

The Role of the Death-Bed Narrative in the Conception Bay Revival of 1768-69

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How do you initiate a religious revival? This is a question which plagued Laurence Coughlan who was the missionary at Harbour Grace in Conception Bay, Newfoundland, from 1766 to 1774, during an era when revivalism was endemic in both the British Isles and North America.

Coughlan had served for nine years as one of John Wesley's itinerant lay preachers,¹ during which period he had successfully led revivals in such disparate places as Colchester in Essex,² and Waterford in Ireland.³ Following a breach with Wesley, Coughlan established himself as a "Preacher of God's Word" at an independent meeting house registered in his own name at Bermundsey, Surrey.⁴ His reputation as an evangelical preacher was well-established when overtures were made to him by George Davis, a Newfoundland merchant, and George Welch, a banker with connections to the Newfoundland trade.⁵ Both these gentlemen were members of the Skinner Street Independent Church in Poole, Dorset, where a revival had taken place during the early 1760s.⁶ It was through the influence of former members of this congregation then living in Conception Bay that the movement to establish a church there, and to seek an evangelical minister, received its momentum.⁷ Laurence Coughlan was chosen and called. Davis and Welch then approached William Legge, the second Earl of Dartmouth, who was Chairman of the Board of Trade of England, and had oversight of the fishery in Newfoundland. Through his influence, Coughlan was speedily ordained deacon and priest in the Church of England, and, now legitimized with the label if not the doctrine

of the established church, was sent immediately to Conception Bay.⁸

Given his background and experience as an evangelical preacher, there was every reason to believe that the newly-ordained Laurence Coughlan would succeed in initiating the religious revival his supporters expected of him.

Factors Influencing Religious Revivals

Social scientists have long contended that religious revivals coincide with periods of social, economic and political unrest. Elie Halévy's hypothesis identifies pauperism, economic crisis, political ferment and social despair as the underlying conditions for which revivalism provided a religious solution in eighteenth-century working-class England.⁹ R.B. Walker's study of Victorian revivals in England acknowledges that economic depression and other adversities favour religious consolations, but finds a period of prayerful expectation and the influence of charismatic revivalists more important in initiating a revival.¹⁰ Richard Carwardine's comparison of early nineteenth-century revivals in Wales and on the American frontier identifies isolation, a socially unsettled population, the absence of a large educated middle-class, the precarious nature of life and a common social and intellectual background between preachers and their audience as common factors predisposing revivalism in both locations.¹¹ William Sweet notes that migration results in a lessening of social pressure, a decline in institutionalism and a corresponding growth in the sort of individualism which favours revivals that are personal and emotional in nature.¹² The anxiety of social upheaval is also acknowledged by Timothy Smith as the cause of the exaggerated emotions which characterized congregational life in the New World. He points out that revivalism in American history has generally served communal purposes such as the need to belong to a community and have status within it, and the need for an authority to stabilize behaviour when social disorder threatens.¹³ Kenelm Burridge's morphology of conversion emphasizes an ambience of general dissatisfaction and an expectation of transformation as necessary preludes to the effectiveness of a prophet figure who articulates a program of action sanctioned by threats from the transcendent.¹⁴ David Luker's study of the 1814 Great Revival of Wales, indicates that, while external circumstances of isolation, social dislocation and externally controlled trends of boom and depression predisposed that the revival would be

emotional and ecstatic, the course of the revival was influenced more by unexpressed needs for indiginization and the transfer of power.¹⁵

By all these criteria, mid-eighteenth century Conception Bay must be considered a region ripe for revival. As in other frontier communities, there was isolation, social dislocation and absence of extended family support. There was also pronounced social stress. The Conception Bay population, overwhelmingly male,¹⁶ had increased from 1,000 at the beginning of the century to a winter population of nearly 6,000 souls, which during the six months of the fishing season increased to 10,000.¹⁷ There had also been a dramatic shift in ethnic balance. At the beginning of the century 90% of the inhabitants had been English; by mid-century a wave of Irish immigration had left the English forming only a slight majority in the colony.¹⁸

Economic and political stress was also evident. The fishery-based economy was uncertain; its success depended upon the vagaries of foreign markets as well as uncertain weather, unstable fish stocks and migrant servants of unknown character. Economic control remained in the hands of merchants from the English West-country. Political control was exercised by governors appointed from England, usually from the ranks of the naval commanders.¹⁹ The authority of the Justices of the Peace, established by an Order in Council in 1729, was challenged by Fishing Admirals, whose authority rested in a prior Act of Parliament.²⁰ These Fishing Admirals, who received their appointments annually by virtue of being the captain of the first English fishing ship to reach each respective harbour, were uneducated in legal matters, and notorious for promoting the interests of the West-country merchants who hired them.

Thus in mid-eighteenth century Conception Bay there were needs for community-building, power-sharing and self-affirmation. In the social stress and economic and political unrest there existed potential for the eruption of religious fervour. Religious expectations had been raised by the presence in Carbonear of converts from Poole's Skinner Street Independent Church which had recently experienced a revival. Only one ingredient was missing – the presence of a charismatic preacher. The advent of Laurence Coughlan supplied this missing ingredient.

According to the criteria established by the social scientists, Conception Bay was ripe for revival. Yet several years passed, and nothing happened.

Coughlan's Initial Failure

Laurence Coughlan himself found it difficult to understand why the religious revival so eagerly anticipated did not occur. In his book, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland, North America*, he noted that wherever he had gone in England, Ireland and Scotland, religious revivals had occurred soon after the evangelical gospel began to be preached. In Newfoundland three years passed, and there was not the least sign that the hearts and souls of the people were being stirred by his preaching!²¹ Utterly discouraged, he questioned whether it was indeed through God's will that he had ever been called to so desolate a place, and made plans to return to England. He wrote in despair: "None can tell the Affliction which a Minister of Jesus Christ feels, when he has the Care of a Parish, and very little Fruit of his Labour . . ."²²

Suddenly, during the winter of 1768-69, the long-anticipated manifestation of God's saving grace occurred in conjunction with an emotional outpouring from the congregations at Harbour Grace and nearby Carbonear. The emotions were so extreme that the curious, hearing rumours that the inhabitants of these two communities had gone mad, travelled many miles to see for themselves what was transpiring.²³ From then until his departure from Newfoundland in 1773 Coughlan's ministry was marked by an emotional intensity which led many individuals to experience the despair of conviction and the joy of conversion.

Under almost every Sermon and Exhortation some were cut to the Heart and others rejoiced in loud Songs of Praises . . . that the mighty Power of God came down was very Manifest . . . God was daily adding to the church such as should be eternally saved . . .²⁴

The Pivotal Sermon

What was the catalyst which set this long-awaited revival in motion? Two of Coughlan's earliest converts, in their conversion narratives, made reference to the effect that one particular sermon had on bringing them to the stage of conviction:

I heard you preach often, before I was convinced that your Preaching concerned me: I did not see my need of a Saviour: I thought my own

Righteousness was sufficient for me: at last, it pleased God to open my Eyes, by means of your preaching from these Words, *Let the Wicked forsake his way, and the Unrighteous Man his thoughts; and return to the Lord, and he will have Mercy on him, &c.* The Words were directly applicable to my State. I saw clearly, that if I was not Wicked, yet I was Unrighteous.²⁵

. . . at last, it pleased God to awaken me, under a remarkable sermon of yours, in Carbonear, on these Words, *Let the Wicked forsake his Way, and the unrighteous Man his Thoughts, &c.* The Word came with Power to my Soul; I saw myself wicked and abominable, and wondered that my God was so kind, as to offer Pardon to such a Rebel as I had been. The Conviction followed me, and increased more and more, till my sins became a Grief and Burden too heavy for me to bear.²⁶

This sermon, on the theme “Let the Wicked forsake his Way, and the unrighteous Man his Thoughts,” contained two death-bed narratives which together contrasted the blessed condition of one who had experienced the grace of God before death, with the eternal anguish which awaited an unrepentant sinner. Based on the recent deaths of two individuals well-known in the church community, it elicited the intense emotions that were instrumental in stirring the hearts of the people to make a religious response.

The first narrative depicts a man who, having previously experienced conviction of sin, suddenly on his death-bed sensed the grace of God testifying “I am thy Salvation,” and was comforted. He witnessed to his family, beseeching them too to seek the Truth which he had experienced. Then Coughlan described the touching death-bed scene. With his parents on one side of the bed, and his wife and six small children on the other, he gave his final testimony, saying to his wife:

My dear, I am now going out of a poor miserable World, and I can now tell you where I am going; and I shall be soon crowned with a Crown that fadeth not away: As a husband, I hope, I loved you; and as a Father, I laboured under God for my dear Children; but they are no more mine; I give you and them up to my dear Jesus, who gave them me, and he will be a Father to the Fatherless, and a Husband to the Widow.²⁷

Then, affirming that Christ was more to him than anything in the world, and asserting that death was not to be feared but eagerly anticipated, he died in a state of blessed assurance.

The second death-bed narrative described an unrepentant sinner, an alcoholic who had frequently attended church, but opposed Coughlan, and denied the necessity of being born again on the grounds that the clergy in England did not preach that doctrine. His death served as a terrible example of the end that awaits the unredeemed. On his death-bed he realized that he had sinned away the day of grace and was damned to all eternity. When his little one begged him to pray for salvation before it was too late, he cried out in anguish:

Oh! my child, your poor Father cannot pray; he soon will be tormented in the Flames of everlasting Burnings; all is over, it is too late . . . Oh! I already feel the Torments of the Damned; none can tell what I feel: Oh! I see thousands of Devils in this Room; could you see them, you would not stay in this place: Oh! everlasting Burning! Oh! Eternity!²⁸

The anguish of spirit that could be awakened by a consideration of death was enhanced in those of Coughlan's congregation who believed themselves unredeemed by the certain knowledge that they too would face such an agonizing end. Persons hovering on the point of death were portrayed as already experiencing the fate that would be theirs after death. Coughlan used proof texts to demonstrate that experience proves Scripture to be true. Those who die "in the Lord" are blessed.²⁹ On the other hand, the unredeemed are destined to die in fear, distress and anguish.³⁰ A final quotation was used by way of admonition: "Seek the Lord, while he may be found; call ye upon him, while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his Way, and the Unrighteous Man his thoughts; and let him return to the Lord, and he will have Mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon."³¹

Coughlan indicated in his "brief account" that the testimony of these experiences did much in "establishing the Word of his Grace among this people."³² The death-bed scenes presented in this sermon provided for many proof that Coughlan's doctrine was borne out by experience. But more than that, it was an occasion of great emotional upheaval for the

community. Coughlan's vivid description of the dying father's tender farewell to his family could leave no one unaffected. Vicarious participation in a death experience elicits "anguish of spirit," an emotion which is closely related to the state of conviction and can indeed stimulate it. The sermon succeeded in awakening in Coughlan's congregations a religious response that was emotive and ecstatic, and set in motion the Conception Bay revival of 1768-69.

Coughlan's Use of Death-Bed Narratives

Coughlan was to find that death-bed narratives also proved effective in other ways. In addition to the two quoted above, he chose five others to record in his book.

A group of three represent young women who at the onset of their death are in the beginning stages of spiritual growth – the unthinking girl who used to joke that "it was too soon, when she grew old she would be religious, and become a Convert;"³³ the youth who had been too much with "the Allurements of the World" but when faced with death recognizes her sinfulness and cries for mercy;³⁴ and the young mother, a backslider, who thought her present intimations of eternal suffering could be used as an example to others.³⁵ All three young women, who died within four months of each other, experienced the grace of God before their death.

These death-bed experiences have been carefully crafted according to a set form. Each begins with an epitaph, indicating the name of the deceased, followed by the phrase "who departed this life" and indicating the date and age at time of death, and occupation if any. Next follows an applicable Bible verse. Coughlan shows a preference for the Old Testament. The body of the narrative typically opens with the cliché, "as to her person." This is followed by a description of the deceased in which the most positive aspects of her character and her family are mentioned. No disparaging remarks are made. For example, a young woman pregnant out of wedlock is presented as "this poor deluded young Lady," and the full responsibility for the pregnancy is placed on the man. She is not the sinner, but the betrayed innocent, the victim of "this horrible Sin;" the sympathy rather than the scorn of the reader is elicited.

The description of the deceased is followed by Coughlan's account of the death experience itself. It is presented in the form of journal entries showing the daily progress towards both death and salvation. He describes

the situation as he finds it on each visit, or as it has been related to him by those participating in the death-watch. Coughlan visits daily. He plays the role of interrogator, questioning the dying as to the state of their soul. He prays for them. He offers the sacrament of the Lord's Supper after first assuring himself that the dying person is sufficiently aware of her own sinfulness and unworthiness. The dying progress swiftly through all the stages of the conversion experience – awakening (an intellectual awareness of sinfulness), conviction (an emotive response to sinfulness), justification (the moment of conversion experienced as a “flow of joy”), and finally, to the peace of full assurance. Coughlan takes no credit himself. The actual moment of conversion in all cases happens in his absence, and he finds evidence of it on his next visit. It has been the work of God alone.

Evidence that conversion has taken place is found in the mood of the dying person. No longer afraid of death, she looks forward eagerly to it. She feels Jesus present, and has the sense that her sins have been forgiven. She testifies about her experience to her family and friends. She breaks into spontaneous prayer and praise. Physical suffering is eased especially during times of prayer and hymn-singing. As death approaches there is a foretaste of the peace and joy to be experienced in life after death.

The death-bed narrative ends with a description of the death itself, expressed in euphemistic imagery such as “She clapped her glad Wings, and tower'd away, And mingled with the Blaze of Day,”³⁶ or “She then gave up her Breath, and fell asleep in the Arms of her dear Jesus.”³⁷

Taken cumulatively, the message Coughlan gives is clear. Conversion does not occur unless the sinner experiences the burden of sinfulness and reacts with repentance, sorrow and humility. This is the only active role the sinner plays. The rest is up to God who moves in his own good time to lift the burden of sin and reconcile the sinner to himself. But God is merciful never permitting the convicted sinner to die unreconciled.

Another of Coughlan's death-bed narratives presents his answer to the question of theodicy.³⁸ It describes the final illness of Mrs. P. who suffers great pain, and strives to interpret that pain theologically. In her weaker moments she does not understand why God allows her to suffer and prays for a speedy death. Then she begins to realize that God has afflicted her body for the sake of her soul; in his goodness he is answering her prayers by not allowing her, through a premature death, to die before she has attained full assurance. Finally she resigns herself to his will saying “I must wait my Lord's leisure.”³⁹ The more agony she feels the louder is

her praise. She dies praying that her example will convert the poor hard hearts of her children.

The parallel with the Book of Job is obvious in this narrative. Did Coughlan deliberately re-write this book replacing the culturally remote Job with someone the congregation knew well and could more readily empathise with, and changing Job's restoration motif to a more dramatic ending in which death itself becomes the final restoration? Or has the Old Testament become so much a part of his thinking that he unconsciously reproduces its thoughts? A more likely explanation may be that he was using a narrative form that was common among Methodist preachers; although I have been unable to locate other examples the form may have been popular in the oral tradition.

The final death-bed narrative in Coughlan's book was in the form of a letter from lay preacher Thomas Pottle of Carbonear, who experienced for himself the "strange Metamorphose! the Conscience, but a moment or two before wounded, loaded; the Sinner, just ready to despair, now instantly, with a loud Voice, proclaims the Salvation of his Redeemer, and cries out, with Ecstasies of Joy, I have found a pardoning God."⁴⁰

The experience led Pottle to attempt to understand why so many were converting on their death-beds. He acknowledges that the whole process is the work of God. He believes that the purpose of the illness is to bring the sinner to the state of conviction. Pain is God's way of humbling us, of preparing us to recognize our own sinfulness. God does not afflict pain in anger, but in his tender compassion for us, as a way of bringing us to himself. Faced with pain and impending death we begin to repent of our sins. The repentance is preparative, "softening the stony Heart, making it capable of receiving the Grace of God, even as soaking Showers prepare and mollify the Earth, to receive the Seed."⁴¹ God then moves in his own time to bring the repentant sinner to conversion.

Dying: A Community Event

These death-bed narratives inadvertently paint for us a picture of community life in mid-eighteenth century Conception Bay. Dying is a community event; friends and neighbours gather in the house and keep watch day and night. The minister is sent for and visits daily. The friends and neighbours join him in prayer sometimes standing round the death-bed to sing hymns. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered to the

dying. As the moment of death approaches the nearest relatives are called into the room to receive the last words. In this type of setting every symptom and every word of the dying person are shared with those in the house, and repeated over and over again to others in the community. The tales gain in dramatic appeal as they are retold. Then, from the pulpit, Coughlan gives the events a religious interpretation, and the listeners begin to see the events through his eyes.

One can imagine the stentorian tones in which he enumerates the spiritual agonies of the damned, the rising hopefulness in his voice as he indicates the first signs of conviction in the repentant sinner, the blast of triumph in which he recounts the moment of saving grace, and then the hush of the congregation punctuated by the sound of muffled sobbing as he recounts the last words of the dying saint, the special messages from one whose soul has already begun to experience the blessedness of heaven. The members of the congregation recognize in the dying an enactment of their own deepest fears and an answering hope. Then, punctuating his statements by reference to Scripture, Coughlan draws a lesson from the experience, a lesson the listeners will never forget.

Conclusion

Laurence Coughlan's purpose in relating death-bed narratives from the pulpit was primarily didactic. However, the impact on the congregation of hearing them was instrumental in eliciting the intensely emotional responses that characterized the Conception Bay revival of 1768-69.

In the years previous to 1768-69, factors identified by social scientists as predisposing revivalism were present in Conception Bay, including social stress, an uncertain economic situation, political disempowerment, the personal dysphoria normally associated with relocation, the needs for community-building and power-sharing, and heightened religious expectation. All these factors were not enough in and of themselves to incite a religious revival. Through his experience in Conception Bay, Coughlan learned the value of stimulating the emotions of his audience through incorporating death-bed narratives into his sermons.

Endnotes

1. Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists*, 3 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1973 [1872]), 3:25.
2. Journal entry for 28 November 1758, in John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, 3rd ed., 14 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986), 2:462; Journal entries for 3 March 1759 and 5 March 1759, in Wesley, *Works*, 2:468; John Wesley to Ebenezer Blackwell, 12 March 1759 in Wesley, *Works*, 8:326; and John Wesley to Lady Huntingdon, March 1759, as quoted by Tyerman, *Life and Times*, 2:324.
3. C.H. Crookshank, *The History of Methodism in Ireland, Vol. I, Wesley and His Times* (Belfast: R.S. Allen, Son & Allen, 1885), 1:148ff.
4. "Late Eighteenth-Century Dissent in Surrey," *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* 17, No. 4 (November 1955): 128-135, as quoted by Hans Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," in *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, eds. Charles H.H. Scobie and John W. Grant (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1992), 57.
5. Geo. Davis and George Welch to the Earl of Dartmouth, 16 April 1776, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace, London.
6. Bernard C. Short, *Poole: The Romance of its Later History* (London: Hunt, Barnard & Co., Ltd., 1932), 101.
7. Samuel Greatheed, "The Life of the Rev. John Jones, Late of St. John's, Newfoundland," *Evangelical Magazine* (November 1800), 441ff.
8. The Earl of Dartmouth to the Bishop of London, 18 April 1766, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace, London. Also, Coughlan to the Earl of Dartmouth, Harbour Grace, 25 October 1772, Dartmouth Originals, MG 23, A1/2:2497, National Library, England.
9. *The Birth of Methodism in England*, trans. Bernard Semmel (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971).
10. "The Growth of Wesleyan Methodism in Victorian England and Wales," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 24, No. 3 (July 1973): 267-284.
11. "The Welsh Evangelical Community and 'Finney's Revival,'" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29, No. 4 (October 1978): 463-480.

12. *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth and Decline* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944).
13. "Congregation, State and Denomination: The Forming of American Religious Structure," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 3, 25 (April 1968): 155-176.
14. Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), s.v. "Revival and Renewal," by Kenelm Burridge.
15. "Revivalism in Theory and Practice," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37, No. 4 (October 1986): 603-619.
16. Coughlan's annual report of 1767 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel noted 408 families among a total population in Conception Bay of 5621 (Laurence Coughlan to SPG Secretary, 20 October 1767, SPG Papers, B.6/170. Available on microfilm at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University, and National Archives, Ottawa.
17. C. Grant Head, *Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland: A Geographer's Perspective* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), 56.
18. Head, *Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland*, 83. See also Thomas Nemeec, "The Irish Emigration to Newfoundland," *Newfoundland Quarterly* 4, No. 4 (July 1972): 15-24.
19. Christopher English, "The Development of the Newfoundland Legal System to 1815," *Acadiensis* 20, No. 1 (Autumn 1990): 89-119.
20. An account of this legal dilemma may be found in Frederick W. Rowe, *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 1980), 178ff.
21. Laurence Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland, North America* (London: W. Gilbert, 1776), 7.
22. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 8.
23. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 16.
24. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 12.
25. J.P. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 102.
26. J.M. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 116.
27. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 21.

28. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 23.
29. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 22. The quotation is from Rev. 14:13.
30. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 23. Coughlan quotes "Because I have called and ye refused; I have stretched out my Hand, and no Man regarded; but ye have set at naught all my Counsel, and would have none of my Reproof: I also will laugh at your Calamity; I will mock when your Fear cometh as Desolation, and your Desolation cometh as a Whirlwind; when Distress and Anguish cometh upon you; For that they hated Knowledge and did not choose the Fear of the Lord." From this quotation, which Coughlan indicates is found in Proverbs 1:24-29, he (or perhaps the editor of his book) has omitted two lines of verse 28: "Then they will call upon me but I will not answer; they will seek me diligently but they will not find me." While the thought expressed here fits perfectly with the situation being described, it is inconsistent with Methodist theology which proclaims that God's mercy is for all and is eventually revealed to all that are sincere in seeking it.
31. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 24.
32. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 20.
33. "The Experience of C.G., Who departed this Life, on the 9th of May, 1773," in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 25-33.
34. "The Experience of Miss N.G., Who departed this Life, on the 24th of June, 1773, in the 20th Year of her Age," in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 34-39.
35. "The Experience of Mrs. W., Who departed this Life, on the 9th of September, 1773, in the Twenty-First Year of her Age, Who was a Wife and Mother of Two Children," in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 40-46.
36. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 33.
37. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 46.
38. "The Experience of Mrs. P., When lying on her Death-Bed," in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 47-49.
39. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 48.
40. T.P. to Coughlan, Carbonear, 28 July 1772, in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 52.

41. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 51.