allowed the Church to appeal to deaf people who could read; such individuals would have been lost in evangelical churches where improvised prayer was prioritised.⁷²

To assess the significance of the prayer book in Atlantic Canada it must be known how regularly it was read, heard and used. Anglican missionaries usually wanted a book distributed

gratis to every person, as unless the book was frequently read, inhabitants might retain their old biases against liturgical worship and would not understand or join in the service (missionaries tended to assume that hostility to Anglican worship would wither away as worshippers became more familiar with prayer book worship). William Twining, SPG missionary at Liverpool, Nova Scotia, said people stayed away from his church services because there were too few free books and it was widely believed 'that whoever goes to Church should have a book to follow the minister in his devotions'.⁷³ Though there were grumbles throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries about insufficient copies, the SPCK's distribution networks bore fruit from the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Ministers gave prayer books as prizes to schoolchildren, and in the 1850s some parishioners could buy their own copies.⁷⁴ Yet limitations in distribution networks meant books were cherished by families of worshippers. Stories of prized books that had been handed down from generation to generation often made it into missionary publicity and give some indication of the value that was attached to the book by both clergy and laity.⁷⁵

Provision was made for non-English speakers. Jean-Baptiste Moreau, the first missionary to Halifax's French-speaking 'foreign Protestants', secured French-language prayer books from the SPG in the early 1750s, and Paulus Bryzelius applied to Philadelphia for German-language Prayer Books and then received German prayer books with the Anglican communion rite from the SPG in 1771. The society sent Gaelic books to Scottish highlanders in Prince Edward Island in the 1820s.⁷⁶ The prayer book was forced on some communities. Attendance at Anglican worship was part of a short-lived plan to transform the Maroons – a community of fugitive slaves who had been resettled from Jamaica to Preston, Nova Scotia in 1796 – into a 'godly community' and a 'black peasantry'.⁷⁷ Thomas Wood worked on a Mi'kmaq translation prayer book in the mid-1760s, but generally the civil and ecclesiastical authorities left the task of educating and 'civilising' the Mi'kmaq to French and Irish Catholic

priests.⁷⁸ Only for a brief time in New Brunswick in the early 1800s did another voluntary society, the New England Company, attempt to wean the Mi'kmaq from Roman Catholic influence through the establishment of Anglican schools and apprenticeships for Mi'kmaq children. Overall, it is questionable whether the arrival of Anglicanism in Atlantic Canada represented a significant moment in Mi'kmaq history.

Jeremy Gregory points out in a recent study that in Georgian England the prayer book was popular and deeply embedded in community life. Parishioners heard the same words and forms of prayer again and again and could memorize large parts of it. The book also connected the individual to a larger community. Family, friends and congregations witnessed the key rites of passage – baptisms, marriages and burials. Prayer book forms were highly regarded, even among dissenters.⁷⁹ In the colonial world too, there are examples of illiterate colonists repeating prayers and services on their death beds.⁸⁰ Missionaries remarked that non-Anglicans knew ‘where to apply for the Ordinances in time of needs’, and in Newfoundland people asked for baptisms in homes rather than churches, either because they had no suitable clothing, or because they drew a distinction between services and the institutional Church.⁸¹ The text could be an element in an English diasporic identity. The aptly-named Horatio Nelson Arnold ministered to an English settlement in New Brunswick in 1834 where the inhabitants ‘seemed delighted to respond to those prayers which in former days they had been accustomed to offer up in the Church of their native land’.⁸²

But rather than being an ethnic text, Anglican ministers considered their prayer book to be the foundational text of a ‘common Protestantism’.⁸³ Moreau, missionary to French-speaking Protestants in Halifax, had ‘some difficulty’ in bringing his congregation at Lunenburg to ‘answer to the Common Prayers’, but in 1760 he said his congregation ‘now answer to the Common Prayers as well as any English church’. Peter Delaroche, missionary at Lunenburg, said in 1771 that French-language prayer books were in great demand, and when the German

Lutheran congregation of St. George's, Halifax, applied to the SPG and bishop of Nova Scotia for money for building work on the church in 1807, they confirmed that theirs was a 'Church of the Established Religion wherein Divine Service has been and is to be at all times hereafter Solemnized according to the Order prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer'.⁸⁴ The popularity and ethnic appeal of the prayer book should not be overstated, however. In the 1790s, it was reported that Maroons continued to bury their dead according to 'Coromantie ceremonies' rather than the Anglican burial service.⁸⁵ Robert Vincent, Anglican vicar in Halifax in the 1760s, said the Mi'kmaq population were 'very averse to the Ceremonies of the Church of England, as they have not that Show which is used in the Romish Church'.⁸⁶ Black people attended Anglican church services and after 1800 Anglican bishops commissioned prayer leaders from such communities to set up independent churches and schools for free and enslaved black people. How far worship in these self-governing churches followed prayer book forms is unclear since a distinctively experiential and personal religion grew up in these congregations, one that nurtured a wider sense of separation, community and special election.⁸⁷

The prayer book symbolised uniformity, authority and unchanging tradition; its common forms of prayer connected worshippers across space as well as time. By law, the smallest departure from its forms could see a clergyman deprived of his position in New Brunswick,⁸⁸ and only in the twentieth century would Canadians adopt a revised version. Yet colonial clergy understood that services might be altered or added to meet circumstances, needs and tastes. In times of war, pestilence and royal celebration, colonial bishops composed special forms of prayer so that communities could implore God's intervention or give thanks for blessings received.⁸⁹ Lower clergy were prepared to make unauthorised changes to prayer book forms in the interests of retaining a congregation. William Ellis of Windsor, Nova Scotia denied that clergymen had a 'discretionary power' to alter forms, but in the 1770s even he had to leave the Athanasian Creed out of worship (the book instructed the creed to be read for

festivals and some other holy days) because his people – mostly New Englanders from dissenting backgrounds – considered it too harsh and dogmatic.⁹⁰ Roger Aitken, the Lunenburg missionary, complained that his congregation, which included many of German descent, forced him to leave out the offertory collection for the poor from holy communion. Aitken's parishioners also asked him to drop the litany, the general supplication used throughout the week, presumably because it was so long, though possibly also because it was a political text that contained prayers for the royal family, the nobility, bishops and other guardians of the English status quo.⁹¹

To survive the Church had to hand over use of the prayer book to laypersons. In Newfoundland especially, Anglican ministers recognised that the Church could only maintain a presence if 'well-disposed' laypersons – usually male – could read services and prayers whenever clergymen were absent.⁹² Clergymen who came later in the nineteenth century complained that the freedom enjoyed by lay leaders damaged the standing of the ministry. The missionary at Harbour Briton said in the 1850s that his community had an 'utter ignorance of the office and benefit of the ministry' as there was a 'rooted idea that any one who could read was equally competent'.⁹³

Yet lay usage of the prayer book did not necessarily separate laity from clergy, nor did it mean the Church in these Atlantic colonies fragmented to the extent that it had no point of unity.⁹⁴ Communities prized resident clergy for various reasons: ministers enjoyed 'gentlemanly' status and gave new settlements kudos; clergymen could read and write letters for illiterate colonists and they might lead freemason lodges. Missionaries provided spiritual and medical care to the sick.⁹⁵ Significantly, children who had been baptised at lay-led services were subsequently presented at authorised ceremonies when travelling missionaries arrived. Gauvreau may also have overestimated the extent to which clergymen negotiated with congregations about appropriate forms of worship. Most clergymen in this region refused to

dispense with prayers for the monarchy (Gauvreau finds instances of this elsewhere in Canada), and some ministers continued to give the sign of the cross at baptism, against the wishes of their dissenting congregations.⁹⁶ Indeed, what emerges from the sources is that what congregations demanded from their clergy was strict adherence to the prayer book's forms and instructions. Congregations might look to remove ministers if church services did not take place, if holy communion was celebrated infrequently, and if festivals were ignored.⁹⁷

Conclusion

The Anglican world described in this chapter was challenged after the 1830s as Church of England bishops became more visible and authoritative figures. Additional Church of England bishoprics appeared at Newfoundland in 1839 and Fredericton in 1845, and the first incumbents of these posts – Edward Feild and John Medley – were high churchmen who had been influenced by a revival of ritualistic high churchmanship known as the ‘Oxford Movement’ (or ‘Tractarianism’ to its detractors). This revival of Anglican high churchmanship brought along new conceptions of priestly authority and a harder attitude towards the culture of lay-led worship.⁹⁸ Hibbert Binney, the Oxford-influenced bishop of Nova Scotia from 1850, faced accusations of ‘Popery’ when he required baptisms and marriages to be ‘performed with the proper service in Church instead of in the midst of a festive party in the Drawing-room’.⁹⁹ New bishops needed cathedrals, and this meant converting parish churches and wresting control of ecclesiastical property from lay trustees.¹⁰⁰ Developing a sense of unity and ‘diocesan consciousness’¹⁰¹ between congregations was another chief preoccupation of these bishops. Each set up the diocesan ‘church societies’ and synods that would organise church finances and government and draw the attention of clergy and churchgoers away from purely local concerns. The kind of mixed denominational congregations often found in the early colonial period also died away as non-Anglican ministers and permanent places of worship became more

numerous. The flow of religious literature across the Atlantic decreased as religious publishing developed in the colonies and as new types of church party – low church, orthodox high church, Tractarian and broad church – used religious periodicals to broadcast their versions of Anglicanism.

Yet it took time for such Tractarian forms as Gothic architecture, surpliced choirs, sung services, kneeling at prayer, altar lights, incense, and the elevation of the elements at holy communion to take root in what would become eastern and northeastern Canada. Though Tractarians insisted that their changes were in conformity with the prayer book rubric, many churchgoers, those who would be identified as ‘evangelical’ or ‘low church’, regarded such signs of advanced ritualism as innovations and unjustifiable alterations to an ancient tradition of prayer book worship.¹⁰² Other aspects of the pioneer Anglicanism sketched in this chapter continued to shape the Church of England experience in Atlantic Canada after 1850. Anglican missionaries continued to baptise dissenting children in private homes and continued to bend Anglican teachings (for instance fully immersing children as opposed to sprinkling them with font water) to maintain an appeal. The diocese remained a distant and insignificant entity for many churchgoers. Some congregations, among them St. Paul’s, Halifax, wanted nothing to do with episcopal authority and refused to send lay representatives to synods. Binney in Nova Scotia noted as late as 1880 that the two wealthiest congregations in his bishopric, St. Paul’s, Halifax, and St. Paul’s, Charlottetown, were controlled by Irish evangelical rectors and were ‘not even nominally connected’ to the diocese.¹⁰³ John Medley complained to the SPG in the 1850s that in the Church of England in New Brunswick there was ‘no centre of unity than the bishop’.¹⁰⁴ While such a statement says a good deal about the new emphasis on the figure and authority of the bishop in Anglican expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century, it overlooks the fundamental role that prayer books and laypersons continued to play in maintaining what had always been a dispersed and cosmopolitan Anglican communion.

¹ Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid (eds), *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: a history* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Valerie Wallace, *Scottish Presbyterianism and*

Settler Colonial Politics: empire of dissent (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Karly Kehoe, 'Catholic relief and the political awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780-1830', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 46: (2018), 1-20; Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne (eds), *Religion and Identity: the experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada* (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1987); G. A. Rawlyk, *Ravished by the Spirit: religious revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984). The standard survey work on Anglicanism in Atlantic and Maritime Canada is Thomas R. Millman, *Atlantic Canada to 1900: a history of the Anglican Church* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983).

² Barry L. Craig, *Apostle to the Wilderness: Bishop John Medley and the evolution of the Anglican Church* (Madison-Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005), 54.

³ Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816* (London: SPCK, 1972).

⁴ Henry Roper, 'Aspects of the history of a loyalist college: King's College, Windsor and Nova Scotia higher education in the nineteenth century', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 60:4 (1991), 443, 447.

⁵ D. G. Bell, 'Charles Inglis and the Anglican clergy of loyalist New Brunswick', *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 7:1 (1987), 46-7.

⁶ Ross Hebb, *Samuel Seabury and Charles Inglis: two bishops, two churches* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2010), 13, 42.

⁷ Michael Gauvreau, 'The dividends of empire: church establishments and contested British identities in the Canadas and the Maritimes, 1780-1850', in Nancy Christie (ed.), *Transatlantic Subjects: ideas, institutions, and social experience in post-revolutionary British North America* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 199-250.

⁸ Calvin Hollett, *Beating Against the Wind: popular opposition to bishop Feild and Tractarianism in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1844-1876* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 77, 109, 291.

⁹ Scott Mandelbrote, 'The publishing and distribution of religious books by voluntary associations: from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the British and Foreign Bible Society', in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume V: 1695-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 613-30.

¹⁰ Jeremy Gregory, 'Introduction', in Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism. Volume II: Establishment and Empire* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 15-16; Gregory, 'Transatlantic Anglican networks, c. 1680-c.1770: transplanting, translating and transforming the Church of England', in Gregory and Hugh McLeod (eds), *International Religious Networks* (Woodbridge, 2012), 127-43; Michael Gladwin, 'The Book of Common Prayer in Australia', *St. Mark's Review*, 222 (2012), 75-88; Brian Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), ch. 5.

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- ¹¹ Hollett, “‘I’d rather have a Prayer Book than a shirt’: the printed word among Methodists and Anglicans in nineteenth-century outport Newfoundland and Labrador”, *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 12:2 (2017), 315-43.
- ¹² James B. Bell, ‘North America’, in Gregory (ed.), *Oxford History of Anglicanism, II*, 177-87.
- ¹³ Ernest Hawkins, *Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies* (London: B. Fellowes, 1845), 348.
- ¹⁴ 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, 1976), 82.
- ¹⁵ Gregory, ‘Refashioning Puritan New England: the Church of England in British North America, c. 1680-1770’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 20 (2010), 101.
- ¹⁶ C. E. Thomas, ‘Wood, Thomas’, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, online edition, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wood_thomas_1711_78_4E.html (last accessed 7 January 2019).
- ¹⁷ Charles Lawrence to the Board of Trade, 12 January 1760, Heritage Canadiana, <http://heritage.canadiana.ca/> (hereafter HC), United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel fonds, microfilm H-1994, B25, f. 19.
- ¹⁸ Jerry Bannister, ‘Atlantic Canada in an Atlantic world? Northeastern North America in the long 18th century’, *Acadiensis*, 43:2 (2014), 16, 24-5.
- ¹⁹ Fingard, *Anglican Design*.
- ²⁰ Trudi Johnson, “‘A matter of custom and conscience’: marriage law in nineteenth-century Newfoundland”, *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 19:2 (2003), available at <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/nflds/article/view/159/270> (last accessed 14 January 2019).
- ²¹ James Bell, ‘North America’, 185-6; Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 111-12.
- ²² Bell, ‘Charles Inglis and the Anglican clergy’, 33, 36.
- ²³ Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 42.
- ²⁴ John Harries to SPG, 28 October 1788, USPG Archives (hereafter USPG), Bodleian Libraries Special Collections, Oxford, C/CAN/NFL/1/219/62.
- ²⁵ Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 26; Bell, ‘Charles Inglis and the Anglican clergy’, 39-41.
- ²⁶ Gauvreau, ‘The dividends of empire’, 199-213.
- ²⁷ Winthrop P. Bell, *The “Foreign Protestants” and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 586-98.
- ²⁸ Roger Aitken to Bishop John Inglis of Nova Scotia, 20 September 1822, HC, H-1995, C/1/1/19, f. 649.

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- ²⁹ Ranna Cossit, missionary in Cape Breton, told his congregation in the 1790s that only Anglicans could be ‘true subjects’ of the King: Cossit to SPG, 30 September 1795, HC, H-1995, C/1/1/15, f. 199.
- ³⁰ Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 117.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 169-70.
- ³² Jacob G. Mountain, *Some Account of the Sowing Time on the Rugged Shores of Newfoundland* (London: SPG, 1857), 33.
- ³³ Gauvreau, ‘The dividends of empire’, 213.
- ³⁴ Edward Wix to SPG, 12 October 1830, USPG, C/CAN/NS/16/6.
- ³⁵ Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 164-70.
- ³⁶ Terrence Murphy, ‘Trusteeship in Atlantic Canada: the struggle for leadership among the Irish Catholics of Halifax, St. John’s, and Saint John, 1780-1850’, in Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (eds), *Creed and Culture: the place of English-speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), 126-50; Hill, ‘History of St. Paul’s Church’, *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, iii, 14-69.
- ³⁷ Fingard, *Anglican Design*, 166; congregation of Saint George’s to lieutenant governor Sir George Prevost, 7 May 1811, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS), Saint George’s Church, Parish Records, 1799-1814, Microfilm 11,475.
- ³⁸ Imported English gravestones are noted in *Church in the Colonies. No. XXI. Journal of the bishop of Newfoundland; s voyage of visitation and discovery, of the south and west coasts of Newfoundland and on the Labrador, in the church ship “Hawk”, in the year 1849* (London, 1849), 51.
- ³⁹ David Manning, ‘Anglican religious societies, organizations, and missions’, in Gregory, *The Oxford History of Anglicanism. II*, 430.
- ⁴⁰ Mandelbrote, ‘The publishing and distribution of religious books’, 616-22, 629.
- ⁴¹ Manning, ‘Anglican religious societies’, 439.
- ⁴² W. O. B. Allen and Edward McClure, *Two Hundred Years: the history of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898* (London: SPCK, 1898), 312-13.
- ⁴³ Janet B. Friskney, ‘Christian faith in print’, in Patricia L. Fleming and Gilles Gallichan and Yvan Lamonde (eds), *History of the Book in Canada. Volume One: Beginnings to 1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 140, 143.
- ⁴⁴ Richard Vaudry, *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: high churchmen, evangelicals and the Quebec connection* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 10-11, 73-87.
- ⁴⁵ Charles Inglis to George Pretyman-Tomline, 23 June 1795, PANS, MG1-480, Letters of Charles Inglis, ff. 80-1; Pretyman-Tomline, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of*

Lincoln, at the triennial visitation of that diocese. In May and June 1794 (London: T. C. Adell, 1794), 20.

⁴⁶ Edward Wix, *Six months of a Newfoundland missionary's journal, from February to August, 1835*, 2nd edn (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1836), 27, 39-40; Hollett, 'The printed word', 328.

⁴⁷ Gregory, 'Transatlantic Anglican networks', 133.

⁴⁸ USPG, X-755, 'Catalogue of books delivered and sent to the Society's missionaries, 1791-1821'.

⁴⁹ Common titles included Josiah Woodward's *A Disswasive from the sin of Drunkenness* (first published 1701), *An Earnest Perswasive to the Serious Observance of the Lord's Day* (1704), and his *The baseness and perniciousness of the sin of slandering and back-biting* (1706).

⁵⁰ Andrew Braddock, 'Domestic devotion and the Georgian Church', *Journal of Anglican Studies*, 16:2 (2018), 188-206.

⁵¹ Christie and Gauvreau, *Christian Churches and Their Peoples, 1840-1965: a social history of religion in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 18-19.

⁵² Paulus Bryzelius to SPG, 9 January 1769, HC, H-1994, B25, f. 344.

⁵³ Peter Delaroche (Lunenburg, NS) to SPG, 2 August 1779, HC, H-1994, B25, f. 677.

⁵⁴ Gregory, 'Transatlantic Anglican networks', 136-7. For similar objections among English worshippers, see Gregory, "'For all sorts and conditions of men": the social life of the Book of Common Prayer during the long eighteenth century: or, bringing the history of religion and social history together', *Social History*, 34:1 (2009), 41-44.

⁵⁵ William Walker (missionary at St. Eleanor's, PEI) to SPG, 2 July 1829, USPG, C/CAN/NS/5/63/258; Horatio Nelson Arnold (Granville, NS) to SPG, C/CAN/NS/4/50/194; James Somerville (Fredericton, NB) to SPG, 2 December 1823, C/CAN/NB/1/157/124.

⁵⁶ Gregory, 'Transatlantic Anglican networks', 136-7.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁵⁸ Examples include Beilby Porteus, *Archbishop Secker's Five sermons against Popery* (1781) and Edmund Gibson, *Preservative against popery* (1738). Harries to SPG, 20 November 1809, USPG, C/CAN/NFL/1/219/84; Peter Delaroche in Nova Scotia made the point about unintended consequences as early as 1771: Delaroche to SPG, 28 November 1771, HC, H-1994, B25, f. 514.

⁵⁹ Horatio Nelson Arnold (Granville), 12 July 1824, USPG, C/CAN/NS/4/50/194.

⁶⁰ Lewis Bagot, *A serious caution against the dangerous errors of the Anabaptists* (London, F. and C. Rivington, 1807).

⁶¹ Zachary Pearce, *A sermon on self-murder* (London, 1736).

⁶² Abel S. Gore to John Inglis, 10 April 1829, USPG, C/CAN/NS/4/39/15.

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- ⁶³ James Cochran to John Inglis, 10 June 1829, USPG, C/CAN/NS/8/68/368.
- ⁶⁴ Joseph Hardwick, *An Anglican British World: the Church of England and the expansion of the settler empire, c. 1790-1860* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), ch. 5.
- ⁶⁵ Miles Ogborn, *The Freedom of Speech: Talk and Slavery in the Anglo-Caribbean World* (forthcoming), ch. 4.
- ⁶⁶ John Clinch to SPG, 2 December 1803 and 8 August 1817, USPG, C/CAN/NFL/1/218/41 and /61; John Burnyeat to Bishop John Inglis, 22 August 1820, C/CAN/NS/3/32/339; David Rowland to SPG, 22 December 1812, USPG, C/CAN/NFL/2/232/217.
- ⁶⁷ Wix to SPG, 15 October 1831, USPG, C/CAN/NS/16/20.
- ⁶⁸ Hilary Carey, *God's Empire*, 154-8.
- ⁶⁹ Joseph Wright (Horton) to SPG, 9 November 1824, USPG, C/CAN/NS/3/19/243.
- ⁷⁰ Thomas G. Taylor, *An answer to the question: why are you a churchman?* 5th edn (London, F. C. and J. Rivington, 1811), 48.
- ⁷¹ Gregory, 'Introduction', 16; Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*, 45.
- ⁷² James Cochran (Lunenburg) to Bishop of Nova Scotia, 10 February 1843, USPG, C/CAN/NS/8/68/389.
- ⁷³ William Twining to SPG, 3 January 1824, HC, C1/1/12, f. 113-15.
- ⁷⁴ William Cochran to SPG, 24 January 1831, HC, C1/1/16, f. 265; G. Schofield to SPG, 12 December 1859, HC, microfilm H-1997, ff. 443-5.
- ⁷⁵ Hollett, 'The printed word', 326-7.
- ⁷⁶ Paulus Bryzelius to SPG, 18 December 1767 and August 1771, HC, H-1994, B25, f. 299, 434; L. C. Jenkins to SPG, 30 November 1823, USPG, C/CAN/NS/4/41/23.
- ⁷⁷ Ruma Chopra, 'Maroons and Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia, 1796-1800', *Acadiensis*, xlv:1 (2017), 18, 20-1.
- ⁷⁸ Helen Ralston, 'Religion, public policy, and the education of Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia, 1605-1872', *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 18:4 (1981), 478-82, 485-6.
- ⁷⁹ Gregory, 'The social life of the Book of Common Prayer', 29-54.
- ⁸⁰ Joshua W. Weeks (New Dublin) to SPG, 1 January 1842, USPG, C/CAN/NS/564/271.
- ⁸¹ Charles Ingles (Sydney, CB) to bishop of Nova Scotia, 1 January 1839, HC, H-1995, C.1/1/18, f. 409; Wix, *Six months*, 44. For private baptisms where church services were available, see Henry Starmer to SPG, 26 September 1850, HC, microfilm H-1995, D10, ff. 110-14.
- ⁸² Horatio N. Arnold to SPG, July entry from 1834 journal, C/CAN/NB/4/191/522; Edward Langman (St. John's) to SPG, 15 November 1773, HC, H-1994, B6, f. 237.
- ⁸³ Gauvreau, 'The dividends of empire', 218.

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- ⁸⁴ Moreau to SPG, 15 October 1760, and Delaroché to SPG, 28 November 1771, HC, H-1994, B25, f. 25-6, 513; Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants"*, 628-9; congregation of St. George's to Charles Inglis, 31 March 1808, PANS, Microfilm 11,475.
- ⁸⁵ R. C. Dallas, *The History of the Maroons, from their origin to the establishment of their chief tribe at Sierra Leone*, vol. II (London: A. Strahan, 1803), 221-9; 251-2.
- ⁸⁶ Robert Vincent to SPG, 29 April 1765, HC, H-1994, B25, f. 160.
- ⁸⁷ St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 67-71, 80-7.
- ⁸⁸ Hebb, *Samuel Seabury and Charles Inglis*, 91-2.
- ⁸⁹ Hardwick, 'Fasts, thanksgivings and senses of community in nineteenth-century Canada and the British Empire', *Canadian Historical Review*, 98:4 (2017), 675-703.
- ⁹⁰ William Ellis to SPG, 14 September 1776, HC, H-1994, B25, f. 617.
- ⁹¹ Roger Aitken to John Inglis, 20 September 1822, HC, H-1995, C/1/1/19, f. 592; Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*, 56.
- ⁹² James Balfour to SPG, 18 June 1770, HC, microfilm H-1994, B6, f. 166.
- ⁹³ Mountain, *Some Account*, 13.
- ⁹⁴ Gregory, 'The social life of the Book of Common Prayer', 30.
- ⁹⁵ Diary of Henry Lind, OMF.002, Memorial University of Newfoundland's Department of Archives and Special Collections, St. John's.
- ⁹⁶ William Ellis to SPG, 14 September 1776, HC, microfilm H-1994, B25, f. 617.
- ⁹⁷ Petition of inhabitants of St. John's, Newfoundland, to SPG, complaining about Edward Langman: 9 November 1765, HC, H-1994, B6, f. 105.
- ⁹⁸ Hollett, *Beating Against the Wind*; Craig, *Apostle to the Wilderness*.
- ⁹⁹ Hibbert Binney to SPG, 17 February 1853, HC, H-1996, D10, f. 598
- ¹⁰⁰ Craig, *Apostle to the Wilderness*, 56-8.
- ¹⁰¹ The term is from Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c. 1800-1870* (Oxford: OUP, 1999).
- ¹⁰² Christopher F. Headon, 'Developments in Canadian Anglican worship in eastern and central Canada, 1840-1868', *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, 17 (1975), 26-36.
- ¹⁰³ Binney to SPG, 17 January 1880, HC, H-2004, D54, f. 313
- ¹⁰⁴ Medley to SPG, 10 July 1856, HC, H-1997, D11, f. 240.