

The Beginnings of the Newfoundland Bible Society

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[See table of contents](#)

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Abstract

Much confusion has occurred about the beginnings of the Newfoundland Bible Society, an evangelical Protestant organization in the early nineteenth century. In the 1980s, the alleged founding date of 1812 led to a public celebration of its supposed 175th anniversary. But archival research demonstrates that the founding of a local Bible Society Auxiliary in Newfoundland was a lengthy process that lasted more than 30 years until its establishment in 1846. As elsewhere, the organization united members of several Protestant churches — Anglican, Congregationalist, Methodist, and Moravian — in cooperating with each other. At the same time, this Protestant cohesion and focus on the Bible as sole religious and ethical norm evoked fear of Protestant aggression among Roman Catholics while Tractarian Anglican bishops opposed the Society's liberal ecumenicity. Environmental factors such as the first of several fires in nineteenth-century St. John's as well as religious conflict may have been among the factors responsible for the delayed establishment of the Bible Society Auxiliary in Newfoundland.

Introduction

Confusion exists about the beginning of the Newfoundland Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), an organization formed by Protestants in London, England, in 1804. With its focus on the Bible as the main source and authority for thought and ethics, the Bible Society cemented cooperation among the different Protestant churches and often worked hand in hand with other missionary and evangelical organizations at home and overseas. The society's theological exclusivity also engendered much resistance among the Roman Catholic clergy and may ultimately have been one of the reasons why its establishment in Newfoundland took such a long time.¹

During the 1980s, the year 1812 circulated as the supposed founding date of a Bible Society Auxiliary in St. John's and was celebrated in public, although the historical document for this year only notes the establishment of a "Bible Depot" in Newfoundland. But such a depot is not the same as an "Auxiliary," "Branch," or "Bible Association," the three regional and local institutional forms of the nineteenth-century BFBS. The rules for forming auxiliaries were widely published in the society's literature. Nothing in the original documents seems to fit the formation of any such organization for Newfoundland in 1812. Neither the BFBS in England nor those who in subsequent years laboured in nineteenth-century Newfoundland to establish an Auxiliary, including the often-mentioned Reverend David Rowland (1783–1820),² an Anglican priest in St. John's, ever considered 1812 as the founding date for the Newfoundland Bible Society. Consequently, the official earliest history of the society, by John Owen, while acknowledging auxiliaries and branches in Nova Scotia and Quebec as early as 1812 and 1813, does not indicate anything about a Bible Society Auxiliary in Newfoundland at such an early date.³

The date of 1812 as the beginning of the Newfoundland Bible Society appears to be a relatively recent, twentieth-century, local assertion, based on the early relationship that Newfoundland evangelicals had with the BFBS, which saw Bibles and New Testaments in multiple

languages sent to and deposited in Newfoundland.⁴ While such distribution was quite common, it does not qualify as the formation of a local Bible Society. Rather, the earliest correspondence and extant literature suggest that the founding of an Auxiliary of the BFBS in Newfoundland with some sense of institutional identity and continuity occurred in 1846. In what follows, the origin of the Newfoundland Bible Society is documented from the original sources, notably those found in the British and Foreign Bible Society archive at Cambridge University Library.

Beginnings

Within a few years of its founding in 1804, the Bible Society in England was in touch with Newfoundland, supplying locally interested clergymen and individuals posted in St. John's with Bibles and New Testaments.⁵ From 1806 on, the BFBS in England also showed an active interest in publishing biblical texts translated by the Moravian missionaries of Labrador into Inuktitut, the Inuit language.⁶ Starting with the Gospel of John, the BFBS supported the publication of biblical books in Labrador Inuktitut.⁷ Nearly all Inuktitut Bibles and biblical literature for Labrador were published with the support of the BFBS. The close relationship between the Moravian missionaries among the Inuit of Labrador and the BFBS was a personal one since the missionaries Christian Friedrich Burckhardt (1743–1812) and Benjamin Gottlieb Kohlmeister (1756–1844), translators of the Bible into Inuktitut, were personally acquainted with the foreign secretary of the BFBS, Carl Friedrich Adolf Steinkopf (1773–1859), the minister of the German Lutheran Church in London, and communicated with him in German.⁸

In 1812, Reverend Rowland, the person often credited with founding a Bible Society Auxiliary in St. John's in that year, was supplied by the BFBS with 12 English Bibles and 50 English, 25 Portuguese, and 25 Italian Testaments "for the purpose of distributing among the numerous seamen of those nations who visit that Harbour every summer."⁹ But this relationship, as it remained for quite a while,

was merely an arrangement with the BFBS for the sale or gratuitous distribution of biblical texts. The Society for Educating the Poor and the Newfoundland School Society, both important evangelical institutions in Newfoundland, would remain for a long time the institutional contacts, depots, and distributors of Bibles for the BFBS on the island. Also, in the letters of Reverend Rowland to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, there is no mention of founding a local organization in aid of the Bible, although the Church of England missionary organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), supplied him occasionally with biblical, catechetical, and educational literature.¹⁰

In response to a letter by Lieutenant Vicars of the Royal Engineers in St. John's of 9 June 1815, which included his annual subscription to the BFBS and an additional five pounds to purchase Bibles and New Testaments for distribution in St. John's, the society decided to send an even larger consignment than requested, namely "100 English Bibles, 100 Testaments, & 50 French Bibles."¹¹ The committee in England also "Resolved, That 100 English Bibles, 500 English Testaments and 50 Irish [Gaelic] Testaments be placed at the disposal of the Rev. M Rowland, the Rev. Mr Hyde, Lieut. Vicars, Mr. Thade Goff, Mr. Epps and Mr. Parker, of St. John's, Newfoundland; for sale or gratuitous distribution at their discretion." The same BFBS Minutes of 4 September 1815 state that these men "be encouraged to form a Bible Society, upon a liberal basis, for that Colony, in which case this Committee will aid their Fund by a Grant of Two hundred pounds Sterling." This 1815 resolution of the BFBS in London appears to be the first documented request suggesting the formation of a local Bible Society in St. John's. It was expected that such an Auxiliary would "cooperate with the Parent Society in London, and that upon the formation of such Society & its Rules being forwarded to the Committee in London a Donation of £ 200 would be made in aid of its Funds."¹² Following the advice of the BFBS, Rev. David Rowland held a meeting in St. John's to consider "if it would be practicable to institute a Bible Society for the General and permanent benefit of the Colony."

On 20 February 1816, Josiah Tarn, the assistant secretary of the BFBS, recommended to Reverend Rowland that a committee be formed in St. John's to administer the sale and distribution of Bibles and New Testaments and asked again "if it would not be practicable to institute a Bible Society for the General and permanent benefit of the Colony, upon the liberal basis of the British and Foreign Bible Society." The accompanying reports would guide the committee in establishing the rules for the Newfoundland Auxiliary Bible Society so that a donation of 200 Pounds could be granted to such an Auxiliary.¹³

But the time did not seem to favour such an institution in 1816. Newfoundland was sorely tried by economic woes, while the first of several devastating fires during the nineteenth century raged that year in St. John's and left many people homeless. Reverend Rowland thus replied to the BFBS on 22 August 1816 as follows: "Considering the distressed State of the Town in consequence of the calamitous fire & the failure of Trade, I very much question the practicability of forming an Auxiliary Bible Society at St. Johns this year." He recommended instead the "gratuitous distribution of the Scriptures among the poor Sufferers."¹⁴

Despite Reverend Rowland's caveats expressed in his letter of 22 August of establishing an Auxiliary in St. John's in 1816, a meeting took place on 30 August 1816, attended by three Protestant clergymen of different denominations, Reverends David Rowland (Church of England), James Sabine (Congregationalist), and William Ellis (Methodist), as well as two prominent, active lay people, Nathan Parker and Lieutenant Richard Vicars. The committee thanked the BFBS for its generosity, took steps for distributing the Bibles sent to them by the society, and established communication with the Newfoundland outposts to accommodate their needs for supplies. The committee also resolved "that as soon as His Excellency the Governor shall arrive, this meeting do take into farther consideration the practicability of establishing an Auxiliary Bible Society, agreeable to the suggestion of the Committee in London."¹⁵

Despite this resolve of establishing an Auxiliary, it seems nothing was undertaken for a long time, but on 8 December 1830, Mark

Willoughby, the secretary of the evangelical Newfoundland School Society, which served as major agent for the distribution of Bibles and tracts from the BFBS and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in Newfoundland, expressed the hope of having some day an Auxiliary formed in Newfoundland. He wrote to the BFBS on 8 December 1830: "I do not despair of having a B + F Bible Society Auxiliary in Newfoundland, we first crept and whispered about circulating the Scriptures, but now we walk upright, and say aloud that all have them. We shall yet gain strength, the Lord working with us, and reap the Harvest in due season if we faint not."¹⁶

That time seemed to be near for Mark Willoughby when he wrote on 1 December 1835 to the BFBS in London that he thought "the time is arrived when I shall succeed in the formation of a Newfoundland Auxiliary Bible Society." In fact, in a postscript to his letter, he stated: "I am glad to report to you that I have succeeded in forming an Auxiliary for Newfoundland, the first attempt I believe made in the Island. I enclose to you a copy of our proceedings, at two Committee meetings — we are to have a third next week when we hope to have our list of officers complete."¹⁷

Minutes from December 1835 and January 1836 about the specifics of the undertaking are in the archives at Cambridge. At a meeting on 26 December 1835 at the Central School House of the Newfoundland and British North America School Society (this is the full name for the Newfoundland School Society) in St. John's, Archdeacon Wix, Reverend T.F.H. Bridge, Reverend J. Smithies, and Messrs Allen, Howell, R. Job, Read, Bulley, Robinson, Jeynes, and Willoughby met. Also, Rev. F.H. Carrington had been invited but did not attend. Willoughby then proposed, seconded by Archdeacon Wix, "That an Auxiliary be formed to be in connexion with the British & Foreign Bible Society and to be called the St. John's Auxiliary Bible Society." This was followed by the proposal of Mr. Read, seconded by Mr. Bulley, that a committee be formed, consisting of Archdeacon Wix, Rev. T.F.H. Bridge, Rev. D.S. Ward, Rev. Smithies, Messrs Allen, Bulley, Harrell, R. Job, Read, Jeynes, Willoughby, and Robinson. Next

Rev. J. Smithies proposed, seconded by D.F.H. Bridge, that a subcommittee, consisting of Archdeacon Wix, Rev. D.S. Ward, Rev. J. Smithies, Mr. Read, and Mr. Willoughby, was to “prepare Rules for the Government of the Auxiliary, and to meet on Tuesday, January 4th, at 4 o’ Clock.” We have thus Anglican (Bridge and Wix), Congregationalist (D.S. Ward) and Methodist (J. Smithies) clergymen as well as lay people cooperating in an attempt to form a Bible Society Auxiliary in Newfoundland.

The minutes of the subcommittee, dated 4 January 1836, read that “the whole of the Rules for an auxiliary as provided in the Report of the Parent Society for 1834 are recommended & quarterly meetings to be held on the first Saturday of the first of December, March, June, and September at the Central School House, precisely at half past twelve o’clock.” They also recommended for adoption 10 proposed by-laws from the 1834 Report. The General Committee agreed to meet on 17 January to appoint officers and receive the report of the subcommittee. The following people were suggested as officers: the Governor as president, Mr. Willoughby, treasurer; Mr. Read, minute secretary; and Mr. Jeynes, secretary and depository. These officers were confirmed on 16 January, and the governor, whom Willoughby had asked, “immediately consented.”¹⁸

Despite these efforts, forming an auxiliary in 1834 failed to succeed. Mark Willoughby wrote to the BFBS on 31 January 1838: “An attempt was made to form an Auxiliary Bible Society in S. John’s, of which I gave you at the time some account. Several meetings of a few friends took place in a school room on the subject and officers were appointed to whom I proposed transferring the stock of Bibles & Testaments, then on hand, entrusted by you, to my care. Nothing further however has been done, nor has any application been made for the stock, which is now nearly all disposed of.” He then alludes to difficult personal circumstances and public local opposition as follows: “From the circumstances in which several of the Gentlemen are placed forming a part of the proposed Committee — from the apprehended violent opposition to any public measure on the subject of the Bible

Society from the Roman Catholic Priests, and from the effect of some conflicting interests, I fear that the time has not yet arrived, when any improvement can be made in our previous places for selling and circulating the Scriptures. I will not let any good opening pass by for accomplishing your desire for having an official Auxiliary part in operation.”¹⁹ The comment regarding Roman Catholic opposition to the formation of a local Bible Society Auxiliary is not surprising, given that this evangelical institution was viewed by Roman Catholics as being in the vanguard of contemporary anti-Catholicism. “To Roman Catholics in Europe and America,” writes Judith Fingard, “the Bible Society was always an instrument of Protestant aggression. They invariably interpreted the distribution of Bibles as a Protestant crusade against the Roman church.”²⁰ The Protestant emphasis on the Bible as an exclusive religious norm and on auxiliary institutions furthering it was heightened by an earlier “No Popery” crusade in response to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 in England as well as the polarizing introduction of the King James version of the Bible as a textbook in the Trinity and Conception Bay School Boards. The legislative struggle over the Bible in education from 1836 to 1843 in Newfoundland may have strengthened Catholic opposition to the Bible Society. It certainly had serious consequences for the schooling of children. “In 1843,” writes Phillip McCann, “the governor had to admit that in nearly every district of the island the children either of Protestant or Catholic parents had been, at one time or another, excluded from the benefit of schooling.”²¹ In 1838, the perceived “violent opposition” by Roman Catholic priests to a local Bible Society appears to have been a factor in the retarded development of the Newfoundland Auxiliary. Later, Bishop Edward Feild (1801–76), a High Church Anglican who remained the head of the Church of England in Newfoundland from 1844 until his death in 1876, would also strongly oppose the ecumenicity inherent in Protestant auxiliary societies, notably the Bible Society. The bishop viewed such support as legitimizing dissenters and lowering the view of the rightfully established church with its apostolic foundation and succession.²²

Newfoundland had to wait until 1846 for an Auxiliary Bible Society to be formed. In a communication of 13 December 1844, Reverend Richard Williams, a Wesleyan Methodist minister at St. John's, expressed the hope that an Auxiliary Bible Society in St. John's, which he had mentioned already in a previous letter, would "very shortly . . . see the society in full operation." Governor Sir John Harvey had already consented to be its patron and the Honourable Joseph Noad, the colony's surveyor general, its president. But it took a little longer than Williams had anticipated.²³ On 19 July 1845, he wrote to the BFBS in London that he had hoped by now he would have been able to report the formation of an Auxiliary, but he could not do so; "yet I am glad," Williams wrote, "to be able to say that the Bible cause is gaining ground amongst us and I have yet hope that a Bible Society will be established here."²⁴ Finally, on 10 April 1846, he was pleased to report:

that after eighteen months delay we have at length succeeded in duly organizing an Auxiliary Bible Society in connection with the parent Society in London. This joyful event took place on Tuesday March 24 when a considerable number of the most respectable Merchants and others of S. John's met in the Committee Room of the Commercial Building to deliberate on the practicability, necessity, and importance of such an institution. The Honble William Thomas, one of Her Majesty's Executive & Legislative Councillors, was unanimously called to the Chair and the business of the meeting proceeded with spirit, unanimity and every good feeling. On Saturday the 28, we met by agreement, and had a delightful meeting[;] on this occasion all that was wanted to give completeness to our design was happily accomplished.²⁵

One day later, on 11 April 1846, Reverend David Daniel Evans, the Congregationalist minister of St. John's, and John Butler Bulley, the two secretaries of the Newfoundland Auxiliary, announced to the BFBS in London that "an Auxiliary to your noble Society has recently

been formed in this city.” “It had long been felt,” the secretaries wrote, “that something of this nature was wanting in this Colony” There was considerable support for the organization, and immediate plans were made to form “Branch Societies in the out-ports of this Colony, and trust that we shall be able, from time to time, to remit considerable sums, in aid of your funds, and for the supply of our wants.” To demonstrate the viability of such support, the Auxiliary enclosed a large order for literature as well as 125 £ Sterling.²⁶

Finally, more than three decades after it had been originally suggested, the long-desired and often attempted Auxiliary in Newfoundland had become an institutional reality. Today, the Newfoundland Bible Society continues as one of the provincial districts of the Canadian Bible Society.

Appendix: Founding Meeting of the Newfoundland Auxiliary Bible Society 1846²⁷

At a Meeting of those favourable to the formation of an *Auxiliary Bible Society* in this town held at the Committee Room, Commercial Buildings, on Tuesday, March 24th, and at an adjourned Meeting held in the same place on Saturday last, the following Resolutions were adopted: —

I. — That this Meeting cordially approve of the Constitution, objects and proceedings of the “*British and Foreign Bible Society*,” which has been formed solely to “encourage a wider circulation of the Sacred Scriptures, without note or comment.”

II. — That it is highly desirable that a Society be formed in the Town of St. John’s, in aid of the “*British and Foreign Bible Society*,” — That such a Society be now formed, and that christians [*sic*] of all denominations be invited *to unite* in the good work.

III. — That the following be the “RULES and REGULATIONS” of *this Society*.

Rule 1st. — The name of this Society be the “ST. JOHN’S AND NEWFOUNDLAND AUXILIARY BIBLE SOCIETY,” to co-operate with the *British and Foreign Bible Society*.

Rule 2nd. — All persons subscribing Ten Shillings currency and upwards, annually, giving Five Pounds or upwards at one time, or paying, as Executors, a Bequest of Ten Pounds or upwards, shall be Members of this Society.

Rule 3rd. — The business of this Society shall be managed by a Committee, (any five of whom shall be competent to act,) consisting of the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and Secretaries — all Ministers, being Members of the Society, and twelve Laymen, being Members chosen annually by a majority of the Members at large, in equal numbers, from among the various religious denominations in the town.

Rule 4th. — After the expenses of the Society shall have been paid, the remainder of its funds shall be transmitted to the Treasurer of the Parent Society in London.

Rule 5th. — The books of the Society shall be sold at cost prices; but that it be left to the discretion of the Committee to make free grants of books, in cases of extreme destitution.

Rule 6th. — The Committee meet on the first Tuesday in every month, and at such other times as they may judge necessary; and that they be empowered to obtain all suitable patronage for the Society, — to divide the Town into convenient districts — to procure efficient collectors to gather *Free* and *Bible* subscriptions — to organise Branch Societies in the Colony — and to adopt whatever measures may seem calculated, under the Divine blessing, to promote the good cause of Bible Societies.

Rule 7th. — A general meeting of the members and friends of this Society be held each year, at a place and time to be determined by the Committee, when the accounts shall be presented — the proceeding of the past year reported — and the Committee appointed for the ensuing year.

Rule 8th. — The President shall have power to call a general meeting whenever the affairs of the Society shall seem to require it.

Rule 9th. — No alterations be made in the rules of the Society and that no addition be made to them, except at a general meeting of the members dully convened.

IV. — That the following be the Officers and Committee of the Society for the ensuing year: —

Patron	HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.
President	HON. W. THOMAS.
Vice-Presidents	HON. JUDGE DESBARRES, HON. JUDGE LILLY, HON. JAMES CROWDY, HON. ROBERT JOB, ANDREW MILROY, Esqu.
Treasurer	NICHOLAS STABB, Esq.
Secretaries	Rev. D.D. EVANS, and J.B. BULLEY, Esqu.

COMMITTEE

Honble. W.B. ROW,	Messrs. T.B. JOB,
Honble. JOS. NOAD,	“ WILSON,
Messrs. McBRIDE,	“ FREEMAN,
“ JAS. ROGERSON,	“ JAS. PITTS,
“ McLEA,	“ WHEATLEY,
“ NICH. MUDGE	“ LASH.

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Notes

1. On the wider context of the Bible Society in British North America, see Judith Fingard, “‘Grapes in the Wilderness’: The Bible Society in

- the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 5, no. 4 (Apr. 1972): 5–31.
2. On the Church of England priest, see “Biographical Memoirs: The Late Rev. David Rowland, Secretary of the Cambrian Society in Dyfed,” *The Cambro-Briton* 1/9 (May 1820): 334–38; 1/10 (June 1820): 375–78; 1/11 (July 1820): 418–21.
 3. John Owen, *The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: Tilling & Hughes, 1816), 492, 590.
 4. *Service of Thanksgiving: 175th Anniversary, Canadian Bible Society, Newfoundland & Labrador District, March 1, 1987*, CBS Newfoundland and Labrador District, 1.01.037, 1987, MS 140, NL Provincial Archives, The Rooms, St. John’s.
 5. “The Third Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, M.DC-CC.VII,” in *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society: Volume the First for the Years 1805, to 1810, Inclusive* (London: L.B. Seeley, n.d.), 136.
 6. Christian Friedrich Burckhardt to “Bruder [Brother] Steinkopff [*sic*],” Nain, 8 Aug. 1808, with an addendum of 26 May 1809, [p. 2]; BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library, BSA/DI/2, Foreign Correspondence Inwards, Burckhardt, Christian F., Letters 1809–1811. The German letter refers to an offer by Steinkopf from two years earlier about the possible printing support by the BFBS for biblical texts in Inuktitut. See also BFBS Letterbooks, BSA/DI/5/3, pp. 214–15; BSA/DI/5/4/ pp. 81–82, BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 7. *TAMEDSA / JOHANNESIB AGLANGIT, / OKAUTSINNIK TUSSARNERTUNNIK / JESUSE KRISTUSEMIK, / GUDIM ERNGNINGANIK. PRINTED FOR / The British and Foreign Bible Society; / For the Use of the Christian Esquimaux in the Mission-Settlements / of the United Brethren at Nain, Okkak, and Hopedale, / on the Coast of Labrador* (London W. McDowall, 1810); *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with Extracts of Correspondence &c.:* vol. 2: *1811, 1812, and 1813* (London: J. Tilling, 1813), 33.
 8. Christian Friedrich Burckhardt to “Bruder [Brother] Steinkopff [*sic*],” Nain, 8 Aug. 1808, with an addendum of 26 May 1809, [p. 1]. See also BSA/DI/2, Foreign Correspondence Inwards, Burckhardt, Christian F., Letters 1809–1811, and BSA/DI/2, Foreign Correspondence

- Inwards, Kohlmeister, Benjamin G., Letters (1814–1822), BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
9. BFBS Minutes, 3 Feb. 1812, p. 199; copy at the NL Provincial Archives, The Rooms, St. John's. See also *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with Extracts of Correspondence &c.*: vol. 2: 1811, 1812, and 1813 (London: J. Tilling, 1813), 223, 347.
 10. Rev. David Rowland, St. John's, Newfoundland, to S.P.G., 24 Oct. 1811, [p. 2], S.P.G. Archives, Rhodes House, Oxford University, England.
 11. Lieut. Vicars, St. John's, Newfoundland, to Mr. Seely, 9 June 1815, [p. 1], BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library; "Twelfth Report of the BFBS," in *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with Extracts of Correspondence &c.*: vol. 4: 1816 and 1817 (London: Tilling and Hughes, 1819), 36, 272.
 12. BFBS Minutes, 4 Sept. 1815, p. 219; NL Provincial Archives, The Rooms, St. John's; "Twelfth Report of the BFBS," in *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with Extracts of Correspondence &c.*: vol. 4: 1816 and 1817 (London: Tilling and Hughes, 1819), 272.
 13. Josiah Tarn, BFBS, Spa Fields, London, to Rev. Rowlands, St. John's, 20 Feb. 1816, BFBS Letter Book, pp. 63–64, BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 14. David Rowland to BFBS, St. John's, Newfoundland, 22 Aug. 1816, BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 15. Richard Vicars, Secretary to the Rectory, St. John's, Newfoundland, to BFBS, 30 Aug. 1816, BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 16. Mark Willoughby, St. John's, Newfoundland, to BFBS, 8 Dec. 1830, [pp. 7-8], BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 17. Mark Willoughby, St. John's, Newfoundland, to BFBS, 1 Dec. 1835, [pp. 1-3], BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 18. Undated letter of Mark Willoughby with Minutes to BFBS, St. John's, Newfoundland, [pp. 1, 7], BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 19. Mark Willoughby, London, 31 Jan. 1838, to BFBS, [pp. 1–2], BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 20. Fingard, "Grapes in the Wilderness," 31.
 21. Phillip McCann, "The Politics of Denominational Education in the Nineteenth Century in Newfoundland," in *The Vexed Question: De-*

- nominational Education in a Secular Age*, edited by William A. McKim (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1988), 35. For the wider religio-political context, see John P. Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation: Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics, 1745–1855* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 68–196.
22. Calvin Hollett, *Beating against the Wind: Popular Opposition to Bishop Feild and Tractarianism in Newfoundland and Labrador* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 67–68.
 23. Rev. Richard Williams, St. John's, Newfoundland, to BFBS, 19 July 1845, [1] BSA/DI/2, Foreign Correspondence Inwards, Williams, R., Letters: 1844–1850, BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 24. Rev. Richard Williams, St. John's, Newfoundland, to BFBS, 13 Dec. 1844, [p. 1], BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 25. Rev. Richard Williams, St. John's, Newfoundland, to BFBS, 10 Apr. 1846, [pp. 1–2], BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 26. Newfoundland Auxiliary Bible Society, St. John's, to Committee of the BFBS, 11 Apr. 1846, [pp. 1–3], and BSA/DI/2, Foreign Correspondence Inwards, Bulley, J.B., Letters: 1846–1855, BFBS Archives, Cambridge University Library.
 27. *The Royal Gazette*, 31 Mar. 1846, p. 3, col. b.