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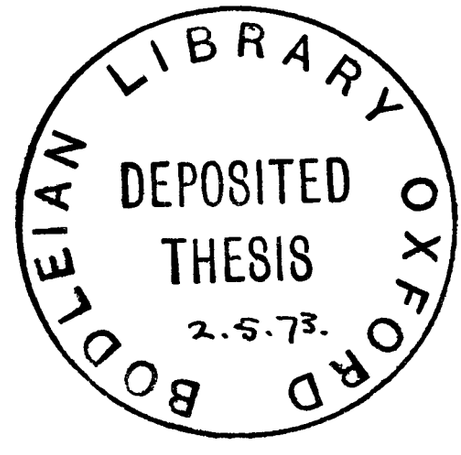
The Missionary Outreach of the West Indian Church to West Africa in the Nineteenth Century with particular reference to the Baptists



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Abbreviations

A.L.	Angus Letter Book
A.C.S.	African Civilisation Society
Bap. Mag.	Baptist Magazine
Bap. Quart.	Baptist Quarterly
Bap. Rep.	Baptist Reporter
B.H.S. Trans.	Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society
B.M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
I.S.E.R.	Institute of Social and Economic Research - University of the West Indies
J.H.S.N.	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
M.H.	The Missionary Herald
S.E.S.	Social and Economic Studies (Kgn. Ja.)
S.L.B.R.	Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion
S.M.S.	Scottish Missionary Society
Trans. R.H.S.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
V.S.	Victorian Studies

Abstract

The study of history is the interpretation of events in their relationships at a particular time. This is a subjective exercise with some degree of objectivity and this thesis is no exception. It is a study by a Jamaican Baptist minister who has always been a Baptist, examining the changing relationships of four events which find a focus in one of them - a mission of the Jamaican Baptist Church to Africa in 1843.

Firstly, this is a study of the development of a 'church consciousness' among the Baptists in the island between 1783 and 1843, for without this a mission would have been impossible. There has been an investigation of the church structure and programme in an attempt to discover whether there existed a relationship between their ethnic composition and an African mission. Simultaneously, there has been an assessment of the importance of 'Africa' as an ideal both for the Anti-Slavery Movement and for the freed-slave in the churches.

Secondly, this is a study of rivalry between Missionary Societies in the local situation. There has been an examination of the changing relationships between the B.M.S. and both the Jamaica and African missions, especially after 1843. This assessment has proved a useful model with which to examine the tensions which are likely to occur between a mission-field and missionary-agency. With this in mind, the Missionary Societies have been examined as regards the events of 1842 and the independence of the Jamaican Baptist churches.

Thirdly, this is a study of the settlement and penetration of Fernando

Po (Santa Isabel) and the adjacent mainland by the Baptists between 1841 and 1853, with an emphasis upon the life and work of the Jamaica-related missionaries.

Fourthly, this is a study of the changing policy of the B.M.S. to Blacks. It examines the place of 'Race' or the interpretations of 'Race' in the outworking of Committee decisions and assesses its influence upon financial policy and ecclesiological definitions of the mission church.

The thesis is divided into twelve sections, to which are appended eight appendices, five maps and three Notes.

The thesis begins with an Introduction which outlines the developing study of the West Indies from the nineteenth century to the present time. It shows the changes in emphasis which occurred in 1938 have had a marked impression upon current historical assessments of the nineteenth century. It also links this to the parallel study of West Africa and shows the way in which West Indian - West African studies have developed and assesses the place of Religion and Missions within this framework. It concludes with a statement of the Sources of the thesis.

Chapter 1 (1783-1814), demonstrates that the Jamaica Mission was conceived against a universalistic background. It traces the universalism to Carey, Rippon and Ryland and shows how the work of Liele, Swigle and Baker are in the same tradition. The chapter concludes at the break up of the early mission by the laws of 1807 and the issuing of an invitation to the B.M.S. to come. Then follows a Map I, indicating the groupings of early Baptists, their establishments and their names.

Chapter 2 (1814-1828) demonstrates how the scattered groups were regrouped into Baptist communities in three major complexes centred on the largest urban centres of the time, Kingston, Montego Bay and Spanish Town. It traces the response of the leadership to the increased pressures from the authorities due to the disturbances of the period and shows that this led to a centralized authority in the Jamaica Baptist Association and the indigenisation of the Church. Then follows Map 2, which is self-explanatory.

Chapter 3 (1828-1838) develops the themes of the previous chapter for the next ten years within its international setting. It shows that the leadership becomes increasingly involved with the Anti-Slavery Movement and begins to develop with their help the new stereotype of the Christian Peasant. It examines the relationship between this new stereotype and the other ideas of the Anti-Slavery Movement and shows that the Christian Black was more concerned with civil and political rights in Jamaica than a return to Africa. At the same time, it demonstrates the growing cleavage between the expectations of the missionaries formed by the Anti-Slavery Movement, and the freed slaves, with regard to Africa. Then follow two figures explaining diagrammatically the situation up to 1832, but which holds good to 1838.

Chapter 4 (1839-1840) pinpoints the focal issue in the development of the African ideal. It outlines the development of the ideal with Britain and the relationship to the Anti-Slavery Movement. It also shows its influence in Jamaica especially after the formation of the African Civilisation Society. But it also shows that the division of opinion about Africa was

real and demonstrates that while the missionary leadership were involved in the sponsorship of a 'back-to-Africa' movement, the freed slaves now creole were disinterested.

Chapter 5 (1840-1842) shows that the African ideals of the missionary leadership in Jamaica caused severe strains on the relationship with the B.M.S. in London. It demonstrates that this tension precipitated the establishment of a theological college in Jamaica and an alternative plan of West Indian evangelization. It assesses the effect of the 'Leader - Ticket' controversy upon the issue and the insight it gives to the relationship between Societies in Britain. And it evaluates the meaning of the Jamaican Baptist independence, which was a consequence of the controversies of 1840-1842. Then follows a note on the 'Leader - Ticket' controversy.

Chapter 6 (1840-1842) outlines the rationale behind the missionary establishments on Fernando Po. It assesses the influence of the Niger Expedition upon the Mission. It examines the spread of the Mission from Clarence (the capital of Fernando Po) to the mainland. It outlines the missionary strategy used by Clarke and it concludes with the establishment of the church in Clarence and the departure of Clarke and Prince for Britain and the unforseen circumstances which took them to Guyana and Jamaica.

Chapter 7 (1842-1844) describes the work of Prince and Clarke in Jamaica and their reception in Britain. It demonstrates the widespread interest in certain centres for an African mission in Jamaica and the official

acceptance of the project in Britain. It outlines the steps taken by the Committee to gain widespread support for the Mission through the 'Clarke Letter', the commissioning of the 'Dove', a boat designed for the mission-field and the training of Alexander Fuller. There is also a description of the events in Jamaica, the recruitment of teachers and settlers in late 1843, and the lack of response. Then follows the itinerary of Clarke and Prince in Jamaica.

Chapter 8 (1844-1846) assesses the penetration of Fernando Po by the advanced party under Prince from Britain and the consolidation of that work by the 'Chilmark' party under Clarke from Jamaica. It describes the pattern of the work on the island and on the mainland to which Merrick went. It deals with the Baptist - Presbyterian disagreement over Calabar and gives an explanation of the issue. It concludes with an examination of the problems confronting the Mission from the commercial interests on the island and the Spanish Government. Then follows two maps Map 3 and Map 4 showing the penetration of the regions up to 1848.

Chapter 9 (1845-1848) examines the effect of the African mission upon B.M.S. policy towards the Jamaican Mission. It shows that the re-organisation of the Jamaican Mission between 1845 and 1847 was a direct result of the demands of the African Mission which had been considered an extension of the Jamaican work, falling income from the British churches, and a changed climate in British Society as a whole. It outlines the reasons for the deterioration of the African Mission and describes the departure of the

bulk of the Jamaican recruits.

Chapter 10 (1848-1853) demonstrates that despite the withdrawal of the Jamaicans, the Mission had been implanted especially on the mainland. It shows that the conflicts which arise in the social and political realm have behind them the conflict of religious ideas. It examines proposals by Merrick for a new approach to Missions and assesses the ideas. It assesses the effect of the Tinson - Peto correspondence as a major force in giving validity to the support of Calabar College, Jamaica in the first instance but by extension the maintaining of an African Mission. It concludes with an examination of the emergent missionary policy towards Africa which points toward the Sierra Leone church.

The Conclusions summarize the findings of the thesis under five headings. These conclusions are both positive and negative and attempt to clarify long standing issues with regard to missionary policy among African peoples and to account for the failure of the Jamaican enterprise.

The Appendices are a collection of documents not easily available and include a series of short biographies of the leading participants in the African Mission.

Then follow two maps, Map 5 and Map 6, the first of Fernando Po in the nineteenth century and the second of Jamaica in 1791. These maps serve as a reference point and enable a comparison to be made between my map extracts and the Ordinance maps.

Foreword

I wish to record my sincere thanks and deep appreciation to my superviser, the Rev. W.L.R. Watson, Chaplain-Fellow of St. Peter's College, Oxford for his patient, kindly and conscientious guidance at every stage of this thesis. I am greatly in his debt.

I am also indebted to the several librarians and curators of institutions mentioned in the bibliography. It is necessary for me to acknowledge publicly the help given by the Rev. Basil Amey of the B.M.S. archives, the Rev. Dr. B.R. White, the Principal of Regents Park College, the Librarian at Rhodes House, Mr. Ian Cunningham, Assistant keeper of Records at the National Library of Scotland and the Rev. John Hamilton, the Overseas Secretary of the Church of Scotland.

I am also obliged to several historians, who have worked in allied areas touched by this thesis for their comments on obscure points, help in locating source materid and general encouragement.

I wish to thank sincerely Canon Max Warren, Sub-Dean of Westminster Abbey, whose encyclopaedic knowledge on Missions was put at my disposal, the Rev. Andrew Walls of Aberdeen University, who opened his home, his library and his knowledge to me, thus sharing a wealth of local information on Sierra Leone and the Calabar , Dr. Roger Anstey of Kent University and Dr. Noel Q. King of California University, who helped to clarify the method of approach to this study. Dr. John Walsh of Jesus College, Oxford, who helped me locate material dealing with agriculture and Dr. A.F. Madden of Nuffield College, Oxford, whose interest in the subject became

the first source of inspiration when I studied here between 1954-1957. Of course, all the conclusions are my own, for which I bear the full responsibility.

The opportunity for research was made possible through a grant from the Theological Education Fund, London, an arm of the World Council of Churches, and generous leave facilities by the Jamaica Baptist Union and the United Theological College of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica and I am indebted to them.

Finally, to my wife, who has been a constant source of encouragement and who typed an earlier draft of the thesis, my deepest gratitude.

INTRODUCTION

The West Indies and particularly the island of Jamaica appear in several notable publications of the 18th and 19th centuries. Linked as the archipelago was with the economic and political fortunes of the metropolitan area, each island became a microcosm of the metropolis in religious and social matters as well.

Even a cursory glance at some of the popular literature of the period reveals the many sided interest in Jamaica. Spanish Town, the capital city of the island, appeared in Charlotte Bronte's novel, Jane Eyre (1847); a condemnation of the agricultural methods of Jamaican Planters existed in Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations (1776); while the whole region suffers the ire of Thomas Carlyle, in his Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question (1849).

And yet within a generation the West Indies had dropped from popular view save for the derogatory remarks of Froude,[1] Trollope[2] and The Times.[3]

This new obscurity may be observed in many areas and not least in the relation between the metropolitan and island churches, and missions. These

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1. Froude: The English in the West Indies or the Bow of Ulysses, (1887). He criticised Gladstone's administration for restoring representative and limited suffrage to Jamaica (1834) against British popular wishes on the grounds that white men should rule black men (see pp.202-203).
2. Trollope: The West Indies and the Spanish Main (1859). He suggested on similar gounds to Froude the suspension of democratic institutions and the imposition of Crown Colony rule. (See pp.55-100, esp. 82, 85, 87; also pp.121-130).
3. The Times in June 1858, provoked a dialogue with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on the question of the Immigration Acts and the continuance of the naval squadrons in the Atlantic and off the West Coast of Africa to help suppress Slavery. cf. Times, Nov. 13th, 1865.

churches and missions had been considered the hope for the evangelizing of Africa in the 1840's. By 1860, the same churches were being represented at the ecumenical missionary conference in Liverpool by Hope Waddell of Nigeria, admittedly of Jamaica but of an earlier date. Similarly Joseph Fuller, though a Jamaican, represented Jamaica only through credentials gained from his association with the work of the B.M.S. in the Cameroons, at the missionary conference held in London in 1888. Added to this at neither conference was the West Indies on the agenda either as mission-field or church. The same was true of the Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910.

In other fields the same is true. In Winston Churchill's popular work on the History of English-Speaking Peoples, no mention is made of the region, nor does its literature grace the pages of the Cambridge History of English Literature (1940) although ample space is granted to Anglo-Indian and South African works.

No sinister motive has necessarily to be deduced from these omissions. Perhaps the primary reason was that the West Indies were treated rather as a province of the metropolis and therefore had no need of mention. As C.L.R. James, a radical Trinidadian novelist, observed in an address to undergraduates at the University of the West Indies, "the West Indies civilization is a tropical development of the metropolitan model, with no native language, no native culture, no native traditions which separate us from them."[1]

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1. James, C.L.R. Two Talks on West Indian Personality. The University Education through Radio Series (mimeographed), Mona, Jamaica, n.d. Talk 1, p.2.

If we accept this evaluation it follows that the writers, administrators, educators and ecclesiastics, tended to consider the Antilles more in terms of the extension of their metropolis, rather than a foreign area, and behaved toward them more in terms of a far off Brighton or Riviera.

There is some evidence to support this, especially in ecclesiastical matters. The final authority of the Anglican Churches resided in the Bishpp of London until 1824 and even after that date through the Colonial Office, strongties were still maintained. Among the Dissenters in the islands, associations similar in form and pattern emerged which considered themselves to be a part of the metropolitan structure in the same way as any provincial association did.

A second reason for the new state of affairs was that the vast majority of West Indian peoples were displaced persons. The archipelago was inhabited by Africans who had come to it as slaves, Scotsmen, Welsh and English, who had come either as adventurers, transportees, indentured labourers, poor migrants, or as planters; Jews who had come to seek an haven from the Inquisition, and later Chinese, Indians and Lebanese who had come either as indentured labour or as traders.

While this immigration stretched over centuries, the metropolitan government was always conscious that their primary task was to integrate the colonies on the pattern of the metropolitan ideal.

The sheer size of the undertaking was high-lighted by Carlyle in his article on Shooting Niagara and After (1867); to which Klaus Knorr refers in his consideration of British-Colonial Theories 1570-1850, (1963) as an attempt at a solution. And to which the idea of Trusteeship so adequately

delineated and criticised in Madden's unpublished thesis on The Attitude of Evangelicals to the Empire and Imperial Problems 1820-1850 (1950), and Mellor's British Imperial Trusteeship, 1783-1850, (1951) also made its contribution as a remedy. But as long as the imperial government adhered to an idea of 'trust', so long were the peoples of the West Indian archipelago not considered in their own right and as a concomitant their political and economic growth stultified by a lack of self awareness and national identity.

A third reason was the ecclesiastical picture itself. The extension of Europe into the Caribbean coincided with the expansion of the Church into the region. Bryan Edwards (1743-1800) included in his History of the British West Indies[1] (1791) a Bartolozzi print entitled An Indian cacique of the Island of Cuba addressing Columbus concerning a future state as the first encounter of the old and new worlds. The print depicts Columbus the emissary of their Majesties of Spain, flanked by a priest who holds a crucifix aloft. While this is not the place to discuss in detail the close association between Church and State in the venture of colonisation, nor the varying forms this relationship took in the succeeding centuries, it is important to observe that in the settlement of the West, the pattern which society subsequently assumed was by and large the creation of the Church.

This is not to say that the Church was utterly dependent upon the State, for Stephen Neill observes quite correctly that although 'the

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1. Edwards, Bryan: History of the British West Indies (1819), Vol. V, plate III.

expansion of Europe was contemporaneous with the expansion of the Christian world through the success of Christian mission ... a study of history shows that the situation was far too complex to be summed up in a single sentence."[1] It was this complexity which bound the Antillian Church to the metropolitan structure effectively insulating it from change and keeping it as a provincial expression of metropolitan theology and ethics.

The cocoon of trusteeship, provincialism and mission extension infected the expressions of the Jamaican historians and writers themselves. While Leslie Long, the historian, could be highly critical of imperial policy he could, at the same time, exhibit what Gordon Lewis described as a 'Morbid Negrophobia' when describing Jamaica.[2] Similarly, Edward Jordan, the coloured editor and publisher of the radical newspaper The Watchman, could not contemplate Jamaican self-rule in the near future. In Church circles, W.P. Livingstone, an influential Presbyterian, concluded in his book Black Jamaica (1889) that only the guidance of the white British race could bring happiness to the island, and this within the context of the British Empire. And for their part, Frank Cundall, an enlightened Jamaican historian, and the British born John Ellis, reflect the same basic assumptions in their descriptions of the Jamaican ecclesiastical scene in their books published in London.[3]

The tendency to accommodate was most marked in the accepted attitude to the Abolition of the Slave Trade and the Emancipation of the Slaves, on

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1. Neill, Stephen: Colonialism and Missions: Miss. Concise Dict. (1970) pp. 121-122. cf. Neill; Colonialism and Christian Missions (1966).
2. Lewis, Gordon: The Growth of the Modern West Indies (1968), p.168.
3. See: Ellis: The Diocese of Jamaica (1913) and Cundall: Historic Jamaica (1915) and Mico College, Jamaica (1914).

both sides of the Atlantic. The Missionary Societies, through their publications, had created an understanding of these events, enshrined in W.E.H. Lecky's observations in A History of European Morals (1884) that 'the unweary, unostentatious and inglorious crusade of England against slavery may probably be regarded as among the three or four perfectly virtuous pages comprised in the history of nations'.[1] And to his judgement eminent historians such as Coupland and Mathieson have lent their authority.

This understanding went unchallenged except where racial or political questions put in extreme form elicited West Indian rebuttal, as in the dispute between Froude and Thomas at the end of the nineteenth century. It was not until the early twentieth century with the coming of the Depression and the political leaders it threw up in each island, and advent of Bedwardism and Garveyism, amalgams of apocalyptic prophetism and political idealism, and the emergence of the popular newspapers with a defined anti-imperial orientation, that this understanding was challenged.

The turning points were the riots which broke out in the region in 1938 and the well documented thesis by Eric Williams on The Economic Aspects of the Abolition of the West Indian Slave Trade and Slavery, presented for a doctorate in Oxford that year. Whilst Williams did not discount the humanitarian motives of the Abolitionists, he maintained that their economic interests should not be overlooked and suggested that the final assessment of Parliamentary acceptance of both the Abolition of the Slave

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1. Lecky; op. cit. (1884, 6th ed.); vol.2, 193

Trade and Emancipation bore direct relationship to the economic climate of the time.

The importance of this study lies in two directions, as far as the West Indies are concerned. It successfully created genuine doubt about the Humanitarian thesis and thus the Christian motivation of Parliament, and in the process undermined the credi bility of Missionary Societies and their Agents. On the broader view, it opened up a new avenue of study through which the West Indian, either in a Caribbean or local sense could discover himself, in 'revolt'. It had a third implication in that it enlivened the study of colonial peoples, giving to them a tool to open the treasures of their own history and self awareness. That in some instances the treasure chests turned out to be Pandora's box was extremely unfortunate.

Between 1938 and 1962, there was a period of gestation in the West Indies. The studies during this time were by and large self-critical and may be divided into three categories: (a) politico-historical; (b) socio-historical, and (c) religio-historical.

While it is impossible in a short compass to review all these studies, certain significant ones stand out, most of them done through the external programme of the University of London, the most available avenue of scholastic assessment at this time.

A random sample reveals a definite preoccupation with the political and economic questions of the region. In 1948 Victor Grant, a law student, produced a thesis on Jamaica Land Law (London) in which he radically examined land tenure, land rights and the social aspects of Land Law.

Aubrey Phillips examined the possibility of mass education and a method of producing teachers to cope in An examination of methods of selection of Training College students (London 1953). A.L. Murray made a critique of the limited representational system then current in Jamaica in a study on Constitutional Development in Jamaica, 1774-1815 (London 1956).

Within this period there was one study, only, on the nature and development of Church life and this was done by an expatriate, J.W. Kirkpatrick, on Protestant Missions in Jamaica (Edinburgh 1943). It was an attempt to suggest that the only meaningful method of missionary endeavour and in particular theological training had to be undertaken on a co-operative basis, preferably within a Council of Christian Churches.

It must however be admitted that at this time, the average West Indian assumed the existence of Church, uncritically, but redefined the rest of society in new economic and political terms.

After 1962, and the failure of a political federation of the English-speaking Caribbean and the availability of Melville Herskovits, Myth of the Negro Past in paperback (1958) a new interest for a renewed study of the region arose. This was fostered by a vigorous research programme centred in the Institute of Social and Economic Research, a body loosely attached to the University of the West Indies and under the directorship of the sociologist, Dudley Huggins. It was within this post-federation era that the major portion of the self-critical studies of the region were either done or became available in book form. And also a new awareness of the place of the study of religion in the scheme became increasingly apparent.

But there was a difference of approach too. The studies were self-critical on a deeper level. Slavery, for instance, was no longer examined as an economic or political institution but beginning with Elsa Goveia's Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands, 1780-1800, (London 1952, published 1966) and succeeded by Orlando Patterson's The Sociology of Slavery: A Study of the origins, development and structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica (London, 1965, published 1967) a new dimension emerged. Slavery was subjected to the critical processes of sociology and psychology and became understood as a social phenomenon, as well as an economic and political institution. Unfortunately, no one has taken the study a stage back into the Middle Passage, although an historical study of great worth does exist in Mannix and Cowley's Black Cargoes, 1518-1865, (1963).

The next development was an examination of the Society itself from within, and this was possible since the tools by this time existed within the West Indies itself. When Michael G. Smith published his The Plural Society in the British West Indies (Los Angeles 1965), it created a minor storm because it critically attacked the unitary idea of a West Indies which had been assumed since the European adventure to the Antilles in the fifteenth century. But it did more than this, it opened the way for the study of each segment of each island society and its resolution into its component parts, and a direct link may be traced between Smith's approach and Walter Rodney's investigations summarized in Groundings with my Brothers (1968) which sets one section of the Jamaican/West Indian community over against the other, antithetically. Within recent times Lloyd Braithwaite's thesis on the Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820, (Sussex

1968, published 1970) has attempted to demonstrate over against the theories of a plural society an underlying unity based upon Creole language and customs. But this is still in its infancy due to a lack of adequate studies on religious customs.

The third development was the study of the society from the religio-historical aspect. At first what studies there were emerged in denominational histories, like Ellis' The Diocese of Jamaica (1914), or Reece and Hunts' Diocesan History of Barbados (1928); Tucker's Glorious Liberty (1914), and Knight's Liberty and Progress (1928); Pilkington's Daybreak in Jamaica (1950); and a symposium on The Presbyterian Church in Grand Cayman, (1856-1946); each nothing more than a collection of the minutes of the churches with a minimum attempt at any interpretation of the events recorded.

There were, however, two other books which did attempt some sort of assessment, the first was Payne's Freedom in Jamaica (2nd ed. 1946), and the second was Merle Davis' The Church in the New Jamaica (1942).

Freedom in Jamaica, some chapters in the story of the Baptist Missionary Society, was first published in 1933, and, although setting the Baptist church within the humanitarian movement, did not adequately set it within a Caribbean and universal setting. Payne himself admits this, in a note to the second edition, observing that:

> More than a dozen years have passed since this book was written. Much has happened since 1933 in the West Indies and throughout the world. The Christian Church as well as the British Government is recognising the necessity of giving more attention to Jamaica and the neighbouring islands. Baptists are being challenged afresh, as are many other communions. The demand for a new edition has given me the opportunity of revising what I have written in the light of a visit paid to Jamaica in 1939.[1] I have also added some pages and brought the matter up to date.

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1. Payne, E.A.: op. cit. (1946) Introduction (IX).

The Church in the New Jamaica, a study of the economic and social basis of the evangelical church in Jamaica, was sponsored by the International Missionary Council in 1942 and came nearest to a theological assessment of the foundations of the non-Roman Catholic Churches in the island. Unfortunately, the terms of reference of the study made it yet another socio-economic study in essence, despite the protestation of Davis:

> Our task has been to try to adjust the church to the economic and social frame which the present position of the island creates and help chart the future course which the church may take.[1]

Two less ambitious attempts were made, one within the framework of the Jamaica Council of Churches[2] and the other within the Roman Catholic Church of the English speaking areas of the Caribbean.[3]

In 1950, A.F. Madden, to whom reference has already been made, produced a study on The Attitude of Evangelicals to the Empire and Imperial problems, 1820-1850, (Oxford 1950), which displayed acute theological awareness and insight but the scope of the subject allowed only the evaluation of the 'Saints' and their relationship with the wider ecclesiastical framework, in terms of political problems, and consequently their theological interest in the Jamaican scene, for example, was not adequately treated, a fault which this present study will remedy.

Dorothy Ryall, in the current trends of the times, undertook a study

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1. Davis, Merle; op. cit. (1942) Introduction X.

2. Christ for Jamaica: a symposium edited by John Poxon and Crabb dealing with the History of Jamaican church life (Kingston 1961) cf. A proposed basis for Union, prepared by the Congregational, Moravian, Disciples of Christ, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Jamaica (mimeograph) (Kingston, Dec. 1957)

3. Wilson, Gladstone Msgr.: The Catholic directory of the Caribbean (Kingston, 1953)

on the Organisation of Missionary Societies and recruitment of missionaries in Britain and the rate of the missionaries in the diffusion of British culture in Jamaica during the period 1834-1865 (London 1959). While she amassed a valuable amount of material, her main conclusion that the average missionary was an artisan from the lower middle class with pretensions to upper-middle class mores, was not helpful in throwing much light, either upon the basic theological motives which operated in the missionary, or elucidating adequately the complexities within the Missionary machine itself, which also disseminated a faith. It must however be observed that certain basic documents were not available to her in 1959, which have been used since and to which this study will add e.g. The Burchell Memoirs (1823) and the Burchell Autographs (1876).

Kent Donaldson in his study on the Contribution of the Baptist Missionaries to education in Jamaica during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, 1814-1867 (London 1967), treated the missionaries primarily as educators. Mr. Donaldson, himself a Baptist, with both parents from this tradition, can be pardoned if he tended to see the Church in this light. While there is a basis for this, in the activities of the missionaries as Shirley Gordon has adequately shown in published documents covering A century of West Indian education (1963), to treat the missionary primarily as an educator is to misinterpret his motive, and to undervalue the reasons for his involvement in educational schemes. The truth was that when Phillippo suggested a University on the pattern of London in 1843, or Latrobe made representations in 1839, together with Watson, for a new approach to education to the British Government, or John Trew, at the

invitation of Buxton, engaged in the setting up of the Mico Trust Schools, their primary stated objective was to develop an independent peasantry, on the one hand, and to further the evangelisation of Africa, on the other.

In 1964, Mary Rec_ord, herself a Methodist, made a study of the Missionary activity in Jamaica before Emancipation (London), and attempted a theological explanation of Baptist and Methodist involvement in the Jamaican Society. Unfortunately she did not escape the well trodden path, and especially when dealing with the 'Christmas Uprisings', of 1831, comes to Halèvy's conclusion that the missionaries were 'unconsciously' politically motivated. But her work stands among the first attempts at a theological assessment within the framework of a rudimentary ecclesiastical history.

The temptation to exploit the political and educational frame of reference has also infected the work of the clergy. Gordon Catherall, a Baptist Minister, in a study on Baptist Missionary Society and Jamaican Emancipation, 1814-1845 (Liverpool 1966) attempted to redress the balance in recent studies to see Knibb (1803-1845) in terms of a political demagogue only and to rehabilitate him as a missionary. It was a successful attempt as an academic study, but it is hoped that the biography into which it may grow in subsequent years will include other than political aspects of his life, which only a visit to the areas in which he worked can give. In 1971, Catherall presented another thesis, this time to Keele University on the British Baptist Involvement in Jamaica (1783-1865) (Keele 1971) in which he attempted to use the same approach to include Burchell (1799-1846) and Phillippo (1798-1879). This second study was more extensive and

valuable and although both attempt to be an ecclesiastical history of the time, fall short due to the lack of international and inter-church perspectives, within their pages.

Another Baptist minister, Kenneth Short, in a thesis on A Study in Political Non-conformity; the Baptists 1827-1845 with particular reference to Slavery (Oxford, 1972) has in this most recent work presented a contrast to the views propounded by Catherall. And yet in a curious way they make the same mistake in not giving to theological motives their adequate value.

While it must be observed that Short's interest lies primarily in the Baptist reactions in the United States of America to the political questions surrounding emancipation in the British colonies, and on the other hand Catherall's concern was with the British Baptist reaction only, both studies hinge on the interpretation of the events of 1831 in Jamaica, and the part played by the local Baptist leaders in them.

Catherall accepts that within the Jamaican churches there existed a certain measure of political involvement but excuses this participation on the grounds that, 'if any blame is to be laid upon the Baptists, it is that their teaching on liberty and their stress upon the individual as a real person - emphasized vividly in their teaching upon Baptism - gave the slave a dynamic concept of himself as a person',[1] and that it was this that made conflict inevitable.

Short, on the other hand, absolves the Baptists from all political machinations with the observation that 'Evangelical theology was not

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1. Catherall, G. British Baptist Involvement pp. 154 ff. cf. Short, K. op.cit. p.119.

necessarily antagonistic to slavery and that there had not been Negro Slaves present in Great Britain since slavery was declared illegal in 1772; thus it was not too surprising, granting that Baptists were also basically apolitical,to find such limited interest'.[1]

It might be observed here that a considerable body of evidence exists to suggest that there was not an individualistic approach to Baptism, nor was the teaching of 'liberty' common at this time. Indeed William Knibb denied before the Select Committee of the House of Commons set up to investigate the disturbances that he had preached on the text, 'if the son shall make you free you shall be free indeed' (John 8v36).

Nor can it be maintained that Baptists were lacking in political acumen. Ivimey was active in the cause of civil liberties and aided the Jamaican Baptists in the course of his duties when they appealed to him. And in Jamaica itself there is evidence that Sharpe was well aware of the political implications of his act and what is more, the missionaries agreed in some measure, if Cornford's report of the reburial of Sharpe under the pulpit in the Montego Bay church at midnight some time after his execution is to be given its real force.[2]

There were many Baptists who accepted political involvement as a necessary concomitant of their theological stance, especially bearing in mind the extensive use made of the Old Testament. But others, influenced by the Quakers, who had shown great kindness to the Baptists, and by the

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1. Short, K. op. cit; p.2.

2. The Freeman. Vol. 1 - 1855-56. Missionary Reminiscences No. V. pp.614, d/d Oct. 10th, 1885.

Moravians who stressed patience and obedience as virtues to emulate, and who also had given help to Baptists, tended towards Quietism if not outright Pacifism.

It would appear that the question posed by the happenings of 1831, can most adequately be understood in terms of the theological relationships which existed in the minds of the Baptist leaders as they interpreted themselves as exiles, and their masters as the oppressors, and not in quasi-political terms as has been the case hitherto.

The frequency of this onesided approach has been most likely due to an inadequate investigation of the religious motivation of the Baptist churches and also the mistaken assumption that in the churches there was a clear distinction between 'secular' and 'sacred' as existed in an industrialised society.

Another aspect of this religious motivation often neglected was the sense of universal missionary concern with which the Baptist missionary leadership was imbued.

There had always been in the background the assumption that there existed a missionary link between the continents of Europe, America and Africa. This was most aptly illustrated by the way in which the news of the churches in these three regions was published by John Rippon in the Baptist Annual Register, and also by his personal interest in the Committee of the Black Poor. There is ample evidence to suggest that the leadership of the black churches in London knew the church leaders in Savannah, Kingston, Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone.

It is easy to understand why very little attention had been paid to

this intercontinental relationship. It was due to the way in which the scholarly investigation of the extant material developed. In the first place there existed very little interest in things ecclesiastical, except for the exceptions already mentioned, and secondly theologians and church historians when interest was aroused, came to the material after it had been used by linguistic experts, anthropologists, sociologists and secular historians, who had charted lines of approach from which up to now it has proved difficult to deviate.

This study has therefore as one of its purposes, an assessment of the activities of the Baptists in the post-emancipation era to show that a mission of sorts was the natural outcome of the theological emphases and organisation present in the church in the pre-emancipation epoch.

The fact that the mission was to Africa was determined by the context of the time. The Humanitarian movement had given to missionary societies and their agents a new world image and in the West Indies it coincided with the wishes of the most articulate missionaries, who spoke for the slaves. It also coincided with Government policy in the United States and Britain. This world view was based on racial lines of demarcation not primarily in any derogatory social sense, but only in terms of current anthropology. So that Africa was designated the home of the black man. Thus the situation existed in which that which was desirable became also possible.

The importance of the relationship between Jamaica, Britain and West Africa did not go unnoticed. John Clarke, in a biography of his protegé, Memoir of Joseph Merrick (1848), openly acknowledged the immense

contribution the Jamaican church made to the first efforts of evangelising Africa. Later, Underhill, the protagonist for economic freedom in the West Indies, in his biography of Alfred Saker, (1814-1880), Alfred Saker, missionary to Africa (1884), gave many details of the work of Jamaicans, particularly that of Merrick in the formation of the Cameroon mission and the beginnings of Bible Translation. Emily Saker, daughter of the missionary, in a later biography than Underhill's but somewhat less objective, gave full praise to the Jamaicans.[1]

In 1908 the first non-missionary publication was issued which acknowledged the work of Jamaicans. Sir Harry Johnson, in his two volume work George Grenfell and the Congo (1908), observed that

> 'the West Indian apprenticeship through which West Africa passed during the first half of the nineteenth century by reason of the sailing ships having to use the Trade Wind route via the West Indies was of some service to this illfurnished part of the world for it enabled Government officials and missionaries to introduce from the West Indies into West Africa many useful trees and food plants'.2

Of course, Johnson was primarily concerned with the Congo and so the work of the Jamaicans forms but an introduction to the larger work. This treatment of the work of the Jamaicans as an introduction or an episode within a larger whole has persisted to this day. And so there was a need to break with this tradition and to assess the effects of the African response, or lack of it, to the West Indian missionary - and in this case the Jamaican - in order to discover the authentic relationships which existed. Further, it is also important to see what were the results of

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1. Saker, Emily: Saker - the pioneer of the Cameroons (1908).

2. Johnston, Sir H.: op. cit. Vol. I, p.36, note, 2.

this encounter upon the West Indian Church, both for its life and its structure. But all is not lost. Within the last decade the effects of West Indian missions upon African church life and society have been investigated. While it is as yet too early to say that all aspects of the relationship between West Africa and the West Indies have been assessed, a fair amount of work has been done and some progress has been made.

The first study to attempt to define a relationship was The Planting of Christianity in Africa (1948-58) by C.P. Groves, in which he sets the missionary outreach of the West Indian Church in terms of the on-going movement to evangelize that continent. Given the task he had set himself, there is no reason why he should not have proceeded in the manner that he did, his approach has nevertheless limited the discussion of the relation of the evangelistic programmes to

(a) the effect of these programmes upon the emerging churches in the West Indies, and

(b) the relation between the West Indian programmes and those of their metropolitan counterparts, particularly those of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the African Civilisation Society and the major Missionary Societies.

In 1958 a better attempt was made in a doctoral thesis presented to London University by Jacob Ajayi, entitled Christian Missions and the making of Nigeria which was later published in 1965. Ajayi acknowledged the place of the West Indian in the formation of the Nigerian élite but

does not concern himself with what this cost the West Indian Church. Indeed he was more concerned to show that the attempts at the evangelisation of Africa were no more than variations of the Buxton thesis promulgated in The African Slave Trade and its Remedy (1839,1840), than in giving to his work a more universal setting which a treatment of West Indian material would have demanded. He contented himself with treading that well worn path first pioneered by Johnson's conclusion, that missionary endeavours to repatriate the 'Americanised negro' were dismal failures,[1] with the remark that

> 'the truth would appear that although individual West Indian missionaries continued ... to be important in many West African missions, hopes of a large scale emigration of nostalgic exiles from the New World, entertained in the ecstasy of emancipation, were completely false.'[2]

Dr. H. Debrunner, in his study of the Ghanain church, A History of Christianity in Ghana (1967) examined certain aspects of West Indian involvement in the early establishment of Christianity in the Akropong region. But he was more interested in a Ghanain stance than the relationship of that early episode of 1843 to the West Indian scene.

There is no shortage of historians who, in interpreting the political developments of particular West African nations relate that development to the West Indies or West Indians. Shirley Ardener in a monograph published by the Cameroon Government on Eyewitnesses to the Annexation of Cameroons, 1883-1887 (1968) is concerned with the part played by the West Indians only

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1. Johnson; op. cit. Vol. I, p.

2. Ajayi; op. cit. (thesis) p.62.

in as far as they were 'agents' of the British Crown. Similarly, Stig Jakobsson [illegible], in a scholarly dissertation presented to the University of Uppsala in 1972 and published as Am I not a Man and a Brother? British Missions and the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery in West Africa and the West Indies, 1786-1838, examines the political relations between the British Government and the Missionary Societies but does less than justice to the ecclesiastical picture. The same strictures may be made against Fyfe's History of Sierra Leone (1962) and Asiegbu's Slavery and the Politics of Liberation - a study of Liberated African Emigration and the British Anti-Slavery policy (1969).

There exist also many attempts by language experts, anthropologists, and sociologists to relate their peculiar disciplines to both areas and to discern links between the two. Herskovits has already been mentioned and Coultard's Raya y color en la literatura antillana, (1958) and Nettleford's Mirror, Mirror - identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica (1970) are cases in point.

Linguistic experts like Hair, in The Early Study of West African Languages (1967), and Cassidy in Jamaica Talk - three hundred years of English language in Jamaica (1961) have trodden the same path, referring freely to the linguistic ties which bind the regions.

The religious dimensions have been the preserve of the sociologists and social-anthropologists like G.I. Jones, Edwin Ardener and Daryll Forde on the African side, and the Afro-American emphases which have made their recent and dramatic appearance on that side of the Atlantic. In this regard it is fair to say that the Journals of Hope Waddell, John Clarke and

Joseph Fuller are more widely used by these disciplines than by theologians and Church historians.

This study concentrates on the ecclesiastical aspects of the relationship between the West Indies and West Africa up to the middle of the nineteenth century. It is an attempt to examine three aspects of this relationship.

Firstly, it examines the mission in Jamaica to see if it retained within itself any remnants of Africanism which might have made it easier for the British, as well as the Jamaican Church to anticipate that the evangelisation of Africa would be launched from the West Indies.

Secondly, the relationship between the metropolitan missionary societies is investigated as well as the relationship between British and Jamaican Baptists, to see the structure, the chain of command and the financial arrangements which form the background of the missionary enterprise and to estimate how far the disruption of these patterns created problems for the British and Jamaican Churches.

Thirdly, there is an investigation of the larger question of the change of status involved in the transformation of the Jamaican Baptist 'mission' into a Jamaican Baptist 'church'. There is therefore an attempt in these pages to grapple with the ecclesiological question of the change which occurs when a missionary-receiving church becomes a missionary-sending one.

The justification for these considerations does not lie so much in the relevance of the topic to our times, but in the fact that the present church structures in the West Indies and particularly among the Jamaican Baptists,

were probably formed at this time, 1840-1850. And further, because these structures have remained comparatively unchanged in recent times, they appear to have become very appealing at the points where they betray a kinship with African religious practices.

There are four sets of documents upon which this study rests. Many of them have been used before but from a different point of view, while others have been introduced to the academic arena for the first time.

The first set are the Journals. These Journals were written between 1840 and 1909, and give primary evidence of the period. When supplemented by the personal letters of the journalists and other published material appearing in articles in the magazines of the time, they present a full picture of the prevailing ecclesiastical climate. It is a great misfortune that no actual writing of the majority of the Jamaica born settlers or missionaries is extant, but the scrupulous care exercised by both Waddell and Clarke as diarists compensates for this.

The second group of documents consist of official church records represented by minutes. The Minutes of the General Committee of the B.M.S. and the Angus Letter Book, reflect the official mind of the British Baptists and present an understandable picture when read in conjunction with missionary biographies and correspondence. Unfortunately no significant collection of Minutes or Letter Books have been found as yet to complement the B.M.S. collection in Jamaica.

The third set are collections of letters and documents from Jamaica, some bound and others published. Bound and published letters and documents are contained in missionary publications, e.g. the Missionary Register, the Baptist Annual Register, the Missionary Herald and the Evangelical Review, to name but a few. Alongside these must be ranged the bound volumes of letters which some missionary archives contain. A collection of the letters of Dendy exist in the West India Reference Library in Jamaica and another collection is in the B.M.S. archives in London. The Fenn Collection, sometimes called the 'Sturge Letters' is housed in Regent's Park College, Oxford, together with the Driver Collection, letters from the first Baptists in Fernando Po to Thomas Swan of Birmingham; the Burchell Memoirs, an autobiographical account of his conversion, Call to the ministry and the doctrines he proposed to preach, and the Burchell Autographs, a collection of letters made by W.F. Burchell, biographer of Thomas Burchell his brother, from many of the important persons of his time.

Finally, there are those documents which provide the evidence for the social and political background within which this 'missionary' drama was played. They illustrate the relationship between the State and the Missionary movement. The Public documents in Rhodes House, Oxford; the British Museum; the National Library of Scotland, and the Public Record Office, London, have given the British picture. The Jamaican scene has been painted by records in the West India Reference Library, Kingston, the Public Record Office, Spanish Town, and by a few documents which exist in the hands of some older Baptist ministers.

CHAPTER ONE

America, Jamaica, Africa -
the planting of a universal idea in the Caribbean (1783-1814)

When the British Baptists answered the appeal of their Jamaican counterparts to come to their aid in 1814, it was in part the fulfilment of a hope which appeared on the title page of Rippon's Register. He had hoped that the missionary Hosannah would resound from Asia, Africa and from America with songs of 'Redeeming love'.[1]

In one sense, the response of the B.M.S. was considered to be a response to their American brethren. John Rippon (1751-1836) who had established the Register as an international magazine of Baptist news, and was himself a leader in British Baptist circles, certainly treated the Jamaican work as a part of the American work. The letters which appear in the Register were most often grouped under the American section together with news from Georgia and Nova Scotia.

But there was another aspect to the British response. This marked the first attempt of British Baptists to work among the slaves of the sugar colonies after the confusion created by the War of Independence, 1776. It is not clear whether the B.M.S. had a formulated scheme at this time to seize the possibilities presented by this opening in order to train 'black'

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1. The chapter heading refers to a poem which appears on the title page of The Baptist Register, Vol. I (1790-92) (Afterwards The Register)

> 'And thou AMERICA in songs
> Redeeming love proclaim'.

agents for the evangelisation and civilisation of Africa. Nor is it certain even if individuals cherished these hopes. Certainly Africa does not appear in Rippon's declaration of intent and purpose printed in the first volume of the Register, which is commended to all the Baptized ministers and people in America, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the United Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Poland, Russia, Prussia and elsewhere especially those whose names adorn the following sheets with the desire of promoting a universal interchange of kind offices among them...And yet, this possibility could not have been far from some minds. David George[1] who had been associated with the early Baptist work in Georgia[2] and Nova Scotia and who had met both Henry Thornton[3] and himself on his way to Sierra Leone certainly 'adorns' many sheets.

Whatever the motives of the B.M.S., it was decided to accept the Jamaican invitation but at the same time to proceed with extreme care. There were possibly three reasons which dictated this caution. First, the only attempt made by the Society to evangelise people of African descent had ended in utter failure. And although this was partly due to a clash with authority, there was no precedent to use in their missionary approach. Secondly, the work in Jamaica had been established since 1783, so that an organisation already existed which the B.M.S. dare not ignore. Thirdly,

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1. For a biography of David George, see The Register, 1, pp. 473-483; cf. Knutsford, Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay; (1900); passim.
2. ibid. pp. 501-509. Rippon depended on the Rev. Joseph Cook(e), 1744?-1790, a Methodist who subsequently became a Baptist for the news of this region. After his death he maintained contact through Jonathan Clarke, a London merchant who had migrated to that region.
3. Ibid. p.483. For Thorton (1760-1815) see: D.N.B. Vol. XIX (1909) pp.781-783: see also Old Clapham (1887), pp.70-74.

the Jamaican Church leadership in contrast with their agent, was illiterate, old and in bondage, each of which bore the seeds of the possibility of strained relationships.

The Committee of the B.M.S. certainly had in their minds the mission to Africa of 1795-6. That mission had begun with a decision to send Jacob Grigg (1772-1836)[1] and James Rodway to Sierra Leone as missionaries in response to appeals from David George and other Baptist leaders in the new settlement.[2] They were designated on April 7th, 1795[3] and valedicted on September 16th[4] that same year.

They arrived in Sierra Leone in December taking with them letters of commendation to David George and John Cuthbert the leading Baptist in the colony. But their mission was ill fated. Rodway fell ill and after a stay of about eight months returned to Britain[5] and dropped from view. Grigg fell foul of the new administrator Zachary Macaulay and was expelled

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1. For Jacob Grigg see biographical sketch in The Jubilee Publication, American Baptist Missionary Union; (New York, 1871) p.134 cf. Rippon's Register, 4; pp.787-8 and Hartzell: "Jacob Grigg." Chronicle 6, 1943, pp.83-90,130-143.

2. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the development of Sierra Leone and its place in the Mission to Africa. For copies of the extensive correspondence at this time see Rippon's Register, Vol. 2. pp.95-6, 215-218, 249-256; Vol. 3, 409-10.

3. See B.M.S. Periodical Accounts, Vol.I, (1800) pp.97-8.

4. There is a discrepancy in the date of Valediction between the Periodical Accounts and the Missionary Jubilee of 10 days. The Periodical Accounts gives the date Sept. 16th, 1795 and is preferable, being the official record.

5. The Register, 2, pp.531-2. The medical certificate issued to Rodway is in the B.M.S. Archives, London.

to the United States where he led a remarkable life in the Virginia region.[1]

The failure was a tremendous disappointment to the Society which publicly interpreted the events as the 'provident ruling of God', but privately blamed it on Grigg for meddling with politics.

The Committee set itself to begin again and advertised widely for 'suitable persons' to enter 'Soosee Country'. Unfortunately, little interest was aroused and finally after a 'day of prayer' was arranged for December, 28th, 1796, which resulted in no volunteers, the scheme was dropped.

It did however leave its influence on B.M.S. policy. William Carey, who had naturally taken great interest in the mission, wrote to Fuller, the secretary of the Society:

> 'I hope the failure of the African mission will teach us more and more, though we have made it a point to avoid every word and action that looks like inter-meddling with politics. We have no disposition to do it and if we were all dissatisfied (which we are not) yet it is a matter of conscience with me to be submissive to the powers that are for the time being; so that let my opinions about the best mode of government be what they might; yet the Bible teaches me to act as a peaceful subject, under the government which is established where providence has placed me, provided that the Government does not interfere in religious matters so as to constrain my conscience.'[2]

With such strong sentiments coming from Carey, it could hardly be expected that the Committee would take a different attitude. At the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Northampton on October 5th, 1813, John Rowe, (1788-1816) and his wife were valedicted for Jamaica. Rowe was

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1. See Knutsford, op. cit., passim: cf. Fyfe: History of Sierra Leone (1962) passim.

2. This is contained in a letter from Mudnabatty d/d March 23rd, 1797. See B.M.S. Per. Acc. Vol.1. (1800) p.370.

a member of the Yeovil Church and a graduate of the Bristol Academy. At the public service held in Bristol on December 8th that same year by the Bristol Society at the Broadmead Church, at which he was officially set apart, John Ryland, (1753-1825), his principal and a founder of the B.M.S. issued him with certain instructions. There seems very little room for doubt that some of these instructions originated with Ryland, as they betray details which were known only to Rippon and Ryland.[1]

An examination of the instructions is valuable in two ways, firstly because they indicate the policy of the B.M.S. to colonial governments and in particular to their customs, laws and practices which conflicted with these things at home, e.g. Slavery. And secondly because they provide an insight into the way in which the more permanent relations between the British and the Jamaicans which ultimately occurred, were built up.

However, the instructions must be dealt with on two different but interrelated levels, the personal and the social.

On the personal level, the instructions betray an awareness of the possibility of conflict between the enthusiasm of youth and the conservatism of old age. Ryland advised Rowe to give Moses Baker, who had been the origin of an impassioned appeal for help, the precedence as befitted an elder. Similarly, he acknowledged the difference in social status between the incoming missionary and the ageing Baker, because of slavery, but insisted that Rowe should make use of this social difference only as a last resort remembering,

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1. For the instructions in Ryland's Sermon see: B.M.S. Per. Acc. V (1813) pp.290-3.

> 'you carry a gospel which addresses itself alike to every man's conscience in the sight of God; and if once it reaches the conscience and occupies the heart everything valuable in civilisation follows'.[1]

If on the personal level, moral equality was to be made the ground of appeal, prudence was to be the motive force on the social level. The committee were well aware of the jealous interest of colonists in their own territory. Indeed some of the Committee themselves had betrayed great sympathy with the American colonists in this regard. Carey, in his turn, had suffered in this way at the hands of the East India Company and its laws and no one forgot the plight of Grigg, at the hands of his fellow countrymen in Sierra Leone. Slavery, itself, added a further complication because there was a division of opinion within their ranks between those who interpreted it as a part of the political system and those who saw it as a social evil in moral terms only.

Ryland gave safe counsel. He instructed Rowe to remember that he went to 'a people in a state of slavery and require to beware lest your feelings for them should lead you to say or do anything inconsistent with Christian duty'.[2] However, he was not explicit on what he considered that duty to be.

Some historians, particularly since the humanitarian thesis has been called into question, have concluded that the tone of Ryland's instructions would imply that at this time the B.M.S. policy accepted the institution of slavery. While it is true that Andrew Fuller wrote in 1811 that slavery was not wrong in itself, there was a strong body of opinion opposed to this

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1. B.M.S. Periodical Acc. (V) (1813) pp. 290-3.

2. Ibid.

view. The York and Lancashire Letter, on Christian Benevolence (1791) condemned for instance the Slave Trade and Slavery as 'a practice abhorrent to all principles of humanity and justice...'[1] It would appear that the instructions were an attempt to resolve the dilemma posed by the personal involvement of a missionary, especially with Sierra Leone still fresh in some minds, and that detachment necessary, if the missionary was to appear to be an impartial arbiter of the Christian Message. The debate here was not the issue of slavery, which was not being discussed. Rowe had been advised neither to compromise with the institution of slavery nor to accept the system but at the same time, that, 'it is not for you to interfere in political matters'.[2]

The instructions therefore enshrined the Committee's determination to create the least possible opportunities for friction in an already tense situation between the Planters and the missionary, and so to ease the local situation. At the same time they endeavoured to produce an environment in which both master and slave could be influenced by the miesionary. That this was clearly in the mind of the Committee was borne out by the impartiality with which Rowe was expected to apply the Christian standards of family life to all the society.

This balanced approach to master and slave alike laid the foundation of an entente between the British Baptists and the authorities. An understanding developed at various levels in the succeeding decades,

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1. The Register Vol. 1. pp. 270-279. The letter originated from the Association Meeting held at Salendine - Nook, June 15th and 16th, 1791.
2. B.M.S. Periodical Acc. (V) (1 13) pp. 290-3.

despite violent interruptions as in the December Uprisings, 1831.[1] But it was the first step in the direction of a rapprochement between the Baptists and the State, which eventually developed into a unique relationship, but this is to anticipate.

While it was a comparatively simple task for a missionary to enter into relationships on a personal level, the task facing Rowe was to do more than that. His duty demanded that he chart the guide lines of a more permanent relationship between the local groups, and between these groups and the metropolis. Of course he was not helped when on his arrival in Montego Bay he was met by a Mr. Fosbrook, who informed him that there existed a great prejudice against the Baptists.

The Baptists came to Jamaica as a consequence of the evacuations of American towns at the end of the War of Independence, 1776. The first documentary evidence of their presence in Jamaica exists in The Baptist Register,[2] the Evangelical Magazine[3] and Dr. Thomas Coke's, A History of the West Indies ... (1808, 1810, 1811).[4]

Coke, (1747-1814) visited the West Indies many times in connection with the establishment of Methodism and on his first visit encountered an

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1. See Record, Mary, "The Jamaica Slave Rebellion of 1831"; Past and Present No.40, July 1968, pp.108-125.
2. The Baptist Register contains much basic material; see: For George Liele Register, Vol.I, pp.332-9; 343-4; 540-2; 543. cf. General Baptist Repository, Vol.2; p.192. For Thomas Swigle; Vol.1, p.542, Vol. 3, 212-4; Vol. 4, 974-5; 1144-46.
3. The Evangelical Magazine carried the accounts of Moses Baker: See Sept. 1803, Vol. XI, pp.365-371. Vol. XII October 1804, pp.469-472.
4. Dr. Thomas Coke (1747-1814), was the Methodist Superintendent of the Americas. He later became a bishop. An ample biography exists in the D.N.B. Vol. IV (1908); pp.703-705.

established Baptist congregation in Kingston in 1789. He reported that 'the Baptists have had societies among the negroes of Jamaica for nearly twenty years and much good has arisen therefrom ... But for want of documents the author is not able to enlarge upon the subject.'[1] It would appear from the subsequent references to the Baptist leaders and particularly to Thomas Swigle, that Coke had formed a close association with the Kingston groups. The subsequent appearance of traditional Methodist practice in Baptist churches would seem to confirm this view.

Much more is known about these early beginnings from biographical sketches published in the Baptist Register. The most outstanding leader was George Liele (Lile, Lisle, Sharp), 1750 (?)-1830 (?) whose letters and testimonials were printed in The Register between 1791 - 1802. Liele has been the subject of many studies but still remains a somewhat mysterious and fascinating figure in the history of the formation of the Black churches of Georgia, Jamaica and London. There is no doubt that it was he who initiated the first contacts between the Jamaican and British Baptists. In the Minutes of the monthly conference of the Leicestershire churches, (the conference became the nucleus of the Connexion of General Baptists), held at Dis_eworth, Christmas Day, 1792, the entry appears that 'the case of Mr. Lile of Jamaica, respecting defraying the expence of building a meeting house which has been erected under his care and for w^{h} expence he is responsible. Agreed to request Mr. Holmes of Kegworth to print a letter which he has received from Mr. Lile and that it be circulated among the churches and that it be recommended to y^{e} churches to

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1. Coke; op. cit. Vol.I, p.410.

assist him in the way they judge most proper.'[1] The evidence suggests that many churches took up an offering for him.

Important as these links between Jamaica and Britain were to prove, in retrospect Liele's contribution to the creation of a universal fellowship of Baptists must not be underestimated. While Rippon's ideal of a universal brotherhood was made concrete in the written word, Liele engaged in the preparation of the blacks who were to make a three cornered link between Kingston, London and Freetown. He was responsible not only for the conversion and oversight of the early ministry of David George, the founder of Baptist work in Sierra Leone, but also Andrew Bryan,[2] who described himself as, 'one of the black hearers of George Liele', and who subsequently succeeded him as pastor in the church in Savannah; while Liele, himself paid a visit to London at the request of some of his members to minister to a congregation of blacks between 1822 and 1826.[3]

To date there is little evidence of the details of the visit to London and without doubt this is an area for future research. It is however known that Rippon had a close association with a congregation of blacks as early as 1806, when he gave them a special lecture probably in the Soho meeting house where they used to meet. In 1807, at their request a special thanksgiving service was arranged in Carter Lane to commemorate the Abolition of

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1. Trans. B.H.S. No. 5 (1916-17) pp.124-125. Later correspondence indicates that the chapel was built at the corner of Victoria Avenue and Elletson Rd. in 1793 and called the Windward Road Chapel. See: Holmes "George Liele: Negro Slavery's Prophet of Deliverance" Bapt. Quart. XX (1963-64) pp.340-351.

2. The Register 1; pp.339-343. Most of this information was supplied to Rippon by Abraham Marshall, one of the founders of the Georgia Association of Baptist churches.

3. B.M.S. Report 1823 pp.23-25 cf. Clark; Memorials etc. p.83.

the Slave Trade to which between 400 and 500 came.[1]

It is not known whether this group ever achieved a separate existence. But it is known that in 1807, ninety-two blacks joined the church and it is probable that they continued as a group within the Carter Lane church and it was to them that Liele came. This is not unreasonable when it is remembered that by 1822, Rippon had been in correspondence with him for more than a quarter of a century. Further it is also known that Liele commended at least one of his members, Hannah Williams, to a London church and that Rippon printed the commendation but gave no other details, suggesting that the letter of commendation had come to him.[2]

Coeval with Liele and connected with him was Moses Baker. The Register has no references to him and the evidence available is derived partly from a biography by John Ryland, in the Evangelical Magazine, and a few letters and after the settlement of Rowe more evidence became available through the Periodical Accounts which published Rowe's letters and his journal. But it was the Evangelical Magazine which first introduced him to the British public.

He came to the fore because of an appeal he made for urgent help on the grounds of his age and the restrictions imposed by the new Slave Laws of 1802. In a sense it was his appeal of 1806 which finally convinced the B.M.S. that they ought to commit themselves to a joint work with Jamaican Baptists. Despite this however, Baker must not be interpreted

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1. Unpublished Thesis; Manley; John Rippon and the Particular Baptists (Oxford, D.Phil, 1967) pp.395-6; cf. Ev. Mag. XIV (1806) p.141; XV (1807) p.244.

2. Register 1: p.344. Liele wrote the letter from Kingston, Jamaica d/d Dec.21st, 1791, but the lady whom he commended had originally been a member of the Savannah church, Georgia.

as the primary figure of the Baptist movement. But he probably had the best organisation. And so it was to the western group of Baptists that Rowe was sent, because the structure of that work was better defined and Baker had behind him to some extent the authority of the Plantocracy if even to a limited extent, in Winn and later Vaughan. The Liele Group, on the other hand, stood on its own merits, and so was liable to be easily affected by moods of the Assembly legislation.

It must be remembered that all church life was under the jurisdiction of the Anglican church. The Establishment of the church gave to it a right through the Bishop of London to determine who should teach or preach. It is not clear how this right was acquired. Thomas Coke, writing in 1808, observed that the island was subject to the See of London and was an appendage of that diocese.[1] W.Gardner, (1825-1874), a congregationalist minister writing more than sixty years later what he considered a definitive history, remarked that 'the king was recognized as head of the church but the Governor really nominated to the livings, though a licence was required from the Bishop of London.'[2] He went on to suggest that the practice originated in a decision of James II, who had suggested to Cardinal Philip Howard, (1629-1694),[3] that he should restore the 'Catholic ceremonies'. When Howard, who was well ensconced in Rome and alarmed at James' policies, refused to act, James contented himself with ordering that no one should be allowed to keep a school or preach without the Bishop of London's

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1. Coke; op. cit; Vol. I, p.403.
2. Gardner; History of Jamaica etc. (1873), p.92.
3. D.N.B. Vol. X (1908), pp.54-57

licence and that those who were already on the island without licences ought to obtain them or desist.[1] Caldecott, himself an Anglican writing in 1898 a History of the West Indian Church from an admitted Anglican bias, was less definite about the origins of the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. It would appear from Caldecott who gave the subject generous space, that Bishop Edmund Gibson, (1669-1748),[2] when he became Bishop of London had inquired about the validity of the practice in 1723. He was told that although there was no ecclesiastical authority for the practice, there existed an Order in Council (i.e. Privy Council) in the reign of Charles II, by which colonies were considered an integral part of the See of London.[3] This seemed to satisfy him and the practice continued until West Indian Bishops were appointed in 1824.

The problem with the arrangement was that it tended to recreate the metropolitan relationships in the colonial context. This led to artificial tensions within the colonies which were designed either to embarrass the metropolitan Government, whose fortunes were closely tied to those of the Church, or on the local level to exert political control.[4] And as a

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1. Gardner; op. cit; p.194. Howard had already set up an English province in Belgium and built the English College in Rome. It is probably an extension of this principle which was envisaged by James.

2. D.N.B. Vol. VII (1908) pp.1153-54. He became Bishop of London in 1720, succeeding Bishop Robinson. He was formerly Bishop of Lincoln 1716-1720.

3. For a full discussion of the subject see Caldecot; The Church in the West Indies (1898) pp.49-52. cf. Wilberforce; History of the American Church (1844) passim and Anderson; History of the Church of England in the Colonies (1856) Vol.2, pp.284-290: Vol.3, 546 footnote 96.

4. See Howse; The Clapham Sect and the Growth of Freedom (1953) p.56 for a discussion of the political events of 1800 which influenced the ecclesiastical events. cf. Caldecott; op. cit; 81-82 and Gardner; op. cit. 329-375, for the Jamaican reactions.

consequence any church group which did not possess in itself either a strong central control locally, or a well defined metropolitan link was in grave danger of disintegration. Baptists were therefore extremely vulnerable at this point.

Baptist organisation as was often the case took its form from the local leader. In Kingston, Liele was its inspiration and the church he founded in a private house of September, 1784, as a continuation of the church he had left in Savannah, developed in time to become the nucleus of an islandwide network. It managed also to transmit its simple and uncomplicated structure, which seemed to be gleaned from a literal understanding of the New Testament, but proved to be most suitable for a migrant and simple population.

Aided by his friends in high places,[1] Liele had been able to sustain a functioning hierarchy of elders, deacons and teachers. As a team they were responsible for the catechising of the smaller rural congregations and the extension work into the areas adjacent to the city. In the town itself there were four preaching services each week, two on Sundays and two at other times. They were so arranged that slaves could return to the estates during daylight and a bell was rung to indicate times of services. Liele was solely responsible for baptisms, church discipline and the Lord's Supper.

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1. Liele migrated to Jamaica with Colonel Kirkland a British army officer to whom he had been indentured in 1781. Kirkland was a friend of the Governor, Sir Archibald Campbell (1739-1791) who had been his commanding officer in Georgia. Campbell was governor between 1782-1785. On Liele's arrival he obtained a job with the Governor and when his debt was paid obtained a certificate of freedom from the Governor and the Vestry as well as sanction from the House of Assembly to begin and organize a Church. He reported to Rippon that, the title was registered in the Island Secretary's office but to date no search has uncovered it. See D.N.B. Vol.III (1908) pp.794-95

The social composition of the church covered a wide spectrum. In a letter to Rippon he disclosed that the membership of three hundred and fifty included 'a few white people among them, one white brother of the first battalion of the Royals ...'[1] and in a later letter he informed him that he had set a deacon over the church in order to keep its affairs under constant review during his travels elsewhere, and further that he was also appointed to act as schoolmaster, supervising the Free School which the church had opened for both freeborn and slave children alike.

Liele's theological tendencies were neither hyper-Calvinistic nor outrageously Arminian. He confessed in a letter to Rippon that he accepted 'election, redemption, the Fall of Adam, regeneration and perseverance, knowing that the Promise is to all that endure in Grace, Faith and Good Works to the end, shall be saved.' His Church Covenant which he forwarded to Rippon on the advice of a Mr. Green who knew them both supports the conclusion that he took no extreme positions. The Covenant was indeed no more than a collection of important Biblical texts illustrative of the faith and practice of a congregation.[2]

The biblical orientation of the church no doubt commended itself to the British Baptists and as Payne observes also, 'in view of the sincerity

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1. Register, I, p.334

2. This Covenant was believed lost for many years until it was discovered in the B.M.S. Archives by Dr. Ernest Payne. It read, 'The Covenant of the Anabaptist Church in America, December 1777 and in Jamaica, December 1783. It is quite certain that Rippon had a copy of the Covenant sent him in 1792, but Payne reports a date of 1796 on the Mission House copy. There is also another publication of the Covenant in the General Baptist Repository Vol.I, 1802 but the relationship between these originals is uncertain.

and simplicity here revealed, the danger of fanaticism and heresy, the difficulties and opportunities of work among people who had covenanted in this fashion, and the special responsibility of Englishmen for the West Indies it is not surprising that Dr. Ryland and his friends did not rest until they were able to send missionaries to Jamaica.'[1]

There is every reason to believe that the biblical and religious nature of the Covenant was the uniting feature between the two groups, but the Covenant had other implications as well. Interpreted within the Jamaican context it was a potential threat to the society. It could provide a creed which might become a focal point of unity within the slave society.

The Covenant could be understood in two ways, depending on whether it was read by the slave or his master. This was not because it was a deceptive document but rather that in such a divided community each interest saw in any document what he wished to see. It appealed to the slave owner on the grounds of the maintenance of law and order and to the slave on an emotional rather than intellectual level. For example, the Covenant forbade 'the shedding of blood' and this could easily be interpreted by the master as a religious sanction against insurrection. The very basis of the Covenant assumed the permanence of the master-slave relationship. In Art. 15, it states that 'we permit no slaves to join the church without first having a few lines from their owners of their good behaviour, 1 Peter II, 13-16; 1 Thess. III, 13.'[2] While for the Church leader on the surface

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1. Payne, E; "Baptist Work in Jamaica before the arrival of the Missionaries" Bapt. Quart. Vol. 7 (1934-35) pp.20-26.
2. Ibid. p.25

this was a perfectly normal way to discover something about a potential church member, because it was a slave society, the practice became to the Master a supporting device to ensure the society's norms.

But this supporting aspect of the Covenant's role was two sided. The fact that there was such a covenant meant that there was an area of the slave's life over which the master had no control. And this in itself nullified the rigid control which was the hallmark of the society. For instance, the Covenant provided for marriage (Art. 6); and a parallel judiciary to settle quarrels within the church (Art. 9)[1] and both these activities ran counter to the authority of the State. Indeed in the case of the latter it was to run a full course to 1865, when full blown Baptist courts were set up by the rebel communities to replace the maladministration of justice by the State.

Yet more important than the foregoing aspects of the Covenant were the negative 'Sanctions' it included. Excommunication was upheld in Art. 19,[2] and provided not only for the physical expulsion of the member from the fellowship, but had implicit in the expulsion a loss of face in the community itself. It meant too that as far as the slave was concerned such an expulsion was likely to earn him the ire of his master, because it robbed him of one means of control.

Allied closely to the concept of excommunication and a part of it was the loss of 'burial rites', (Art. 20).[3] Its severity lay in the fact that

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1. Payne; Art. cit.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

improper burial or the loss of the rites of the church during this period condemned the excluded to the possibility of the endless wandering of his departed spirit in unending nothingness. This is borne out in a report which Cowan, a Scottish missionary sent home in 1834, in which he reported a conversation with an old African. In it he observed that, 'he mingled up with his account of the future happiness of believers, an idea very common among uninstructed negroes, that if he would trust in Jesus Christ, he would go to see his father and mother when he died and eat victuals with them ... It was common opinion that the departed soul returned to Africa and was entertained by its friends.'[1] This may have been the 'unkindest cut of all' but it was good discipline in a harsh society.

Moses Baker, contrasted significantly with Liele. He was a mystic, a recent convert and consequently tended to be more enthusiastic, but he was a man with limited organising gifts. Nevertheless, he was a man who stood by his post, and despite much opposition bore a courageous Christian witness.[2] While Liele exercised an itinerant ministry, Baker's ministry was more that of a chaplain on an estate.

He began his work on the 'Stretch and Set' estate adjacent to the town of Adelphi St. James, on February, 1788. After a remarkable set of circumstances which led to his conversion, his beginning to preach and his

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1. See Cowan's Correspondence; Nat. Lib. Scot; MS.8984 cf. Unpublished paper; Stewart, Fr. Robert; Religion and Society in Jamaica: Slavery and Post Emancipation p.22 (postscript). (A copy of this paper is in my possession and was presented to the University of the West Indies, as preliminary to a doctoral thesis on the subject.); See also Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register (1834). p.252.
2. Ev. Mag. (Sept. 1803), p.366.

employment by Isaac Lascelles Winn, a Quaker planter and one time sailor, he more than anyone else laid the foundations of Baptist work in the Western parishes of Jamaica.

As has already been observed, the evidence is derived from a biography in The Evangelical Magazine (1803) and the reports in the Periodical Accounts, (1817). However, since Ryland's biography shows distinct marks of autobiographical material and limited editorial change and the reports were disinterested, they provide primary evidence of the structure, expectations and beliefs of the western congregations at this time.

There were three things that Baker had to face within the congregations and society which were opposed to him. There was internal dissension which had within it the seeds of social conflict; witchcraft and the open opposition of the Planters.

Internal dissension centred around a former 'judge' from Liele's church in Kingston who had now moved to Adelphi where Baker was stationed. Kitt, of whom no more is known, made suggestions that in Kingston Baker was little thought of because he had not acquired the Baptist discipline, and therefore was unfit to be a leader. It was probably true that he was untrained because he had come into the church under rather dramatic circumstances and it was hardly likely that there would have been the time for any proper training. (In fact Winn had offered him a job almost contingent on his mystic experience.) When this suggestion did not alienate as many members as he had hoped, Kitt insinuated that since Baker was not a black man, as he Kitt was, he was therefore unable to teach the slaves, who were for the most part black. This created quite a stir and for some

time Baker was out of favour but he was not dismissed. Even Winn, it would appear, shunned him and Baker's wife, unhappy and afraid, encouraged him to hand over the work to someone else and leave the Baptist church. The matter was however resolved when Kitt was convicted of self-confessed immorality and dismissed.[1]

The importance of this dissension is that it represented the first evidence that there seemed to have been a struggle for power within the church on the grounds of colour. And it also reflects, if treated at face value, the belief that colour, if not race, was an aid to the communication of the Gospel, an ever recurring theme in the succeeding decades, and one reason for the acceptance of black agents for the evangelisation of Africa.

Witchcraft maintained a secure hold on most slaves and it seems that its presence on the Winn estates was one reason for Baker's appointment. Most slaves from the West coast of Africa had been aware of the 'Mo' or [sometimes called] Gree-Gree, houses which were shrines to the ancestral spirits. These houses were places in which articles of clothing and possessions of various sorts belonging to the deceased were collected, as a token of honour to the departed. However, they also had associations with healing and with human sacrifice. The worship and veneration which surrounded them were often misunderstood and even feared, and therefore

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1. Kitt originally accused Baker of illiteracy, incompetence and superstition. But the first charge seems unfounded since Baker managed to communicate his autobiography to Ryland and was in touch with him. The charge of superstition seems to be a reasonable one. Even making allowances for the British missionaries who could easily have mistaken fused Africanism in the mystic worship for superstition, Kitt would not have made that mistake. And later events seemed to have substantiated some of the charges. See B.M.S. Per. Acc. V pp.502-505 cf. Ev. Mag (Sept. 1803) p.366.

rigorously suppressed. This tended to drive it underground and witchcraft, which was a blanket designation to cover Obeah, Myalism and Fetishism continued to be a problem for the authorities as the prevalence of legislation against Obeah confirms.[1]

Baker was rather successful in his suppression of the phenomenon. While it was put down to his preaching, it was probably due more to his own ecstatic behaviour. He was known to go into trances and this behaviour was identical to that of a witchdoctor. Thus what his preaching condemned his own actions confirmed.[2]

His harsh experiences in Montego Bay were in marked contrast to those in Adelphi. Attempting to establish a mission among the fisherfolk in the Bay, he was repeatedly stoned, shot at and his meetings disturbed in several ways. This led to the intervention of the magistrates who came to hear him to determine if he had a case to answer as a disturber of the peace. Instead,the magistrates were favourably impressed by his demeanour and refused to proceed any further, especially noting in their judgement that he was a 'man of colour'. The net result was that the incident commended the western work to the authorities much in the same way that Liele's association with Colonel Kirkland and Sir Archibald Campbell had done.[3]

There is no evidence of the social composition of the western Baptists.

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1. See Map 1 ; For a full description of Obeah, Myalism and Fetishism as it appeared at this time see Phillippo; Past and Present etc. (1843) pp.239-266. cf. Williams, Voodoos and Obeahs etc. (1932) passim.
2. The importance of the 'trance' and ecstatic behaviour in West African Society is discussed in Beathe and Middleton (ed.); Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa (1969): Special attention should be paid to the introduction and pp.1-49.
3. Ev. Mag. (Oct. 1804); pp.470-72.

It must therefore be assumed that they were largely slaves and black.

The churches in the West used a similar Covenant to that of their Kingston brethren.[1] It might well have been the same one with slight alterations and alternative Biblical texts. However, some significant and noteworthy omissions appear in both covenants. Article 6,[2] which in the Liele covenant dealt with the admission of young children to the church does not occur in the Baker draft. Similarly, I Peter, 2 v.13-14, a bulwark of establishment, is missing from the Liele collection. Stranger still is the omission of Article 20, which deals with the 'burial rite' sanction from the Baker list. On the whole, it would appear that both leaders adapted the covenant to their local uses. Indeed, while Liele had made no concessions to polygamy, Baker was more tolerant because there were many cases around him.

Contemporaneous with Liele and Baker was Thomas Nicholas Swigle. He has been overshadowed by both men because he did not originate from America and so came to Rippon's notice later, nor did he maintain a work of his own at the outset. It would appear that he was the deacon whom Liele had made overseer of the Kingston church and head of the Free school. He first appeared in a letter to Rippon dated April, 1793, which was printed in the

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1. Baker's Covenant is included in the biographical account written by Ryland. See Ev. Mag. (Sept. 1803) pp.370-71.

2. 'Article 6' was liable to misinterpretation. Indeed, as late as 1851, Blyth, a Presbyterian, suggested that Knibb used to 'baptise' babies. The biography was to be printed in the Evangelical Magazine and it is understandable if it were omitted. The Article appears in the Mission House copy and the General Baptist Repository and so it was probably omitted deliberately remembering that a Baptismal controversy raged at the time. cf. B.M.S. Per. Acc. Vol.VI (1817) p.vi, editorial preface d/d Dec. 9th, 1816.

Register. In it he described himself as Jamaican born, a deacon and the principal helper in the Liele school.[1] There is little doubt that at the beginning he played a very secondary leadership role, nevertheless he has the distinction to be the first Creole to become a leader, a fact which in time was to transform the church in its outlook and form.[2] As a leader it would appear that it was he who gave to the Kingston work its lasting form and he most certainly founded and established the 'Gully Chapel', in St. James's St., which was the nucleus of the East Queen St. Baptist Church, the premier congregation of the Jamaican Baptist Fellowship.[3]

A great debt of gratitude belongs to Swigle for the details which he supplied to Rippon, thus illuminating what would otherwise have been an obscure period. What is uncertain is whether the descriptions he gave related to his affiliates only, or reflected the pattern of the whole eastern work. The problem arises because at one point there was a serious quarrel between Liele and Swigle and a separation occurred, the date of which is uncertain. Taking the descriptions however as they were given, he reported in 1793, what appears to be a line of preaching stations which stretched from Spanish Town across the mountains into the parishes of St. Thomas y^{e} Vale, St. George and St. Ann(e).[4] In an undated

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1. Register 1, pp.542 Swigle (Sweigle) to Rippon d/d April 12th, 1793. cf. Payne; Art. cit; Bapt. Quart. 7 pp.20-26.

2. 'Creole' is used to mean a person born in the Antilles. It must not be confused with the modern meaning of a brown-skinned person. The original meaning had no associations with colour.

3. See Chapter 2, pp. 55-56.

4. This massive outreach is confirmed by John Clark, in The Voice of Jubilee (1865) p.32. See Map 1 . Liele established a preaching centre in Spanish Town (Register 1, p.344 and 542) and probably set Gibbs, who was one of the original group in the Kingston church, as overseer.

letter [1] published later in the Register, he reported that these village stations were served by a group of itinerant evangelists whose chief purpose was to catechise the faithful. As an aid they carried a compendium of Biblical texts in book form called the 'Pocket Companion' and if time was short these were given free of charge to the particular group. This reveals not only the presence of a more complex organisation than at first appears but throws light on the literacy both of the leadership in Kingston and the local villages. As to date no copy of this primitive catechism has come to light it is not known whether it was a single edition or whether it was revised from time to time.

In Kingston the organisation of the church resembled that of the Methodists. The church was divided into classes each under a Class Leader, who met with his class every Monday to examine their spiritual life. These meetings became so important that later absence incurred the severest church discipline. Baptisms were held Quarterly and the Lord's Supper was observed on the first Sunday evening of each month. In addition there were mid-week meetings every Tuesday and Thursday.

The Leadership of the Church, or Society as Swigle preferred to call it, was shared between eight deacons and six exhorters. It is uncertain what the distinctions between the two offices were but it seems that there was an attempt to reproduce that pattern of prophets and teachers reflected in some parts of the New Testament. Whatever may have been the finer points of difference however the evidence suggests that in practice both

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1. Register, 3; pp.212-214.

offices overlapped.[1]

In 1797, Liele was imprisoned for debt. It was incurred on the building of his chapel. While in gaol his son was appointed preacher and supplied his father's pulpit. The administration of the church was left in the hands of four deacons whose names were not given but it is reasonable to suppose that Swigle must surely have been one. It was during Liele's imprisonment that the rupture took place. It was probably a part of a larger struggle for power in which others were involved. It is known that Kitt who attempted to displace Baker was sent to that region by Swigle and that he recommended other leaders to estates in St. Elizabeth. While it would be too much to read into this episode a concerted effort to replace Liele by a Swigle faction, the event was serious enough to result in a Court action.[2]

The date of the quarrel is uncertain but it occurred before 1802, since it seemed to have become public knowledge in Britain at that date. And in any case Swigle reported in a letter to Rippon dated October 1802 that the relationship between Liele and himself had been repaired.[3]

The quarrel had far reaching consequences. It effectively resulted in the establishment of a second church centre in Kingston. This action immediately involved the British Baptists in a series of new and independent relationships within the island. Swigle was not slow to exploit this

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1. See Register 4, pp.974-975
2. Gen. Bapt. Rep.(Sup.) Vol. I, p.292; see also Vol 2, p.192
3. Register, 4; p.1146

and he soon began to cultivate on his own behalf the contacts he had sustained while an assistant to Liele.[1]

In Britain in the meantime, the Humanitarian movement had begun to influence significantly the missionary movement. Anglican and Methodist laymen were exerting strong pressure by their letters to magazines and their counsels behind the scenes for something to be done for the West Indian slave. In Baptist circles, where India had the pride of place, there was understandable hesitation, especially when it seemed that the work was being adequately carried by the 'Americans' themselves. However, a dramatic turn of events between 1802 and 1807 altered this view and committed the B.M.S. to the island.

In 1802, 1803 and in 1807, the Kingston and Montego Bay Councils and the Assembly passed certain laws which effectively limited the freedom of movement of the 'native' or black preachers and the right of the slaves to gather.[2] The measures affected the Baptists and Methodists severely but they also effectively silenced the single Presbyterian missionary Reid, who became as a result the headmaster of the Wolmer's Free school. These groups were exceedingly vulnerable because they depended to a large extent on the Planters' goodwill and upon slave or freed slave leadership.[3]

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1. Register 4, p.1144-1146. This letter from Swigle to Rippon d/d Oct. 9th, 1802 informed him that a new church had been built on St. James' Street, called St. John's Church. The church was dedicated on Saturday 28th August 1802 and he continued, 'we beg leave to call upon our Baptist friends in England for their help and support of Ethiopian Baptists, setting forth in the glorious cause of our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ ..' He then included a census of the membership taken on August 10th 1802: Expelled, 2; Dismissed, 26; Dead 19; Membership of the 'Society' 548 and further adds that since August 62 new members have been added and the membership now stood at 610.

2. See Slave Laws of Jamaica with proceedings .. (1828) pp.230-231

3. Ev. Mag. (Sept.1803) pp.550-551. Baker's work was almost destroyed and it was this that stimulated his frantic appeals of 1806 to Dr. John Ryland. cf. Trans. B.M.S. No.7 (1920-21) p.185

Liele was released from prison on March 10th, 1807, due to the intervention of the Rector of Kingston, Dr. Thomas Rees. Rees also came to Swigle's aid in granting him a licence to preach. And Swigle reports that during this period he baptized one hundred and eleven converts. Whatever we may think of the quality of the converts it would appear that the numerical strength of the Baptists presented a considerable challenge to the authorities. Therefore their leaders increasingly became significant targets in the authorities' bid to establish firm control.

Dissenters had not gained the favour of the administration. Indeed the Evangelicals had earned for them even greater opprobrium.[1] The increased activities of the 'Clapham Sect' and the Anti-Slave Trade lobby, had led to sharp reaction in the Antillian Assemblies. Under the guise of accepting the ecclesiastical reforms of the Bishop of London, the Assemblies effectively transferred the control of the clergy to the Governor, and already there had been at the disposal of the Planters means to control the Governor,[2] As for the Dissenters, their rights still depended on the good will of the licensing authorities and the whims and fancies of the legislating Assemblies. The result was the spread of fear and uncertainty among the Baptists.

In 1804, Fuller, Booth and Hall, leading British Baptists learning of the Jamaican conditions, had drawn up a petition to the Privy Council requesting that the Jamaican law be changed. They argued that the laws

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1. See Smith, R.W.: 'Slavery and Christianity in the British West Indies', Church History, Sept. 1950; pp.171-186.
2. For details of the arrangement see Caldecott, op. cit. pp.81-82. cf. Gardiner, op. cit., pp.329-375.

of 1802 and 1803 were an infringement of the Act of Toleration. The Lords in Council replied that the law had been disallowed but that in the interest of good order and to prevent 'designing men ... from collecting assemblies of blacks and people of colour',[1] a new law would be recommended.

This did not satisfy the petitioners and in June 1804, the Dissenting Deputies[2] addressed a memorial to the Board of Trade, insisting that the Jamaican law had contravened the Act of Toleration and that any new law in the same spirit would do the same. In 1805, the Board of Trade replied that the act of the Jamaican Assembly had been disallowed by His Majesty in Council which in fact meant the end of the matter.

No more was heard until August, 1807, when the Deputies received another letter with an enclosure, a copy of The Order of the Common Council of Kingston,[3] which closed all places of Dissenting worship except the Methodist chapel. The deputies acted swiftly upon this information addressing another memorial to the Board of Trade. And also on the advice of the Attorney General and James Stephen (1758-1832),[4] then of Chancery, they suggested to the complainants that they test the law by keeping open their churches and promised to guarantee any costs which might accrue, if untoward action ensued.

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1. Ivimey; History of the Baptists (1830), Vol. IV. p.85.
2. The Dissenting Deputies were a group who represented the Dissenters of London and whose task was to be 'watchdogs' of civil liberties. They were first appointed on Nov. 9th, 1732 at Silver St. Church, London. See A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies etc. (1813).
3. See Augier and Gordon; Sources of West Indian History, p.147-8.
4. For James Stephen see D.N.B. XVIII p.1048-1050.

On March 25th, 1808, the Deputies had further word that not only had there been continued harassment but that a new law had been passed the previous November, called the Consolidated Slave Law which had contained the same provisions as those of 1802 and 1803.

The Deputies decided to agitate behind the scenes relying on a strong body of opinion which had now grown in Baptist and Methodist circles. Eventually in March, 1809 they addressed a petition to the Privy Council requesting the repeal of the Consolidated Slave Law. Action was slow, but after some time Lord Bathurst, (1762-1834), President of the Board of Trade (1807-9) gave an opinion that the law contravened the Act of Toleration and instructions were sent to the Governors in the West Indies informing them not to give assent to similar measures.

Unfortunately, there are no details extant of the subsequent happenings in Jamaica either to Swigle or Liele. It is however known that the membership was in disarray and that the organisation carefully built up in the earlier years had almost disintegrated. The British Baptists became increasingly aware of this and it was then that the General Baptist Repository Supplement reported that 'it is just mooted that Dr. Ryland's Academy at Bristol is contemplating sending us a young man or two ... to collect if possible the scattered flocks of Swigle, Leile and Baker.'[1] And it was this task that John Rowe and his wife landed in Montego Bay on February 23rd, 1814, to do. The Jamaican Baptists were being embraced by the universal idea.

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1. Op. cit. Vol. I, p.292. cf. Vol. 2, p.192.

Map 1

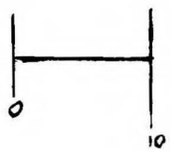
A map of Jamaica showing the establishments of the Early Baptists in relation to the physical barriers 1783-1814

The Baptists established themselves in the mountainous rural areas and this gave them protection. It was here that the B.M.S. drew its support and gathered together the scattered flocks.

Key to establishments

Preachers:	Towns
1. George Liele	Kingston, Spanish Town,
2. Moses Baker	Flamstead, Crooked Tree
3. George Gibbs (Gives)	Spanish Town, Guys Hill, Pembroke Hall, Sprung Valley Odu Rios. St. Ann's Bay (Reading South to North).
4. Thomas Nicholas Swiggle (Swiegle etc.)	Kingston, but had contact with Gibbs and Baker
5. George Lewis	Nassau Mountains (exact place not known)
6. Thomas Laing	Old Carmel, used to preach for the Moravians too.
7. Pastor Kellick	Morant Bay
8. "Mamby"	Name unknown. Established in St. George
9. Harry Brown	Port Antorio handed over to Ward in 1841
10. Thomas McKean	Manchioneal
11. Robert Hamilton	St. John's Parish, siteof work uncertain, probably Pent Hill
12. Peter Lovemore	Kingston, appeared loosely attached to Liele
13. J. Cunningham	Great Valley, Hanover but also maintained a work in Bahamas, as well
14. Joseph Syla	Kingston, a free coloured, site unknown
15. John Duff	Above Rocks, the only Baptist recognized by the Assembly and given a grant (a coloured).
16. John Allen	Manchester Mountains exact location uncertain
17. Robinson	Kingston (East Gower St, Baptist Church).
18. James Alexander Clarke	Pembroke Hall and St. Mary, assistant to Gibbs.
19. Davis	Kingston, and associated with Gibbs
20. William Duggan	Spanish Town and surrounding areas.

References: Clarke; Memorials of the Jamaica Mission (1869)
Clark; The Voice of Jubilee (1865)
Madden; Twelve Months residence in the West Indies (1835) Vol.2
Buchner; The Moravians in Jamaica (1854)
Hill; Light and Shadows (1859)
also The Evangelical Magazine; BMS Periodical Accounts etc...



Scale 10 mls — 15 mm.

CHAPTER 2

Mission, Mountains and Misery - reconstructing a mission in Jamaica, 1814-1828

There were two courses open to the British Baptists in the early nineteenth century in their relationship with the Jamaican Baptists. They could proceed immediately to fulfil the Committee's mandate and gather the scattered congregations, or choose strategic areas in which to concentrate, hoping that the nuclei thus formed would attract the scattered membership from the adjacent areas.

They attempted both. For example in Falmouth, the church of Rowe served this function. It was complementary to the church of Baker in the Adelphi hills but it was also the church in the seaport, the metropolitan area. The same was true in Kingston where Lee Compere, (1789-1871), moving in from St. Dorothy at the invitation of a local Baptist group established the East Queen St. Baptist church from the scattered membership of Robinson's Chapel on July 16th, 1816.

Unfortunately, the length of stay of these early missionaries was short. Rowe died prematurely and Compere seemed to have incurred the disfavour of the B.M.S. due to a liberal interpretation of the Ryland Rules.[1]

With the death of Rowe and the retirement of Compere to the United States, the focus of attention naturally fell upon Kingston to which a

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1. B.M.S. Report (Per. Acc. 6, 1817) p.175. cf. Clarke, Memorials of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica (1869) p.74 and Trans. B.H.S. No.7, p.193.

young Scot, James Coultart, (1785?-1836) had gone.

Coultart arrived in Kingston on May 9th, 1817. He had to assume full responsibility almost immediately because of the serious illness of Compere. He was fortunate in obtaining a licence to preach in a short time and by Sunday 25th had preached to a congregation of well over seven hundred persons in Robinson's Chapel.

Robinson presents a mystery, since the exact location of his chapel has not yet been conclusively identified. Phillippo in his book Jamaica its Past and Present State, (1843), reported that Robinson was one of the members of the Georgia church which had migrated to Jamaica and it would appear that it is his name that had become associated with this work.[1]

Francis Cox (d.1853) on the other hand, in the authoritative History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1842, (1842), reported that Robinson had been a deacon at Liele's church but had quarrelled with him over the question of 'tongues' and that subsequently had been excluded on the grounds of adultery. In 1842, Cox reported that the church was in the hands of a Mr. Davis. John Clarke, (1802-1879), writing in Memorials of Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica (1869) observed that the church had been served by Thomas Laing, an Ibo slave who had also begun work in Westmoreland. However neither Davis nor Laing appear in contemporary records.

It might here be observed that while Cox certainly used documentary sources and drew upon his extensive communication with the missionaries, he had never been to the island and could easily have confused the early

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1. Phillippo; op. cit. p.280. cf. B.M.S. Per. Acc. 6 (1817) p.237-8.

details. Clarke, however, had been a missionary in Jamaica and at the time of writing was actually serving a second term there, which would tend to make him a more reliable witness.

An answer seems to lie in the recognition of three things: (a) the confused situation prior to 1816, (b) the physical identification of St. John's chapel with East Queen St. and (c) the nature of the early congregation observed in Coultart's early descriptions.

The Slave Laws of 1802, 1803 and 1807 virtually silenced Liele, Swigle and Robinson. Swigle was the only one to protest but even he, as the pressure mounted, succumbed. In 1806, his chapel was leased as a hospital and this created problems when Ryland wished to send a missionary to Kingston.[1] But there is no doubt that Swigle wished the B.M.S. to send a missionary there. This could account for the ministry of Robinson and Laing, who would have occupied the position in an interim capacity only. It does not however explain why Robinson's name became associated with the chapel except that he was there in 1816, when Compere arrived.

The second possible line of consideration is the physical identity of the plot. In 1789, Swigle had written to Rippon seeking aid for a church to be built on a plot at the corner of James' St.[2] The present site of the East Queen St. church, which was established on July 16th, 1816, is bounded by James' St. and East Queen St. and there is no evidence to suggest that this church has ever moved. Indeed, the church was enlarged

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1. Cox, op. cit., Vol. 2, p.18-21. The originals of the Wilberforce letters are in the Bristol College Archives.

2. Register 3, pp.212-14: An undated letter prior to 1800 (1798?)

on the same site by Coultart in 1822. It would appear reasonable to conclude that this was the church of Swigle, an offshoot of the Windward Road Chapel.

A third line of enquiry supports the same conclusion. Coultart described the congregation in his Reports as made up of brown, white and black, which is in keeping with the descriptions of the congregations of Liele and Swigle, but observed also that the congregation was prone to speak in 'tongues', which could be attributed to Robinson's influence.

It would appear that Swigle and Robinson had made common cause against Liele, and established the St. John church on this James' St. site. In time Swigle dropped out of the picture leaving Robinson to carry on, who in turn handed the work to the B.M.S., with whom they had been associated for more than a decade.

A centre having been established in Kingston, the Baptist missionaries followed in the footsteps of their predecessors. Liele's work in Spanish Town was taken over and served from Kingston. Between 1816 and 1820, an increasing number of villages were visited but the evidence is not clear whether this was at the invitation of already established but isolated congregations or new work. What was certain was that at this stage the civil authorities gave every encouragement to the missionaries so that they could bring some order into what they viewed as a possible anarchic situation.

However, as the work developed and manpower became available from Britain, the organisation became more complex and certain well defined characteristics came to be associated with certain areas of the work.

There were three discernible features each associated with a particular complex of churches. There was (a) the Kingston Complex, which retained a high degree of Africanism and managed to integrate this into the church pattern; (b) there was the Spanish Town Complex where this seemed quite impossible and where education was used as the method of evangelisation, leaving the church to fend as best it could, and (c) the Western Complex, which embraced the North-western and Western parishes with Montego Bay as its centre. It developed a political stance and in a sense it was from them that the image of the Jamaican church was derived. However, it was not as efficient in the production of a self-image, as may be observed.

These three complexes were almost inevitable. They were dictated partly by the lay of the land and partly by the local conditions to which the missionaries had to react. In Kingston there existed a massive slave population, many of them Baptists and by sheer weight of numbers, dictated the form of church life. In Spanish Town however, this was not so. It was the seat of Government and so the Establishment determined the patterns. In the West, where there was vast open spaces, the situation was easier and the missionary was freer to roam and see for himself.

The Kingston Complex embraced more than the town. It included Yallahs twenty miles to the east and stretched in to the parishes in Portland and St. George. It was in the hands of two men, James Coultart and Joshua Tinson (1794-1850). Despite the lack of an adequate biography of either man their importance ought not to be underestimated, because they laid the foundations of an indigenous church in the area. Between 1814 and 1828, no fewer than nine missionaries had served under their leadership.

Tinson arrived after Coultart and served as a teacher in the 'free school' attached to Robinson's Chapel. He served there until 1822, when he was invited to be interim pastor at the Windward Road chapel while Liele was away in Britain. When Liele returned in 1826, Tinson rented a house in Hanover St. and there established a church on January 7th, 1827. So highly appreciated was this gesture that the Mayor of Kingston appointed him official preacher to the Prison, much to the chagrin of the established Church.[1] And from this base extended he the work into Port Royal, Yallahs and as far afield as Manchioneal.

Both Coultart and Tinson were cautious in their modification of the existing organisation. In matters of church organisation for instance, Coultart developed what he had inherited. He reported that the church had been divided into twenty-four classes, each under a Class Leader, who acted both as its chairman and counsellor. The Class Leaders' Meeting was held in his house every Tuesday for discussion and instruction. And it is clear from this description that Coultart saw in the Class System a useful means of dividing his work. Whether he was also aware that it also constituted a method of training local leadership which could take other roles than religious ones is doubtful.

Indeed, his mind was occupied with two other problems. The first was the question of colour and the second the question of 'tongues'.

Quite early in his ministry, Coultart observed that if a white person was seen speaking to a black person in public or indeed to a brown person,

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1. For a full picture consult: Clark; The Voice of Jubilee, 1865 pp.147-160, 170-181; and also Per. Acc. 6, pp.397-420 'Mrs. Coultart's Memoirs' B.M.S. Report 1823 pp.23-25 and Clarke, Memorials etc. p.8[illegible].

another white would scarcely recognize him in public subsequently, let alone speak to him.[1] Since his congregation was to a large extent 'black' the dilemma was a real one and the possibility of social isolation an actuality. The situation was probably more explosive than at first appeared, because just five years later when Tinson was called to Liele's church as interim pastor, it was reported in the Baptist Magazine, 1823, that 'it appears that independently of Mr. Coultart's congregation which is of itself more than enough in that oppressive climate, there is a large body of coloured people who have associated together for religious services for some years but under great disadvantages as to the means of instruction. From this society, Mr. Tinson has received a very urgent request to settle over them, and he has thought it his duty to comply. It is pleasing to add that the magistrates granted licences both for Mr. Tinson and the place of worship in which he preaches.'[2]

The evidence seems to suggest that within Baptist circles there was at this time some segregation along colour lines. No doubt this was encouraged by the prevailing attitudes in the Jamaican society and since the 'meeting house' had had no licence, it would appear that the authorities had turned a blind eye to their meeting. Here then is further evidence that the question of colour raised by Kitt with regard to Baker many years earlier ran more deeply than at first appeared.

While it would be wrong to underestimate the importance of the colour

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1. Per. Acc. 6 (1817), p.417-18. cf. Burdett, Life and Exploits of Mansong (1860) which reflects the attitude to the slaves and one type of reaction.

2. Bap. Mag. 1823, p.130-1

question as a divisive issue, it was more than offset in Coultart's church. Here from the available evidence in his wife's journal and in his reports, the congregation was racially mixed. He reported that the congregation 'fasted on certain days, dream dreams and see visions, nor are those who are really partakers of divine grace, totally free from these inconsistencies. There are a number of 'brown' people also who are nearly of the same stamp.'[1] It would appear that despite the colour bar, the presence of the 'glossalalia' within the congregation provided a basis of communion and therefore a ground for unity within the context of the times.

The significance of its presence in an overwhelmingly 'black' congregation as over against the brown congregation of the Windward Rd. chapel may be explained by a generalisation put forward by Herskovits, just before he died, that there existed 'the tendency, in all the New World, for the suppression of African religious forms to be accompanied by a compensating increase in the employment of such less public controls of the supernatural forces as magic.'[2] This had clearly been the case in Adelphi and it would seem that the pattern was being repeated through the glossalalia in the East Queen St. chapel.

The conclusion would appear to be that while Liele had adapted to a more europeanized pattern during the intervening years, the Swigle tradition had maintained latent Africanisms probably preserved through the Class

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1. Per Acc. 6 (1817), p.417-8.

2. Herskovits, The New World Negro (1966), p.22-23.

Leader System.[1] This tension was not resolved until another church sprang up in Hanover Street, which further depleted the Windward Rd. congregation and at the outset embarked upon a policy of racially mixed congregations. This was the first major step toward the 'creolization' of the church.[2]

The same processes may be observed in the Spanish Town complex. At first these congregations had been administered from Kingston, but it soon became clear that the 'capital' city ought to be the centre for its own work. Apart from being the seat of government, Spanish Town controlled the commerce of St. Thomas y^{e} Vale, St. Dorothy and St. Johns. Within each of these areas Baptist congregations of long standing were to be found.

After inauspicious beginnings, the main task of co-ordinating congregations was done by James Phillippo (1798-1879) who arrived in Jamaica on Christmas Day, 1823. Phillippo is among the better known of the missionaries thanks to his prolific correspondence, his articles and contributions to various publications, his own books and Underhill's splendid if dated biography, Life of the Rev. James Mursell Phillippo - Missionary in Jamaica, (1881).

While later in his ministry he enjoyed the esteem and confidence of the town, he arrived in 1823 to an 'unsightly brick wall which formed an enclosure and contained a two-roomed house with a piazza. It was

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1. For a discussion on the 'Class Leaders' Meeting' see The Methods of Methodism (n.d.) an annual of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, pp.7-16 and the appendix. cf. for modern equivalents - Moonman, The Manager and the Organisation, (Pan Books).

2. The division within the Baptist church was highlighted by the appeals made in Britain. While Liele's church seemed to have been self-supporting, Coultart had to appeal for funds. See Bap. Mag, (1818), New Serves p.438. cf. letter from James Coultart to James Smith of Watford d/d May 19th, 1819, in which he proposes to appeal through the Philanthropic Magazine for funds (Angus Library).

inconvenient and dirty and the walls of the dilapidated interior were daubed with lamp black as a protection to the eyes of the former occupant.'[1]

Phillippo settled in and applied for a licence but this was refused on trivial grounds. Indeed the real reason appeared in the St. Jago Gazette on July 10th, 1824, where it was reported that Phillippo had been informed that 'in the present perilous state of the colonies it was the duty of magistrates to be extremely cautious in granting such permission; more especially as many sectaries in the mother country had declared their avowed intention of effecting our ruin, and had united in becoming publicly and clamourously the justifiers of such a man as Smith, whose seditious practices in Demerara had been proved by the clearest evidence. The papers now produced had several signatures, all no doubt sectaries and in all probability ranking among the number of our enemies ...'[2]

A third impediment arose in an official request that Phillippo present himself as a member of the local militia. It had been a precaution taken quite early that all 'whites' should do military service as a matter of course in case they were needed to bear arms during a slave rebellion. The incubus of a slave revolt was a recurring presence in the West Indies and the laws were designed either to redress the black-white ratio or to increase the military potential of the whites.[3]

Phillippo served three months under protest at the end of which he

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1. Underhill; op. cit. p.36

2. ibid. pp.39-40 (Footnote). The case of Smith was the subject of a Parliamentary Debate see Chap. 4, pp. 85-6.

3. Augier and Gordon; Sources of West Indian History, pp.19-22.

was dishonourably discharged and an attempt made to levy his belongings. But this was foiled by the belligerent mood of his congregation.

In the face of this opposition he decided to begin two schools which were to be in relation to each other. The first one was a private school to which the elite sent their children despite the missionary's reputation and among them many Jews. The first class contained twenty Jews and in 1825, when the school had grown to 140, there were thirty Jews. Phillippo reported then, 'My school increases beyond my sanguine expectations. I now have 140 children, thirty of whom are of Jewish parents who read the New Testament. One of whom, thirteen or fourteen years of age, is the son of the Rabbi of this town ... Many learn Latin, Hebrew, geography and grammar.'[1]

There existed in Spanish Towm a large synagogue which dated from the early settlement of Jews who fled the Inquisition to the West Indies via Madiera. In 1711, the Jamaican Assembly passed an Act and debarred them from public office, according them at the same time the status of mulattoes (coloured)[2] but apart from that they were unmolested.

The second school became known as the Metropolitan School and was a Lancastrian School.[3] It was designed as a free school to serve the children of slaves and the poor. It was situated on the same site as the private

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1. See B.M.S. Report 1826, Vol. 8, p. 18. cf. Underhill, op. cit. p.50 and Phillippo, Jamaica its Past and Present State (1843), pp.194-201.

2. See Hill, Lights and Shadows etc. (1859) passim and The History of the Jews of Jamaica; Hansard, (New Series) Vol. XVII March 1827-July 1827; Radio Educational Unit - Series on Races of the West Indies No.5 and Phillippo, op. cit. p.145.

3. The Lancastrian method was devised by Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) and was also called the British and Foreign School System. It used the

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school with a courtyard in between and inevitably a certain amount of mixing occurred, a fact which did not go unnoticed by some parents and the Press.[1]

Phillippo's establishment of education as a major part of the Spanish Town work raises certain questions. Underhill, his biographer, has suggested that Phillippo deliberately chose education as an instrument to win freedom. This view has been widely held by most scholars, who see in this action the beginning of an activity which made the Christmas Uprisings of 1831 almost inevitable. Indeed, Phillippo's action has been used as the particular example of a general principle.

While it would be unreasonable to deny that there were political undertones in the choice of the Lancastrian system, this choice of system was not abnormal, since most of the B.M.S. missionaries were then being trained at the Borough Road School. It must however be admitted that the British and Foreign School Society was suspect by the established church and inevitably would be viewed with suspicion by the Establishment. To this must also be added that in Britain political agitation against Slavery by the Evangelicals had become more pronounced, and that even within cautious Baptist circles concern was being voiced publicly about the matter.[2]

Despite these political undertones, it would seem an act of folly on

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method of co-operative training, depending largely on a monitorial system. It therefore tended to train leaders. See D.N.B.(1909) Vol. XI, pp.480-483. The system contrasts with that of Andrew Bell (1753-1832) See D.N.B. (1908) Vol.II, p.149-152.

1. See M.H. Oct. 1830, pp.83-4, also Nov. 1830, pp.88-90.

2. Bap. Mag. 1824 (Review Article), p.124, also pp.333, 461-3. cf. Bap. Mag., 1823, pp.278-83, 296.

the part of Phillippo to have chosen education as a weapon to fight for freedom. It was well known that it was the policy of West Indian Governments to oppose the education of the blacks on the grounds of security. In 1764, the Governor of Martinique, writing to his superiors in France, observed that 'Religious instruction could give to the negroes here new vistas of knowledge, a kind of reason. The safety of the Whites, fewer in number, surrounded by these people on the estates and at their mercy, demands that they be kept in profoundest ignorance.'[1]

An alternative explanation for Phillippo's choice of education would appear to be the anxiety of the coloureds to be educated not for political, but for commercial reasons. While it is unquestionable that the Plantocracy was in process of decline as Ragatz so brilliantly demonstrated in The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833, (1928) during the 1820's, there was little evidence of this in the shops. And by this time the Jews and the Coloureds had increasingly become a commercial force, as middle men, handling cargoes and beginning the retail businesses, arranging for the transportation needs in the towns and even acquiring small gangs of slaves to do specific tasks on a lease-hire basis.[2] These small proprietors welcomed education of a functional kind for themselves and their children, and this within the context of the society was quite permissible in order that commercial life should not stagnate.

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1. Governor of Martinique to French Govt. d/d April 11th, 1764. See Augier and Gordon, Sources etc. p.145. cf. Ligon's comment in History of Barbados (1657) in Augier and Gordon op. cit. p.146.

2. George Liele, reported that he had acquired a team of horses and wagons and that his government job entailed transporting 'all the cannon' he could find lying about in the area where he was. Register 1, pp.335 and 337. cf. Duncan, Presbyters Letters on the West Indian Question etc. (1830), p.93.

It would appear that the first schools had been designed for this group. But the missionaries were committed in the churches to a policy of desegregation and naturally this influenced the school, as may be observed in the Spanish Town example. It is probable that if education was a political lever to gain freedom, this is a conclusion based more on hindsight than on the events as they occurred in their contemporary setting. Even after the passing of the Apprenticeship Period and Emancipation Day, Phillippo does not make this claim. His main aim appeared to be to claim a place in the Human Race for Blacks and to show that 'the black skin and the woolly hair constitute the only difference which now exists between multitudes of the emancipated peasantry of Jamaica and the tradesmen and agriculturists of England.'[1] Nor was the suggestion of a Liberal Arts College to do more for the 'sons of Africa' than give them a European training which had come to be expensive.[2]

The Western complex had a longer association with the B.M.S. than the other two areas. John Rowe, after serving a short time, had been succeeded by Henry Tripp, of whom very little is known. He had accompanied Le Compere and had been associated with him at Robinson's Chapel and had proved a great help to Coultart in the building of the school. He subsequently sought and obtained recognition from the B.M.S. and was stationed in Adelphi. Unfortunately, he had to be reprimanded by the Society because although he had acquired a slave with the intention of granting her freedom, in doing this he had compromised the principles of the Society. And when

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1. Phillippo, op. cit. p.201.

2. Ibid. p.478

his wife died soon afterwards, leaving him with a daughter, he abandoned the station and returned to Britain.

When Thomas Burchell (1799-1846) arrived on January 15th, 1824, he inherited a work which had disintegrated twice. The embryonic fellowship begun in Falmouth by Rowe in 1813, was non-existent and in Flamstead, the house set aside for the missionary had been turned into a hospital. Indeed Vaughan, to whose estates Burchell had been sent, informed him on arrival that since the family had decided to sell one of the estates, his services were required at Flamstead on alternate Sundays.[1]

Perhaps Burchell is the best documented and most studied of the Jamaican Baptist missionaries. This is due in large part to the role he played in the Christmas Uprisings of 1831, which in some circles was called the 'Baptists' War' and although not in Jamaica at the time of the revolt, on his arrival early in 1832, he had to retire after harassment by the local authorities to the United States of America for a time. To a large extent it was his work which has raised questions about Baptist involvement in politics and how far the missionaries were aware of the situation. Within recent years significant documents have come to light to supplement the public records, and the excellent biography by his brother William F. Burchell, Memoir of Thomas Burchell - twenty-two years a missionary in Jamaica (1849).[2] And yet Catherall is right that 'one may assume that the

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1. Bap. Mag. 1824, p.226. See also Burchell, W.F., Memoir of Thomas Burchell - twenty-two years a missionary in Jamaica (1849), p.51 and Per. Acc. 8, (Report) p.25.

2. There exists in the Angus Library, Regents Park College, Oxford, three documents, only one of which has been investigated before this. They are 1. The Burchell Confessions (1823), 2. A manuscript appreciation of Burchell, T. Burchell, the Missionary Enthusiast (1850?), which

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majority of Baptists will have heard of William Knibb and would at least be able to say that he was connected with the work of emancipation in Jamaica. The chances of many Baptists knowing anything about Thomas Burchell seem remote ... it would not be unfair to the memory of William Knibb to suggest that much of his great work in Jamaica would have been impossible had it not been for two people, his wife and Thomas Burchell.'[1] Unfortunately, the oratory of Knibb has overshadowed the flair for organisation and depth of Burchell and perhaps Frank Cundall, the Jamaican historian, is right in choosing Burchell and Dendy the foremost champions of abolition.[2]

Many events had conspired to pull to pieces the Baptist work in the region. The iniquitous laws of 1807, the premature death of Rowe, the unscheduled departure of Tripp and the distance from Kingston had all played their part. But events outside the congregations' control also had their effect. Whatever might have been the good intentions of planters like Winn and Vaughan, the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1807) and the policy of Amelioration were contemplated with 'sensations of astonishment

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illuminates the motives of the planters, especially Winn and Vaughan and their dilemma and The Burchell Autographs, which includes a letter of Thomas Burchell. Added to this must be the reports on Sam Sharpe, one of the deacons in Burchell's church which appeared in The Freeman (1856) written by Phillip Cornford, a pastor of Burchell's old church. (For details of this evidence, see Bibliography.) As far as is known only 1. has been investigated by Kenneth Short; see Bibliography.

1. Catherall, 'Thomas Burchell, Gentle Rebel', Art. Bapt. Quart. XXI (1965-66), pp.349-63.

2. Timpson, Jamaican Interlude (1933), p.14.

and the most serious apprehension.'[1] The estates were losing money and the jobs of attorneys like Vaughan were in jeopardy. It defies analysis how Burchell sustained that friendship.

Burchell rented a house in Montego Bay at the corner of King and Church Streets and by January 27th, 1824, obtained with the help of Vaughan a licence to preach. He began to preach there on February 1st and by the next Sunday the congregation had increased to fifty, most of them former members of the Crooked Spring and Flamstead congregations.[2] A church was formally constituted on February 29th that same year and due to an increased congregation moved into more commodious premises about six weeks later.[3]

Burchell spent the next two years in travel and consolidated the work in the west, linking together the isolated Baptist congregations under his leadership. In this way contact was made with the Lucea and Great Valley districts, the scattered groups in the parishes of Westmoreland and St. Elizabeth and especially the Maroons who inhabited the limestone outcrops of the Cockpit Country. He succeeded in placing James Mann (1801-1830) in the derelict cause at Falmouth, which he soon revived and 'with apostolic zeal these servants of Christ laboured together and were privileged to spread the gospel over nearly the whole of the western part of the island ... and were honoured in turning multitudes from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God.'[4]

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1. See Anon., T. Burchell, the Missionary Enthusiast (Short Ms.)
2. M.H. 1825, pp.79, 87, 94. cf. Burchell, Memoirs .. p.54.
3. Bap. Mag. 1824, p.409; also Burchell to Dyer d/d April 12th 1824 included in Memoirs p.55. cf. T. Burchell, the Missionary Enthusiast, p.12 for B.M.S. acquisition of building see Per. Acc. 8 (Report)1825) p.10.
4. Clark et al; Voice of Jubilee, p.49. cf. M.H. (June 1826) Bap. Mag. 1826, p.299

John Clark's fulsome praise ought not to hide the organisation which lay behind this achievement and the cost to human energy.

Simultaneously with this outreach in response to the B.M.S. mandate, the Montego Bay church itself began to grow. In 1826, Burchell collapsed and had to return to Britain to recuperate. While there he made continued representation of his needs. In April 1826, the month he sailed, the Missionary Herald carried an urgent appeal for 'a larger and more commodious place of worship' together with a subscription list of fifty pounds.[1] In September, the Missionary Herald published another appeal, reporting that at least £1,000 was needed and that 'a brief statement on the subject' would be prepared to stimulate interest. To make the point, the editor published an extract from a letter to Dyer in which he observed 'My feelings, Sir, arise from what my eyes have seen, and my ears have heard. I have known the fatigue - I have seen the tears - I have heard the cries - I have witnessed the thronging of the poor negro to the House of God.'[2] In November Burchell returned to Jamaica, arriving on January 30th, 1827, to discover that a few weeks before, the House of Assembly had passed the Consolidated Slave Act,[3] which called into question the activities of the missionaries.

Burchell was now extremely vulnerable. His statement had been published in the Missionary Herald of November and also reproduced in the Baptist Magazine.

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1. M.H. (April 1826), Bap. Mag. 1826, p.203.

2. M.H. Sept. 1826, pp.70-71.

3. See Gen. Bap. Rep., March 1828, p.112-115 (for the objectionable Clauses in the Act.)

It had been written on September 29th, 1826, while in London and had observed that the congregations in Montego Bay were well over one thousand; that the members usually left their homes between 1 a.m. and 4 a.m. to be sure of a seat at the 6 a.m. morning service, remaining in their places until the public service began and that 'the effect of such a crowded attendance in an upper room only 12 feet high under a vertical sun may easily be conceived ... If it is necessary to make any addition to the above recital of facts, it might be stated that inadequate as the present accommodations are, the tenure by which they are held is very uncertain ... Meetings in the open air, or in any place not regularly licensed are illegal, so that, in the case supposed which may happen tomorrow, these hundreds and thousands of Negroes, so destitute of religious knowledge and so desirous of obtaining it, would be entirely scattered and deprived of all opportunity of attending divine worship.'[1]

Catherall, in an article to the Baptist Quarterly, XXI (1965-66) Thomas Burchell, Gentle Rebel, has observed that 'Burchell discovered that he was in trouble with the local authorities. His brother William had published a letter in the November issue of the Particular Baptist Magazine, 1827. In this extract Burchell had attacked the way in which slaves were treated, especially the brutal attempts to hinder the negro in his religious life. The local plantocracy who had received the extracts from their agents in England quickly brought a court action against him.'[2] And the

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1. M.H. Nov. 1826, pp.85-87 cf. Bap. Mag. 1826 p.541-42

2. Catherall; art. cit., p.351. It is quite probable that he meant November 1826, since no account of this sort is in the 1827 issue of that date. The January 1828 issue did contain some compromising material but this could not have been to hand in Jamaica when Burchell was apprehended.

suggestion is present that his correspondence had precipitated the actions of the authorities.

It would perhaps be more reasonable to suppose that Burchell deliberately courted the action of the Quarter Sessions, knowing full well that he had massive support in England and that the possibility of an emancipation was imminent.

While in England, the Baptist Magazine had published a petition from the Eagle Street Church 'if not for a model, yet as an example, which other Congregations might imitate.'[1] It was addressed to 'the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled: The humble Petition of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters meeting at Eagle Street, London, of the Baptist Denomination.'[2] Although the editor observed that it had been wrongly addresed, the message was unmistakable. It demanded (a) that Slavery should be abolished and (b) that instead of protecting duties on West India produce compensation should be paid to the planters who might be affected by the Abolition of Slavery.[3] On St. Valentine's Day, 1826, the committee of The Protestant Society for the

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1. Bap. Mag. Feb. 1826, p.82.

2. Ibid.

3. The Baptist Magazine, Jan. 1826, p.93 carried a report of an Anti-Slavery Meeting held at Freemason's Hall on Dec. 21st, 1825 in which Wilberforce had asked for petitions requesting 'the gradual abolition of Slavery throughout the colonial possessions of Great Britain.' The Eagle Street meeting, however, was proposing more drastic steps and it is probable were the first to introduce them. More research is needed on the influence of congregations and the Missionary Societies upon the final outcome of the Abolition Bill. Only so may the 'William's thesis' be tested. cf pp 6-7.

Protection of Religious Liberty passed a four point Resolution signed by Thomas Pellant and John Wilks, on their behalf calling for the immediate end of Slavery and the institution of religious liberty in the colonies.[1] Almost in the same breath a week earlier, the General Body of London Dissenting Ministers of Three Denominations met and drafted a Resolution suggesting that Slavery was 'hostile to the spirit of the British Constitution'[2] which was presented to the Marquis of Lansdown.

Burchell with this background knew perfectly well that he could challenge the law on the ground of religious liberty on the basis of the Toleration Act, confident of widespread support from Dissenters and the 'liberal' members of the Established Church in Britain.

The nature of the events of 1827 was not strange to Burchell. In 1824, he had been indicted for baptising in the Barnet river but the case had collapsed because there was no existing Statute to cover it.[3] Immediately, the editor of the Montego Bay Gazette, who had been on the bench when Burchell appeared, began a campaign for such a statute. In the face of this, Samuel Vaughan advised Burchell to call a conference of missionaries to seek a common approach. The date of this meeting is uncertain but it would appear to have been held late in 1824 and the anonymous author of T. Burchell, the Missionary Enthusiast, informs us that 'an association formed for the mutual encouragement and help and legal advice was obtained

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1. Bap. Mag. March 1826, p.141.
2. Ibid.
3. Burchell, Memoirs .. etc., pp.64-68. cf. T. Burchell etc. p.13.

from the highest law officers of the Crown and the missionaries determined to prosecute their work peaceably and earnestly but at the same time resolving not to submit tamely to the indignities and unjust impositions of the enraged magistracy.'[1]

The Association had its second meeting in Kingston and Burchell travelled across the island for the first time and about this time wrote a letter to Dyer, outlining the measures taken by the planters to resist the Dissenters. He reported that some planters had taken to reading Morning Prayers to their slaves much to the delight of the Dissenters, while others had threatened their slaves with severe corporal punishment if they entered Dissenting conventicles.[2] The Montego Bay Gazette, not to be outdone, in keeping with its literary image ran a full account of the Münster episode as an example of Baptist polity and practice.[3]

In 1827 matters generally came to a head. The signs were that confrontation would take place on a national scale. The Association met in June 1827 in Kingston to decide what to do in face of the threat. The threat arose because His Majesty's Government had refused to sanction the

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1. The sequence of events is not at all clear, and this has confused the dating of the Jamaica Baptist Association. The evidence in T.Burchell Missionary Enthusiast, suggests that the Quarterly Assizes met on June 7th 1824 to hear Burchell's case. Then the Montego Bay Gazette published provocative articles later that year and the same year Burchell consulted his colleagues in Kingston and Association was formed. But Hinton gives a date in 'April, 1826', with Knibb as the first secretary. A reconciliation appears to be that in 1824 the Association was formed, but it only took on importance in 1826, with the increased pressures from the Jamaican Assembly. See Ms. T.Burchell the Enthusiast p.13-15 cf. Hinton, Memoir of William Knibb (1849) p.64

2. Burchell to Dyer d/d Jan.18th 1825; Burchell Memoirs, p.78ff. This state of affairs is confirmed by the contemporary evidence in T. Burchell .. Enthusiast. pp.19-20

3. Burchell, Memoirs etc., p.78; for 'Münster' see Mennonite Encyclopaedia Vol.III (1957) p.777-783.

Consolidated Slave Act and Huskisson had commented on the possible infringement the Act posed to religious liberty. In November that year the Kingston Council resorted to the same tactics of twenty years previously and passed a resolution, 'that it has ever been our most anxious desire to promote by every possible means the moral and religious improvement of the slave population, yet we are convinced from our own experience as well as from the testimony of the sectarian ministers themselves that the restrictions contained in the Slave law with respect to Dissenters are indispensable.'[1]

The missionaries reacted by publishing a letter in the Jamaica Courant of December 3rd signed by all the Association. A similar letter from the Methodists appeared in a preceding issue. The missionaries contended that they had been maligned. They observed they had had no part in the rejection of the Slave law because, 'we have ever evinced great anxiety to avoid obtruding ourselves on the public attention by engaging in discussions, not within our province as Christian ministers, and to this day we have studiously kept aloof from all interference with every party in politics whether here or at home. We have corresponded with no such party nor has any such party corresponded with us. We have confined ourselves, as the public must know, to teaching the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, in the most simple and unsophisticated manner.'[2] But at the same time they rejected the provisions of the Slave law as 'strongly opposed to the equitable and peaceable doctrines of Christianity and the liberties of good and loyal subjects and to the rights of Christians.'[3]

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1. M.H. Jan. 1828, p.15
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

The effect of the letter was threefold. It ranged the 'coloureds' as a group on their side. As a policy statement it implied legal rights and freedom for all. But it antagonized the Assembly.

In December 1827, the Sectarian Committee of the House of Assembly summoned all Dissenters to come at their own expense to be examined. Burchell in a letter to Phillippo seeking accommodation over the period observed 'We are all ordered to meet the Unholy Fathers - I tell you what my Bro. I hope we shall not meet in vain. We must put our heads together and if two or three of us have not as much brains in our heads as in all the members of the Inquisition together we must be poor and brainless mortals indeed - their conduct is perfectly contemptible.'[1] In a post scriptum he added 'This will surely turn out to the furtherance of the Gospel.'[2] The anticipated fight did not materialise. They were all examined privately and it seems that the object was to get information. This was certainly the view of Allsop in a letter to the General Baptist Missionary Committee.[3] It would appear, however, that the Committee did not have its own way, the Baptist Association challenged the legality of the proceedings as abrogating The Act of Toleration, William and Mary and Coultart refused to display the accounts of the mission.[4]

The Sectarian Committee published its Report the same month accusing

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1. The Burchell Autographs, No.32; Thos. Burchell to Phillippo d/d Dec. 4th, 1827.
2. Ibid.
3. Gen. Bapt. Rep. 1828, pp.115-6, letter from Allsop d/d Dec. 12th, 1827 written from Spanish Town.
4. M.H. Feb. 1829, p.9.

the Dissenters of extorting money from their congregations on every possible pretext and that 'they inculcate doctrines of equality, the rights of man and preach and teach sedition from the pulpit.'[1] Coultart, the moderator of the Association, requested a copy of the Report from the clerk of the House without success, but this did not prevent the publication of a refutation in the Watchman, a liberal newspaper and the voice of 'coloured' people, on December 27th that year. Four days later, the Montego Bay Gazette in an editorial lauded the Report as uncovering 'the most unprincipled hostility, which record ever established, we conceive has been evinced in the report of the Sectarian Committee to the House of Assembly.'[2]

The development of the church from three complexes into a national Association was the transition from 'sect' to 'denomination'. Bryan Wilson in an article, An Analysis of Sect Development, describes a sect as 'a voluntary association; membership is by proof to sect authorities of some claim to personal merit - such as knowledge of doctrine, affirmation of a conversion experience, or recommendation of members in good standing; exclusiveness is emphasized and expulsion exercised against those who contravene doctrinal, moral or organisational precepts ... there is a high level of lay participation; there is opportunity for the member spontaneously to express his commitment; the sect is hostile or indifferent to the secular society and to the State.'[3]

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1. M.H. March 1829, pp.19-22 cf. Bap. Mag. (1829) p.132.

2. Ibid. pp.21-22 cf. Bap. Mag. (1829) pp.133-4.

3. Wilson, Patterns of Sectarianism, pp.23-24 - a revised edition of a paper of the same name in American Sociological Review 24, No.1. Feb.1959.

It would appear on this analysis that the Liele, Baker, Swigle groupings were sects and that this may fairly be applied to Baptists up to 1824. As sects their vision was limited and less formalised, but the Association pressed upon the congregations by the exigencies of the moment created a 'church' (denomination). The question does arise however at what point in the existing organisation did this occur? And further how far did it affect local congregations? It does not seem on balance that the Association was more than a meeting of missionaries for their own protection. And yet the fact that this organisation existed implied for the future the possibility of a unity of purpose and joint planning.

Enough has been demonstrated to show that these fourteen years 1814-28 provided the basis of some sort of self-understanding within the Baptist churches. It would appear that the Jamaica Baptist Association was a response to two stimuli to set the house in order. Firstly, the British philanthropic agencies as well as their American counterparts wished to have an organisation with which to deal in Jamaica and secondly, the authorities created the need in the political pressures exerted upon individuals. But it is still a matter for conjecture as to how far the Association did represent a united theological or ideological approach. Apart from obvious differences of opinion within the Association, the organisation appeared more to be a club for missionaries than a forum for the congregations and in this sense the real authority still resided in the pastor with his leaders in the congregation. Furthermore, vision was limited to a political response to Slavery. The Association had been created in 1824 for this purpose and it had continued to serve it. And

yet it had provided an environment in which the Baptist congregations no longer looked to Georgia, nor Britain, but to Kingston and themselves for self-authentication, support and sustenance.

Map 2

A map of Jamaica showing the coordination of the Indigeneous Groups by the B.M.S. and the establishment of a National Church 1814-1832

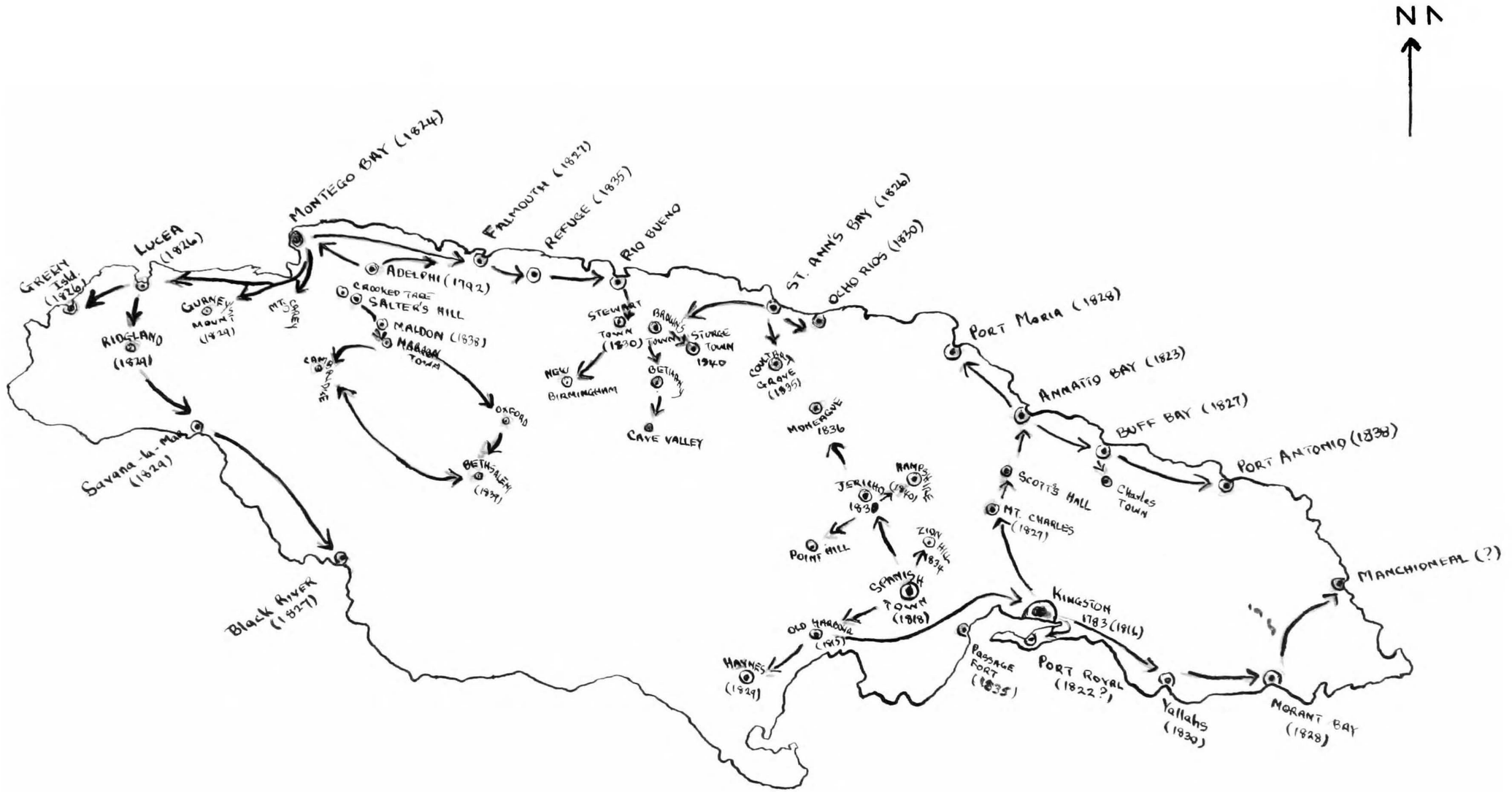
Notes

The dates given where certain, are those from contemporary documents checked against the date on the Trust Deeds. The Deeds tend to give a later date generally and this was due to the fact that pastors dated the church from the completion of its building or the laying of its cornerstone.

It is also instructive to compare Map 1 and Map 2, to see the remarkable similarity which lead to two conclusions (a) the indigenous groups had done a remarkable job in the 'conversion'of the island and (b) the B.M.S. had so won their confidence that they could take over the organisation. The only region where this did not occur is in the Manchester Mountains and here the group was absorbed by the Moravians.

References: Cox; History of the Baptist Missionary Society Vol.2 (1942)
Clark et al; The Voice of Jubilee (1865)
Clarke J; Memorials of the Baptist Mission (1869)
Angus; The Angus Letter Book (1848)

Various copies of The Missionary Herald, The Baptist Magazine, The General Baptist Repository and Private Collections.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MONTEGO BAY (1824)
FALMOUTH (1827)
REFUGE (1835)
RIO BUENO
ST. ANN'S BAY (1826)
OCHO RIOS (1830)
PORT MARIA (1828)
ANNATTO BAY (1823)
BUFF BAY (1827)
PORT ANTONIO (1838)
MANCHIONEAL (?)
LUCEA (1826)
GREEN Isld. (1826)
RIDGLAND (1829)
GURNEY MOUNT (1829)
MT. CAREY
ADELPHI (1792)
CROOKED TREE
SALTER'S HILL
MALDON (1838)
MARRON TOWN
CAMBRIDGE
OXFORD
BETHSALEM (1837)
Savana-la-Mar (1829)
Black River (1827)
STEWART TOWN (1830)
NEW BIRMINGHAM
BROWN'S TOWN
STURGE TOWN 1840
BETHANY
CAVE VALLEY
COULTHARD GROVE (1835)
MONERGUE 1836
JERICHO 1830
HAMPSHIRE (1840)
POINT HILL
ZION HILL 1834
SPANISH TOWN (1818)
OLD HARBOUR (1845)
HAYNES (1829)
SCOTT'S HALL
MT. CHARLES (1827)
Charles TOWN
KINGSTON 1783 (1916)
PASSAGE FORT (1835)
PORT ROYAL (1822?)
Yallahs (1830)
MORANT BAY (1828)
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CHAPTER 3

From Mission to Church - developing national structures in an international setting 1828-1838

Though by September 1828 the Baptist Missionary Herald reported that 'we learn that our friends in the island (Jamaica) have formed an Auxilliary Society, with the design of aiding as far as possible the operations of the Society',[1] no one could have interpreted the action to be more than a generous gesture and a show of denominational solidarity. Despite the assemblage of magistrates and members of the House of Assembly at the inaugural meeting, everyone was aware that feeling still ran high between the Baptists and the Assembly. And behind that feeling lay five long years of suspicion.

It was a suspicion based upon the assumption that the decline of West Indian prosperity owed much to the activities of the missionaries. It had begun significantly with the presentation of a Quaker petition by Wilberforce in March 1823, seeking immediate emancipation and had been nurtured by what appeared to be an alliance between the friends of the missionaries and the East India Sugar interests in Parliament.

On the wider front, the missionaries had been responsible for giving them a bad image. Ever detesting the cruelties of Slavery, missionaries had not spared themselves in their crusade against the institution and

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1. M.H. Sept. 1828, p.65.

through their Missionary Societies had succeeded in stirring the British conscience. Supported by the Anti-Slavery Movement, or to give it its full title, The Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, formed in 1823, the news from Jamaica had been spread widely in the British metropolitan areas. Nor were the places of influence untouched, there were sympathisers in Whitehall, Parliament and in the Established Church itself.

And yet it would be incorrect to assume that all the Assembly's action sprang from malice aforethought. They were frightened men. Both missionary and 'Planter' shared a grave apprehension of the future. It would not be too much to suggest that it was the fear of the consequences to life and property consequent upon an emancipation rather than the economic concomitants which was the primary cause of hesitation in accepting the terms of Amelioration. And this fear was not irrational as the evidence of the retribution meted out by slaves underlines. But the missionaries were confident that Christianity had done its work, and that if given a chance the faith would replace retribution with reconciliation.

The Baptist missionaries had had an opportunity to assess the situation. In the development of the church from 'sect' to 'denomination', little modification had occurred in the internal structure of the congregations. An examination of the available evidence, chiefly the letters of the missionaries, reveals that things were in 1828 very much what they had been in the previous decade. On the personal level, 'spirit possession' was tolerated provided it did not transgress the accepted limits of Christian dogma nor invoked the dead. The chain of command, Pastor, Leader,

congregation organised on the Methodist Class System to supervise discipline, continued uninterrupted. The responsibility of the Class Leader to consult with and instruct the membership, although looked at askance by the authorities, had the full support of the church.[1] And so, while it remains true that the missionary organisation became national, rationalized and efficient, the Leaders, who for the most part were black freedmen or slaves, remained virtually untouched and conservative within the congregations. But this related the church to the mass of the people and preserved its stability.

There was, however, one great defect. It was impossible to control any alien ideology, even if aware of it. There existed no machinery in the Association which controlled the content or the context of religious instruction which was still largely in the hands of the Leaders. Thus the interpretation of the raison d'etre of the mission of the church, and for that matter its relation to the world, was largely in their hands, with the result that the world vision of the membership was fashioned as a second-hand experience. Firstly, derived from the missionary in his preaching and teaching and secondly through the reinforcing mechanism of the Class, to which the Leader gave his interpretation based upon the missionary's view and his own experiences. There was no way at that level to ensure that the missionary's view had been genuinely interpreted. And it was this which was to play a significant part in the events leading up to the Slave Rebellion of December 27th, 1831, and the events which succeeded it in 1832.

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1. See M.H. Oct. 1831, pp.75-79 (Burchell's method); Bapt. Mag. 1837, p.236 (Clark of Brown's Town method); Phillippo, Past and Present etc. pp.395-403 (the author's method - Spanish Town). There was a uniformity of method.

The significance of the events which led up to 1832 as a backdrop against which the Baptists developed cannot be overestimated. Certainly, this was the period in which both missionary and member became increasingly aware of the impending abolition of Slavery. It was also the period during which the Planters forced increasingly to take up a stance, opposed the missionaries as the living expressions in their midst of Whitehall's seeming intentions. Inevitably 'confrontation' was the result and it led to the abolition of Slavery in 1833 and emancipation in 1838.

Eric Williams, in a well documented and controversial doctoral thesis on The Economic aspect of the Abolition of the West India Slave Trade and Slavery, (1938) has rightly singled out the year 1823 as the watershed of the abolitionist movement. He maintained that 'there were three reasons which accounted for the revolutionary departure of the abolitionists in their former object (i.e. to allow slavery to destroy itself from neglect rather than legislate against it). The institution of colonial registers revealed a diminishing population quite at variance with the policy of amelioration. Public opinion in Britain was shocked by the flagrant cases of cruelty of the part of slave owners, and a Hodge, a Rawlins and a Huggins were taken as typical of the generality of the West Indian planters. But the fact which more than any other turned the religious sects of Britain against the Planters was the persecution of the missionaries.'[1] While the reasons given by Williams may well be modified in the light of subsequent study, his general thesis that 1823 marked a turning point in

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1. Williams, op. cit., p.198-9.

the movement in Britain is incontrovertible.

In March 1823 Wilberforce (1759-1833), presented a petition to parliament requesting the abolition of slavery and in that same month published an Appeal to the Religion, Justice and Humanity of the inhabitants of the British Empire in Behalf of Negro Slaves of the West Indies (1823).[1] On May 15th, Fowell-Buxton (1786-1845), later to become Wilberforce's successor, tabled a motion, the intent of which was the gradual abolition of Slavery, but the effect of which was an attack upon the state of slavery as 'repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and Christian religion'.[2] To ensure that these aims were preserved and directed through the right channels, the Anti-Slavery Society, a meeting place for politicians and churchmen with like minds, was called into being that same year, but its effect was to spread even more alarm and panic among the West Indian Planters. They began to see in every church a potential threat to the 'Great House' and in each church member a would-be revolutionary. Even the official arm was not isolated from this fear. In November 1823, the Governor of Barbados wrote to the Colonial Office in support of his decision to withhold permission to build a church on the grounds that it would encourage the assembly of Blacks and turn their minds to plots and insurrection.[3] So great was the fear, that in 1828 Burge, the island

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1. Hansard (P.P.) Vol.VIII (New Series) p.624; see D.N.B. XXI, pp.208-217 cf. Buxton, T, William Wilberforce (1904); Coupland, Wilberforce (1923) and Wilberforce, R.I. and S.W., The Life of W.W. (5 Vols.) 1838. See D.N.B.III (1908) pp.559-61; also Buxton Chas. (ed.) Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton etc. (1850) cf. Smart, A critical edition of the Correspondence of Sir Thomas F.B. (thesis 1957).
2. Hansard, Vol.IX (New Series) pp.257-360. cf. D.N.B. Vol.III, pp.
3. C.O. 28/92 (Nov. 4th, 1823). cf. C.O. 137/165 (May 3rd, 1824).

agent for Jamaica, could publish a sizeable volume of petitions each seeking some form of assurance at the hands of His Majesty's Government.[1]

Apart from personal fear, there existed two other reasons: (a) the reduction of credit facilities in the London market with its aftermath of bankruptcies and (b) the strong attack upon the preferences for West Indian sugar mounted by the East India interest and supported by the Humanitarians.

In 1771, a play had opened in London called The West Indian, in which one of the characters remarked (about the West Indian), 'He is very rich and that is sufficient. They say he has rum and sugar enough belonging to him, to make all the water in the Thames into punch.'[2] Now, half a century later, the Society of Merchants had decreed that West Indian plantations were no longer good collateral. Both pride and credit were hurt and so they sought a ready scapegoat and this was found in the sects who were neither a part of the establishment in Britain nor in the colonies. If their plans to lay total blame on the Dissenters did not materialise, this was due to their own underestimation of the strength of the Toleration Act, which protected the missionaries legally, and on the other, the new techniques of forming public opinion which the 'Clapham Sect' had introduced and which lost the/planters support in Britain.

The second reason was not unconnected with the first. In 1823, contemporaneously with the moves to get abolition, there occurred also a

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1. See Addresses and Memorials to His Majesty from the House of Assembly at Jamaica 1821-26 (1828).

2. Quoted in Augier et al, Making and Meaning of the West Indies (1961), p.118.

deliberate attempt by the East India interest to equalise the duties on East and West India sugar. It was probably sparked off by the appearance of a pamphlet entitled, Observations on the claims of the West India Colonists to a Protecting duty on East India Sugar, (1823), which argued the necessity of protection if Britons should enjoy cheap sugar. Written probably by Marryat, the M.P. for Wimbledon and the Island agent for Grenada, it maintained that Adam Smith's dictum that 'Cheapness of consumption and increase of productivity are the two great objects of all political economy'[1] was true and that there was a case made for more protection and not less. Zachary Macaulay, (1768-1838), who by this time had returned from Sierra Leone and was totally involved in the campaign against slavery replied in a 128 page paper entitled East and West India Sugar or a Refutation of the claims of the West India Colonists to a Protecting Duty on East India Sugar (1823). He argued that the West Indian planter was, 'for the most part so encumbered with debt that however beneficial a change of system might be to the slaves and to the permanent interests of the property, it would probably be ruinous to himself ... But what effectual remedy would be found for this by raising the price of the produce, through the ruin of our East India trade, or 'any other means' that could possibly be employed for that purpose.'[2] It now clearly appeared that the interests of the abolitionists were identical, at least in Parliament, with the East India lobby. At one point it was suggested that Whitmore, a sympathiser the East India lobby, might be tipped to succeed Wilberforce as leader of

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1. Marryatt, op. cit., introduction, quoted from Smith, Wealth of Nations (1849) Vol.III, p.134.
2. Macaulay, op. cit., p.124 - Appendix D.

the fight for freedom in the House of Commons.

Naturally, this possible link was exploited in Parliament by the West India lobby. Marryat observed in a second pamphlet that same year, that the ruin of the West Indian colonies was due largely to the unilateral abolition of the Slave Trade by the British Government.[1] Meanwhile, from Jamaica, the Rev. George Bridges published a reply to Wilberforce entitled, A Voice from Jamaica (1823) in which he blamed the slaves for underproduction and the Dissenters for disrupting the economy, and for this was handsomely rewarded by the Planters.[2]

Together with this indirect involvement in the Parliamentary bills, the Jamaican dissenters, the missionaries, had already begun to share the limelight through their Missionary Societies. The Baptist Periodical Accounts, the Missionary Herald, the Baptist Magazine and other magazines of kindred spirit had published extracts from their journals and letters and these had been widely read. In fact these accounts it would appear formed a part of the fare at the protest meetings organised in centrally located halls and in church buildings organised by the Anti-Slavery Movement.

As early as 1824, whether he was aware of it or not, the Jamaican Baptist missionary had become widely known in Britain and had attained an international status. It was the old story of type casting. He was

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1. See Marryatt, A Reply to the Arguments contained in Various publications recommending an Equalisation of the Duties (1823) p.109. cf. Hansard, Vol.IX (New Series) p.444-467 (Parliamentary Debate), pp.459-61, Marryatt's speech).
2. See Madden, The Attitude of Evangelicals etc. (1950) Part 2, p.70ff.

cast as the protector of the slaves and the Planter as the cruel oppressor. And it is not unreasonable to suggest that this too led to the inevitable confrontation which drew nearer as the clashes increased between missionary and Planter in 1824, 1825 and 1826.

Side by side with the idealized picture of the missionary to the Western isles, there began to emerge also a stereotype of the Christian black. It was a stereotype developed from within the churches to counteract the general picture of the African abroad in Europe at this time. So important was this development that it was to influence the course of West Indian and American history in the relationships developed with Africa during that century.

It must be remembered, however, that the stereotype did not apply to all Blacks. It certainly was not applied to the African in Africa, nor was it a stereotype created by the Blacks themselves. It was a description of the Christian displaced europeanized Black by European Christians, particularly of a British background. And as such at times clashed with the real hopes, aspirations and self-image of the Blacks themselves.

The older concept which existed and has continued to exist well into the twentieth century contained two general ideas (a) that the African was by nature created to be a slave and (b) that Slavery itself was expiation of original sin attaching to the African, in a unique way. Davis in his illuminating study on The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (1966) has observed that 'Spanish and Portugese governments revealed ... a double standard with respect to the Indian and Negro which derived in part from the traditional inclination to associate the Africans with the Moors, and

thus with menacing infidelity. Even when Negroes had not been tainted by Islam they were of the Old World, the world of antiquity and of the Bible..'[1] The view that somehow the New World had preserved man's pristine innocency and was a symbol of primaeval man free from distinctions, private possession and avarice,[2] did not include in its purview the African and soon by a process of rationalisation, partly with the help of Aristotle and an interpretation of Genesis Chapter 9, v.22, a stereotype was arrived at.[3]

Patterson has done a great service in analysing in his well argued thesis, the Sociology of Slavery: a study of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica (1965), the complexity of this stereotype arrived at and/has suggested that it probably sprung from 'a stereotyped conception held by the Whites of their slaves; secondly, as a response on the part of the slave to this stereotype; and thirdly as a psychological function of the real life situation of the slaves.'[4] But it would also appear that in fact the Whites had many stereotypes, as indeed the Blacks had of the Whites. Certainly, the evidence suggests that there was a 'missionary type' as well as a 'planter type' in the slave mind and

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1. Davis, David; The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (1966), p.192. Jordan, White over Black (1968) pp.94-98 and 429-481, and Wesley, John; Thoughts upon Slavery (1772) pp.10-14, 52.
2. See Fairchild; The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism (1928) pp.1-35. cf. Mercier, R.; L'Afrique noire dans la litterature francaise: Les premieres images (17e-18e siecles) 1962, pp.29-30, 91-93, 128, 147-148, 186-92 and Curtin (ed.) Africa Remembered (1967) Introduction pp. 5-6.
3. Du Tertre; Histoire général des Antilles habitees par les Francais (Paris) Vol.2, pp.364-419, 490. 'To look askance at an Indian is to beat him; to beat him is to kill him; to beat a Negro is to nourish him.' Du Tertre was a Dominican priest who was a missionary in the French West Indies. cf. Negro as a beast etc. St. Louis Bible House 1911
4. Patterson; Sociology of Slavery etc. (Published form 1967), p.174.

similarly there was a form of type casting associated with the particular tasks which the Blacks performed. And in this respect the worst off was the 'field slave', who was more numerous and by far the most described in the writings of the period. He formed the bulk of the Baptist congregations.

There were five often quoted characteristics which went to make up this stereotype: (a) evasiveness, taken in its widest context to include double talk, lying, deceit and deliberate annoyance, (b) laziness, taken to imply sloth or malingering, (c) caprice, (d) childishness or childlikeness and (e) a complete lack of judgment. It was against this characterisation of the African personality that the missionaries reacted and created in its place a stereotype with another set of characteristics. The Christian Black possessed: (a) intellectual ability, taken to mean that he was able to acquire current European knowledge and was also able to outwit, in the sense of out-think, the Planter, (b) moral integrity, in the sense of Christian perfection, (c) the ability to stand on his own feet and be independent, improving himself by 'Self-help' and (d) the ability to die like a Christian.

This catalogue might at first suggest that the missionary was accomplishing nothing more than the transposition of Georgian values and Samuel Smiles ethics across the Atlantic in an attempt to make 'Black Sambo' into 'Little Lord Fauntleroy'. Indeed Ryall's disappointing study of the organisation of missionary societies and the recruitment of missionaries in Britain and the role of missionaries in the diffusion of British culture in Jamaica, 1834-1865, does no more than give credence to that impression

in the post emancipation era. It would however appear that at least in the pre emancipation period (and it is extremely probable in the post emacipation period too), the missionaries were primarily concerned with three things. Firstly, they were concerned with the personal conversion to Christ of the slave, and were not bothered about their acquisition of 'culture' in the broadest sense of the term. Secondly, at least up to 1831, they were less concerned about Britain and its values than with the slaves and their freedom to worship and personal safety and thirdly, they were committed to a theological stance on creation, redemption and eschatology derived from a simple reading of the Bible which was the common possession of missionary and member. And it seems a reasonable assumption that the stereotype had been developed from within this missionary situation.

In recent years, McGavran in a study on How Churches Grow (1965) has outlined three basic categories of missionary theology or philosophy present in the Church throughout the ages. He has observed that these three categories which embrace at least six theories of missionary strategy may be summarised as the 'Pauline', the 'Parallel' and the 'Temporal-Eternal'.

He maintained that the 'Pauline' held that 'the central continuing purpose of the world mission is winning men and women, tribes and nations to Jesus Christ and multiplying churches.'[1] The 'Parallel' suggested two contemporaneous thrusts (a) service in the name of Christ and (b) witness to Christ, so that 'world mission is as broad as the physical, mental, social and spiritual needs of man and includes his economic, industrial

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1. McGavran; How Churches Grow - the New Frontiers in Mission (1955), pp.70-72

and political life.'[1] The 'Temporal-Eternal' asserted that Christians were simultaneously working toward the evangelization of the world and living a Christian life in a needy world.

Using this analysis as a basis, it would appear that the Jamaica Baptist community was 'Pauline' in its approach. Certainly the missionaries were primarily concerned with the 'church' but paradoxically to do this in Jamaican society precipitated them into the 'world'. It is not too much to claim that Jamaican society in the nineteenth century manifested many marks of a mediaeval society. There existed no great dichotomy between the 'sacred' and the 'secular' and despite the influence of Deism present in parts of the established church, the mass of the population was not affected by this. This was probably due to the animistic beliefs of the slaves who had been constrained to transfer old religious attachments to new cultic objects, so that Catholic Saints took on the character of African Gods, and it is probable that the rite of Baptism among the Baptists acquired an African meaning.[2] The missionaries were seldom aware of this and for their part wrote regularly and in detail to the B.M.S. who published extensive accounts, particularly those of conversion experiences, in the periodicals. The Quarterly Papers which was distributed free of charge was particularly useful as a proaganda sheet in this respect. It not only gave a picture of the missionary at work but by its method enhanced the image of the

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1. McGavran; How Churches Grow - the New Frontiers in Mission (1955).

2. See Herskovits; African Gods and Catholic Saints in New World Negro Belief: American Anthropologist; New Series XXXIX No.4 (1937), pp. 635-43. cf. The Trinidad Shouters: Protestant-African Synthesis, Herskovits, Negro in the New World, p.329-353.

Black.[1]

In December 1831 however much of the organisation of this carefully nurtured mission was destroyed. But from 1832-38, the mission like a phoenix was to develop in a new form and to provide a symbol which fired the imagination of the British Anti-Slavery movement with its possibilities.

It has already been observed that between 1827 and 1830, a confrontation between the Assembly and the Dissenters seemed almost inevitable. The possibility increased dramatically when Husskisson, the Colonial Secretary, disallowed the 'Consolidated Slave Law, 1826' on the grounds that 'it is the settled purpose of His Majesty's Government to condone no colonial law which needlessly infringes religious liberty of any class of His Majesty's subjects.'[2] The Assembly, publicly embarrassed, attempted to reintroduce the Bill, but the Governor, Sir John Keane, refused to give his assent, because it would appear that a Minute of the Privy Council existed to the effect that no law touching religion should receive the assent of colonial governors until it had been approved in Britain.[3] Keane was succeeded by Lord Belmore, as Governor and the Assembly took the opportunity to reintroduce the measure and it was signed into law on condition that it did not come into effect for six months, thus giving ample time for objections. This time the Colonial Office felt that there was need to reaffirm the precedent and on November 15th, 1831, an 'Order in Council' was made reaffirming the Minute of 1819, that no law respecting

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1. Quarterly Papers 21, Jan. 1827, p.82. Sometimes the Quart. Pap. were bound in with copies of Baptist Magazine 1827.
2. C.O. 137/165; Husskisson to Kean Sept. 22nd, 1827.
3. M.H., March 1829, p.20 cf. B.M.S. Report 1830, p.19.

religion should receive the concurrence of our colonial governors till it had been approved by the government at home.

Official action having failed, certain planters resorted to petty harassment. In Kingston, the congregation at East Queen St. was provoked into dissension necessitating the quick return of Coultart and a deputation consisting of the Rev. W.H. Angas (1781-1832) with a mandate to visit and investigate.[1] In Montego Bay, the lamps were removed from the sanctuary, but Burchell did not react as violently as the planters had hoped and left the island on leave in August for Britain. In Falmouth, Mann collapsed and died and added to the Association's problems and in the island as a whole, there was a Smallpox epidemic. Nor were the missionaries abroad without problems. In Britain some of Burchell's reports created a suspicion that the moral integrity of the church members was not what it ought to be and he had to defend the mission in the pages of the September issue of the Missionary Herald.

Meanwhile, the final battle against Slavery itself had begun. Buxton had moved a motion in Parliament on April 15th, 1831, which sought the abolition of Slavery, with the necessary safeguards to cushion the shock. It gained considerable support in Parliament and even among the West India lobby, some of whom had seen the writing on the wall. The Planters in Jamaica (and it should not be forgotten that for the most part they were attorneys and not owners) reacted with public protests. Public meetings were held in July, August and September of that year naming and denouncing

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1. M.H. Feb. 1831, p.11 cf. June 1831, p.43-47; also D.N.B. Vol.I (1908) p.413; also Cox, Memoirs of Rev. William Henry Angas (1834) and Menonnite Encyclopaedia 1 (1956) p.122ff.

certain members of Parliament with known anti-slavery sympathies.

By September, there was a definite trend in the island toward tighter control on the estates. The evidence suggests that there were more acts of violence against the slaves and that they were forced to work longer hours. While this may well have been caused by a shortage of labour due to the epidemic and not provocation on the part of the Planters, their actions nevertheless polarised the issues. During this time the slaves themselves became restive and the missionaries were asked whether 'emancipation' was not in fact imminent. This the missionaries denied, but the actions of the Planters tended to confirm the slaves' suspicions. On December 27th, 1831, the revolt began.

At first, the revolt of December 27th was organised as a 'sitdown strike', but it soon got out of hand as tempers flared and damage running into thousands of pounds resulted. The authorities over-reacted in their turn. They imprisoned most of the missionaries in the troubled region and when the hysteria spread, Methodist and Baptist chapels were burnt as far east from Montego Bay as Annatto Bay and south, as Savana la Mar.[1]

The causes of the 1831-32 revolt do not find a proper place in our study and it is not essential to go into detail. It is enough to observe that the Baptists have been associated with it in all historical studies,

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1. At first the damage resulted from a spontaneous reaction of the Planters to the Slave Revolt, but later more damage was done at the instigation of the Colonial Church Union, which was a body formed by Planters to rally support to the Established Church, in 1832. The name of Rev. George Bridges, who replied to Wilberforce in 1823 on behalf of the Planters, is associated with its formation, but the evidence is circumstantial. See House of Commons Sessional Papers - 'Report from the House of Assembly, Jamaica, on the injury sustained during the recent rebellion' 1831-32 (501) XLVII, 304; also Memorial and Statement of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica, April 1832; Sessional Papers (1833) 540 XXVI.

but their part is far from clear. It is however probable that despite Catherall's valiant attempt to exonerate them, Record is nearer the truth in apportioning some blame to them. This would appear to be confirmed by some new evidence which I located last year in Cornford's Missionary Reminiscences etc., serialised in The Freeman 1855-6.[1]

Cornford reported that the body of Sam Sharpe was disinterred the same night of his execution, April 1st and reburied under the Montego Bay church pulpit. And further, that Knibb had not only praised Sharpe subsequently as the 'Father of the Insurrection', but advocated that a monument ought to be erected in his honour.[2] Cornford, also reported that Knibb had instructed him referring to Sharpe's mother, 'My dear brother for my sake, whilst she lives never let this poor woman want for anything; and whatever expense you incur for her I will pay.'[3] It would appear that there was more to the Baptist involvement than just a vague interest. According to Cox, in the official Baptist history of the period, Knibb had known about the proposed strike on December 16th; Blyth, a Presbyterian

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1. For a discussion of the events see Record, M., 'The Jamaica Slave Rebellion, 1831; Past and Present, 40, July 1968; pp.108-125. cf. Catherall, British Baptist Involvement in Jamaica 1783-1865 (1971 thesis) devoted to a large extent to answering the question as to how far were missionaries politically involved; See also Facts and Documents connected with the Late Insurrection etc. (1832): Narrative of certain Events connected with the Late Disturbances in Jamaica and Charges preferred etc. (1832) and latest evidence Cornford, Missionary Reminiscences - The Christian Hero (1856) or The Freeman (1855-56); 'The Christian Hero', Oct. 10th p.614; 'Memorial to Sam Sharpe', Nov. 21st, p.701 and Dec. 5th , p.733 . It would also appear that Sam Sharpe's Bible was sent to the B.M.S. but it has not yet been discovered.

2. It must not be thought that only Baptists were involvedwith the authorities as has been generally supposed. The Jamaica Courant reported that Moravians, 2 catechists of the C.M.S. Joseph Phillips and Hampson Wynter were arrested along with Baptists and Wesleyans and were incarcerated in Kingston: M.H. March 1832, p.30.The execution is sometimes dated May 30th.

3. The Freeman (1855-56) Nov. 21st

missionary about twelve miles away, heard of it the day before and yet he managed to influence his membership to withdraw from it in 24 hours. The conclusion would appear to be that Knibb was unable to do so.

This was probably the case, firstly because of the structure of the Baptist Church in which the real persuasive authority was in the hands of the Leader and not the pastor and secondly, because of the influence of the Bible itself.

In a comparatively similar situation which occurred in Nyasaland in 1915, when John Chilembwe (?1871-1915) led a revolt against the British, Martin Jarrett-Kerr, commenting on the Commission's findings which blamed the Church of Scotland because it said 'there (was) a certain danger that in the absence of adequate supervision religious instruction may possibly be made a vehicle for undesirable political propaganda by natives ... (But) in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Missions this danger does not exist to the same extent', observed that the Commission had failed to note 'that there is an element of 'subversion' in Christian teaching as such, once it is taken seriously.'[1]

It is highly significant that Cornford reported Sharpe to say that the source of his revolutionary ideas was to be found in the Bible.[2]

The involvement of the Baptists, particularly Knibb and Burchell, in the 1831-32 revolt and the subsequent formation of the Colonial Church Union and its activities swung popular opinion in Britain behind the Dissenters and led to six important results.

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1. Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns of Christian Acceptance (1972) pp.253-254.

2. The Freeman, (1855-1856) Oct. 10, p. 614 (3).

1. It resulted in a motion in Parliament in May 1833 calling for 'the Abolition of Slavery throughout the 14th of British Colonies, for promoting the industry of manumitted slaves, and for compensating persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves.'[1] The Act passed into law on August 28th that same year, with an eleven month delay for implementation.

2. It increased the influence of the Anti-Slavery Society and in particular the Agency Committee,[2] which indeed had played a large part in winning the election of 1833, and associated Emancipation with the reform movements generally, particularly those in the Midlands and Scotland.

3. It focussed the attention of philanthropic societies upon the West Indies especially in the issue of the 'freedom of religion'. In Britain, for example, the Dissenting Deputies gave a grant of £200 for the Jamaican cause designated for publicity when it appeared that freedom of religion had been endangered.

4. It established a single category for British subjects. And Parliament was at pains to maintain that the British Government did not admit to distinctions of civil rights within its realm.

5. In Jamaica, it gave to the slaves a new status, for although some had suffered in the aftermath of the uprising, it had become quite obvious

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1. See Hansard (3rd Series) 17, pp.1194-1262 for May 14th 1833 for the Ministerial Plan presented by Lord Stanley to the House of Commons cf. Hansard (3rd Series) 18, pp.573-593 (June 11th 1833); Lords Debate 1164-1228, 1194-1266 (June 25th 1833)

2. For the Agency Committee see Stephen G, Anti Slavery Recollections; in a series of letters addressed to Mrs. Beecher Stowe (1854); also Report of the Agency Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society established in June 1831, for the Purpose of Disseminating Information by Lectures on Colonial Slavery (1832).

that they had won and the Planters had lost.

6. The 'coloureds' for their part were now free to choose their own alliances. In the decade between 1820 and 1830, they had increased in influence and Duncan, writing in 1830, had observed that, 'In Jamaica alone they are in possession of wealth which on a moderate computation has been estimated at not less that three millions sterling. All the pimento plantations with the exception of one only are in their hands and they are all owners of several coffee estates besides having property of numerous houses in various towns of the island.[1]

There were however three of these results which had a lasting effect upon the Baptist membership. The first was the freedom of the coloureds, the second was the new interest by philanthropic agents and the third was the new relationship between planter and slave.

As early as 1824, Parliament had attempted to define the legal status of the coloured. In that year, Lushington had championed the cause of Lescenne and Escoffrey by questioning the legality of the Assembly's behaviour towards them.[2] The debate dragged on and the question was not finally decided until 1827 when full participation in public affairs was granted.

During this period the coloureds had been allies of the Baptists. It is uncertain how many coloured made up the membership and what role they

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1. Duncan, Presbyters Letters on the West India Question addressed to Sir George Murray, Colonial Secretary (1830) p.93.

2. Hansard Vol. XI (New Series) May 21st, 1824 p.796-804. cf. Phillippo, Past and Present p.147.

played. Assuming that since Liele, Baker and Swigle had been described as 'men-of-colour', it is probable that they had roles of leadership. It is quite certain that in the society they ranked above the black on the social scale. In Spanish Town, it would appear from Phillippo's accounts that they played an important role. This was probably due to the fact that they were more numerous in urban centres and educational facilities were more readily available. Indeed in 1825, the coloureds formed the second largest single group[1] and Phillippo described them as possessors of 'intelligence and virtue, so that at the present time they discover a renovation of character and a degree of improvement in manners, customs and knowledge, of which history, in a similar space of time, scarcely affords a parallel. They fill the public offices, practise as solicitors and barristers in the courts of law; are found among our tradesmen, merchants and estate proprietors, are directors of our civil institutions, are enrolled among our magistrates and have even obtained a seat of influence in the senate.'[2] But this alliance was to be broken, partly because being a minority group they now feared the 'black' majority and saw their interests in an alienation from Jamaica, and also because as Duncan observed, 'proud of their European blood ... (they) despise their maternal relative; the African Race both free and enslaved.'[3] So that the missionaries and abolitionists increasingly turned to the Blacks. But the Blacks and

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1. Duncan, op. cit., p.92. He gives the following figures: White 25,000; Coloured 30,000; Free Blacks 10,000; Slaves 340,000-405,000.

2. Phillippo, op. cit., p.150.

3. Duncan, op. cit., p.88.

the Baptist church for their part lost the financial and organisational skills, which the Coloureds possessed and could have offered.

The Parliamentary decisions of 1833-34, which led to the implementation of Apprenticeship in the British Colonies, had been watched with dismay by the planters in the United States. After 1834, the West Indian colonies, and especially Jamaica, since she was the largest, were observed to see if the 'experiment' would work. The philanthropic agencies for their part to see if they would be able to demonstrate the ability of a free people to produce more than slaves, and the Planters hoping that the colonies would give some reason to maintain the practice of Slavery.

In Whitehall, there was anxiety for two reasons. Firstly, because they were aware that the welfare of the freed slaves could not be trusted to colonial Assemblies because, as James Stephen observed of a West Indian Assembly, there was 'the desire to extinguish the freedom of those on whose labour the profit of Capital depends' and secondly, because the issue of the amount of compensation was an important one, and it was hoped that the apprentices would produce as much or even more than they had done as slaves so reducing the amount for which the British taxpayer might be liable.

The Planters, like so many Shylocks, were determined to exact their 'pound of flesh' and so the conditions of the semi-freed apprentice became infinitely worse than his lot as a slave had been. The situation deteriorated despite the checks offered by the appointment to the Colonies of the Stipendiary Magistrates, whose duty it was to see that justice was done by both apprentice and planter. In some cases, as in that of Dr. Palmer of Jamaica, rebuke to the planter had lost him his job. In other cases the

Stipendiary Magistrates inflicted punishment on the slaves of a barbarous kind.

The missionaries reacted in much the same way to this state of affairs as they had done before to Slavery. And when the case for the abolition of Apprenticeship was eventually put, this time due to the publicity of the events of 1832, they had friends in Whitehall, as well as the sure support of their missionary headquarters. In November 1833, Abbott writing from Montego Bay reported that 'Mr. Alexander Dewar, mason of this place, ordered four of his men slaves to be flogged in the following manner ... To one 128 lashes, to a second, 110, to a third 80, and to a fourth 67. The man who received 128 lashes was a member of this church ... This man came and made a complaint to me on the 24th ult., the day on which he received the flogging ... I sent him to Mr. Lewin who examined him and who finding that the extent of the punishment could be proved by unquestionable evidence, sent him to the senior magistrate requesting him to convene a council of protection. The request was not complied with ...'[1] Similar accounts calling into question Apprenticeship appeared in the Baptist Magazine, the Watchman and in the Missionary Herald to name but a few. In 1835, things came to a head. Knibb wrote to the governor, the Marquis of Sligo (1788-1878) placing incontrovertible evidence before him of ill-treatment, to which the Governor replied and Knibb sent all the correspondence to the B.M.S.[2] At the same time, he had been in correspondence with

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1. M.H. Nov. 1833, p.93.

2. Hinton, op. cit. p.233-235.

the Anti-Slavery Society, whom he not only informed of the continued hardships of the apprentices, and the attempts to inflate the eventual sum of compensation by the Jamaica Assembly.

In 1836, Thomas Price, the Baptist minister at Devonshire Square, in London, published A Narrative of Events since the First of August 1834, by James Williams an Apprenticed Labourer in Jamaica and it embarrassed the Government and stirred up public opinion. It gave an account of the punishments inflicted on the apprentices and it also by implication suggested that there was no religious liberty for the freed slave. Public opinion was such that Parliament set up a committee to enquire into 'the working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies and the condition of apprentices and the laws and regulations affecting them which have been passed; being now more aware than ever that they could not leave the interests of the apprentices in the hands of local Assemblies.[1] But in Whitehall their hands were tied because of lack of evidence.

Late in 1836, Joseph Sturge (1793-1859)[2] and Thomas Harvey, an employee of his brother, together with John Scoble and William Lloyd, set out on a tour of the West Indies, which was designed as a fact finding mission. The

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1. Parl. Pap., 278 2nd Sess. 1836, p.34: Earl of Aberdeen to Sir. E.M. McGregor d/d Feb. 28th, 1835. A Parliamentary Committee had been set up on March 28th, 1836 to investigate the Apprenticeship System. The terms of reference were, 'the working of the Apprenticeship system, the conditions of the Apprentices and laws and regulations affecting them. The Committee tabled a report on August 13th, 1836 but it proved inadequate and so in 1837, a Select Committee was set up and empowered to take evidence and it was to this that Sturge and Harvey had addressed their book. cf. Fenn Collection Sept. 20th, 1837.

2. See D.N.B. (1909) Vol.XIX, pp.130-131; also obit. The Freeman d/d May 18th 1859. There are other studies on Sturge - see bibliography.

results were published in two books, of which only one is relevant here. Sturge and Harvey published their findings in The West Indies in 1837, being a Journal of a visit to Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Lucia, Barbados, and Jamaica undertaken for the pupose of ascertaining the actual condition of the Negro population of these islands, and that together with James Williams, whom he redeemed and who gave evidence before the Select Committee, the Government obtained the evidence needed. Unfortunately, the details embarrassed some colonial Governors, especially Sir Lionel Smith, who complained that 'it would be puerile in me to complain of want of personal courtesy in Joseph Sturge, but I do complain of his want of confidence in me to put him in the way of the best information',[1] because Sturge had gone to the missionaries rather than Government officials. But Sturge had become increasingly suspicious of official channels, especially with Buxton unseated in 1837, and his fears seemed confirmed when the Government decided to continue the life of the Select Committee on Apprenticeship until 1840.

He was under no illusions that the events of 1832 could repeat themselves and in any case he did not wish to appear to be a disappointment to his friends. But Buxton, who had lost his seat yet still retained influence in the House, was cautious and he wrote in Nov. 1837, 'I am not convinced of the propriety of making a grand effort for procuring the abolition of apprenticeship in 1838. It seems to me an improbability of the highest

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1. Parl. Pap. Part V., p.264 d/d Feb. 1st, 1838.

order that we shall succeed in such an attempt.'[1] The real problem was in fact the question of 'Compensation'. Even Lord Glenelg (1778-1866), who had been a source of embarrassment to the Government, using information supplied by Sturge, observed in a letter to Sligo that 'the great act and nothing less than a natural compact of which Parliament was at once the author and guarantee. Binding the people of the United Kingdom to the payment of a grant of unequalled magnitude, it also bound the emancipated slave to contribute compulsory labour for several successive years.'[2] But all interests knew that the 'emancipated' could only be kept to that pledge if a slavery of sorts was reintroduced. And none were more aware of this than the hawkeyed Jamaican Baptist missionaries and the Anti-Slavery Movement in London.

On March 30th, 1838, a motion was tabled in Parliament, at long last, seeking to abolish Apprenticeship. But the Anti-Slavery Movement did not consider that its evidence was irrefutable. James Williams had been got at by the West India lobby and was about to retract. Sturge acted quickly to establish his evidence by separate corroboration and this he managed to do, sending Williams back to Jamaica in the process. Further, the Anti-Slavery lobby assembled 400 persons in London from all parts of Britain. They gave public lectures, preached in churches and turned up at the House in force. The next day, Joseph Sturge wrote to John Clark, (1809-1880), a

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1. The Patriot, Nov. 16th, 1837. Buxton's letter was quoted as evidence for retaining Apprenticeship by W.E. Gladstone on Strickland's Motion for the 'Abolition of Negro Apprenticeship' March 30th 1838. See Gladstone, Speech Delivered in the House of Commons .. Friday, March 30th, 1838, with an Appendix (1838) Appendix A, pp.55-56.

2. Gladstone, Speech delivered etc., Appendix B. Glenelg to Sligo d/d March 31st 1836.

Baptist pastor in Brown's Town, Jamaica who had supplied him with much of the evidence and from whose church James Williams had come 'Even now tho' our disappointment is great we are not altogether discouraged considering that the West Indian, the leaders of the Tories, and the whole weight of the ministry were against the cause of righteousness, the decision of last night was a victory 215 to 269. The noble declaration of Lord Sligo much produced a great effect; many are following his example amongst others that of Wm. Hankey ... Even the amendments which ministers added last night against us will I think be so unpalatable to your House of Assembly that they will be driven by it to the abolition of the apprenticeship on the 1st August next.'[1] As it turned out emancipation was celebrated on 1st of August 1838 after the Jamaican House of Assembly, on the advice of Sir Lionel Smith, passed an enabling Bill in the previous June.[2]

In the Baptist churches during these years there were many developments which directly affected the nature of the churches' witness and their self-understanding. The crises of 1832 had left them with a bill of nearly £18,000, of which only £5,510 had been indemnified by the British Government. The Government was however persuaded to agree that if the Baptists raised half the rest, they would provide a similar sum. The offer was accepted. A subscription list headed by the Duchess of Kent and the Earl of Mulgrave, a former Jamaican Governor, by August 7th managed to raise

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1. Fenn Collection, Sturge to Clark d/d March 31st, 1838. The reference to Lord Sligo is that in the course of the debate he freed all his slaves. See Northampton Biographies No.XXII (1901), pp.1-7 for biography of John Clark of Thrapston and Brown's Town, Jamaica.

2. The Bill was passed with division on June 5th, 1838 and came into effect on August 1st. See M.H. August 1838, p.65.

more than £13,000, thus wiping out the B.M.S. deficit and providing money for the rebuilding of the chapels.[1]

This injection of capital into Jamaica and to the freed Blacks at this time had important effects, not all good. It not only increased the missionary's esteem but cast the church in the role of economic provider. The church buildings were completed first partly by paid labour and labour donated free by the members, but in addition some of the money had to be used to rebuild and support schools, because Baptists refused the Negro Education Grant from London on theological grounds. Indeed, the response to the 'Chapel Appeal' had been mistaken as evidence that the 'Voluntary Principle'[2] had been vindicated and that the Baptists need make no other plans for the financing of the mission. This was a grave mistake as we shall see later.

It must however be observed that the missionaries had every reason in 1834 to be optimistic. Giving in the churches was good. But things began to go wrong soon after, a new state of mind had begun to emerge among the Baptists.

With the establishment of Apprenticeship, the freed slaves had forsaken

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1. B.M.S. Report 1835, addendum. cf. Cox, History of the Baptist Mission (1842) Vol.2, p.201 and M.H., July 1834, p.55; Aug. 1834 61-63; Sept. 1834, pp.69-70.

2. For a discussion of the 'Voluntary Principle see Angus, The Voluntary System (1839), a reply to Dr. Chalmers on Church Establishments; also Phillippo, The United States and Cuba (1857), p.229 and Practical Working of the Voluntary Principle in America etc. (1868); 'A Picture of State Churchism in Jamaica; The Freeman March 1855 p.115-6and Williams, Voluntaryism in the United States and Canada (1873). This is not an exhaustive list and so important is this subject that some research ought to be done on it.

the estates. There were many reasons for this, firstly, there was much unused land, particularly in the nearby low lying hills which were ideal for agriculture and which were available for the asking. Secondly, many apprentices were encouraged to acquire their freedom by their owners because it seemed a better proposition to have ready cash when emancipation came. Thirdly, cruelty and oppression drove them from the estates and these slaves congregated either in the towns or went into the hills. The watchfulness of the missionaries and the vigilance of the Colonial Office despite the shortcomings of the Stipendiary Magistrates, did not succeed in alleviating some of the hardship, but they made it easier to escape.

The planters attempted to arrest the situation by attempting to encourage widespread immigration from Ireland and Sierra Leone, but the missionaries opposed it on the grounds that plenty of labour was available if adequate wages were paid. The fact was, as Augier observed, 'where there was opportunity of a living off the estates, they departed in large number. Where they had little option, they continued as hired labourers for the planters.'[1]

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1. Augier et al, The Making of the West Indies, pp.186-187. The discussion of the relationship between the Slave and the Land had a very old reference, see Hansard Vol.IX New Series, p.274, where Buxton advocates that Blacks 'should be attached to the land'; Beckford, as early as 1788, maintained 'slaves should be purchased with the land as serfs were in Poland and Russia'; see Remarks upon the situation of Negroes in Jamaica; An anonymous pamphleteer proposed that wages ought not to be paid to negroes, but rather they ought to be compelled to work on the land, see British Labourers and West Indian Slaves with some thoughts ... in connection with Emancipation and Compensation (Paris 1831), pp.50ff. With regard to 'Immigration Schemes' and the Churches' reaction, see Augier and Gordon, Sources of West Indian History, pp.69-72 cf. Hinton, op.cit. pp.409-413, 491 and Anti-Slavery Reporter, July 13th, 1842. cf. Olivier, White Capital and Coloured Labour (1929), pp.299-300: Olivier is mistaken that Moravians established most of the villages but his arguments are sound.

The unavailability of land determined to some extent the attitude of the missionaries to the Planters. It also determined the stance of the denomination to particular issues. Knibb, whose work was situated in the midst of well developed estates with little surplus land available, inevitably led the opposition against the Planters because his membership was trapped. And it was not until he was able to emerge from this that he took a somewhat easier line. In September 1838, in a letter to Hoby, he observed that 'the complete emancipation of the inhabitants of the colony has opened a glorious door for the extension of the gospel into the interior of the island, which will very soon be peopled by those who fly from tyranny, which in too many instances be practised. Most of the labourers' grounds are on the borders of the heart of these mountains, so that they are perfectly acquainted with the most advantageous spots both as to fertility and water ... I believe I could now if I had the means purchase from 500 to 1,000 acres in one of the most lovely spots on earth ... I could soon resell to families in lots of from two to four acres each, which would enable the worthy members of my church, with others who are fearfully oppressed to settle and form a village of their own.'[1]

On the other hand, where land was immediately available as in Brown's Town, Bethany and Sligoville, the work proceeded quite spontaneously and the missionaries did not clash with the authorities at any point. In the case of Sligoville, it was the first of a number of townships which gave order and permanence to potentially unstable communities. It is not within

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1. Hinton, op. cit., Knibb to Hoby d/d Sept. 1838, p.273.

the compass of this study to examine the causes or indeed the effects of the 'Free Villages'. This has been competently accomplished by the Institute of Social and Economic Affairs in the University of the West Indies.[1] But as has already been observed, they developed out of the membership of the Baptist churches primarily and therefore had a permanent effect upon the organisation and finances of the church. Because the Village competed both for the leadership and the finances of the church, it set church membership and independence within a political and socio-economic context.

Knibb had always been aware of the political content of freedom. And so in the distribution of land made available to him it would appear that each segment represented a possible vote. The House of Assembly was due to be prorogued in 1839, and the Baptist Villages made the possibility of a strong Baptist vote a distinct possibility.[2]

But there were other motives too. Knibb was aware that 'land and freedom' were inextricably linked in the popular mind. Amy Lopez has

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1. A valuable discussion of the 'Free Villages' may be seen in Long, Jamaica and the New Order, 1827-1847: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Mona Jamaica; Paget, The Free Village System, Monograph I.S.E.R. and Hall, Free Jamaica, 1838-1865 (1959).

2. Hinton, op. cit., p.353 cf. letter to Dr. Hoby d/d Nov. 23rd, 1838 p.305. Sir Charles Metcalfe (1785-1846), Governor of Jamaica in 1839, accused the Baptists of behaving in a different manner than other churches by becoming politically involved. He observed 'that from the partizanship which the Baptist missionaries have evinced, they have greater influence than any other sect in the island, and are preparing to influence the elections of the dissolution of the Assembly, when the emancipated population duly qualified will be entitled to vote ... (to the Colonial Office d/d Oct. 16th, 1839). See also for a biography D.N.B. Vol.XIII pp.303-306 The Baptists did not reply until 1840; History and Proceedings of the Baptist Stations Salter's Hill, Bethephel, Maldon and Bethsalem in the island of Jamaica (1841), pp.29-31.

demonstrated that for the African in the West Indies 'the mark of freedom is to be able to have his own ground which he works himself and from which he makes enough to support his family.'[1] The town dwellers in Falmouth, on the other hand, had a different orientation. These were the 'trapped' ones who for one reason or another lived in an urban seaport town dependent on the employer. It has been to Knibb's credit that he attempted to relate 'freedom' to this new frame of reference. He advised them that 'a fair scale of wages must be established and you must be entirely independent. If you continue to receive those allowances which have been given during slavery and apprenticeship, it will go abroad that you are not able to take care of yourself and that your employers are obliged to provide for you these allowances to keep you from starvation. In such case you will be nothing more than slaves. To be free you must be independent. Receive your money for your work; come to market with money; purchase from whom you please; and be accountable to no one but the Being above, who I trust will watch over and protect you.'[2] A more positive statement on laissez-faire it would probably be more difficult to discover. More important that this however was that although it was not in keeping with the protectionist thinking of the Jamaican context, it was nothing less than a statement of the current thinking in Britain which Knibb had absorbed. And the

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1. Lopez, Amy, 'Land and Labour to 1900', Jamaica Historical Review Vol.I, No.3, Dec. 1948, p.291. cf. Ross, Thoughts on the objectionable System of Labour for Wages .. substituting System of Tenancy and Allotment etc. (1842), p.46.
2. Hinton, op. cit., p.289 cf. M.H. Jan. 1835, p.4, Tinson writes 'Our Congregation in town is .. composed chiefly of domestics and mechanics who reside in town.' The Editor of the Herald interpreted this symptom as a sign of prosperity as Knibb did.

impression created not only by Knibb, but indeed in Phillippo's defence of the 'Voluntary System', and the Association's rejection of the Negro Education Grant, was that the missionaries had, because of the success in Anti-Slavery matters, adopted their political stance almost unconsciously.

Now this is not difficult to understand since the leadership was in constant contact with the Anti-Slavery Society. Between 1837 and 1840, Joseph Sturge had written John Clark 25 letters, which commented not only upon Apprenticeship, but James Williams and the formation of a 'Land Company'.[1] A number were probably written to William Knibb, for although we possess Knibb's letters to Sturge in the Rawson Papers, and Hinton's Memoir of William Knibb, missionary in Jamaica, a collection similar to the Fenn Collection does not exist. A census of Knibb's letters, many

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1. See the Fenn Collection: 1837, March 23rd, May 30th, June 15th, Aug. 15th, Sept. 13th, Sept. 29th, Dec. 1st.
1838, March 31st, Aug. 27th, Sept. 1st, 24th, Oct. 4th, 16th, Nov. 15th, Dec. 30th.
1839, Jan. 31st, Feb. 14th, March 1st, April 2nd, 15th, 30th, June 15th July 13th, Aug. 1st, 14th.
The correspondence resumed in 1842, probably because 1840 was a busy year with the meetings of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Convention, and in 1841, Sturge was in the U.S.A. on a visit. After that however, it continued without interruption to 1858. He wrote seven letters dealing with James Williams, covering preparations for his trip to England to give evidence before the Select Committee and his return and keep in Jamaica. The first reference to a 'Land Company' is in a letter d/d Nov. 11th, 1838, 'We are trying to form a little land company partly for the location of Negro villages'; it is followed up in another letter d/d Jan. 31st 1839, announcing the impending formation of the 'West Indian Land Company' to 'sell allotments to the Negroes. They will be allowed by the Company 3 to 5 years to pay the purchase money in instalments.' On Feb. 14th, 1839 a third letter announced the sale of shares and by August 1st, 1839, John Clark was authorised to purchase land up to £2,500. Some of these 'villages' still exist e.g. Sturge Town and Buxton Town, Wilberforce and Clarkson Town.

implying that they were replies, reveals 16 letters.[1] These letters deal with the same matters as those in the Fenn Collection. There is evidence also that Sturge corresponded with Phillippo, certainly Phillippo, as well as Gardener, the pastor in Kingston, and Tinson, also in Kingston, were in correspondence with him.

Added to this, there also exist certain letters from John Clarke, the pastor from Jericho to Buxton[2] and to Sturge during the 1837-39 period. And Clarkson, the veteran of the movement congratulated the slaves of Brown's Town and Bethany on their freedom.[3] Furthermore, between 1834 and 1840, some five Anti-Slavery Societies were formed.

Unfortunately, the international frame of reference created in the Baptist missionaries in Jamaica an alienation from their local tasks. It would be untrue to say that they were not immersed in local problems. The evidence is that they were as busy with church building programmes, the

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1. Although we do not possess Sturge's replies to Knibb, Knibb's letters may be dated as follows:
   1837 - July 11th, Aug. 15th, Sept. 12th, Hinton op. cit., pp.245, 248 249.
   1838 - March 8th, June 28th, Aug. 17th, Oct. 2nd, Nov. 13th, 30th, Dec. 16th, Hinton, op. cit. pp.252, 255, 301, 304, 305, 309, 258.
   1839 - Jan. 4th, May 25th, June 28th, Aug. 9th, Sept. 14th, Nov. 30th, Hinton, op. cit., pp.301, 312, 313, 301, 314 (277).
   No more letters appear after Knibb attended the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840. It is quite possible that he sided too much with Buxton and so was dropped although Sturge does mention him in letters to Clark and sends messages.

2. John Clarke of Jericho was in Britain on sick leave and attended and spoke at the B.F.A.S. Convention; see Minutes of the B.F.A.S. passim.

3. See Fenn Collection: Clarkson to members of the church at Brown's Town and Bethany d/d Oct. 7th, 1838 and Dec. 29th, 1839, encouraging them to be examples of Christian peasants. cf. Buxton, The African Slave Trade....Remedy, p. 497.

oversight of schools and the challenge of oppressive laws as they had ever been. But their frame of reference had changed and all was seen against the background and ideology of the Anti Slavery Movement.

An illustration of this was the establishment of the Jamaica Baptist Education Society which was formed on March 10th, 1837, in Sav-la-Mar. Immediately, its aims were communicated to the Birmingham Auxiliary of the Missionary Society to seek its support. Its object was stated to be the provision of supervision for the educational projects of the Association and a Prospectus was published.

The Prospectus read in part,

> 'a school should thus be a part of every missionary establishment and at a comparatively trifling expense furnish the means of instruction to a very large proportion of the apprenticeship population on the island, each missionary pledging himself by personal superintendence and otherwise to use every effort in his power for its individual prosperity. Under such circumstances we beg the favour of your making representations to the advocates of popular education at home (but more especially to the Society of Friends)'[1]

The Quakers naturally responded, persuaded by Sturge that the Jamaican Baptists stood by the 'Voluntary Principle'. But the Quakers stopped their support in 1847 having changed their minds on this subject, leaving the Association in Jamaica, who still clung to the ideology, hard put to balance their budget.

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1. Bap. Mag, Dec, 1837: The J.B.E.S. was widely publicised but support was local and in the end Joseph Sturge carried it almost alone. The Quakers suggested that Baptists should accept Government grants, Fenn Collection, Nov. 30th, 1847. See also Bap. Mag. Dec. 1837, pp. 546-8; also March. Subsequently the J.B.E.S. Report became a part of of the normal field report and continued well after 1842. Although a more thorough study is urgently needed in this area, there exists a M.A. thesis which goes some way to remedy this hiatus; see Donaldson The contribution of the Baptist Missionaries to education in Jamaica

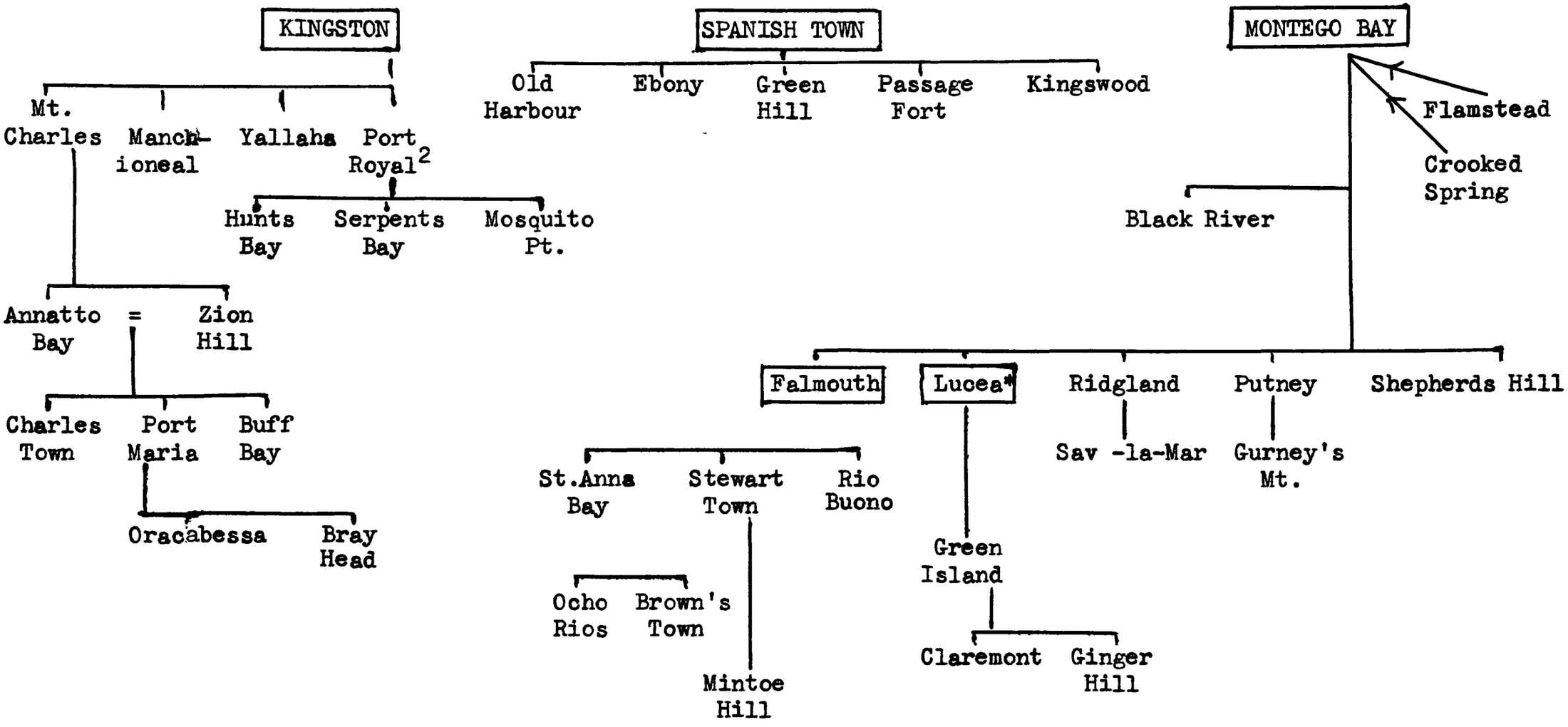
(cont'd at foot of next page)

In the meantime, the Baptist membership had increasingly lost any international frame of reference it might once have possessed. The abolition of the Slave Trade had led to less replenishing of slave stocks from Africa and with that the lessening of African tradition.[1] The only new Blacks were recaptives, who were few in number and possibly a trickle of personal slaves from the other West Indian islands, Cuba and Georgia. Thus for the most part the membership of the churches with mass appeal had become increasingly creolized. This process was accelerated after 1833, as a consequence of the deliberate policy of the Baptists to establish Free Villages. The Free Village, because it was a community institution, was de facto a social, cultural and religious revolution. This revolutionary attempt to create a Christian peasantry, civilised and economically viable, severed the last links with any other 'land' but the soil of the village. But in this were the makings of a dilemma, because a part of any mission, including the church's mission, is alienation from what is - strangers and pilgrims on the earth (Heb. 11 v.13)

(Cont'd from foot of previous page)
etc. (1967): For Correspondence on the British subsidy - The Negro Education Grant, see C.O. 318/122, 318/126, 318/130-1, 318/138-9, 318/145, 318/152, 318/156, 318/163. Pub. Rec. Office.

1. Braithwaite, Folk Culture of the Slave in Jamaica (1970), p.1 and Smith M.G., West Indian culture in the Plural Society in the British West Indies (1965), p.9ff. An important discussion concerning the syncretism between Baptist tenets and Myalism appears in Beckwith, Black Roadways (1929) which deals with this extensively. Also Patterson, op. cit., pp.212-215. They do not stress the importance of the 'Free Village' as the milieu in which this developed but it is significant that all the recorded 'outbreaks' of this syncretism occurred in churches situated in or near the 'Free Villages'.

FIG. 1 Church Growth of the Jamaica Baptist Association up to 1832

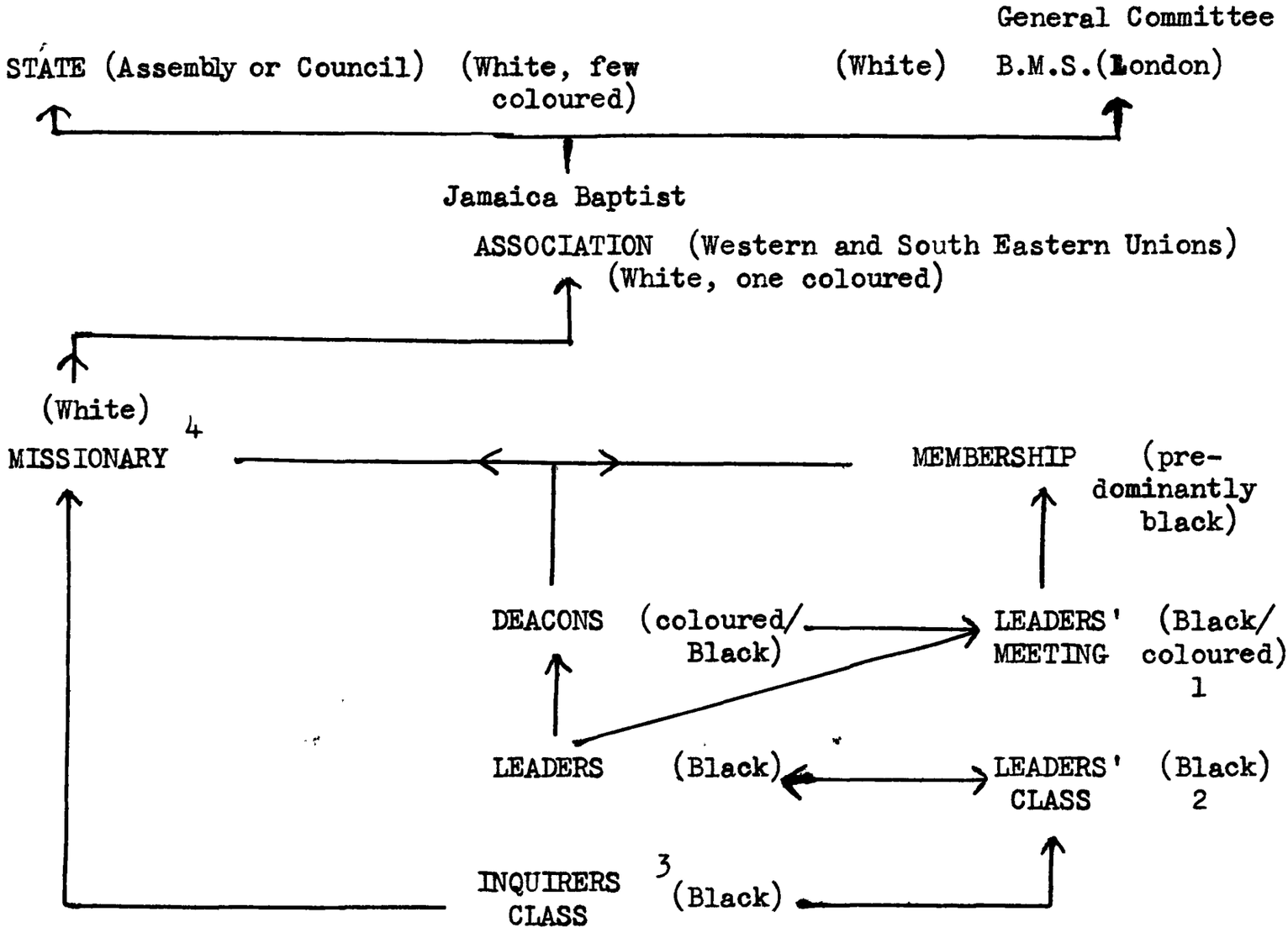


Sources: 1. B.M.S. Reports 1814-31
2. Bap. Repository 1827-1831
3. General Biographies ...

1* Lucea was the centre for General Baptist administration but worked closely with Montego Bay.
2. Both Spanish Town and Kingston had strong educational establishments attached.
3. Kingston, Spanish Town, Montego Bay, Falmouth and Lucea organised the churches attached to them.

FIG. 2 Note on the Organisational Pattern of the Jamaican Baptists in 1832

Showing Missionary leadership relationships through Association and Slave organisation parallel with it in the church



11 The Leaders met in Leaders' Meeting once per month to draw up rules of discipline and judge cases. It also decided the policy of the church which it placed into the hands of the missionary, who then took it to the membership for ratification.

2. The Leader's Class was an instruction class of baptised church membership and it met each week.

3. The Inquirers' Class was for those seeking membership. Each received a ticket which served for identification but also as an attendance record at the class. This class was taken by the missionary, the deacon or the Leader as circumstances dictated. There was only one class in each church as contrasted with many Leaders' Classes per church.

4. The Missionary related directly to the membership and to the Inquirers' class but at all other points does so together with Deacons or Leaders.

FIG. 2 (Cont'd)

However, he relates directly to the Association, the State, i.e. the Assembly or Council and the B.M.S. But the Deacons and Leaders influence membership and recruitment for the church by their position in the church and so the lay-leadership controls the church at its most important points, i.e. recruitment, policy making and instruction. It must be observed that except for the missionary, the other leaders are slaves or from within the system so that the church by its local organisation was firmly entrenched in the slave society. Only the missionary was able to live in the Planter society by right and his role was therefore an important one.

Sources: Missionary Herald, June 1829, p.54. Address of Tinson to the B.M.S. Annual Meeting.
Jamaica its Past and Present State, p.432ff - Phillippo.
And for a criticism of the system, see:
Remonstrance 1842, Twentynine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa, 1829-1858 - Waddell. Appendix.

CHAPTER 4

Présence Africaine -

Developing an African Perspective 1839-1840

The Jamaica Baptist Association, elated by the happenings of the previous year, entered 1839 with bright hopes. These hopes were centred upon the churches from which the missionaries had drawn inspiration and for which they bore responsibility. But 1839 had been somewhat of an anti-climax. True, there had been a welcome relief that the events of the first of August, 1838, had passed with little incident. But now that the Apprenticeship had been abolished and emancipation granted, the principal aim of the most recent years had been achieved. The problem now for the B.M.S. and the Association was - in what direction ought policy to tend? For the B.M.S. this was made more complicated by the impending Jubilee Celebrations of the Society, for already plans had begun to be considered which included not only the Society and its work at home, but also what might be new missionary possibilities in the West Indies, India and other parts of the world.[1]

But 1838 had not been without its problems. In June a plea for six additional missionaries to man the stations which mushroomed due to emancipation, signed by seven missionaries of the 'Western Union'[2] was

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1. See B.M.S. Gen. Comm. Minute Book F; Min.116 d/d Sept. 26th, 1839 p.242

2. The 'Western Union' consisted mainly of the churches in the north and north western areas of Jamaica. It was analogous to an Association of Churches but took wider powers at times. For a history of the 'Union' see East, Reminiscences of the Jamaica Baptist Union (1879), pp.3-4.

published in the Missionary Herald. It suggested that it was necessary in order that the Association might make a national effort to meet the

> 'immediate transition of our people from the state of slavery into one of perfect freedom.'[1]

The situation was critical. In August, David Day (1810-1862) who had recently been sent to Jamaica, reported that

> 'many members had left, and attended other places of worship, and those that remained were dissatisfied; they had been expecting a minister for a long time and so often been disappointed ...'[2]

But the B.M.S. could not respond positively due to the recent claims of India and declining subscriptions.

Towards the end of 1838, however, the Missionary Herald published an offprint called Freedom in Jamaica. It was a popular report of the happenings on August 1st that year and attempted to show by means of extracts from Jamaican newspapers and the missionaries' accounts that,

> 'Also that day they offered sacrifices, and rejoiced; for God had made them rejoice with great joy; the wives also and the children rejoiced (Neh. XII, 43).'[3]

But it had ended,

> 'one thing more is wanting ... to realise the best wishes and Friends of Freedom. Let those Attornies who have hiterto offered unfair wages, or no wages at all, make such proposals as have been made and accepted on some ... and Peace and Contentment, Industry and Prosperity, will at once prevail.'[4]

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1. M.H. Sept. 1838, letter d/d June 7th, p.72. Complete letter pp.71-73
2. M.H. Nov. 1838, p.89. For biography of David Day, see Clarke, Memorials of Baptist Missionaries, pp.175-176.
3. 'Freedom in Jamaica' was a popular report of the B.M.S. It appeared as the Report but was published in Nov., 1838 and sold well. It is a rare publication: one exists in Angus Library; 35 d (S) e.
4. Ibid. p.22.

The high hopes of 1839 were not unmixed with certain grave apprehensions on the part of the Association. Firstly, there was the question of the future of the Jamaican mission itself. Could it supply its own requirements? How best could it underwrite its educational commitments and above all, in what direction ought it now to develop? Secondly, there existed some uncertainty about an ongoing relationship with the B.M.S. Already, in some quarters, the expense of the Jamaican mission was a topic of debate, as well as its independence, due to the falling income of the Society.[1] And thirdly, there was the determination of the Jamaican Assembly to discredit dissenting missionaries in the eyes of the masses by providing money for the erection and staffing of Anglican places of worship and schools in each parish.[2] Of course, it was not a one-sided affair. There was no love lost by the Dissenters whose aim was disestablishment on principle.

When the Jamaica Baptist Association met in Montego Bay in January 1839, they were in a defiant mood. Not only had they been provoked by the Assembly, but in the area of St. James, the missionaries had been accused of luring the labourers from the plantations, and creating discontent by insisting on wages. Nevertheless, the Association arrived at two far reaching decisions not unrelated to the pressing problems they had now to face. They decided to press for (a) a theological institution and (b) an

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1. M.H. Feb. 1837, pp.14-15.

2. Votes of the House of Assembly, March 1st 1838. Session December 1837-March 1838. cf. Votes of House of Assembly April 7th 1840 Session Oct. 1839 to April 1840.

immediate mission to Africa.[1]

Let us look at these two requests.

The suggestion of a theological college was understandable enough. There was a shortage of pastors and in many cases some of the churches had been partly under the oversight of deacons. Tinson reported in November 1837 that

> 'We have three deacons at Hanover Street, either of whom can exhort and conduct prayer meeting acceptably ... They have supplied Yallahs altogether and both churches have been kept in peace. Their expenses are paid (about eight dollars) when they go to Yallahs.'[2]

In a subsequent letter, Tinson went on to suggest that with this trend he hoped that

> 'the time is not far distant, when many of the churches in Jamaica will be independent:- when that will be the case of ours I know not. I am pressing the subject upon the people, but if we are to avail ourselves of the new openings and facilities for usefulness which now present themselves, our friends in England must sustain us a while longer.'[3]

Abbott wrote in the same vein in January 1839, reporting that

> 'a deacon of the church of St. Ann's Bay, named Isaac Higgin, who also conducts the day and Sunday schools,'

had been responsible for the preaching when he was absent.[4]

In Britain the subject was a topical one, for the question of a 'Native Agency' had been debated in the pages of the Baptist Magazine. In

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1. B.M.S. Report 1839, p.33. 'From the association held in Montego Bay a combined representation was addressed by our missionaries to the Committee on the desirableness of planting a mission in Western Africa ... A proposal was also made to commence a theological institution etc.'
2. M.H. Jan. 1838, p.21
3. M.H. Feb. 1839, p.11.
4. M.H. Apr. 1839, pp.29-31.

May 1837, John Green of Norwich had brought the issue into the open and had maintained that while in the East this practice had been developed, in the West

> 'I believe scarcely anything of the kind exists. The state of Slavery in which our black brethren have been held, has seemed to render such an idea untenable. Yet we hear of irregular teachers, who, unauthorised and often to the discredit of the gospel engaged in ministerial labours. From this there is much to be learned. If a natural outlet is not opened for the exercise of the talents and zeal of our brethren, they will break out in irregular methods.'[1]

Certainly, Carey had not been insensible to the idea of local training, in fact, as early as 1819, he had corresponded with Ryland and Dyer on this very subject, suggesting 'a College' responsible for the Biblical training of the local pastors and missionaries, interdenominational in scope, even open to 'heathen scholars' and fashioned on the model of

> 'the Catholic Institution at Penang for training Chinese converts and a similar one at Malacca ... and that which has been proposed by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.'[2]

So, there had existed for more than four decades an understanding within the B.M.S., despite certain reservations with regard to Serampore, about the use and training of local persons. Is it possible that Green might have had other ideas why the 'Native Agency' was not developed in the West!

On the other hand, the question of Africa was a different matter. Here the single attempt at missionary outreach had been a dismal failure.

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1. Bap. Mag. May 1837, pp.242-244.

2. B.M.S. Per. Acc. 6, pp.55ff - this letter is remarkable for its universal vision.

Further, in Britain itself there was a growing disenchantment with the Anti-Slavery Movement and as a consequence with things African. The Reform movements, typified by the agitation surrounding the Corn Laws, and the reform of Parliament had turned the philanthropic movements in upon themselves. And the inequalities in British society highlighted by a £20 million grant to abolish Apprenticeship demanded immediate attention.

When the question of a mission to Africa appeared on the B.M.S. agenda therefore, the Committee replied suggesting a new set of priorities for the Jamaican churches. The Minutes of the Committee read,

> 'As to the proposal of a new mission to Western Africa by our Jamaican brethren. Resolved, that we are grateful to learn from the letter sent in the name of the Association, as well as by other communications from missionaries individually, that the churches under their care are desirous to promote a mission to Africa, and will rejoice to render them what assistance we may be able, as Divine Providence shall make the way plain in doing so, but that at present there appear to be difficulties, which time and the development of future events can alone remove and in the meanwhile we would earnestly recommend them to turn their attention and vigorous efforts to make themselves in pecuniary affairs independent of the Society and to evangelise the peasantry of Jamaica and the other West India islands.'[1]

It is quite clear that even if the Committee would support a mission to Africa, that support would have to await a more favourable opportunity.

The Committee preferred a concentrated effort in the Caribbean Sea to one upon the other shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

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1. B.M.S. General Committee Minute Book (after called B.M.S. Min. Bk.)F, Min.369(1) d/d April 11, 1839. A suggestion from Stroud, Glos. calling for a mission to West Africa had been made as early as 1833 but the B.M.S. Comm. turned it down. See M.H. Oct. 1833, p.88. Perhaps one of the reasons for caution now was the reported failure of a Moravian mission in 1835. Buxton Fowell, The Slave Trade and its Remedy (1840), p.516.

Yet despite the divergent views on the question of an African mission, both groups seemed to agree on the need for a theological institution.[1]

Perhaps this agreement occurred for two reasons. Firstly, a theological institution was an answer to the pressing problem of personnel for the West Indian area. For it had proved increasingly difficult to supply the extra missionaries the field had demanded since 1836. Secondly, a college might prove the means of cutting down missionary costs which were already quite high. This is because in the setting up of a college to train local agents was hidden the implication that these agents would not be completely supported by the B.M.S.

From the Jamaican point of view, a college was the natural extension of the Jamaica Baptist Education Society, since as far as the Association was concerned theological training was synonymous with religious education and in the minds of some with general education.[2] Thus a college was not incongruous with current thinking and for these reasons both groups arrived at a common mind.

With regard to the African mission, the issues were far more complex and more confused. And this led to misunderstanding in Kingston, as well as in London, because behind this request and the Committee's reply lay a hidden agenda which had not been discussed.

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. F, Min. 370(2) d/d April 11th, 1839.

2. See Campbell, C., 'Social and Economic obstacles to the development of popular education in Post-Emancipation Jamaica, 1834-1865', The Journal of Caribbean History, Vol. 1, Nov. 1970, pp.57-88. Campbell argues that missionaries, planters and the British Government had the same social aims in education, with the possible exception of Phillippo, and so education meant church related education, with simple arithmetic but much agriculture as the constituents.

The religious climate in Britain had undergone a tremendous change between 1837 and 1839. The B.M.S. as April 1839 approached had become quite sensitive to the rifts within the Anti-Slavery movement, added to which was alarm at the proposed Government promotion of the conversion of Africa at the instigation of Buxton. It seems probable that there also existed in the minds of Dissenters as a whole resentment over the part being played by Anglo Catholics in the corridors of power with regard to education. Sturge had hinted to Clark of Brown's Town that it was probable that Lord Sligo's return had been connected with representations made against him by the West Indian lobby and the High Church Party.[1]

Even Buxton, himself an Anglican, was aware of these tensions and they led him to pray before he registered his vote on the Irish Question,

> 'Help me, O Lord, in forming a right judgment of the critical affairs of the Irish Church. Direct me aright and let neither the love of liberal policy on the one hand nor the fear of resentment and reproach of the evangelical clergy on the other lead me astray.'[2]

Indeed, the saintly Pusey is reported to have lamented that the emancipation of the slaves had meant an expenditure of £20 million 'for an opinion'.[3]

And so, the role Buxton seemed destined to play was suspect.

While these strong feelings of animosity were by no means dead in the

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1. Fenn Collection: Sturge to Clark d/d August 1st, 1839.

2. Buxton Chas. (ed.), op. cit., p.389-90.

3. See Stewart, H.L., A century of Anglo Catholicism, pp.9-10. cf. Howse. Saints in Politics, p.184.

Jamaican context, circumstances had limited them to education. So that much of the unease felt in Britain was lost on Jamaica and as far as they were concerned there was no need to choose between Sturge and Buxton. And, more important, the Anti-Slavery movement in their eyes was still united, monolithic and led by Buxton. This is demonstrated by the order of the resolutions passed in gratitude for emancipation in which Buxton, Clarkson and Sturge are thanked in that order.[1]

When the open rift appeared in April 1839 within the British Anti-Slavery movement, therefore, Jamaican leadership, with the possible exception of Clark of Brown's Town, were unaware of the implications. But the formation of the African Civilisation Society and later, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, was to force upon their membership harsh choices and force them into divergent, if complementary, paths with far reaching consequences.

It is unnecessary to trace in detail the steps which led up to the eventual split. Madden has left us in his debt in this regard,[2] but in order to understand the issues it ought to be remembered that the divergence of the societies was not with regard to their ultimate aim, but limited to the methods and the frame of reference to achieve that aim. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was cosmopolitan, pacifist

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1. See Freedom in Jamaica, p.22: The message was sent to Sturge to pass it on to Buxton. See Fenn Collection, Nov. 15th, 1838 (Buxton's reply).

2. Madden, The attitude of evangelicals to the empire etc., unpublished D.Phil. thesis (1960). This thesis deals to a large extent with these divergent opinions and their results. See p.14, 69, 533.

and consciously Christian while the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade and the Civilisation of Africa was specific, liable to Government policy and open.

Unfortunately, the differences were real enough and influenced the out working of policy decision, particularly overseas, forcing the local Societies on the receiving end to choose not so much between organisations as between the practical results of each organisation's policy.

Despite this it is to their abiding credit that these resultant tensions did not affect either the friendship of the leaders or the support they gave to each other. This cordiality, although it did not mislead the leaders of the movement in Britain, among them many leading supporters of the B.M.S., did give the impression of a unified movement overseas at least up to 1840. The reason may be seen in a letter from Scoble to J.J.Gurney in 1840. He observed that,

> 'It would seem to require an unusual portion of evil ingenuity to devise any cause of quarrel or even coolness between them. Africa is the province of one; America and Asia furnish scope enough for the other. Nor is the distinction less intelligible as to the order in which they take their objects. The one aims at the suppression of the Slave Trade and the civilisation of Africa, and a as a collateral consequence of these, the extinction of Slavery. The other in the first instance aiming at the downfall of Slavery designs as an eventual consequence the suppression of the Slave Trade. If Providence smiles upon our respective efforts in the one case there will be no sellers, in the other no buyers.'[1]

It is easy to see how to the Jamaican leaders the movement appeared united. .

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1. Scoble to Gurney, d/d Dec. 5th, 1840, quoted by Madden, op. cit., p.533. This letter is in the Wilberforce Museum. cf. Buxton, Chas. op. cit., p.157 and Anti-Slavery Convention Minutes 1840, pp.242-3.

There was another reason too. The African perspective of the Anti-Slavery Movement had such a long and honoured tradition that the Jamaicans could not envisage any radical divergence. This does not mean that they could not understand differences of opinion and accept them. Indeed the genius of the movement, as Madden has pointed out, was that it was a group bound together by common ideals and not necessarily common methods.[1] This can be demonstrated by observing the voting patterns of committed members on any one issue. For example, the Anti-Slavery League favoured free trade sugar, while the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society did not. But this divergence was within a structural unity. There existed a bond dependent on responses to (a) a lively opposition to slavery in any form either within the West Indies or the Americas and (b) the development of Africa as a place to which the freed Slaves might return.

The first response need not detain us since it belongs more within the compass of economic and political history. The second however, is important as it gives a clue to the universalistic social context in which the Jamaican missionaries were still thinking in 1839, and even up to 1844.

The African motif had been developed through four perceptible stages - they were the African Association (1788); the Sierra Leone Company (1791), the African Institution (1807) and the African Civilisation Society (1839).

The African Association was founded with a mandate

'to investigate and gather information with regard to the science

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1. Madden, op. cit., Abstract, p.5 (VI)

> and geography and to promote the discovery of the inland part of that quarter of the world.'[1]

Started as a scientific venture of the Saturday Club, each member subscribed five guineas per year for three years and after that period he could withdraw. But it was more than a social club, it could choose anyone to engage in scientific exploration and the findings were the sole property of the Association. And so through this Association the scientific penetration of Africa began. William Wilberforce was a founding member.[2]

The Sierra Leone Company was an attempt to provide a haven for the Blacks in their continent. Many things had conspired to make this necessary. Subsequent to Lord Mansfield's judgment of 1772, many slaves were set free in Britain or abandoned in certain cities and a colony of poor Blacks had grown up in London, Liverpool and Bristol. The aftermath of the American War of Independence, 1776, stranded sailors and travelling salesmen compounded the problem and conspired to make it necessary in

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1. Hallett, Proceedings of the African Association (2 Vols.), see Vol.1 pp.9-11. cf. The African Association, Complete records of, pp.42-47. The African Association was held in suspicion by some Dissenters, see M.H. June 1842, p.281-2; T.F. Newman's speech at the Annual Meeting of the B.M.S. 'In 1788, the African Association was instituted, but the gospel of Christ had no concern with that Institution.'

2. See list of original subscribers. Proceedings of the African Association Vol.2, pp.422-429 cf. p.409. The Association sponsored Mungo Park 1795-7 to investigate the Upper Niger. This led to the Government taking interest and they financed Park in 1805-6. In 1823-5 Denham and Claperton explored Bornu and Hausaland. The Lander brothers traced the Niger to the sea in 1830. Barth explored the regions thoroughly 1850-55. See Proceedings of the African Association and Records of the African Association Appendix D, pp.304-5; Hallett, The Penetration of Africa (1965); Simmons J., African Discovery (1942) Parry, Europe and the Wider World (1949).

1786 to form a 'Committee for the Black Poor' which distributed food daily at the public houses in Paddington and Mile End Green. It also opened a hospital and found berths for those who wished to return to sea.[1]

Granville Sharp, (1735-1813), who had been the leading person in the 'Somerset Case' which led to the 'Mansfield Judgment', was the organiser of the 'Committee'. Associated with him were Henry Thornton and William Wilberforce. Later, drawing upon suggestions which had resulted in Wadstom's Plan for a free community in Sierra Leone (1792) and pressed by the expulsion of the Maroons from Jamaica and then Nova Scotia , a Company was born with Thornton as its chairman and many members of the African Association as shareholders. (Incidentally, it was Thornton who had met with David George on his way to Free Town and had helped Cuthbert, early Baptists of the colony, when they were in need.) Unfortunately, the Company fell on bad days and was wound up in 1808, when the Government assumed responsibility for the region.[2]

No sooner had the Sierra Leone Company failed than the African Institution was formally established on July 15th, 1807, in the Freemason's Hall, Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Among those present who had been members of the Sierra Leone Company were Zachary Macaulay, Sharp and

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1. See Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, pp.13-14 cf. Curtin (ed.) Africa Remembered, pp.14-16; Debrunner, History of the Church in Ghana p.64 and Walvin, The Black Presence: A Documentary History of the Negro in England, 1550-1860 (1972).

2. Fyfe, History of Sierra Leone (1962). This is the standard history but there are others available. For an assessment of the colony from the political point of view see Asiegbu, Slavery and the Politics of Liberation etc. (1969).

Wilberforce. A committee had been set up earlier to write its aims and objects, and these were adopted at a preliminary meeting held on April 14th when it put on record that the Institution was

> 'deeply impressed with the sense of enormous wrongs, with which the natives of Africa have suffered in the intercourse with Europe and from a deep desire to repair those wrongs, as well as from general feelings of benevolence is anxious to adopt such measures as are best calculated to promote their civilisation and happiness.'[1]

It is important to observe that the Society did not consider itself a religious missionary society but rather a clearing house for information as well as a means of introducing

> 'the blessings of civilized society among a people sunk in ignorance and barbarism.'[2]

It further described itself as an institution which does

> 'not embrace the propagation of Christianity by any efforts of our own ... but in improving the temporal condition of the Natives we shall greatly facilitate this conversion and without interfering with any of the missions shall indirectly and in a variety of ways be serviceable to all.'[3]

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1. See Christian Observer 1807, pp.270-3, 679, 680; also Report of the Committee of the African Institution (1807) together with rules and regulations adopted for the government of the Society, p.13. The African Institution contributed toward the training of African teachers and in effect became no more than an Anti-Slavery Society after the expose of 1815. It continued in existence until 1827 when it held its last public meeting. It was closely associated with the American Colonisation Society which had similar aims. But the Association was repudiated by the British although both reports appear in bound volumes up to 1818; see Report African Institution (1818) Appendix F, pp.129-130; Mathison, A Short Review of the Report of the African Institute (1816) and Fyfe, op. cit., pp.105, 108 passim.

2. Report of the Committee, (1807), p.13.

3. Ibid., p.26.

It met again in August with the splendour of a social occasion. There were present one Duke, two Viscounts, four Bishops, four Earls, seven Lords and an assemblage of significant persons including Clarkson, Pitt, Sharp, Zachary Macaulay, John Venn and Wilberforce. Their first task it was agreed, was to be responsible for

> 'circulating throughout this country (Britain) more ample and authentic information concerning the agricultural and commercial facilities of that vast continent.'[1]

An eight point plan was formulated[2] and under the sponsorship of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and William Wilberforce, launched itself upon the public with Macaulay as its secretary. The impact was widely felt. For instance, James Martin, a freed black living in Bristol, supported it faithfully and on his death left a legacy of £18 15s. to the Institution.[3]

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1. Report of the African Institution (1807), Chap. 1.

2. The institution set itself to do the following:

   1. To collect and diffuse information about agriculture and commerce.

   2. to promote the useful instruction of the Africans in letters and in useful knowledge and to cultivate friendly connections with the natives of the continent.

   3. to substitute a beneficial commerce instead of the Slave Trade.

   4. to institute useful European arts (a reference to industrial arts, probably).

   5. to promote the cultivation of the African soil.

   6. to introduce beneficial medicinal discoveries.

   7. to obtain knowledge of principal languages in Africa.

   8. to employ suitable 'agents' to further the aims of the Society.

3. See Subscription list which first appears appended to Report 1810.

Unfortunately, its links with the establishment made it suspect. Its clear declaration on its commercial and social aims alienated some of the dissenters and the Institution was severely criticised. Perhaps more threatening to the association was that it still retained in some minds an unmistakable resemblance to the Sierra Leone Company. And so it was seen as a threat by the Sugar interests in the West Indies as well as those who had been dissatisfied with the old Sierra Leone Company. The details of this dissatisfaction do not fall within our purview but the suspicion it generated lingered long in the minds of many. And it was this that dogged the African Civilisation Society at its formation in 1839.[1]

It cannot be doubted that for nearly half a century, an African perspective had been refined in the capable hands of Wilberforce. Within Britain it had captured to some degree the attention and support of the establishment and had secured the allegiance of many philanthropists. As far as the missionaries in Jamaica were concerned, however, it was this that was the Anti-Slavery Movement, and to accept the movement was to accept this goal.

But the missionaries were also being influenced from within Jamaica

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1. The African Civilisation Society has been discussed elsewhere. For the background to the controversies surrounding the African Institution see Fyfe; op. cit., p.121-122; also Thorpe, A letter to William Wilberforce (1814); for Wilberforce Reply (Macaulay) Report of African Institution - Special Report to Directors at Annual General Meeting April 12th, 1815; Macaulay, Reply to Thorpe - A letter to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester. Consult also William Allen's writing in the Philanthropist which reflects a defence of the Humanitarian interest for its own sake. For West Indian interest see Marryatt, Thoughts on the Abolition of Slavery (1816). Thorpe replied to the Report of 1815 in A Reply 'Point by Point' to the special report of the Directors of the African Association cf. Ingram, Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years (1894) pp.180-190.

itself and this manifested itself in three ways. Firstly, there was evidence among certain congregations in well defined areas that a mission to Africa would be welcomed. There were probably many reasons for this which will be investigated later in this chapter. Secondly, the Jamaica Baptist Association had originated within an international frame of reference and there existed a tradition of universal concern. The tripartite link of Savannah, Kingston and Free Town had its essential being in such a universal concept and had been formed and informed by The Register, and within the Association itself there also existed a bias in the preaching towards Africa. Thirdly, since the Slave Rebellion of 1831, the Baptist spokesmen in Jamaica increasingly found their modus operandi within the ambit of the Anti Slavery Society and developed a personal meaning within its scope.

Let us examine these influences singly.

In 1837, John Clark of Brown's Town in a letter published in the Missionary Herald reported that the church had as its goal the sending of a missionary to Africa. He observed of the membership that

> 'They talk of Africa and pray for her; and I do trust that before many years roll round, the churches of Jamaica will be honoured in sending forth a band of holy and devoted men to penetrate into the interior of their 'father-land' and diffuse the blessings of the gospel among their kindred.'[1]

There is not much evidence that in Brown's Town any more remarkable development occurred. However, in November 1838, Sturge wrote to Clark enquiring in a post scriptum to one of his letters,

'Hast then any sable missionary (manly?) body to go to Africa?'[2]

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1. M.H. Nov. 1837, pp.84-85, letter d/d July 22nd, 1837

2. Fenn Collection d/d Nov. 15th, 1838.

And so it would seem that in Sturge's circle at least, the interest in Africa which existed in Brown's Town was known.

The case appears to be quite different in the Falmouth area. It is difficult to assess where the idea of an African mission originated in this region. It is known that Knibb had maintained strongly on occasions that the West Indian mission was a staging post on the journey to the more gigantic task of the conversion of Africa. In August 1834 at the Eagle St. Chapel, he had preached from the text, 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God' (Ps.68 v.31), a very well worn text at this time. He had suggested that

> 'whatever may have been the designs of Man, whatever he may have contemplated in enslaving Africa, we know that the Moral Governor of the Universe had other designs superior to them all '[1]

This concept, later defined as the 'Providential Design', was to play a major role in the missionary and philanthropic thinking of this period. It is not difficult to recognize that the 'Design' was in one sense nothing more than rationalisation and yet from another perspective there were parallels with the Exodus and the Exile.

As far as Knibb was concerned, the fact that there were 'Eboes, Mandingoes, Congoes and other nations' receiving instruction in order to

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1. Knibb W., Farewell sermon preached at Eagle St. Chapel, Red Lion Square, August 17th, 1834: The Spiritual Prospects of Africa. A copy is in the Angus Library 2(a)5(t). N.B. Knibb was thinking in terms of the West Indies and not just Jamaica as a preparatory school for those who would civilise Africa. His knowledge of current affairs revealed in the sermon is amazing seeing he lived in Jamaica for the most part. It can only mean that communicationswere good.

return to Africa was a proof of 'Providential Design'. In his mind emancipation was the new Exodus and Canaan.

In 1836, the African perspective was very much on his mind. In a letter written to his son preserved in a Memoir of William Knibb, son of William Knibb missionary (1840) he told his heir,

> 'It is my fondest desire that you may become a blessing to Africa or to her children here.'[1]

Unfortunately, the child died soon after this and he was broken hearted.

The third indication of Knibb's involvement occurs in a letter to Dr. Hoby in April 1839, he observed that

> 'very interesting meetings in Kingston and St. Thomas ye Vale respecting Africa had occurred.'[2]

It would therefore seem that both Gardener (d.1838) and Clarke of Jericho were involved within the desire for a mission on the part of the membership. But there exists no statement on the part of their membership at this time committing themselves to an African mission as such.

Perhaps the greatest involvement of the church membership came from Maldon, in the hills of St. James. On August 3rd, 1839, a huge meeting was held to celebrate the first anniversary of freedom and to baptise fifteen new members. Picton, who had originally been sent out as a

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1. Hoby, op. cit. (letter d/d July 11th, 1836), pp.56-7. See also M.H.
2. Hinton, op. cit., p.280 (letter d/d Falmouth, April 22nd, 1839). In this letter Knibb tells Hoby that 'An African by birth has left this island taking with him only a letter of recommendation from his late pastor brother Gardener, has worked his passage to Africa etc.' This was not a strange thing. Madden R.R. reported correspondence between Moslems in Africa and their counterparts in Jamaica and Clarke of Jericho reported meeting two Africans on their way from Trinidad to their home in the hinterland of Fernando Po. See Madden R.R., Twelve Months in the West Indies (2 Vols., 1837), Vol.2, pp.183-9 cf. Cartin (ed.) Africa Remembered Chap. 5, note 1, p.152.

teacher, but had been ordained as a pastor, explained that it was necessary to remind them that the British public had paid a 'great price' for their freedom and that it was their duty to extend their newly acquired liberties to those parts of the world which were still enslaved.

In response to Picton's opening speech there were seven replies made by former slaves.

The first was John Grey who had been a 'praedial' apprentice and he observed,

> 'perhaps some of the slave ships which go now to Africa, have taken away some of our own relations and made them slaves. Pray that the gospel may be sent to Africa. It is our duty to do so. Assist in sending missionaries to Africa, thus show that you are thankful to God for freedom.'[1]

He was followed to the platform by William Gordon, who was a freed Black of some standing. He asserted that it was the duty of the church to express gratitude for what the gospel did. He asked,

> 'What is this freedom? We heard of it - now we see it; but where did it come from? Did it come from man or God? ... now we know that we have a God and a Saviour, and that he has pitied us - He has poured out his Holy Spirit and blessed us ... He looked down from Heaven, and saw a Pharoah oppressing us, and then he sent Moses to deliver us ... God! Some of you have been baptized this morning, remember it will not do to serve God and then turn back; .. religion gave us this freedom but America and Africa are not yet free. Our good Queen sends her man of war to stop slavery, but she cannot. Send the gospel to the very part where they get their slaves, and that will stop slavery. Will you clap your hands and shoulders to the gospel (we will, we will) and send it over to Africa.'[2]

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1. History and Proceedings of Baptist Missionary Stations ... (1841), p.58.

2. Ibid.

William Russell had been trained as a teacher in Burchell's Lancastrian school and had moved into the hills to help Dendy. He too supported the plea to send the gospel to Africa in order to stop the Slave Trade. He declared,

> 'You know the hardships of slavery; many that are now slaves in other countries are perhaps treated worse than the slaves were in this country. From Africa thousands are constantly being stolen and sold, and stowed away in ships ... We must endeavour to stop this. To Africa we must send the gospel: ... Oh my friends, think of Africa - pray for Africa, never rest satisfied until the gospel finds its way to Africa.'[1]

Richard Henly, who spoke next, related the African perspective to the 'blessings' of education and the presence of popular education within the reach of all. He proceeded,

> 'Remember Africa, we must join our hands and hearts together to break up the African Slave Trade.'[2]

William Bernard, like Russell a trained teacher, related personal freedom to the African perspective,[3] while James Lovemore, another teacher, related it to the local extension programme. It was not a good speech but he observed that the membership

> 'must now endeavour to upset slavery in America and the slave trade in Africa. May God spare the Queen's life so that she may send watchmen to watch over Africa, and protect the people there.'[4]

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1. History and Proceedings of Baptist Missionary Stations (1841)pp.59-60½
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 'On the estates young girls were taken and made beasts of, but they dare not do that now ... God has not given freedom to one but to all. Let us pray night and day that our relations in Africa may be made free too.' p.61.
4. Ibid., p.62.

The final speaker, Robert Scott, had been born in Africa. He had been an overseer and had fallen foul of his master because he had become a Baptist. Scott, and this seems to be the only record of him, suggested that he would not have been either a slave or orphan had the fatherland been Christian. And so he urged, 'We must send the gospel to Africa.'[1]

While not wishing to doubt the authenticity of this account which is the fullest account available of the church life in any part of Jamaica in relation to this question, it seems quite likely that massive editorial emendations have been made in the interests of publication. It must also be remembered that the Proceedings were published in 1841, at a time when propaganda for an African mission was needed, and it is probable that these testimonies, while not forgeries, do not reflect an authentic desire. Indeed, Robert Scott had suggested that he would have preferred to sing the praises of freedom, but 'I am to speak about Africa.' There are so many unanswered questions here. Who did the prompting?

What is however certain is that the freed slaves were not averse to speaking about Africa but their main fear was the continuation of the Slave Trade, and Slavery in America and Cuba. There was every reason for fear because there had been cases of attempted abductions in some regions by planters, who owned estates in Cuba or Georgia.

Furthermore, their pleas were always 'to send' missionaries to Africa, except in the case of Scott, who volunteered. But this does give added point to the fact that when missionaries actually left some years later

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1. Proceedings ... Missionary Stations etc., p.63.

none of the speakers here was among them.

This trend 'to send' also appears in a letter written by Sturge to Clark expressing some reservations about an African mission in July that year. Sturge had observed,

> 'It is beautiful to me this desire in the negroes to extend their blessings to the land of their forefathers. This zeal however will I believe require great watchfulness on the part of their more experienced friends. They should none of them be encouraged to undertake so momentous an office as that of going to Preach the Gospel to their benighted brethren in Africa I think (until) they were not only properly qualified in the judgment of those Christian friends that were best qualified to judge, (but) till it's very clear this was the individual line of duty in them who undertake it - any unsuitable person going out would probably produce serious mischief - even if such were really pious persons. I have been led perhaps more into these remarks from having had a letter from 5 or 6 individuals descendants of Africa applying for aid and some of whom if I understand rightly are unwilling themselves to go.'[1]

So that even in Clark's area it appears that enthusiasm was not great. And in Tinson's letters in the Missionary Herald, no mention of Africa occurs up to August of 1839.

The impression may well be gained that the B.M.S. Committee had in fact understood the situation better than the Association on the spot. What then could have led the Association to make this claim on behalf of their people?

It seems, to begin with, that up to 1839 at least the response was on an individual basis and isolated, but it was so marked as to be considered significant by the Association.

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1. Fenn Collection, d/d July 13th, 1839. The text of the letter is not clear but this is a faithful representation. Doubtful words are in brackets.

It must also be remembered that for all these years missionaries had fed their congregations and themselves on a diet of Exilic texts. The Report of 1838, for instance, used a text from Nehemiah as a caption. At Salter's Hill on the anniversary of Emancipation, Burchell preached from Nehemiah 12. Similarly, from the reports sent to the B.M.S. and published in the Missionary Herald from 1836-39, Deutero-Isaianic texts appear to have played a large part in the spiritual development of the church. And to this must also be added the continued use of Psalms 69 v.31.[1] So that there existed an Exodus motif in a great part of their thinking and by implication the 'fatherland', Africa, assumed the role of the promised land and the missionaries, Moses.

Closely knit with the Exodus-Exile motif has always been a land. It is noteworthy that it was in precisely those places where the Ejectment Act and the Trespass Act created most uncertainty and instability that the mission was popular and would-be volunteers sprang up.

In 1839, the Planters of St. James formed themselves into a committee and drew up a petition blaming the Baptists for the loss of sugar production on the estates, and at the same time as a reprisal ejected many Baptists, who for many years had lived on these estates of St. James and Trelawney.[2]

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1. See Proceedings ... Missionary Stations etc. p.22; also M.H. June 1836 p.44; Nov. 1836, p.85; 1837 March, p.21; July 1838, p.55; Aug. 1839, pp.38-41; Ps.69 v.31 'Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand unto God'.

2. Ibid., pp.24-26; In reply the Baptists called a meeting in St. James under the chairmanship of Israel Levin, a Jewish merchant, and condemned the Report maintaining that certain erroneous ideas had been circulated about the peasantry. They passed a resolution demanding 'fair rents and fair wages' and sent it to the Secretary of State, London; the Governor of Jamaica, Joseph Sturge, John Dyer (B.M.S. Secretary) and William Burge, the Jamaica Agent. It was also published in the Colonial Reformer of Jamaica, the British Emancipator and Patriot. For Memorandum to the Proprietors of Sugar Estates residing in England see Hinton, op.cit.pp.297-8 cf. Waddell, op.cit.p.152. For a parallel situation which illuminates the issues see Hinton op.cit.pp.288-306 (Knibb's speech 288-290)

A similar state of affairs existed in the estate belt situated in St. Thomas ye Vale, while in Kingston there were already signs of overcrowding. So that given the Biblical orientation of the Church and the lack of land and a leadership already committed to Repatriation, an African missionary perspective was a foregone conclusion.

To this must be added two other considerations, (a) the international reference of the Jamaican Mission and (b) the influence of the Anti-Slavery Movement and its African orientation.

In April 1839, coeval with the B.M.S. reply to the Jamaican Association, the African Civilisation Society or the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade and the Civilisation of Africa was formed. Founded in Lushington's house, it attempted to propound the principle that Africa had to deliver itself by its own resources. This could not have been otherwise for as early as 1824, Africa had become an unpopular subject because the Liberated African Department had become an expensive burden. Abolition had created a loss of about £7 million in Liverpool alone and there was panic among the West Indian planters.[1] The basic aims of the Society were to be carried out by concluding trade treaties with coastal African chiefs;

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1. See Gallagher, 'Fowell-Buxton and the New African Policy 1832-1842' Camb. Hist. Journ. No.10 (1950), pp.36-58. This article is most important for the understanding of the background to the Niger Expedition and the African Civilisation Society. It also defines some of the problems Buxton faced and suggests that on the surface it was expensive; it contemplated an empire of doubtful merit; it offended pacifists and angered African trading interests in Bristol and Liverpool and it envisaged the reversal of British policy. cf. Ifemesia, 'The Civilising Mission of 1841': Aspects of an Episode in Anglo Nigerian relations', JH.SN. Vol.2, Nov.3, 1962, pp.291-310, and Anon., Liverpool and Slavery (1884) for the background of the Trade.

developing a merchant fleet trading between West Africa and Britain, and it envisaged that a team of 'black agents' would staff the enterprise. But in order to ensure the success of the venture, Buxton had also suggested that a naval squadron should be based in the area to suppress 'Slave Trading' in the region.[1]

While it had been the sanction of 'force' that had alienated Sturge from the African Civilisation Society, it was the envisaged use of 'black agents' as an integral part of its programme which attracted the missionary interest in the West Indies. The development of its organisation does not concern us in depth, and in any case may be studied through their Reports collected in several archives, and also Howard Temperley's recent publication, British Anti-Slavery 1833-1870 (1972).[2] The Society's importance lies in the contacts it succeeded in making with Jamaican Baptist leaders against all odds and their involvement through John Trew, the agent of the Mico Trust in Kingston and a former C.M.S. missionary, whose personal links with the B.M.S. were solid.[3] It was due largely to him that its overseas

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1. See Buxton Chas., op. cit., pp.459-62 (particular attention ought to be paid to the notes); also Knutsford, op. cit., pp.201, 223-5. cf. Lloyd, The Navy and the Slave Trade etc. (1949), pp.3-183; Laird, Remedies of the Slave Trade, a Reprint from Westminster Review etc. (1842) and Webster, 'The Bible and the Plough' J.H.S.N. Vol.2, No.4 (Dec . 1963), pp.418-434 and Coupland, Wilberforce, pp.453ff on the difficulty of obtaining international co-operation.

2. Temperley, op. cit. xii, pp.55-7, 60-1, 66, 68, 90, 171-2. An excellent book on the history of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

3. The Rev. John Trew was rector of Manchester, Jamaica, until 1818. In his returns for 1818-21, he reported 5,779 slave marriages on his register. He established a branch of the Bible Society in St. Thomas in the East in 1824 where he had moved. In 1826, the C.M.S. gave him £100 to employ a coloured cathecist'. He published an appeal in the Jamaica Historical Review Vol.1, No.1 in 1826 for that purpose. He was against Slavery because it hindered evangelism and the Rev. George

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work was established.

In 1838, Buxton had asked Trew to address a circular to the missionary societies inquiring

> 'whether trustworthy persons could be found for various departments of our operations.'[1]

It bore fruit quickly. John Dyer (1784-1841), the secretary of the B.M.S., who had been in correspondence with Buxton and was involved in the Anti-Slavery movement sent him a Jamaican appeal to the B.M.S., which Buxton later printed, imploring him,

> 'at the earliest opportunity, you will bring ... before the members of the committee with our earnest request that they will take it into their prayerful and serious consideration and without delay adopt measures to realise the desire of many thousands of their fellow Christians in the island. The subject is, a mission to the interior of Western Africa.'[2]

The writer of this letter is unknown. The letter itself does not appear in any form in the Missionary Herald nor is it referred to elsewhere. But its contents suggest that dated as it was January 21st 1839, it was an advance copy sent by Burchell of the official letter sent by the Jamaica Baptist Association after its meeting that January.

By March the suggestion of an African mission had stirred up great

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Bridges called him a spy. He became the administrator of the Mico Trust in Jamaica through Buxton's influence and later became secretary of A.C.S. He subsequently became Archdeacon of the Bahamas. See Madden, op cit.(thesis) pp.68-69; C.O.37/152 Coxen to Bathurst Sept. 1st, 1821, Negro Slavery, No.16; Rhodes House, Anti-Slavery Reporter, No.76 Feb.15th 1831, p.105; cf. Bapt. Mag. 1837, p.137 and Buxton, The African Slave Trade, etc. pp.492, 495-497 and Proceedings of the C.M.S. p.41 (1844).

1. Buxton, T. Fowell, The African Slave Trade and .. Remedy (1840), p.492

2. Ibid. p.493 Dyer probably sent this letter to Buxton to get some sort of Baptist participation in the Buxton scheme since his own Committee was quite lukewarm to the idea. See Gallagher, Art. cit. and Anti-Slavery Minutes June 14th 1839 For a Memoir of Dyer see Bap. Mag. Sept. 1841, pp.433-440.

enthusiasm in the West Indies especially among the liberated people. The Rector of St. John's, Antigua wrote to Trew supporting the idea, but with some reservations about the scheme itself and replied,

> 'on the whole ... I do not hold the scheme you state in your letter to be at all a visionary one, but am sanguine enough to hope that if you proceed on the plan I have ventured to recommend, you will attain to the desired end by a very speedy and sure and safe way.'[1]

Later that year from Jamaica word came that some of the leading 'coloured' magistrates had taken an interest in the African perspective. Kingdom, (d.1855), writing on Dec. 18th, 1838, reported in the Missionary Herald that

> 'Mr. Anderson is promised the proceeds of some lectures on Jamaica ornithology about to be delivered by Mr. Hill, Secretary to the Governor in the Special Justice Department; and Mr Anderson intends to give us the sum which may be realized by one of his lectures on the ancient and modern state of Africa.'[2]

John Clark (Brown's Town?) had reported similar enthusiasm in September that

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1. Buxton, T. Fowell, The African Slave Trade and .. Remedy, p.493-497. The plan suggested was to begin with an infant school rather than a College to train recruits. An agent should be sent to Antigua to establish a small school with the larger idea in mind. After training, the selected persons would be sent to the C.M.S. College in Britain (Islington) after which they would proceed to Africa under an Anglican superintendent. Halberton, the rector, did not approve of 'sectarian' superintendents, but he did not disapprove of 'freed blacks' and he gave his support to persons selected by the C.M.S. for Sierra Leone. See Proceedings of the C.M.S.41 (1844) cf. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa, Vol.2, p.27.

2. M.H. April 1839, p.31; Hill was a prolific writer, publishing books on the History of the Jews in Jamaica, Ornithology and among others an embryonic History of the Missions of the Churches to Jamaica. John Kingdom was a pastor in Eastern Jamaica. He had to leave because of severe persecution and went to Honduras where he translated parts of the Bible into Spanish and Indian dialects. He went subsequently to the United States and into education and on the orders of the

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> 'the case of Africa was exciting deep sympathy amongst the members of his congregation'[1]

and in the Wesleyan Society, the secretary John Beecham also reported

> 'a number of agents might be obtained ... in the West Indies already qualified for the work.'[2]

Buxton reported about this time that he had received a letter from a 'highly respectable gentleman' in Kingston who reported that

> 'three or four months ago a large meeting consisting of between 2,000 and 3,000 persons was held in the city for the purpose of considering the best means of Christianising Africa.'[3]

And he went on to report that 'a society for the Evangelisation of Africa by means of native agency' had been formed. Unfortunately, to date no records of such a society have been discovered to corroborate this statement. But it is quite probable that the 'respectable gentleman' was referring to an anniversary gathering on August 1st, similar to the one already mentioned which took place in Maldon.

Early in 1839, Buxton wrote to Trew, who was still administering the Mico Trust in Jamaica, urging him to do

> 'something more with respect to the agents with whom the West Indies will supply us'

and continued,

> 'so I must beg you to turn your attention to a new address to the missionaries and school masters in the West.'[4]

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Southern Baptists went to recruit students in Sierra Leone and Liberia for training in America. He died on the trip. His brother William Kingdon went on the Niger Mission as a settler and was the only Baptist included in the complement.

1. Buxton, T. Fowell, op. cit., p.497; John Clarke, Jericho, was unwell at this time so that the writer was most likely the John Clark of Brown's Town.
2. Ibid. p.495
3. Ibid., p.494 - probably Richard Hill already referred to as the Secretary to the Governor etc.
4. Ibid. p.457

In this letter Buxton enclosed another letter written by Miller from Antigua telling him that there were

> 'ten good Christian Blacks ready to be located on the Niger.'[1]

The possibilities were good.

The Jamaica Baptist Association warmed to this universalistic approach. For one thing, the mission had never been narrow in its theological stance. The open fellowship of the Association is plainly reflected in the letters of the missionaries home. Nor indeed were they afraid to go outside the Faith. There had been a close and continued association with the Jews and at least on one occasion at Jericho, Clarke was assisted by a Jew at the Baptism!

But even more important was the fact that the African Civilisation Society possessed a similar approach in ecclesiastical relationships to the Association. Madden has observed that

> 'while Evangelicals maintained the theological principle which was the common foundation of all doctrinal systems of protestantism, they systematically refused to interest themselves in theological differences which had held Protestants apart.'[2]

And this was not unlike the tradition from which the Association sprang at the turn of the century. The tradition of Fuller.

Clipsham has asserted that 'Andrew Fuller provided a theological basis for the Baptist Mission'.[3] While this statement needs modification

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1. Buxton, T. Fowell, op. cit. p.458.

2. Madden, op. cit. p.14, note 1 quoting Halevy I p.437. cf. Spring, 'The Clapham Sect: Some Social and Political Aspects', Vict. Stud. Vol.V No.1, 1961-62, pp.35-48.

3. Clipsham, 'Andrew Fuller and the Baptist Mission'; Foundations Vol.X No.1, 1967, p.6. This article is important as an index to the source of the universalism in the Jamaica Baptist Mission cf. Clipsham, Bapt. Quart. Vol.XX (1963-4), pp.99-114, 146-54, 214-25, 268-76.

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in the light of Carey's[1] own contribution and the work of Rippon and Ryland, it stands true that Fuller gave to the B.M.S. through his theology, his associations with other Missionary Societies, and the respect he demanded from other evangelicals and the Humanitarian movement as a whole, a wider.perspective and an international reference to which the Jamaica Baptist Association was heir.

The implications for the missionaries themselves were of course important. While universalism does not necessarily affect the church membership except in undefined ways, it affects church leaders, both in their theology and in the stance toward practical issues of policy. The choice given to the missionaries by the B.M.S. reply of April 1839 was a choice between the West Indies and Africa. To them, especially after the critical years of 1832-37, it was a choice between a local situation and the world. It is unnecessary to discuss here the tension between Home and Foreign Missions, but churchmen have always known that a real tension exists and choices have to be made. Faced with this tension, the missionaries resolved it by the acceptance of the African perspective. They had come to see the West Indies, as indeed the leadership in Britain had tended to do, as local.

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Fuller was appreciated in the Jamaica Mission; Clarke of Jericho left a copy of Fuller's Gospel worthy of Acceptance with one of his members to read; see M.H. Nov. 1830, p.82. For the role of Rippon see Manley, John Rippon D.D. (1751-1836) etc, passim: Manley has established that Rippon was in fact a 'Fullerite' and this throws light upon his missionary stance. For Ryland, see Bap. Mag. Jan.1826, pp.1-9 (Memoir). There is an urgent need for a biography of Ryland, and for Phillippo's position see Voice of Jubilee, p.258ff. (An article by him).

1. For Carey's contribution see An Enquiry in the obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathens (1792). Facsimile edition 1961 with an introduction by Payne, E., President of the Baptist Historical Society. See Introduction XVIII - XIX.

But there were deeper personal reasons involved. Over the years the struggle against Slavery and the common purpose or ideal of the Anti-Slavery Movement had given to the missionary leaders a new personal identity and meaning for life. Prior to 1833, these were men mostly unknown except to the Baptist circles. An examination of the Missionary Herald, while it reveals some information on Jamaica, is counterbalanced by the minimal appeal the island seemed to manifest in the Baptist Magazine before 1833. Indeed, the only person who appeared regularly in its columns was Burchell, and he had connections. After the insurrection of 1831 the Missionary Herald, 1832-39, contained about 85% coverage of the Jamaican situation and the B.M.S. produced pamphlets designed to put the missionaries' point of view to a public which already knew of them through Parliamentary Debates and the popular press [1] This served to increase their note. The election of 1833 too, fought on the issue of Slavery, catapulted both Knibb and Burchell into the limelight, and with this assured to them within Britain the same public status and meaning that had been accorded in Jamaica.[2]

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1. The extent of the coverage may be demonstrated by the contents of the Baptist Magazine of 1838, a quiet year. Apart from considerable coverage in the Missionary Herald, there were five articles on Apprenticeship; two articles on Apprentices in Jamaica, four articles on emancipation; one on schools and almshouses related to the subject, one on James Williams, one on schools in Jamaica. A Report from C.J. Latrobe on Jamaican education etc...

2. The exclusive attitude of the 'Western Complex' had led to separate Unions. It was justified on the grounds of efficiency but it seemed rather to emerge from a divergence of opinion of the methods of evangelisation. It tended to act alone. In 1838, for instance, the 'Western Union' addressed a memorial to the House of Assembly and it was this same Union that addressed a letter on June 7th, 1838 to the B.M.S. See M.H. Sept 1838, pp.71-72. This Union however was not the

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The Rawson Papers suggest that the missionaries were in continual contact with Sturge after 1837 and there is evidence to suggest that at least Knibb was in contact with many British leaders up to 1842. Phillippo and Burchell were in correspondence with members of the Reform movements and the former went into print.

It is not unreasonable to suggest therefore that not only the universalism of the African Civilisation Society, but the glamour which surrounded it, although in their thinking it was a part of the Anti-Slavery movement, had perhaps some unconscious influence on their bias.

Despite the complex motives at work in both the leadership and the membership, it ought not to be assumed that there was a lack of genuine missionary interest abroad in Jamaica.

In the Scottish Mission this was expressed quite clearly in 1836, when an Independent Presbytery of Jamaica was formed and their Moderator, George Blyth, was instructed to communicate with the General Secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society on the possibility of engaging in other foreign missions. The S.M.S. advised caution especially with regard to an African mission which had been suggested as a strong preference.[1] Waddell, an associate of Blyth, reported that

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national Association although it attempted to usurp the Association's powers until the final termination of the national Association in 1843. In 1847 a new Union, the Jamaica Baptist Union, was suggested by Angus and it became a reality in 1849.

1. See Blyth's Correspondence d/d Jan. 10th, 1837, Ms.8985; Nat. Lib. Scotland, Edinburgh. The S.M.S. was founded in 1796 and established missions in Jamaica in 1800. Later Jamaica Mission was transferred to the Church of Scotland.

> 'a freedom offering was proposed on behalf of the missionary Societies, Aug. 1838 and £24 was the result ... Early in 1839, a congregational meeting was held and addressed by various brethren, when the duty of all Christians and especially Jamaican Christians, to send the gospel to the heathen was well stated and enforced. A missionary society was then organised to receive by regular collections from all members monthly gifts according to their ability. That year the contributors amounted to two hundred and fifty and the amount to £66.'[1]

The previous year they had remitted £32 to the S.M.S. for missions and the Bible Society.

Methodism in Jamaica had a vicarious interest in T.B. Freeman, the missionary to Ghana and his reports were read by the churches in the region. It was not until 1845 however that there was a strong West Indian interest when a Grenadian went to Gambia and a link was forged with West Africa in that church.[2]

Within the Baptist Association, there existed a universal concern for the gospel witness in other lands. At a special missionary meeting held on December 11th, 1837 at Salter's Hill (Crooked Tree), a special resolution was passed and an appeal made to the churches to support the request for ten additional missionaries to India.[3] This was an interest

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1. Waddell, Twentynine years in the West Indies and Central Africa etc. (1863), p.160.

2. See Moister, Africa and the West Indies (1866) p.110 re Henry Wharton, a Grenadian who went to Gambia from the West Indies as a missionary. cf. M.H. Jan. 1841, p.10 (Freeman's Journal was widely read.)

3. History and Proceedings ... Missionary Stations etc., p.20. The special meeting was held at Salter's Hill and the resolution was, 'That the present state of the East Indies claims the sympathy of the Baptist churches in Jamaica; and that the appeal which the Baptist Missionary Society has made to them, to assist in sending ten additional labourers into that part of the missionary field, is entitled to their prompt regard.' A third resolution agreed upon a subscription to be sent to the B.M.S. The 1839 Accounts show that £728 15s. 9d. were contributed to this project. M.H. July 1838, p.59.

which had emerged primarily from a sense of gratitude that the freed slaves felt. So to them therefore and to some of their leaders, caution from the B.M.S. or the Anti-Slavery Movement appeared to be opposition to the Holy Spirit. They were in no position to analyse that the primary motive of the African Civilisation Society or indeed the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was either 'compensation' or 'reparation', motives to which no time limit for implementation could be attached. The missionary and his people in contrast, were anxious. The urgency of the Gospel demanded this. The politician for his part was cautious. The explosive nature of the political and economic situation and the conflicting commercial interests demanded it.But the Missionary Society - why was the Committee cautious?

In September, Knibb wrote to the Committee to find out. In his letter he lamented that

> 'it is with deepest sorrow of heart that I have learned that the object of establishing a mission in Africa has been abandoned by you. On behalf of the guilty and perishing millions I earnestly implore your attention to this momentous question ... I have ventured thus to address those to whom I am bound by every sentiment of gratitude and esteem. I cannot for one moment suppose that the claims of Africa are not considered urgent enough to to demand your sympathies or that the present supply of agency has led to the belief that there is not a loud call for your immediate action. I suppose that the difficulties are considered insurmountable, or that the want of the means is regarded as a decisive objection.'
>
> As I have ever been sustained in the feeble efforts I have made for the emancipation of the members of my church ... by the cheering hope that it would lead to the introduction of the gospel into Africa, I feel that I should be wanting in my duty to the great cause ... not to implore you to assist in the formation of a plan by which this mighty work may be commenced. As the claims of Africa are to be fully discussed during the ensuing year in London ... that you at the same time, either with the assistance of the convention or without adopt some definite measure on the subject ...
>
> The plan I would propose to the committee is, that from six to twelve pious black men ... should at once be trained and should

> visit England to be placed for a few months in the summer either in some academy, or (which I should prefer) with some energetic servant of Christ ... With these missionaries some one of us should go to any selected spot in Africa and remain a year or two, and then return and report progress.'[1]

Knibb then suggested that he would be prepared to lead such a group if the Committee permitted him and that the cost of such a missionary enterprise could be met by the Jamaican churches if the mortgages on the buildings were paid.

Clark had written to Sturge asking him to enquire why the B.M.S. had turned down the mission. Sturge replied in October and reported,

> 'I believe the backwardness of your missionary society in not yet having taken any active steps towards promoting your intended African mission does not proceed from any want of anxiety from the Society. I have had some conversation with (some) of your Mission on the subject and I confess as I have expected my fear that this great and important work might not only be prejudiced by its being entered upon by the excellent and devoted members of your church who are so ready to go on this Mission being not in all respects qualified for it but by its being undertaken too early and before the fullest information as to the best mode of proceeding, the place to land and men obtained. A good deal of consideration upon this subject I confess has but heightened my fears and at present they are so strong that I should not at present take part in <u>immediate</u> promotions ... anything like a failure ... might throw back your work for many years and in proportion to its magnitude is the importance of your not making a false step. The difficulties and dangers are of no common order and as Buxton's Society would not only sanction but encourage such enterprise I think it is one I cannot take any part in because it involves a compromise of my principles on the subject of Peace. I do not like also Tim Burge, McQueen amongst its supporters and I have rather a strong suspicion that it will fail in its objects till the slave markets are closed in the Western

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1. Hinton, op. cit. pp.281-284, extracts from letter to B.M.S. Committee d/d Sept. 17th, 1839. This letter seems to have been preserved by Hinton only. The B.M.S. Archives have no copy; but when the Committee met in November it referred an American candidate for the African field to Jamaica, this partly explains why Knibb travelled to Britain via United States the next year; see <u>B.M.S. Min. Bk. F. Min.163</u>, d/d Nov. 7th, 1839, p.2.

> World by the abolition of Sl(avery). It will however be more fully developed in another year and you will be able to judge whether you can safely place your missions under the wing of its protection.'[1]

These two long extracts depict clearly the arguments which the Jamaican missionaries presented and also the Society's position, which it shared in common with Sturge.

It would appear that the Society feared three things. Firstly 'failure', which in their opinion could not only ruin an African mission but destroy the Jamaican and West Indian 'image' in the eyes of the World. It was their concern that emancipation should not prove that Blacks could not behave responsibly in independence. Secondly, some of the Committee adhered to the principle of 'Peace' - 'pacifism' and feared that it might be compromised, but even where this was not the case others maintained that it was better to demolish the Slave markets of the West, in order that the Slave Trade might be deemed unnecessary. This of course was a vote of confidence in emancipation, for it assumed that the freed slaves were competent to fulfil the role of labourers on the estates, or alternatively to become good peasant farmers. Thirdly, the Committee asserted that even if a mission were possible, the education of the masses had not progressed far enough to produce the qualified missionary which a new missionfield needed.

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1. Fenn Collection d/d Oct. 14th, 1839. This is an important letter because it informs Clark of the founding of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Association as well as commenting on some of the reasons behind the reluctance of the B.M.S. to support an African mission.

On the other hand, the Jamaican arguments were a mixture of hope and possibilities and not based on concrete evidence. Knibb for instance maintained that personnel could be made available under a limited training scheme and at first should work under European supervision. While this concept of trusteeship was certainly not new thinking, in essence it supported the notion that the freed slave was semi-independent and could not be trusted on his own with responsibility - a concept which was to linger and become a reason for the introduction of Crown Colony government later.

With regard to the cost of the operation, Knibb's plan was even more unrealistic. It was based on two assumptions, each questionable. Firstly, that if the mortgages were paid on the church buildings and schools then it would be possible for them to underwrite a substantial part of the cost of an African mission. And secondly, that an appeal to the churches in Britain would provide the other needed sums to balance the budget. Knibb had not taken into account the impact of free trade upon the economic climate. Instead of more money circulating in Jamaica, inflation had reduced the value of money, and not only had Jamaica devalued but this cast an increased burden upon the churches who found it necessary to shoulder higher mortgage repayments.[1] In Britain itself the enthusiasm which had been generated because 1833 had been an election year and partly due to the glamour of the subject - freedom of worship had evaporated and could hardly

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1. See, for the antecedents of this situation, Mintz, 'Currency problems in eighteenth century Jamaica and Gresham's Law', Process and Pattern in Culture (ed.) Manners (1964), pp.248-265.

be stirred up by a subject of particular interest - Africa. To this must be added the great dissatisfaction which had been voiced by the West African trading interests[1] over what in their opinion was the interference of Government in commercial dealings on the one hand, and on the other, the complaints of the West Indian lobby, already disgruntled by emancipation and a lack of labourers.[2] The possibilities of an African mission of any sort would necessarily attract very limited support in these circumstances.

Indeed it does appear that Knibb had developed his plan influenced by the nostalgia of halcyon days. The Committee however had appreciated the harsh realities of a commercial age. And even Clark appeared to have been more realistic in his approach.

As 1839 drew to its close it appeared that a Baptist mission to Africa was doomed. But two events occurred to allow the question to be raised again.

In November 1839, Knibb wrote to Dyer informing him that the Jamaica Baptist Association had appointed him their representative at the Anti-Slavery Convention to be held in London in June 1840 and that he intended

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1. See Laird, Remedies for the Slave Trade, p.39-41, 44 and sections of Appendix D.. for alternatives to an African enterprise cf. Jamieson, An Appeal to the Govt. ... Niger Expedition (1840), App. A and B. See also C.O. 2/22, 1613 Niger Expedition, Jamieson to Russell Aug 8, 1840 and C.O. 2/22 to McQueen Jan. 12th, 1839 and C.O. 2/21 unsigned draft Feb. 1st, 1839.

2. A discussion on the shortage of labour may be followed in: Burn, Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies (1937), Clarkson, Not a labourer wanted for Jamaica (1840); Asiegbu, op. cit. pp.35-37, 217; Hinton, op. cit., pp.288-308; Waddell, op. cit. pp.148-9, 200-203. There also exists a mass of Parl. Papers dealing with Emigration from Britain and Africa all relevant to this problem. See also Lawrence, Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana 1834-70,

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to attend. He outlined his plans as firstly to proceed to Africa after the Convention, on a fact finding tour and secondly, to visit America en route to Britain to discover as much as he could.[1]

The second event was a libel case which Knibb brought against the Cornwall Courier, printed in Montego Bay, for an article it had printed in July 1838. The article had given rise to a defamatory poster which was placarded in Falmouth during February 1839. The Jamaica Despatch, another newspaper, printed in Kingston a similar version and it subsequently reached the London press where it appeared in John Bull. Knibb lost the case in the Jamaican courts and asked the B.M.S. to appeal on his behalf, but this they refrained from doing.

Contemporaneously, Oughton, the pastor in Lucea, was indicted on a libel charge and fined £2,000, together with the Rector of Lucea. Oughton appealed to the B.M.S. and this in turn led to the establishment of a Jamaica Persecution Fund, which made grants to both men. Eventually, Knibb was awarded damages of £70 by Lord Denman in the Court of the Queen's Bench on Feb. 27th, 1840.[2]

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(recently published thesis), pp.30-51 of the thesis itself. Although not Jamaica, the problems and solutions offered were similar.

1. Hinton, op. cit., pp.340-41, letter to Dyer d/d Nov. 26th, 1839

2. Hinton, op. cit., pp.335-6: The complete picture see pp.322-339. I do not share Hinton's view that Knibb was thin skinned and too sensitive. If the Planters had succeeded in discrediting Knibb, they would have succeeded in creating doubt in the masses with regard to Baptist leadership. This could have had serious consequences for the masses. For the Libel case in Hanover when Oughton was fined £2,000, Stainsby, the rector £2,000 and Casely, a labourer £1,000 see M.H. Oct. 1839, pp.72-74, 86 and B.M.S. Report 1840, p.25.

Seldom has Law and Grace conspired in one person to the same apparent end as it did for Knibb. For these two events obliged him to travel to Britain in March 1840. He was accompanied by some of his relations and two of his deacons[1] but above all he had a mandate from the Association to attempt to reopen the question of an African mission with the Committee at all costs.

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1. See M.H. June 1840, p.207 cf. Hinton, op. cit., p.342 and Clarke, Memorials etc., pp.111-12. A large group of Jamaican missionaries were in Britain for various reasons at this time. John Clarke (of Jericho) was home on leave recuperating for illness and uncertain of his return. Mrs. Gardner and her orphaned children, together with the Barlows of Annatto Bay were also there. Knibb was accompanied by Mrs. Dendy who was a relative; see M.H. Sept. 1839, pp.57-60 and M.H. Oct., 1839, p.78.

CHAPTER 5

Divided Loyalties -
Changing Missionary Policy 1840-1842

When Knibb arrived in Britain together with his cousin, his daughters and two of his deacons, he discovered on disembarking at Holyhead, that he had missed the Annual Meetings of the B.M.S. Fortunately however, if 'Celtic winds' had been adverse, the 'London winds' were favourable and it had been decided to arrange a special public meeting in Exeter Hall,

> 'to meet Mr. Knibb and to hear from him intelligence of missionary exertions in Jamaica.'[1]

As it turned out, this personal gesture to him due to his late arrival was a stroke of good fortune since it enabled him to put the African claim singly and in an atmosphere charged with emotion. Had he been at the Annual Meeting, he probably would have been one of nine or ten speakers.[2] There had been nine speeches, five of which had dealt with the missions in the East, and where the West Indies was mentioned, the mission was treated as a thing of the past from which the Society might draw some inspiration. Africa was not even mentioned.

The meeting at Exeter Hall was fixed for May 22nd and Knibb had some time to prepare for it. Having arrived at Holyhead on May 3rd, he travelled to Liverpool during the following week and had then proceeded to Birmingham

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1. M.H. June 1840, p.205 cf. July 1840, p.217 and Hinton, op. cit., p.351.
2. Ibid., June 1840 pp.195-205 (An account of the Annual Meeting).

where he addressed a large gathering in the Town Hall on May 19th, before he went further south to London. In spite of the massive documentation of Knibb's life as revealed in his biography, it is not clear with whom he s stayed during these critical weeks. This knowledge would certainly have thrown considerable light on the subsequent behaviour of the B.M.S. Committee If in Liverpool he had met with Birrell, a strong personality and influential in B.M.S. and Union circles and in Birmingham with Thomas Swan, (1795-1857), who was Chairman of the Union in 1839, he would certainly have been in a position to influence two important Baptist leaders. Then there was Joseph Sturge, whose influence was considerable in the community at large as well as in missionary circles.

On May 22nd, the Exeter Hall was crowded and Knibb appeared with Barrett and Beckford, two of his deacons. Joseph Sturge was in the Chair. While the details of the meeting do not interest us, its impact upon the B.M.S. and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society does.[1]

Knibb had made a case for an African mission on four grounds. Firstly, he argued that emancipation had been a huge success despite Metcalfe's condemnation of the Baptists in his memorandum to the Colonial Office. Secondly, he insisted that the stereotype of the 'lazy' black was ill-informed and that in fact production had not fallen. Thirdly, he painted a picture of massive and generous congregations on the verge of self-support. Fourthly, he pointed out that the numbers in Jamaica were so much larger than those in Indian churches that it was necessary to have as large a

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1. M.H. July 1840, p.217. A copy of the proceedings of the meeting exists in the Spurgeon's College Library. It is a rare report.

staff as obtained in India.

Each argument was designed as a defence of the Jamaican church. But while making the defence, Knibb suggested that if the churches were properly reorganized and established they could become the base from which an African mission might be launched. And it was to this that the audience was drawn.

Perhaps Knibb was aware that he had not made out a very strong case and so what followed was a combination of cajoling, rebuking and pleading, which sprang from inspired moments of dazzling oratory.

First, he challenged the prevailing concept of "quality or purity' in church leadership and asked whether missionaries 'must learn Latin and Greek before they go to Africa'.[1] Although he was probably unaware of it he had held up to critical gaze in that question the traditional concept current in British society of the pastor as an educated gentleman. In its place he had substituted by implication a concept of cultural identification which was functional within existing patterns. Africa on this thesis could most easily be converted by the African.

Secondly, he accused the public of unwitting prejudice. He informed the meeting that,

> 'after 1838, a black brother in connexion with Mr. Gardener's church ... worked his passage out to Africa. He is on the spot from whence he was stolen, proclaiming salvation through the blood of the Lamb. You honour, and justly honour, such men as Williams and Pearce; you are surrounded by the sainted spirits of Carey and Morrison; and because Keith is black will you forget him?'[2]

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1. Hinton, op. cit., pp.351-368 (This speech is given in excerpts.).

2. Ibid., p.364. There is some confusion as to whether it was one or two who went. The name is given sometimes as Thomas Keith, at others as James Keats. It was probably one person, whose name was Thomas Keith, the James came from confusion with James Williams. The alternative spelling of Keith may be easily explained. No more was heard of Keith.

Thirdly, he proposed a plan which made it possible to solve the language problem. He pointed out that in Jamaica there existed possible teachers, locals taken from the arrested slave-ships.[1] And that at least one possibly had royal connections with King Bel of the Cameroons.

Fourthly, Knibb gave the assurance of active Jamaican participation in the financing of the venture. In his attempt to show that the church was well able to do this he gave a catalogue of their virtues. This ranged from the raising of £18,000 in about six years to build churches and schools, to paying the salaries of seven teachers and contributing to the Anti-Slavery Society. Although this speech was a testimony to Knibb's great faith in his flock, in fact these details were ill-advised, as it only reinforced the prevailing belief that the Jamaican churches could well support themselves and that the sooner they were made independent the better. It also seemed to underscore the criticism of certain sections of the missionary movement that money was being squandered in the colony on unimportant items and also that a mission to Africa was not really the business of the B.M.S. but a Jamaican prerogative since they had formulated the idea. This criticism did not take into account the real problems which had surrounded devaluation, nor the difficulties attendant upon the introduction of new fiscal measures at the peasant level and the resultant confusion, nor the frustration built up in the deprived by land hunger. Nor

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1. Hinton, op. cit., pp.364-5; 'In an official communication which I have received ... says "if you or your society want men from whom you may learn the language you shall have the pick of every ship ..." And also, "I have in my house at the present time a most interesting young man from Gouna, on the borders of Lake Shad. He was selling commodities on the Niger etc."'

did Knibb or the Committee evaluate adequately the competition that the Free Villages, some 200 by 1842, totalling 100,000 acres, would give to the church budget and therefore to any outreach.[1]

In its immediate objective, the speech of May 22nd was a success. It forced the B.M.S., within the context of an Anti-Slavery policy to re-open the subject. Knibb was invited to meet the Committee on May 28th in a meeting at which all the latest letters from Jamaica on the subject were read. Among them was a letter from Burchell dated January 21st, a formal letter written on the instructions of the Association, which had met in Brown's Town urging the Committee to utmost speed.[2]

Knibb spoke to it but the Committee remained cautious, content to record that

> 'they concur in the sentiments he had expressed in relation to the importance of strengthening our Mission in Jamaica.'[3]

They then postponed detailed discussion on an African mission for a special meeting on the following Wednesday, June 3rd.

The Committee met at 10 o'clock on June 3rd 1840, with a limited agenda. Knibb was present. The records do not comment on the details of the meeting, much to our loss, but the meeting decided that,

> 'in compliance with the representation of our brethren in Jamaica and following what we apprehend to be the clear indications of Providence, we determine in reliance on Divine Helping to commence a mission to West Africa.'[4]

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1. Ibid., p.360 and Sibley, The Baptists of Jamaica (1965) IV. Later in 1842, Knibb reported that £81,240 had been spent to build free cottages in these Free Villages: Hinton, op. cit. p.428.
2. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G. Min 333/22 d/d May 28th 1840, p.62.
3. Hinton, op. cit., p.368.
4. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min. 338/28, pp.64-65.

It further recorded that

> 'the offer of T.E. Ward of Falmouth to visit Africa for this purpose accompanied by such coloured brethren as may in the judgment of our Jamaican missionaries be suitable for the undertaking be accepted'

and that

> 'Mr. Knibb be requested to procure and communicate to the Committee, as speedily as possible, all the information he can obtain with reference to the best mode of carrying the above Resolutions into effect.'[1]

There were many reasons for this change in B.M.S. policy between April and June. Not least was the fact that Jamaica's advocate had been endorsed by the Anti-Slavery Society. Knibb had been a resounding success in Birmingham as well as in London. And this success had forced the British Government to ostracize him which in the eyes of the Baptists was a sign of orthodoxy. In fact what had happened was that the Government, anxious for a rapprochement with the West Indian sugar interests, had sent Metcalfe to patch up their relations on the spot. The Baptists had been uncooperative and therefore any sign of favour in London could have been misinterpreted. In the B.M.S. itself there was also a perceptible change in the attitude to Buxton's mission due to the impact of The African Slave Trade (1839) upon the public.[2]

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1. Ibid., section 2 and 3 of the Min. 338/28. T.E. Ward was an African who became a Baptist. He had been sent out by the C.M.S. He was accepted by Knibb and taught in the Falmouth school. Later he was disqualified on moral grounds. See B.M.S. Min. Bk., G; Min.291 and 292 d/d Dec. 3rd 1840, 'his conduct by his own admissions has been such as to disqualify him from retaining any public office in connexion with the mission.'

2. See The Second Editorial, Mission to Western Africa, in which the editor gives as reasons for a mission (a) the endorsement of Jamaican missionaries in England (b) the fearful disclosures made in a recent work of Mr. Buxton (c) co-operation from North America, particularly

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But the mode of endorsement of the African mission had other implications which at the time no one foresaw. In the succeeding resolution, the Committee agreed

> 'that in order to effect this object (additional missionaries to Jamaica) as well as to commence a mission to Western Africa appeals be forthwith made to our Auxilliary Churches and the public by Mr. Knibb, in conjuction with our ministers and Deputations, it being understood that all monies raised be paid into the general funds, except specifically appropriated by the donors.'[1]

This meant that an African mission and the need for more missionaries in the West Indies were linked together and therefore were treated as one project, so that in due course the financing of any one was at the expense of the other. Furthermore, the public relations which Knibb was now being called upon to do was unrelated to either area of his concern but related directly to general funds.[2]

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from the Baptist Churches, and it concludes with the information that Gutteridge had given £50, Sturge £100 and Gurney £100 to the venture. Printed after the editorial is a letter from W.B. Gurney, the treasurer of the Society endorsing such a mission, addressed to John Dyer, the Secretary; see M.H. July 1840, p.217 cf. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min. 348/38 and 53, pp.69-70, 75. Rev. Calver of Boston and the American Baptist Convention invited to the B.M.S. Committee promised both personnel and funds for an African Mission.

1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min. 339, p.66.

2. The B.M.S. decided to have two secretaries and a new Headquarters at this time also. The budget was indeed strained. See M.H. April 1840, p.174 for Secretarys appointment. The appointment was not ratified until 1841; see B.M.S. Min. Bk., G., Min. 644, 645 d/d Oct. 6th, 1841, p.252.

By July however the situation had changed again and the Mission was again in the balance. When the Committee met on July 16th, Dyer laid before the Committee a statement from which it appeared that up to August, £955 would be outstanding and a further £108 would be due on embarkation of the new recruits to the Society. He therefore proposed,

> 'that before we enter on the consideration of any new undertakings application be made to the Treasurer to know whether should we enlarge our expenditure, it would be agreeable to him to make those advances which the state of the funds will probably require.'[1]

and in another Minute Joseph Angus, (1816-1902) was instructed to draft an appeal to be published in the Missionary Herald.[2]

With the finances of the Society in such a precarious state, the Committee appointed a sub-committee (afterwards called the West Africa Sub-Committee),

> 'to enquire into the best mode of entering upon the projected mission to West Africa and report thereon at the earliest possible opportunity and that such a sub-committee consist of Dr. Cox, Messrs. Hinton, Steane and Groser.'[3]

A week later Mr. Groser made a brief statement, the details of which are not recorded in the Minute Book.

It is however a reasonable assumption in the light of the July editorial of the Missionary Herald and the published report of the meeting of the African Civilisation Society, which Dyer attended and which was reported in the Baptist Magazine,[4] that the Committee could do nothing less

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1. Ibid., Min.89 d/d July 16th, 1840. For Joseph Angus see Payne, First Generation (1933), pp.13-25.
2. Ibid., Min.83/8, confirmed min.89, see M.H. Nov. 1839, p.90 (State of Finances) and July 1840 pp.220-21, August 1840 pp.244-45 (for Angus appeal.
3. Ibid., Min.91, p.97.
4. See Bapt. Mag. 1840, pp.373 (African Civilisation Society and Anti-

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than accept the full report of the West Africa sub-committee. The Report recommended

> 'that the Committee (General) should in the first instance send a Mission of inquiry up the Niger. It is their decided opinion also that inquiries should be forthwith made concerning the best means of effecting this object and whether by Government expedition or otherwise' and it was resolved 'that the report be adopted and entered in the minutes and that they be requested to prosecute the enquiries therein suggested and to communicate with the Jamaica brethren now in this country.'[1]

At the same meeting it was also decided to invite John Clarke (1802-1879) formerly of Jericho, Jamaica, and a native of Berwick-on-Tweed, then on sick leave in Britain

> 'to undertake the preliminary expedition to Africa with such colleagues as the Committee may appoint.'[2]

Clarke was admirably suited for the task. He was born in Teviotdale, Kelso, and at eighteen when severely ill had been converted through the ministry of Mr. Thom, a Presbyterian missionary to South Africa. In 1823 he became a Baptist and attended the Berwick-on-Tweed church and taught in the Ford Forge school. In due course he was called to the ministry and was set apart at the Eagle Street Church on July 28th, 1829 for work in Jamaica. By this time he had married his pastor's daughter and together they sailed for Jamaica, arriving in Kingston in December 1829.

He succeeded Knibb as the school master in the East Queen St, 'Gully

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Slavery Convention Report); p.389 (Mission to Western Africa with a supporting letter from W.B. Gurney) Knibb had also addressed a letter to Pastors of Baptist churches in July asking for contributions to arrive by November; Bap. Mag. 1840, p.447.

1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min.120, p.96 d/d Aug. 6th 1840. The report was presented by Hinton, whose ties with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society were close.

2. Ibid., Min. 121 cf. M.H. Sept. 1839, pp.57-60.

School', and also took over the pastorate of the Port Royal church, which introduced him to the Merrick family with whom he was to have a life long association in Jamaica as well as in West Africa.

After the Slave Rebellion of 1831, he was transferred to Spanish Town and between 1832-33 began to build up a work in St. Thomas ye Vale. There he had the gift of a plot of land and a house but the Governor's jury ordered the house to be pulled down and Miss Cooper, a lady of colour who gave it, was arraigned before the courts.

When Phillippo arrived in Jamaica in 1834, Clarkemoved permanently to St. Thomas ye Vale and lived at Kenmuir, where he again established a church. Subsequently land was acquired at Jericho and the church moved there on August 1st 1835. During the years 1835-1836, he established no less than five churches but found time to train some youths as auxilliary pastors, wrote extensively on the flora and fauna of the island and took a keen interest in the study of African languages. Illness forced him to return to Britain on an extended leave in 1839.[1]

Clarke agreed to lead the expedition[2] and Dyer almost singlehanded began to make the preparations for the venture.[3] He succeeded in obtaining

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1. See Clarke, Memorials of Baptist Missionaries etc., pp.134-140. This is of course an autobiographical account and its lack of bias gives a clue to the value of his historical writings; also see M.H. Nov. 1850 p.170 and The Freeman, Oct. 31st 1879 (obit.)

2. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min. 133, p.100 Aug. 20th 1840.

3. Ibid., Min. 185, p.113, Sept. 23rd 1840; Min. 197 p.117, Oct. 1, 1840. The Baptists were in bad grace with the Government. Sturge and many Baptists (Bap. Mag. p.429-30) were involved in the Anti Corn Lobby. There was also a growing feeling that Baptists should disassociate themselves from politics so that there was a mutual disenchantment. Ward of Jamaica had either written to the Colonial Office himself or the Jamaican brethren in England had done so but it is not clear nor could the letter be found in the Record Office, to seek a berth on the

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two berths from the West African Company for £35 as far as Fernando Po, but Jamieson who owned the company refused to give passages on his boat up the Niger.[1] Nevertheless, the men were not without hope that something could be arranged from Fernando Po.

With a Baptist mission now a certainty, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society requested that the mission visit Sierra Leone and Liberia,

> 'in order to examine their condition with the understanding that the Society would allow something towards the expense.'[2]

This was agreed to by the Committee provided that it did not impede the main task of the mission.

Clarke was given a free hand in the choice of his travelling companion and chose Dr. George K. Prince, (d.1865), a medical practitioner from Chesterfield, with whom he had been associated in Jamaica, and the brother of a clergyman.

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Niger Expedition but this was refused and also any passages for Clarke; see B.M.S. Min. Bk. G, Min. 148 and 149, Sept. 3rd 1840,p.104. For Ward refusal see B.M.S. Min. Bk. G, Quarterly Meeting, Min. 184, p.113, Sept. 23rd 1840. It was believed in Baptist circles that there had been discrimination in favour of the Established Church; see Brock's speech at the Annual Meeting 1841, M.H. June 1841, pp. 90-91.

1. Ibid. Min. 195, p.117 Oct. 1st 1840 and Min. 261 Nov. 13th, 1840. The West African Company operated as a trading company on the West African coast. It owned land and traded in oil. For details see Dike, John Beecroft 1790-1854 of Berun and Biafra 1849-1854, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul on the Bights. J.H.S.N. Vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 1956, pp.5-14. Jamieson was most likely motivated by suspicion of the Niger Mission and thought the Baptists a part of it. Dr. Prince later tried to influence Jamieson by writing to him but received no reply, which he interpreted as the 'will of God', M.H. Feb. 1842, p.212.

2. Ibid., Min. 199, Oct. 1st 1840. This request was in response to a resolution passed at the Convention earlier that year. See Minutes and Proceedings of the Convention of the Anti-Slavery Society etc. p.505ff. There had been suggestions that Slavery still existed in both places and so this in effect was a fact finding exercise.

Prince had been a doctor on an estate in the Annatto Bay region and in time had built up a large practice which covered many estates. He married a coloured Jamaican and from all accounts probably owned slaves himself. He was converted under the preaching of James Flood, who began the Baptist work in that part of St. George about the year 1827, and when a new church was opened in 1828, Prince had laid the foundation stone.

On July 4th, 1830, Prince and his friend, a solicitor Whitehorne (they had married two sisters and eventually both became missionaries on the B.M.S. staff) were baptized and this led to their being ostracized by polite society. The situation grew dangerous. Prince moved his practice to Kingston and became a member of Tinson's church and in 1832, when Barlow was attacked by the Colonial Church Union, and had to flee to Kingston, Prince not only rescued him but took up his case in the Courts.[1]

Prince had been a delegate with Clarke to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Convention and had played an important part there.[2] And so when he was chosen he was acceptable to the Committee on many grounds.

The Committee met him on October 1st, 1840, and he agreed officially to accompany Clarke, and thereupon they made an ad hoc decision on his

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1. See Clarke, Memorials of Baptist Missionaries etc., pp.123 and 147; Clark et al, Voice of Jubilee, p.120; Hinton, op. cit., p.373; Bap. Mag. 1840, p.634, A valedictory poem which gives some detail of Prince and B.M.S. Home Preparation Course and Missionary Study Lesson 6, p.2.

2. Prince was not named from Jamaica but the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Association (B.F.A.S.) had given a carte blanche invitation to all Baptist Associations through the pages of the Baptist Magazine. See Bap. Mag. 1840, p.312, signed by William Allen. For Allen see The Life of William Allen etc. (1847), Vol. 1, 2 (1846), Vol. 3 (1847) also D.N.B. Vol. 1 (1908), pp.322-323.

status with regard to the Society and the conditions of service.[1] Three days later Knibb wrote to his wife Mary,

> 'Dr. Prince has been accepted by the Committee, to proceed forthwith with brother Clarke to the Niger, and they will both sail in the course of ten or twelve days.'[1]

Clarke was also employed but on the same basis as he enjoyed in Jamaica except that Mrs. Clarke would be given an allowance of £80 while he was away.[3]

The exploratory mission embarked on the Golden Spring, a collier of the West African Company chartered by the Government to accompany the Niger Expedition, not only with good wishes but with a set of instructions drawn up by Dyer in the absence of any meeting of the Committee. They required the mission to proceed up the Niger as far as Idda, Egga or Rabbah, after having crossed from the island of Fernando Po to the Cameroons.[4]

Clarke and Prince sailed from London in a blaze of maximum publicity within Church circles. They had contacted all interested agencies and had

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min. 201, p.187. The Committee decided to cover personal expenses and pay £250 for one year to Mrs. Prince. If the investigation took longer she would continue on the same basis. If Prince died she would benefit under the Widows and Orphans Fund for missionaries. The Committee further agreed to give Prince a donation of an unspecified amount, if on his return no new contract was signed.
2. Hinton, op. cit., p.373.
3. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min. 208, p.120 d/d Oct. 8th, 1840.
4. Ibid. Min. 222, p.124 d/d Oct. 15th, 1840. cf. M.H. Nov. 1840, pp. 283-283, for a full copy of missionary instructions which were accepted and approved. See also letter to Dr. Cox d/d Golden Spring Oct. 16th, 1840, Bap. Mag., 1840, p.665, in which Clarke and Prince say they are reading Laird, Oldfield, Lander, Clapperton, Denham, Pack etc.

been supplied with background literature on the culture of the region and also with medical advice.[1] They also possessed letters of introduction to John Scott, the chief constable on Fernando Po, John Beecroft, later British Consul to Biafra and Benin, Duke John Lyambo, the Old Calabar regent, King Aqua (Acqua), and King Bell (Bel) of the Cameroons, King William of Bimbia (Bembia), King Boz of Brass. These were all well known personalities in the region and some had already been in contact with Britain either through trade or by making initial approaches to learn the 'white man's religion'.[2] Further, the missionaries were given every hope that they could draw upon the resources of the special links with Sierra Leone and the newer association formed with the American Baptists a few months earlier.[3]

The details of the journey to Fernando Po need not detain us except to observe that it provided an opportunity for Prince to learn French, and Clarke to enlarge his vocabulary of African words.[4] The mission arrived in Fernando Po on January 1st, 1841.

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1. See Clarke, Journal Vol 1, BK1 pp.12ff, Oct. 21st - Nov. 11th, 1840 (B.M.S. Archives A/2). He had books on Greybo, Susoo, Eyo, Bullom, Sherba, Mandengo and Bechuana.

2. M.H. Nov. 1840 p.285. cf. Hinton, op. cit., p.365. In addition to this Clarke had gone to visit Hodgkin, who also provided him with letters of introduction. Probably Thomas Hodgkin (1798 - 1866) D.N.B. Vol. IX pp.957-8. BK1

3. The link with Sierra Leone is treated in an earlier chapter; see Fyfe, op cit. p.156. cf. Clarke, Journal I, p.36, 'I hope Brother Constantine (he had been in touch with B.M.S. re African possibilities (see Min. Bk. F Min.156, Oct.24th 1839 and Min. Bk. G, Min.163 Nov.7th 1839) is on his way to the valley of the Niger. He and brother Fielding and their wives sailed from Norfolk, Virginia on August 4th for Liberia.' Also Bap. Mag. 1840 p.540 (letter from Thomas Morgan).

4. A useful account of the journey may be obtained from Butt-Thompson, Francis, 'A voyage to Fernando Po', Bapt. Quart. New Series Vol.XV (1953-4) pp.82-87, 113-121 cf. Clarke, Memorials of Bapt. Miss. etc. p.139 and M.H. Nov. 1840, pp.285-6.

1840 proved an important year for the Jamaican mission too. The success of the African venture had been partly linked to it and Knibb, the spokesman for both, had lost no time in publicising the missions. It has been estimated that,

> 'in five months he travelled 6,000 miles chiefly by coach or horseback and addressed 200,000 people'.1

Writing to Dexter (d.1863) whom he had left to give oversight to his work on October 2nd, he observed,

> 'Prejudice of no ordinary kind has been repressed; the people have been defended in almost every large city, the African mission has been formed and two brethren sailed for the Niger: ere this reaches you, three are engaged for Jamaica and six others are preparing to enter on the glorious work. £1,500 has been raised towards their outfit and £1,000 for Africa.'2

But there was more to a mission than a short term plan. In the long run there had to be men and money and it was at this point that the plans for a theological institution began to develop and mature.

There had existed for some time plans to develop some kind of centralized training for 'local agents' within the Jamaican churches. In 1836, coeval with the formation of the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery, the Academy, a training school for boys had been founded by the missionaries for the S.M.S. in Montego Bay with a curriculum heavily biased towards the pastoral ministry.[3] There is evidence that Clarke, Phillippo and Burchell

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1. Hinton Op. cit., p. 372 d/d Oct. 2nd 1840; also Payne Freedom in Jamaica p.76; Clarke, Voice of Jubilee, p.120 and Hinton op. cit., p.374. Knibb to his wife d/d Oct. 18th, 1840. This journey of Knibb illustrates that not all the wealthy were in favour of Slavery.

2. Ibid.

3. Blyth's Correspondence; letters to Blyth d/d Aug. 26th, 1836, Sept. 17th, 1836 and Jan. 10th, 1837.

trained groups of young men as assistants, most of them at first as teachers. Within the churches themselves the Deacons and Leaders were trained by their own pastors in their special responsibilities each week. But by 1840, nothing had emerged among Baptists which assumed the national importance of the Presbyterian Academy, although Knibb had reported at the Exeter Hall meeting that an academy had been started and that

> 'Mr. Tinson is devoting a part of his time in the instruction of six young men in this academy.'[1]

However, by October the idea of a national college had been accepted at least in Britain, and the Missionary Herald carried an appeal for

> 'Any useful books or specific donations towards the Theological Institution for the training of Native Missionaries in Jamaica.'[2]

But how did the co-operating groups see the function of the College?

The B.M.S. for its part had passed a resolution as early as September 1839, which agreed to

> 'strengthen existing missionary operation by providing Theological Institutions in India and Jamaica in which suitable native converts of suitable talents may be educated for the work of the ministry - in commencing a new mission to some part of the world hitherto unoccupied by Baptists.'[3]

The problem here was in what way did the Committee conceive of these Colleges? Were they to be bases for missionary expansion or for church consolidation? This is not clear. Certainly, as it turned out later, both ideas were present. Knibb most probably understood the establishment as a

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1. Hinton, op. cit., p.365.
2. M.H., Oct. 1840, p.268.
3. B.M.S. Min. Bk. F., Min. 116 d/d Sept. 25th, 1839, p.242.

basis for the African outreach. There were no doubt many in the Committee who shared this view which could certainly have been in agreement with the African Civilisation Society's approach.

There were others however, who did not see it in this light. Some, because of the growing expense of the Jamaica Mission welcomed any scheme which could put into the field adequate pastors and relieve the financial burden was welcomed. Then, there was the question of responsibility. Tinson, for example, believed that there were Jamaicans quite capable of assuming the pastoral task independently, and without guidance from anyone from outside and that this should be done.

On November 8th, a letter was read in Committee from Taylor, an associate of Phillippo, offering a site for a College in Vere provided that the Society would erect the buildings and 'form a missionary establishment thereon.'[1] The Society declined. It did not wish to be forced, not did the Committee wish to commit itself to a definite policy on what were internal matters and so left the matter in the hands of Knibb.

In the meantime, Tinson had written to Dyer with respect to the 'work of tuition'. He reported that,

> 'Reporting the instruction of our young friends as candidates for the ministry, you will hear from brother Abbott or brother Knibb, to whom he will write. Brother Knibb was in error when he stated that six young men were under my care... A sub-committee had been appointed at our last Association to hire a house, and prepare accommodation for six students. This was nearly done when Knibb left us. Unlooked for hindrances delayed its accomplisment.2

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1. Ibid., Min. 302 d/d Nov. 8th, 1839.
2. See Tinson's letter d/d Sept. 12th, 1840; M.H. Jan. 1841, pp. 9.-10.

It would appear from this that even in Jamaica it was not clearly defined that theological training would be integrally linked with an outreach to Africa.

It would seem therefore that the synthesis came from Knibb, who had put both ideas together in a package for a better presentation of both. Indeed, had he done otherwise the Committee would most certainly have accepted the training scheme and rejected the mission.

In Jamaica also there was increasing interest over the proposed mission. On August 31st James Reid, a Glasgow University graduate at work in Clarendon, reported that

> 'on the first Monday of every month between the Baptist and Independent churches here, on such occasions it was agreed that a collection should be made in aid of Africa, leaving the future to determine in what particular way it should be applied ... In urging its claims, I suggested the duty of the Wesleyans to devote a week's wages at once to this object and set the Baptists an example; for I felt persuaded that the Baptist Missionary Society would soon establish a mission to Africa.'[1]

Knibb sailed from Britain on November 10th with a large group of additional missionaries for Jamaica and on the face of it had got all he came for. Well might the Committee report that

> 'they have been much encouraged by the liberal response which has been made by their Christian friends wherever their respected brother has been, to his appeals on behalf of Africa and for the extension of the mission in Jamaica',[2]

but that was not all that the Committee was grateful for. Knibb had

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1. See Reid to Dyer d/d Aug. 31st, 1840; M.H. Jan. 1841, p.10. cf. History and Proceedings .. Missionary Stations, pp.34-5 for Africa interest at Salter's Hill; pp.52-56 (Bethephil) a resolution supports African outreach; pp.65-67.

2. M.H. Nov. 1840, p. 287

begun to direct Jamaica towards independence and it was beginning to appear now that it was just a matter of time. For instance, it would appear that the ten new missionaries had gone to Jamaica with new conditions of employment. While these conditions do not appear in the General Committe Minute Book, a letter from David Day in September 1840 revealed that the common impression abroad in Jamaica had been that a change of policy had occurred. Day observed,

> 'I am happy to learn by letters from England, that several devoted young men have offered themselves to labour in this interesting field and that our excellent Committee have nobly offered to send them on terms so liberal - that is if I understand rightly to any missionary who has withdrawn from the funds of the Society except brethren Hutchins, Francies and myself who are building chapels, they will send a fellow labourer free of expense and supply him with half his salary for the first two years after which I suppose both myself and the former missionary will be expected to withdraw from the funds of the Society altogether.'[1]

Although this arrangement reflected a basic concern for the viability of the B.M.S., it was also the result of certain attitudes which maintained that independence and freedom were 'two sides of the same coin'.

Knibb and his companions arrived in Jamaica on January 7th, 1841, and so he had little time to prepare for the Association which met in Falmouth in February that year. The Association addressed a letter to the Committee on the African Mission and the College assuring them that

> 'the steps you have taken in commencing mission to that benighted land have we assure you given to us and to the dear people of our

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1. M.H. Jan. 1841, p.11: For the precarious state of finances see B.M.S Min. Bk. Min.466 Recommended the establishment of a Retrenchment Sub-Committee to review the whole expenditure of the B.M.S. and changes were recommended in the Widow's Fund.

> charge the most exalted pleasure. The greatest readiness has been manifested to assist in supporting and extending that mission, and had it not been for the effort just made toward liquidating the debt on the Society, we should have been enabled to send much larger contributions for that object. We feel confident however that as soon as further aid be required, our congregations will most readily respond to the call.
>
> In connexion with this subject, we would refer to the contemplated Institution for the education of young men for missionary and ministerial work ... We rejoice to hear of your willingness to send a tutor for the Institution. We beg to inform you that a committee has been appointed to rent or purchase premises in St. Ann's without delay and to request most urgently if a tutor has not already sailed that he be sent as early as possible as we have suitable and devoted young men, ardently desiring to carry the Gospel to the land of their fathers etc...'[1]

The letter was signed by twenty missionaries including Joseph Merrick (1818-1849) who was the only Jamaican born pastor amongst them.

But Knibb was soon to discover that the enthusiasm for Africa[2] had waned in competition with the practical resultants of the Rent and Ejectment Acts of the Jamaican Assembly. Indeed, Knibb was called upon to defend himself against the charge made by some of the church membership that he had maintained that they had not paid their rents.[3]

On April 14th the Niger Expedition sailed from London with twelve West Indian agents aboard, among them one Baptist, Kingdom, who had been

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1. M.H. May 1841, p.77 Falmouth d/d Feb 24th, 1841. The secretary of the Association followed this up with a short report (d/d St. Ann's Bay, March 2nd, 1841; ibid., pp.76-77) in which it seems that a suggestion had been made for Tinson to visit Africa.

2. See M.H. Jan. 1841, p.10 (reflects enthusiasm in Dry Harbour Mountains) Ibid., Feb. 1841, p.28 (attitude in St. James hills); ibid., July 1841 p.102 (St. Thomas ye Vale); but there was the added interest that Clarke, a former pastor, was a member of the exploratory team.

3. See History and Proceedings of ... Missionary Stations, pp.37-44. Knibb spoke at the Missionary meeting in Salter's Hill on the Rent Question and hardly mentioned Africa in all his discourse. But he did relate the abolition of slavery in Africa to its downfall in America. He had begun to sound like Sturge!

accepted as a teacher and settler. Perhaps the most important was Alfred Carr, whose brother John was the Acting Governor of Sierra Leone, and who had been engaged as the Superintendent of the intended Model Farm and to be in charge of the stores.[1] Although Groves explains the lack of Baptist representation on the grounds that the places alloted to the 'religious' were occupied by Schön and Crowther , who were known while the Baptists were not, it would seem just/as likely that this was but another example of the result of the open tension between those who suspected the 'sectarians' as represented in the British and Foreign School Society. It also represented a deliberate attempt to make the C.M.S. conform en toto to the Church principle.[2]

In the meantime, the B.M.S. made hurried preparations to acquire a tutor for the Jamaican college because news had arrived from Fernando Po

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1. Allen and Thompson, Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841 (1848). For Carr see Vol.II, pp.38, 74, 126-130, 144-150, 422; For West Indian, see ships lists in Vol.II, John Williams (Captain's servant) is not designated. The others were engineers, stewards and seamen. Capt. William Bird Allen, who cammanded the Expedition, had served in Jamaica and had been the officer who arrested Abbott during the 1831-32 insurrection and was known to Prince and Clarke. Strange irony that the Baptists nursed him in Fernando Po. For the importance of this mission see Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891; For Crowther & Beryerhaus and Lefever, The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission (Chap. 4) - work of the Anglican church on the Niger, also Concise Dict. of Christian World Missions (Dic.C.W.M.) pp.153-4; Groves, op. cit., Vol.2, p.18. For the wider aspects politically, Ajayi, 'Henry Venn and the policy of Development' J.H.S.N. Vol.1, No. 4, Dec. 1959, pp.331-342.

2. See Groves op. cit., Vol.2, pp.23-27 cf. Close, A Justification of the charges brought against the British and Foreign School Society by Rev. F. Close and other clergymen etc. (1839). Kingdon, who was accepted as a settler and teacher appears in Schön and Crowther, Journals of the Expedition of 1841 (1842), pp.134-5.

that there was every possibility of establishing a mission there.[1] Mr. Stonehouse of Chipping Norton was recommended but due to ill health his name was dropped.[2] Later that month J.W. Morgan of Pembroke Dock offered his services but the Committee was not impressed with his qualifications[3] and instead approached Mr. Clowes, the classical tutor at Bradford Academy on the suggestion of the Jamaica Baptist Association. Mr. Clowes declined on the grounds that he was unfit for such a high office.[4]

In August, Joshua Tinson arrived in Britain in poor health,[5] but was immediately put to work and in October was deputed by the Committee to interview Clowes on their behalf. Clowes again refused and the Committee turned again to Stonehouse. Stonehouse hesitated on the second approach but agreed that he could not be ready before Autumn 1842, but the Committee was most anxious in view of the African demands. And so during the same month the Committee invited Mr. T.T. Gough of Clipstone to meet them with a view to the tutorship which he did two days before Christmas 1841. But in a letter on December 30th, he declined.[6]

Nothing more was done until April 1842, when the Committee in response to a letter from Knibb resolved,

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min. 442, May 13th, 1841.
2. Ibid., Min. 430, May 6th, 1841; Min. 440, May 13th, 1841.
3. Ibid., Min. 405/457, May 20th, 1841 cf. Min. 411/463, May 27th, 1841 and Min. 437/489 June 16th, 1841.
4. Ibid., Min. 516/568, Aug. 19th 1841; Min. 542/594 Sept. 8th 1841; Min. 632 Sept. 30th 1841.
5. M.H. Sept. 1841, p.143.
6. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G and H; Min. 657 d/d Oct. 7th 1841; Min. 682 d/d Oct. 21st 1841, Min. 709, Min. 710 d/d Nov. 4th 1841; Min. 729 d/d Nov. 18th 1841; Min. 759 Dec. 9th 1841; Min. 776 d/d Dec. 15th 1841; Min. 795 d/d Dec. 23 1841 and Min. 808 d/d Dec. 30th 1841.

> 'that the Committee confiding in the statements of Mr. Knibb in regard to the premises at Calabar now in possession with a view to the proposed Theological Seminary - agree to purchase them and to advance £500 in part payment for the same out of the Jubilee Fund. (It was stated by Mr. K. that the total cost of the premises and furnishings would not exceed £1,000.'[1])

And at the same meeting a committee was set up with Joseph Angus included to name a suitable tutor now that a site had been bought.

The search went on apace and during May, the Rev. J. Webb of Arnsby was invited to accept the post but he declined. In June a letter arrived from the Association in Jamaica suggesting that Tinson should be named to the post and by that September he had accepted.[2]

With the site acquired and the tutorship somewhat guaranteed, the B.M.S. decided to set up Calabar as a joint Trust. There were eighteen trustees, nine in Britain and nine in Jamaica. This action contrasted sharply with the current practice in other missionary bodies in which ownership of land was vested largely in the Committee in Britain or, if local, in Government control even where in ecclesiastical matters there was some independence. The B.M.S. land policy at this point of time was to have important consequences, for with joint ownership there could not exist any unilateral decision which affected the basic structure of the property from either side.[3]

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1. Ibid., (H) Min. 1005 and Min. 1006 d/d April 26th, 1842.
2. Ibid., (H); Min. 16 d/d May 19th 1842; Min. 27 d/d May 26th 1842. For Tinson see Min. 48 d/d June 9th 1842, Min. 71 June 29th 1842, Min. 111 d/d Aug. 11th 1842 and Min. 192 d/d Sept. 29th 1842. (Note that the numbering of the Minutes changes at this point No. 1 begins May 5th, 1842. There is no reason given for the change in the Minute Book.)
3. Ibid. Min. 29 d/d May 26th 1842. Up to this point the College had been seen in a Jamaica - Africa relationship only. Now it became the centre of Jamaica, Africa, Britain relationship and by its nature assumed the central place in Baptist relationships. See also Min.4

(cont'd at foot of next page)

Coeval with the establishment of the base for personnel there was the readjustment and realignment of financial resources. After 1840, as Asiegbu points out

> 'the abolitionists increasingly lost voice in the dispensation of British humanitarianism to liberated Africans and in the execution of the African Policy - the suppression of the Atlantic slave trade and the civilisation of Africa.'[1]

This meant that the Baptists, whose missionary policy had been closely allied to philanthropic schemes, almost to the exclusion of anything else, suffered most in terms of their budget requirements. Jamaica had built up a church structure to resist slavery and this was costly and now with the disenchantment at home, drastic cuts had to be made. Evidence of the changed climate may be seen in the response to Knibb's appeal in 1833 as compared with the appeal of 1840.[2]

The truth was that the B.M.S. was short of money. In July 1841, the Committee agreed to recommend that the expenditure on the Jamaican churches be reduced because they had overspent their budget by £2,200, but it was agreed that the ceiling should remain at £5,000.[3] In September, when the Half-yearly accounts were read, the trustees put forward a resolution 'that all missionary brethren of this Society who draw upon its Funds, be requested to send home half yearly the accounts of what they receive and

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(Cont'd from foot of previous page)
d/d May 5th 1842, Min. 17 d/d May 19th 1842, Min. 29 d/d May 26th 1842, Min. 194 d/d Oct. 6th 1842 (all deal with trustees and the Deeds of Conveyance).

1. Asiegbu J. Slavery and the Politics of Liberation (1969), p.1.

2. The Special Appeal 1833 raised about £13,000; the amounts collected in 1840 were £2,065 12s.2d for Africa; £2,000 for the additional missionaries for Jamaica and £2,100 for the Society's debt. Not an inconsequential sum but far short of 1833. See B.M.S. Report 1841, p.36. The costs of resistance are always high, a conservative estimate of money paid in law suits would be £100,000.

3. B.M.S. Min. Bk. H; Min. 450/502 d/d July 1st 1841

expend for Income and for Station expenses.'[1]

But the situation became more alarming and a special meeting was called for October 6th at Fen Court when the Committee examined and discussed the finances of the Society. It was there decided that a sub-committee be appointed to examine the situation and report on methods of increasing the missionary giving. It was further recommended that 'deputations' be better used and the names of Prince and Clarke were put forward as most able advocates

> 'of the claims of the Society procuring a large increase of its resources'

but paradoxically, the Committee also decided to recommend

> 'the election of a co-secretary with Mr. Angus to make for efficiency.'[2]

During the same meeting, Mursell (1800-1885), a friend of Phillippo and a friend of the Jamaican churches, raised the question 'whether the Jamaican churches were not now competent to carry forward the work in that island without the aid of the Society.' Tinson, who was present, was asked to reply and suggested that while some churches might well be self-supporting, others in Jamaica and the surrounding islands could not be.[3] But the Committee it would appear was not convinced. Indeed, when they met again in November, the Retrenchment Committee asked Jamaica 'either to recommend specific reductions or to convey to the Committee such suggestions

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1. Ibid., Min. 540/592 d/d Sept. 8th, 1841.
2. Ibid., Min. 644, 645 d/d Oct. 6th 1841 (Amendment carried 15 : 13); also M.H. Nov. 1841, pp.171-173.
3. Ibid., Min. 648, Oct. 6th 1841; Min. 657 Oct. 7th, 1841. cf. M.H. Nov. 1841, p.174.

as may be desirable for their immediate consideration.'[1]

Just as events appeared to be at a stalemate, another event occurred which eventually hastened the independence of the Jamaican mission. This event was important because it had implications not only for the future of the Jamaican churches but in a strange way affected relationships later on in Africa.

Early in April 1841, Angus had received the copy of a letter from George Blyth, the superintendent of the S.M.S. in Jamaica, suggesting that Knibb had dabbled too much in politics at the expense of the integrity of the church membership. It would appear that Blyth had written to Mr. Alexander in Leith, who had forwarded it to Angus, who in turn had sent it to Knibb.

Knibb wrote to Blyth seeking the information which formed the basis of the accusations, the most serious of which were (a) the oppression by Leaders of the people and that the Leaders were 'standing between' the people and the missionaries (b) the increase in rum-drinking among the Leadership and (c) the giving of tickets indiscriminately as tokens of church membership.

While these accusations were by no means new, (Burchell had to face them in 1837, and in 1840 the Baptist missionaries were unkindly called 'macaronies',) this new charge posed a great threat because Blyth reported 'from a letter I received from Edinburgh, I expect the conduct of the Baptists to be made the subject of rigid inquiry.'[2] The situation became

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1. Ibid., Min. 719, 720 d/d Nov. 11th, 1841 cf. Min. 341.

2. Hinton, op. cit., p.401 (The debate is contained in pp.399-404)

so alarming that Knibb was requested at the Association meeting in Kingston held in January 1842, to return to London and discuss the whole matter.

There were three reasons why this criticism posed a serious threat. Firstly, it was forcing the missionaries to take a stand against their Leaders, with the serious consequences which that could have upon the unity of the Baptist Association. Secondly, it was tantamount to a 'vote of no confidence' in the work of the B.M.S. in Jamaica, because it meant by implication the moral tone of the Black had not been changed, and thirdly, it undermined the single and most important reason for an African mission and a theological college. Blyth in effect had said that the Black could not look after himself, nor be independent and at the same time had given an argument to the philanthropic movements in Scotland to stop their support of what was a lost cause. And further, Blyth had succeeded in introducing the doubts in the highest missionary circles.

In December 1841, the Committee issued an invitation to Blyth to come to London and discuss the behaviour of the Jamaican missionaries with them. But he declined.[1] It was also decided that 'a digest of the documents connected with the charges alleged against the purity of our Jamaican churches and their refutation be prepared for circulation.'[2] At the meeting in February an invitation was also sent to W.G. Barrett, a missionary serving with the L.M.S. which had decided to begin work in the island but

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. H, Min. 797 d/d Dec. 23rd 1841 and Min. 879 d/d Feb. 1842. Blyth's letter of refusal is d/d Jan. 10th, 1842.

2. Ibid., Min. 786 d/d Dec. 16th, 1841.

he declined to discuss the matter, preferring to debate in the pages of the Evangelical Magazine and sections of the Jamaican Press,[1] which kept the matter before the public well into December 1842.

Pressed from within with a shortage of funds and from without by criticism, the Committee became more conservative. At the same meeting a motion was passed to restrain Harris, a missionary to Ceylon, from publishin a news-sheet which he proposed to call the Investigator, which would not be specifically 'Christian' in character but aimed to cover the broad spectrum of religion, politics and science. And at the same time they turned down a request from Woodley of Jamaica seeking permission to purchase a plot of land at Fletcher's Grove for a church.[2]

In the midst of this Burchell reported that the Association had decided to become Independent. And so the Committee decided to send a deputation to Jamaica as soon as Burchell's news was confirmed.[3] In April the Society held its Annual meetings in Exeter Hall, but as usual the Report was not published until June, nor was Knibb's two hour oration

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1. See The Morning Journal (Jamaican newspaper) Nov. 9th, 1841; Ev.Mag. 1842, pp.112-116, 138-192, 241, 296 etc; Remonstrance of the Jamaica Presbytery etc. (1841) incorporated in Waddell, Twentynine Years ... West Indies etc. (1859) Appendix I; Barrett et al, Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica, an Exposition of the system etc. (1842); Green S., Baptist Mission in Jamaica. A review of W.G. Barrett's pamphlet (1842); Remarks on and Exposition of the system etc. (1843) B.M.S. official Reply. See also, B.M.S. Min. Bk. H., Min. 899 d/d Feb. 17th 1842 (Barrett's refusal, Min. 915) and Min. 263 d/d Nov. 17th, 1842 (Hinton to reply).

2. Ibid., Min. 912 and Min. 916, Feb. 17th, 1842. Woodley is a misprint in the minutes for Edward Wodley a Stepney College man who went out in 1840.

3. Ibid., Min. 948, March 16th, 1842. cf. Min. 918 d/d Feb. 24th, 1842 Burchell reported that the churches were planning to become independent after August 1st, 1842.

which was printed separately, so that Blyth, who was in Scotland, neither heard nor read the defence of the Jamaican mission until then.[1] When they became available it was clear that Knibb had made a spirited defence of the 'lay agency' and he was supported by Dr. Campbell in this regard.[2] But there was a perceptible departure from 'Fullerism' and the universalistic approach so characteristic of Rippon, Ryland and Dyer.

When the Committee met in May there were many things to do. There were the Jubilee meetings in Kettering at which both Knibb and Tinson were present and spoke. The details of their speeches do not interest us, but their overall policy does. Tinson reflected a concern for South America as well as for Africa and pleaded for both. Knibb on the other hand omitted South America and pleaded for Africa and the West Indies, revealing that the Jamaican churches

> 'have formed an African Missionary Society for the purpose of aiding you with the gospel to that country.'[3]

He was quite clear here that the B.M.S. was the responsible body and the Jamaicans the helpers. This was quite a turnabout from the concept the Committee had in 1839. But as far as Knibb was concerned the chief aim of the Jamaican mission was to supply missionaries,

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1. See B.M.S. Min. Bk. H, Min. 84 d/d July 14th 1842. Blyth is determined to reply to Knibb and a letter is read from America to substantiate charges against Knibb. It was written by an Independent on a visit to Jamaica; see Min. 90 d/d July 21st 1842; Reid is expelled from the B.M.S. because of his support of Barrett his brother-in-law, Min. 91 d/d July 21st 1842.

2. M.H. June 1842 (Campbell's speech) p.284. Campbell is scathing to the African Association etc. and scientific schemes and maintains that 'Nothing but Christ among us, the love of Christ in us ... will sustain the society in its objects' (sic). Probably Dr John Campbell, editor of The Christian Witness.

3. M.H. July 1842, pp.299-300 (Tinson); pp.302-304 (Knibb).

> 'We want £1,000 for the Theological Institution for the training of missionaries for Africa. We want to recover some of the islands around us ... we shall want twenty missionaries for these islands and you must give them.'[1]

The Committee met on June 23rd to draw up a strategic plan for West Indian missions. Knibb was requested to discuss with Capern, who had been a pastor in Northamptonshire and had succeeded Burton in the Bahamas, to see how Calabar might serve as a regional institution.[2] During the following week a letter from Abbott, the secretary of the Association, arrived and after some discussion, the Minute Secretary recorded,

> 'Having read Mr. Abbott's letter No. 12 to the Committee with the resolutions of the Jamaica Association, and Mr. Knibb having stated his views on the future of the management of the Jamaica mission: - Resolved that the committee refer with much satisfaction to the terms of the resolution passed at the last meeting of the Jamaica Association in relation to the future expense of the mission in that island, viz "that the members of this Association will not after the 1st of August next make any further drafts on the Parent Society except under peculiar circumstances" and requests that should any case arise in which it may be necessary to draw, the drafts be signed under the direction of the Association by the Chairman and Secretary.'[3]

The next day, Knibb went before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Wages, Rents and Agriculture in the West Indies to give evidence.

In the following September, Hinton was instructed to prepare a letter of counsel and congratulations to be sent to the churches on their

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1. Ibid. cf. B.M.S. Min. Bk. H, Min,1008 d/d April 26th 1842, Min. 5 d/d May 5th 1842. Knibb is requested to visit the other West Indian islands on a fact finding tour and to report on the possibilities for missions; also Knibb to Angus d/d July 9th, 1842 (written at sea) on the future of the work in the West Indies. B.M.S. Archives I W I /3 and Hinton, op. cit., p.447.

2. B.M.S. Min. Bk. H, Min. 66 d/d June 23rd, 1842.

3. Ibid., Min. 69, June 29th, 1842.

independence[1] and in November Angus wrote an official letter from the Society and printed it in the Missionary Herald.[2] The Committee was certainly pleased but it had taken some time to show it.

The Angus letter dealt with three main points. Firstly, it condemned the 'Leader-ticket' system. He observed that it

> 'tends to make the churches superstitious and corrupt. We have never interfered in your internal arrangements of any church connected with the Society ... Nevertheless we commend this charge to your serious consideration. When a practice does not rest upon direct Scriptural command, it is always to be carefully watched.'[3]

Secondly, it advised a strong central control of finance through the Association in which the strong churches helped the weak and thirdly, it urged the churches to remember that they were a part of the 'Providential Design' for the conversion of Africa and the West Indies. And it linked this to the establishment of the Theological Institution.

Angus saw quite clearly that this act of independence was a transfer of the centre of unity from London to Kingston, as he observed, 'in the room of the common relation to the Society, which has hitherto cemented them, they will become eminent for that unity of the spirit with each other which is a more perfect and now more necessary bond'.[4] But it is doubtful if he appreciated then its social consequences.

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1. Ibid., Min. 143 d/d Sept. 1st, 1842.
2. M.H. Dec. 1842, pp.393-396 (Valedictory letter by Angus). It was published together with Hinton's reply to Barrett's pamphlet in 1843.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.395.

While the letter was designed to encourage the Jamaicans, it had other implications for the Jamaican context. For one, the letter was a repudiation of the 'Leader-ticket' system which was not a theological question in Jamaica but the basic method of communicating the Gospel and exercising discipline. In a country where literacy was low, the 'word-of mouth' method was the only one practicable and the Leader-Class structure was ideal for it. Further, and this was fortuitous the Baptists had established their church structure upon the natural pattern of African family life, giving precedence to the elders and from within the church had reconstructed the old family pattern, but baptising it with certain Christian concepts. Thus the Leader and the Deacon had come into their own possessed with a new and valid personal identity which had been robbed from them within the context not only of secular society, but also in the hierarchical patterns of religion, which did not appreciate adequately the factor of age. And to this must also be added, that the pattern despite the strictures of Angus of its non Biblical nature, did bear remarkable resemblance to the Patriarchal parallels of Old Testament times. So that to the Jamaican missionary the criticism of the system was tantamount to an attack upon the foundations of the Church, and both Blyth and Barrett knew this even if the Committee did not. The Jamaicans thought they did and so felt betrayed.

The arrangements for withdrawal benefited the B.M.S. greatly. They relieved the Society of an onerous financial burden and at the same time did not relieve the Jamaican churches either of their loans or mortgage repayments. They did not commit the B.M.S. either to an irrevocable

African mission, nor for that matter a West Indian one, but did leave the Society free to develop in its own way, with an interest through trustees in the Jamaican church but not vice versa.

In Jamaica on the other hand, the understanding was not identical. For one, withdrawal from the funds meant in many minds unilateral re-entry into them as an automatic right subject only to the courtesy of information - an understanding which was the seed of much controversy in later years. And secondly, they assumed that their gesture was linked with the Jubilee celebrations and that it was a negative way of making a positive contribution to the Society's funds and there was no doubt in their minds that their 'self-denial' was to be for the benefit of West Africa.[1]

There is no doubt that there was genuine confusion. Clarke, who was alive at that time, in a letter of complaint to the B.M.S. in 1858, remarked,

> 'the lauded act of a voluntary giving up of further assistance from the funds of the society on the part of the Jamaican churches as a whole in January 1842 has yet to be explained'[2]

and Underhill (1813-1901), writing in Principles and Methods of Missionary Labour (1896), a thorough and accurate statement of the affairs of the Society, observed

'I cannot find any stipulations were at that time made, or any

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1. See B.M.S. Min. Bk. H, Min. 143 d/d Sept. 1st, 1842. And further the Committee accepted the role of being a channel for the personnel and funds from Jamaica; see Clarke, Journal 1841-1842, I, Bk.2, pp.748, 751. Note that it was the B.M.S. who interviewed Fuller and Merrick for Africa. See Min. 139 d/d Sept. 1st, 1842.

2. The Freeman, Vol. IV, p.524 d/d Sept. 1st, 1858.

> rules laid down with regard to the future relations of missionary brethren with the Home Committee.'[1]

In spite of the divergence of policies which are reflected in these years and the divided opinions, there was one stable feature, a concern for West Africa. The changing opinions were but an attempt to discover how best to provide a strong basis in personnel and finance to prosecute this mission. That is not to say that there were not motives of conservatism the result of self-preservation apparent. Angus' letter is a stark reminder that the B.M.S. had narrowed its vision to a national territorialism, a religious parallel to Sturge's 'free peasantry' and the universalistic vision of the early founders was in danger of being lost. If indeed the West African mission was to be a success, this had to be recaptured.

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1. Underhill, op. cit., p.244.

Note on the 'Leader Ticket' Controversy 1835-1843

An attack on the 'image' of the Free Black and the sources of B.M.S. and Jamaican Funds

The acrimonious debate called the 'Leader-Ticket' controversy originated in a rebuff given by the Western Union of the Jamaica Baptist Association to the proposers of an interdenominational council proposed in 1835. James Thompson, a missionary of the L.M.S. but working as the first agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, proposed, 'a scheme of Christian Union and ministerial co-operation among the missionaries' with the idea that this would be a body capable of promoting missionary schemes in Jamaica.[1] A circular was sent out signed by Methodists and Presbyterians in the Western parishes to all the missionaries at work in the County of Cornwall, suggesting that a meeting be held to establish a council which could adopt 'plans as might prevent misunderstandings, and promote love, peace and cordial co-operation among all ministers.'[2]

The inaugural meeting was held on October 7th, when the rector of Lucea, John Stainby was elected chairman. Unfortunately both Baptist missionaries withdrew from the meeting on the grounds that the local schoolmaster, J.R. Andrews, had not been invited. The Ministers' Association for the County of Cornwall, as the group later called itself, replied that membership was limited only to (a) ordained persons or (b) those who gave oversight to a congregation. William Knibb who was the secretary of

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1. Waddell, op. cit., p.103

2. Ibid., pp.105-106 (for full story)

the Western Union stated that ordination was not a practice among Baptists but did not reply to the second point. The fact was that to the Baptists the objections seemed to be aimed at their Leaders.[1]

In 1837, the question arose again and Burchell had to defend himself in the pages of the Missionary Herald, as well as in private letters to the Committee. Phillippo and Knibb on other occasions had to do the same.

The issue came to a head in 1841. During that year several newspaper articles appeared in Jamaica accusing the Baptist Leaders of oppressing the membership and being a bar between the missionary and his people.

George Blyth had also written to private individuals in Scotland accusing Knibb of countenancing moral laxity among his membership and the letter got back to Jamaica, plunging both men into a debate by letter.

In August an article appeared in the Presbyterian Session Magazine written by Waddell, highly critical of the Baptists, to which Burchell replied, but the reply was not printed.[1] The B.M.S. then decided that the time was now ripe for an official refutation and in December decided to publish one.[2] They also contacted Blyth[3] who refused to come to a discussion, saying that it was now out of his hands. This was true up to a point, for a document drawn up on July 14th by the Jamaican Presbytery, called for short The Remonstrance, had been published to be sent to the

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1. The B.M.S. Committee asked the S.M.S. why Burchell's reply was not printed; see B.M.S. Min. Bk. G, Min. 634 d/d Sept. 30th, 1841.

2. Ibid., Min. 786 d/d Dec. 16th, 1841.

3. See Blyth, Reminiscences of Missionary Life, pp.158-166 cf. B.M.S. Min. Bk. H., Min. 84 d/d July 14th, 1842; Mins. 90, 91 d/d July 21st 1842; Min. 263, Nov. 21st, 1842.

Baptists, but instead found its way to S.M.S. Headquarters. As a result, it was then decided that six Baptist and six Presbyterian laymen should meet in Edinburgh, to discuss the matter, which they did, but decided to refer the whole subject to Jamaica.

Tinson and Knibb were in Britain in 1842 and a year long debate ensued in the pages of the Evangelical Magazine, to the mutual discomfort of all, in terms which have been dealt with in Chapter 5.

In April at the Annual Meetings, Knibb defended the mission and guessed that it was the financial aspects that created most suspicion. These he dealt with quite openly, pointing out that up to date the costs on Chapels were £61,421, Mission Houses, £15,150, furnishings £2,000, Schools £6,000 which together with gifts and Compensation from the British Government amounted to £72,000 (approx.). Knibb also observed that during the same period the churches paid £60,082 but that the churches were responsible for teachers' salaries.[1] This gave the impression that Knibb and his colleagues were wealthy and could well look after themselves. No one thought of tariffs and taxes, and that most of this money would eventually make its way to the hands of British merchants and manufacturers.

The debate began again in the autumn. In October 1842, the Congregationalists published a 29 page document signed by thirteen missionaries, accusing the Baptist Mission of 'laxity in the performance of its duties, the employment of unscriptural machinery and unworthy agents to multiply and manage proselytes; the frequent admission of large numbers to the

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1. Hinton, op. cit., p.421, 426-428 (a detailed account).

participation of the Christian ordinances without using due discrimination of moral character and religious knowledge ... and the unexampled measures by which they annually raised and expended vast sums of money, without making any report of the same to the Christian public, either through the Society by which they are accredited as Christian missionaries or in any other way.'[1]

The critics of the Baptists further reported that Knibb had raised £7,000 between 1835-6 yet took his salary and allowances from the B.M.S. funds.[2] It was reported that Chandler, a Quaker who had visited, estimated that in 1840, the Baptists had raised no less than £40,000 and that at the same time 'these missionaries were taking their salaries as agents of the Baptist Missionary Society out of the funds raised with greatest difficulty too, from the Christian public of England.'[3]

The unfortunate thing was that the controversy centred on the figures of Knibb, Phillippo, Tinson and Taylor, each one of which had played a significant part in the Slave Revolt 1831-32 in withstanding the Assembly and protecting the Association.

The controversy did nothing more than to confirm certain suspicions which had already been formed, especially among philanthropic interests, who were now in the process of switching funds to national social problems. It also gave the B.M.S. a reason to divest themselves of the Jamaican

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1. Barrett et al, Exposition etc., p.5.
2. Ibid., p.26.
3. Ibid., loc. cit.

Mission which had indeed been expensive but it neither helped the S.M.S. nor L.M.S. cause. The official Baptist refutations did not help the situation either, and if anyone benefited it was the pro-slavery interest who remembered these details in 1865. This was the first sustained attack on the 'image' of the Free Black and also upon the sources of the funds which supported B.M.S. missions. It also revealed that the Association had raised a great deal of money itself.

CHAPTER 6

Foothold on Fernando Po - capturing the missionary vision 1841-1842

When Angus published his letter to the Jamaican churches in December 1842, the exploratory mission to West Africa had already been back about six months and the Committee had committed fresh personnel to that field. This was an interim arrangement until the larger mission got under way to transport the recruits from Jamaica.

All this had been made easier by the impact of Buxton's, The African Slave Trade 1839 and its Remedy 1840. When it appeared, the Committee readily accepted the idea of establishing a mission station on Fernando Po as,

> 'the first of a series of mission stations ... and gives easy access to the Continent of Africa in the populous districts of Bimbia and Cameroons.'[1]

Fernando Po had been a wise choice. The island had a romantic past. Discovered by the Portuguese is 1471 by the sailor Fernam do Poo, it was called by his name and remained Portuguese until 1777 when it was transferred to Spain in exchange for a strip of Brazilian coast. Spain had acquired it to use as a base for slave trading due to the increased demand for human cargo at the end of the 18th century. Due to the hostility of the indigenous islanders, who harassed the Spaniards, they abandoned the island in 1782.

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G, Min. 403/455 d/d May 20th 1841; also Min. 404/456 See also Min. 442 d/d May 13th 1841 and Min. 402/454 d/d May 20th 1841.

a station for the British West Africa squadron. In fact, as early as 1821 McQueen (1778-1870) had urged the control of the island for this same purpose and it is probable that it was this which had led to Owen's action in 1827. The same view was also shared by Laird, another traveller in the region.[1]

The B.M.S. met in Annual meeting in Exeter Hall on April 29th in 1841 and was greeted with the first reports from the exploratory mission now settled on Fernando Po. Vaughan, one of the leading speakers, in his address maintained that such a mission had confirmed the 'Providential Design', since the necessity of black missionaries was obvious in that they appreciated more readily the African modes of thought better than white men and 'alone can brave the climates effectively.'[2] Indeed, the Annual meeting turned out to be a campaign to rationalize the African mission by and large. However, there were subtle modifications present. Brock, for instance, while supporting the general trend of Vaughan's speech and although he was complimentary to Buxton's book, was pointed in his observations that the B.M.S. agents had disassociated themselves from any possible trade or trading ventures.[3] But this did not prevent the Committee when it met in August from accepting a Bilston schoolmaster, Thomas Sturgeon and his fiancee to be trained in the Borough Road School in Agriculture

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1. See McQueen, A Geographical and Commercial View of Northern and Central Africa, pp.217-218; 234-239 passim; Laird, Narrative of an Expedition, pp.401-9 and Remedies etc., p.43; also Buxton, Remedy pp. 347-353 cf. C.O. 82/1, 4, 5, 6 and F.O. 2/22 memorandum of Fernando Po d/d Oct. 3rd 1857.

2. M.H. June 1841, pp.89-90 (Meeting was held April 29th, 1841).

3. Ibid., p.90-92.

and Mechanical Arts because the evidence had suggested that there was need for personnel 'who had some acquaintance with Agriculture (and more especially tropical Agriculture) and the Useful Arts '[1]

In September the Missionary Herald prefaced an appeal to 'devoted Christians who have some acquaintance with agriculture ... and with useful arts in general' to apply for service with the Society with a map of 'The mouths of the Niger with the Adjacent Country' and a detailed account of the work of Clarke and Prince.[2] There was one applicant who had to be refused on grounds of age.[3]

In spite of important voices of dissent, the Baptists as a whole had come to put great faith in the success of the Niger Expedition. From indifference, Buxton had skilfully wooed the leadership to outright support and although with the exception of William Kingdom, no Baptists as such were on board, the concept of the Expedition with various provisos had been accepted by them. It had certainly caught the imagination of the Jamaican orientated leadership since it was based on two important missionary motives (a) compensation and (b) gratitude. And for the Jamaican church these were intrinsic to their general pattern of 'repatriation' or the 'exodus - exile' motif which was basic to their theological understanding of the church and current preaching.

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min. 512/564 d/d Aug. 12th 1841; ibid, Min.513/565 for Sturgeon; ibid, Min. 520/572 d/d Aug. 19th 1841, Min. 526/578 d/d Aug. 26th 1841 and Min. 533/585 d/d Sept. 2nd 1841. Further arrangements were made for Sturgeon to receive grants from the African Civilisation Society Min. 547/599 d/d Sept. 16th 1841; his departure for Fernando Po in December M.H. Jan. 1842, p.206 and Aug. 1842 pp. 332-3.

2. M.H. Sept. 1841, pp.129-134.

3. B.M.S. Min. Bk. G and H, Min. 674 d/d Oct. 14th 1841; Min. 689 d/d Oct. 21st 1841; Min. 691 d/d Oct. 28th 1841 (Hay, of Farindon was not impressive and too old).

When the 'Soudan' put into Fernando Po on September 25th, 1841, to announce disaster, it was as if a section of the foundation of their missionary edifice had collapsed. In a report to Joseph Angus, Prince stated that many of the complement were either dead or gravely ill but that Kingdom had been ordered to inform him

> 'that Obu of Eboe had stipulated to put down the slave traffic, to find a place for white missionaries, whom he wished to come forthwith ... the King of Ata consented to suppress the inhuman trade and had sold a run of land ... upon which they were erecting tents preparatory to the establishment of a model farm.'[1]

So this letter was not without hope strongly supported the idea of paying King Pepper (Pepple) 10,000 dollars annually for five years to induce him to abandon the Slave Trade and requested more missionaries who might be ready to embark on the Soudan, was due to again sail up the Niger in the Spring of 1842.[2]

Clarke, on the other hand, was less hopeful about the situation. In a letter dated October 21st, he reported that the 'Ethiope', a trading steamer which belonged to Jamieson of Liverpool had been hired to go to the aid of the 'Albert' marooned upstream the Niger, but had met the ship limping downstream. He stated that all the Europeans on board were ill and that Beecroft (1790-1854),[3] who commanded the 'Ethiope' had had to put an engineer aboard the 'Albert' and to act as pilot himself.

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1. M.H. Feb. 1842, pp.211-213 (Prince's letter) cf. Official Report published in 1848.
2. Ibid., see Clarke Journal IBK2 p.476. The incident occurs out of sequence in the Journal suggesting that it was recorded later than the letter.
3. See Dike, K.O., 'John Beecroft, 1790-1854 - Her Britannic Majesty's consul to the Bights of Benin and Biafra,' J.H.S.N. Vol. 1, No. 1 Dec. 1956, pp.5-14.

When the 'Albert' subsequently arrived in Fernando Po, the full import of the disaster was seen. Bird Allen, the commander who had known Prince and Clarke in Jamaica, never recovered and Kingdom, whose relatives also served in Jamaica, died.

Clarke observed

> 'it is not for us to conjecture what effect the disastrous results of the present expedition will have upon the minds of the people of England. If the Model Farm be given up and the Niger communication again becomes closed, it would be folly in us to recommend a missionary establishment at the Confluence, or in that part of Africa to the attention of the Committee. It is quite plain that a communication with England must be kept up; and for this the work must be begun near the coast, if the Niger refuse to admit us through her mouth of death.'[1]

The Niger disaster prompted Prince and Clarke to make a request for medical missionaries and the Committee decided to appeal in the Missionary Herald, and also in view of the Niger disaster to suggest that a possible alternative to a Niger mission might be a Yoruba mission.[2] Further, the Committee also wrote to the organisers of medical missions in Britain, Dr. Bull of London, Dr. Ransford of Edinburgh, Dr. Tetley of Bradford and Mr. Frost of Newcastle, seeking their aid.[3]

And yet, the Niger disaster had some positive results. It confirmed in the minds of the Committee the notion that 'black agents' were indispensible since the reports were at pains to point out that the black sailors

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1. M.H. Feb., 1842, p.214.

2. B.M.S. Min. Bk. H., Min. 739 d/d Nov. 18th, 1841; Min. 745 d/d Nov. 25th, 1841 cf. M.H. Feb. 1842, p.214 (Request for doctor).

3. Ibid. Min. 829/30 d/d Jan. 6th, 1842. For Niger Expedition see Allen and Thompson, Narrative of the Expedition into the River Niger in 1841, 2 Vols. esp. Vol.2 and appendices (1848).

and travellers aboard were not as affected as the Europeans and this augured well for Jamaican involvement. It also forced the exploratory mission to concentrate their efforts in one area, so establishing a firm nucleus which might not have happened if the Niger Expedition had succeeded. Further, it also modified the ideas of church-planting in terms of agriculture and rather compelled the missionaries to concentrate on a literary approach, thus creating the methods of communication rather than modes of trade which in the long run were more important.

When the 'Soudan' limped into port at Clarence Cove in September 1841, the Baptist mission had already been established for nine months. The men at that time were on the verge of a decision whether to develop the Fernando Po mission intensely or to strike out into the mainland.

Both Clarke and Prince had entered upon the enterprise with great diffidence. Clarke had entered in his Journal for October 24th,

> 'I am, O Lord, a sinful worm - less than the least of all saints with very ordinary talents - no name amongst men - with little comparative piety, faith or godly zeal; still I am here employed by thee with a fearful weight of responsibility resting upon me.'[1]

Prince for his part had written to Dyer,

> 'I have only to say, dear Sir, that the satisfaction with which I embark upon this enterprise has under divine influence progressively increased.'[2]

It cannot be denied that the mission was a difficult one. Firstly, due to the disruption and abolition of the Slave Trade, the triangular route taken by the ships had lost its traffic. Whatever shipping there

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1. Clarke, Journal Vol. I., BK1/p.12 (Clarke Journal I d/d Oct. 12th 1840 - June 1841).

2. M.H. May, 1841, p.67

was was likely to be Slave contraband bound for Brazil, Cuba and the United States in Iberian and American bottoms. British shipping which existed was sparse and the oil trade developed by the West African Company was small. No regular main or cargo service therefore existed between Britain and the West African coast now that the 'Black' cargo was not being carried. This left the British missionary to the tender mercies of the British Naval squadron in the region and the good offices of benevolent merchants whose record and activities contrasted markedly with the ideals and practice of the missionary.[1]

Because of this it was not until some time in April that the first letters from the mission arrived in London. As it was, they were cursory observations en route which concluded at Cape Coast Castle, and the Committee had extracts printed in the Missionary Herald.[2]

It has already been observed that the party disembarked in Fernando Po on January 1st 1841. They were met by Mr. Thompson, the agent of the West African Company to whom they had had a letter of introduction. It would appear that both men shared his home for a few days until Clarke rented accommodation nearby at ten shillings per week.

Clarke and Prince turned their attention to the establishment of a cause. On January 6th, the first Sunday of 1841, an Open-Air Service was held in the evening at which more than 250 persons attended. Encouraged by this, they proceeded to have a week of meetings indoors at 6 a.m. and

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1. See Baëta (ed.) Christianity in Tropical Africa, p.49 'Ajayi points out the mailboat began in 1853.'

2. M.H. April 1841, p.60 and May 1841, pp.66-69 (Account en route).

5 p.m. daily. It was popular, attracting between 50 to 100 inhabitants daily.

Clarke thought it prudent to approach Mr. Thompson in order that a larger place could be made available. Thompson offered a plot of land and a request was made to him to estimate the cost of a suitable building which might be erected upon it. Clarke added that

> 'the people are very willing to assist in lessening the expense of the undertaking and we feel assured the Committee will do all they can to follow up the instructions they have given for our direction.'[1]

It had been comparatively easy to gain a hearing in Clarence. It was a town of immigrants. It contained 170 houses, seven of which belonged to the West African Company. The rest were owned by Kroumen, Adeeyahs (Bubis) the indigenous people and a motley group of 'recaptives' who had to eke out an existence here, because they had been freed by the Court of Mixed Commissions and left here after being rescued from the slaver on which they had been confined.

With the 'Adeeyahs', Clarke found communication more difficult. He however succeeded in obtaining an interpreter, a young woman through whose influence he managed to speak with five others.

Late in April, Clarke and Prince were able to visit King William of Bimbia.[2] A part of the arrangements is printed in the Missionary Herald

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1. Ibid. July 1841, p.98. Cox suggests that Clarke's original instructions included the purchase of lands and the institution of a commercial enterprise but later this was changed. See Cox, History of the Baptist Mission, Vol.II, p.351ff; Clarke later expressed regret that the collapse of the Niger Expedition had wrecked his idea of a Model Farm. See Driver Collection, Clarke to Swan d/d April 20th, 1841. cf. Clarke Journal, I. BKI p.239.

2. See Clarke Journal I, BKI /p.215-222.

but separate corroboration exists in the Driver Collection, a letter written by John Clarke to Thomas Swan of Birmingham on April 21th 1841.

It would appear that at first the captain of a trading vessel at Fernando Po had promised to provide the transportation to Bimbia, Calabar and Cameroons but had been forbidden to help any missionaries by the owners. While the Herald does not state who the person was, it seems most likely that it was Jamieson, who had been disgruntled by the Niger Expedition and the part played by Baptists in the destruction of the Liverpool trade.

The mission went in a little boat which was going to the mainland for goats and after an uncomfortable voyage arrived in the Cameroons, where they were introduced to Capt. John Lilley , a resident trader, to the native chief, King Bell.[1]

The missionaries seemed to have spent many days in the region visiting not only Bell but King Aqua (Acqua) as well. The meeting left no doubt in the mens' minds that these chieftains were determined to get as much as they could from them and after parting with hats to both kings, only with difficulty did they persuade the ordinary people to transport them by canoe through the mangrove swamps to the sea. But despite this, Prince managed to obtain, through the help of another naval officer, Captain Wild, the permission of Agua to establish a school and a mission house and extracted also the solemn promise of protection for the missionaries.[2]

Clarke had remained in King Bell's town while Prince had gone up the

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1. Ibid., p.99 cf. Clarke's Journal I/BK1 p.184.

2. Ibid., July 1841, p.101 (for full text ibid, pp.100-101) cf. Clarke Journal I, BK1 p.261.

river and on his return both men crossed over into Bimbia into King William's territory.[1]

William had the deserved reputation as a notorious slave dealer. This was well known in Whitehall and there exists a agreement signed between himself and Lieutenant Edward Charles Earle in 1844 and witnessed by Joseph Merrick in which he agrees to the abolition of Slavery.[2] It is probable however that an earlier agreement existed because a similar agreement was reached by John Lilley and Walter Polland with King Bell and King Acqui (Agua, Acqua) in March 1840, a year before Clarke and Prince had arrived.[3] So when the two men arrived William was extremely cautious since there was not only a steamer anchored there on her way to Clarence Cove, but there was ashore the well known Portuguese slave-dealer Don Jabula, on the looking out for a cargo of slaves.[4] So the / did not see them.

The next three months were spent on the island consolidating the work they had begun in expectation that it would prove an adequate pedestal from which to launch the civilisation of the continent. In April, Clarke put down his observations in a letter to Thomas Swan about the difficulties he had to face and in another letter published in the Missionary Herald revealed something of the organisation being developed on the island.

To Thomas Swan, he observed that there were two great obtaacles (a) the European traders and (b) the African religious practices.

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1. Journal I, pp.218-219.
2. Treaties and Agreements between West Cameroon peoples and Great Britain
   See Ardener, Eyewitness to the Annexation etc. (Appendix A)
3. Treaties and Agreements between East Cameroon peoples and Great Britain
   See Ardener, Eyewitness to the Annexation etc. (Appendix B)
   See Hertslet, Commercial Treaties.
4. M.H. Sept. 1841 p.150 for Don Jabula, Clarke Journal I BK2 /p.451 (Clarke Journal II d/d June 30th 1841 - Aug. 14th 1842).

With regard to the traders he complained of their desecration of the 'Sabbath', the degrading of the Kroumen by encouraging the traffic in Slaves, gold and ivory and the spread of European vices. He wrote,

> 'For hundreds of years a trade has been carried on along the coast and thousands of Kroumen have been employed on board of vessels by Europeans yet those natives which have come most into contact with whites are such tribes as have traded in slaves, in rice, in ivory and gold, are the most debased - the most corrupt and the farthest sunk in the mire of iniquity - Professing Christians have been indeed "a curse among the heathen" and without implaning one virtue have ingrafted upon the stocks of corrupt nature's abominations, all the vices to which they themselves were addicted.'[1]

These were strong words and not altogether undeserved but when Clarke dealt with the African religions scene he was curious and sympathetic. His letter described not only what he had observed but in a rudimentary way attempted a reconciliation between the Gospel and the religious practices he had seen at three points. He attempted to discover points of contact in the idea of God, secondly, in the notion of Sin and thirdly in the reality of Death.

With regard to the concept of God, Clarke had discovered that there existed a clear notion of a Superior Being, who was sole creator. His name was Dupe. He was contrasted with 'Mo', who was an evil being and both spirits lived in 'O-bo-o', literally translated 'up there'. Apart from this the Fernandians confessed ignorance.[2]

Worship was given to both spirits and they were placed at all openings.

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1. Driver Collection, Clarke to Swan d/d April 20th, 1841. cf. M.H. July 1841, p.100. Prince reported "we conversed with various gentlemen interested in trade, on the sin of desecrating the sabbath day '
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2. Clarke, Journal I,/p.230f.

They appeared at the city gates, doorways, farm gates etc. and were supposed to give safe conduct.

Their notion of sin as social transgression was intimately linked with witchcraft. Clarke reported

> 'we met with the same superstition - visited and examined a "Devil House" where offerings laid in confusion; ans saw the mad frenzy manifested at a native funeral which too often leads to the giving of the "Red" or "Sarswood drink" to destroy the person who is supposed to have, by witchcraft, caused the death of the deceased ... we saw many of the worshippers of the Grand Devil or "Kuh"; and had long accounts of his wonderful powers - His abode is said to be under a great stone over which a devil house is placed - old men are allowed occasionally to put their hand into the hole and are favoured by "Kuh" with a grasp in token of his presence ... '[1]

The letter goes on to show that transgression is then wiped out by a feast, the central animal a bullock, whose blood is carried to the grave of the deceased, over which mystical words are spoken and vast quantities of rum consumed. But this rite seems to be centred on Cape Coast and Cameroons rather than on the island of Fernando Po itself.

Death has already been described in the two preceding concepts. It is important to note that for the Fernandians no one dies naturally. So that death had to be expiated as a sin either by a substitute feast or by the death of another person. Clarke was not slow to see the similarities to the Christian Faith but it was some time before he exploited them.[2]

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1. Driver Collection, Clarke to Swan d/d April 20th, 1841.
2. See M.H. Oct., 1841, pp.146-148: This is a description of a meeting which took place on Jan. 29th. Prince says he conveyed to them that he wished to talk about 'Dupe' and that he had the satisfaction of getting some acquaintance of their 'natural religion' etc. This is a very important account to understand the attempt at a rapprochement between the Baptists and both the Adseyahis and Bubis.

On April 29th, Clarke wrote to the Committee informing them that

> 'the Sabbath attendance is good, and much that encourages our hearts appears. Two evenings in the week we give our encouragement to a school for adults; Tuesday evenings we hold a prayer meeting, and several of our inquirers engage in prayer in a manner deeply interesting; on Wednesdays we have the inquirers in two classes and meet them for prayer, instruction and examination; on Thursdays we have a lecture and on each Saturday evening we hold a prayer meeting. We do hope that a small church will be formed here before we leave this place, and we pray that the importance of watching over and feeding it may be so great, that, without delay, missionaries may be sent over to water what we have been privileged to see planted by the Spirit; and be the instruments of planting other churches among the interesting natives, and on the adjacent continent.'[1]

In fact it seemed that the exploratory mission had come to a definite conclusion as early as March not only that an African mission was possible but that Fernando Po could be its base at least for the time being.[2]

Having made a decision about the island as the nucleus of the outreach for the conversion of the continent, Clarke was as concerned about the personnel who should be responsible for the task. In the same letter which advised the Committee about his decision, he made certain other recommendations concerning the qualities of the missionary needed in the situation. He observed that the B.M.S. should send,

> 'agents in as large numbers as its resources will admit ... They should be married men with prudent and pious partners as full of love to Africa as are their husbands. Both should enter upon their work in the spirit of cheerful faith; not afraid of a speedy dismission to glory but willing to live while God shall please, to promote his glory in the salvation of souls. As many as can be obtained from Jamaica of our black and coloured brethren and sisters there should be cheerfully employed; but great

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1. M.H. Sept. 1841, p.131 letter d/d April 29th, 1841.

2. The General Committee ratified the mission's decision; see B.M.S. Min. Bk. G., Min. 442 d/d May 15th 1842 and M.H. Sept. 1841, p.131, (letter d/d March 3rd).

> care should be exercised in their selection by the missionary brethren on the spot ... As to learning we want as much of it as we can get, along with deep toned piety, real humility, burning zeal, strong faith, a good constitution, a preparedness to die, a willingness to live, to labour, to suffer hardship, privation, trial and all that God may allow to come upon his servants in the persecution of their arduous and self-denying work.'[1]

He repeated his observations again in April advising that

> 'all missionaries sent here be married men, and that their wives be as much missionaries and as devoted to the work as they are themselves. They must be men of fine feeling, as to modesty. I tremble while I think of the mischief one impudent man might do here to the cause of God. I advise too that your missionaries should not be of a niggardly mind, the African is disgusted with this; and the trifle freely bestowed for any favour ... is always repaid by the spirit it infuses into the person rewarded...'[2]

It is abundantly clear from these extracts that Clarke was extremely anxious to promote stable family life by precept and example and also to introduce other ideas of modesty than were current in the island.

Modesty, and the status of the African woman had been a ground of appeal in London. At the Annual Meeting, Brock of Norwich addressed the women of Britain and demanded of them help to give to the African woman privileges of humanity and social recognition in her own right within her society. And it is well known that a large part of the support during Apprenticeship for Jamaican projects had been received from the Ladies Negro Friend Society.[4]

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1. M.H. Sept. 1841, p.131 (letter d/d March 3rd, 1841).
2. Ibid., p.132
3. Ibid, June, 1841, p.90-91; 'Women of England you have been appealed to ... contrast the social discord there with your own peaceful habitations of joy and love.'
4. See Fenn Collection, Sturge to Clark d/d March 31st 1838 where Sturge asks about 'Henry Williams who had been purchased or rather redeemed some year since by a Ladies Negro Friend Society.' These Ladies' societies had a strong interest in reform.

Clarke had observed in his letter to Swan that on most occasions a state of nudity was the usual dress on Fernando Po, but that when there was a social occasion a prescribed dress of shells, broken plates, vertebrae of snakes or feathers was sometimes worn.[1] With this background it may be appreciated why Clarke stressed both marriage and modesty as essential to the missionary endeavour.

Prince had written home as well and in his letters of April 23rd and 30th, he described the missionary outreach into the interior of the island and the practical steps taken to consolidate the work. His record also illuminates the technique used to communicate the Gospel at this time.

Prince, a practical man of the world, obviously had decided that it was preferable to buy from an indigene, than from the West African Company. And so he acquired by barter a plot of land on the other side of Clarence Cove with a suitable landing place in Goderich Bay. Its suitability had obviously been spotted before because nearby were the rotting hulks of the 'Quorra' and the 'Alburkah'.[2] The siting of the Baptist mission on land outside the jurisdiction of the West African Company was conducive to freedom on the part of the missionaries since the Company, as was the common practice of the time, appropriated to itself all commercial and political authority.[3]

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1. Driver Collection, Clarke to Swan d/d April 20th 1841 (page 3 foot of page) cf. M.H. Sept. 1841, p.132.

2. For the 'Quorra' and 'Alburkah' see Hallett, The Niger Journal of Richard and John Lander (1965) pp.290-297. These two boats had formed the Laird-Oldfield expedition of 1837. cf. Laird M., and Oldfield R.A.K., Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa (1837).

3. M.H. Sept. 1841, p.132 letter d/d April 23rd 1841. The plot was bought for a total cost of £3 cf. Clarke, Journal I, p.258ff (Thompson objected to hours of Service etc., hence the move.)

Dr. Prince took time to conduct a census of Clarence and it revealed that apart of 178 houses, 460 men and 155 women, 149 male children under 15 and 109 female, there were no fewer than 108 cases of concubinage and illicit relationships on a large scale. He estimated that about 20% of the men and 33⅓% of the women were compromised and he could find only 14 couples who were legally married. He discovered that 152 Krou men lived alone but were not unknown to have liaisons of varying sorts. It added up to an appalling social picture. But the most important aspect of the census for our purposes was the light it threw upon the origins of the peoples of Clarence.[1] The town was revealed as a 'pot pourri' held together by very thin social bonds. In some ways the town was similar to Jamaican society with a high quotient of social alienation from the locale, and from their original home as acculturation began to take place. And yet the Fernandian situation was dissimilar in that there did exist a larger group of indigenous peoples with a fixed culture independent of Clarence.

Whether the Baptists were aware of the precarious nature of Clarence townlife is not clear from the correspondence of this time. But there began to be a determined effort on their part after the census to establish stations within the larger social grouping and when Prince wrote to Murch[2] on April 30th, he described the acquisition of sites in the interior to

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1. Prince gives details of the place of the origins of the Clarence population:- Altah or Iddah, 2; Appa, 5; Aku, 18; Accra, 3; Bimbia, 25; Bidjie, 1; Brass, 1; Boubies, 115; Cameroons, 53; Calabar, 46; Congo, 26; Cape Coast, 8; Cape Lohou, 6; England, 5; Eboe, 93; Gouru, 1; Germany, 1; Gaboon, 18; Houssa, 8; Jaloffe, 2; Krous, 192; Liberia, 4; Mandingo, 1; Moco, 29; Nyffe, 1; Natives but not Boubies, 158; Otano, 5; Popo, 1; Prince's Isle, 9; Mooney, 6; Rio Pongo, 2; Scotland, 1; Sierra Leone, 18; St. Thomas Isle, 6; United States, 6; Vy, 1. M.H. Sept., 1841, p.133.

2. W. H. Murch (1784 - 1859) was principal of Stepney College and co-secretary of the Baptist Union (1834 - 1846). See obit The Freeman, Vol V., July 20th, 1859. p 424.

serve this purpose.[1] Clarke for his part described that the hilly nature of the interior made Bassipoo, the second largest town, a suitable site for a 'sanitarium', partly because it overlooked Clarence from above 2,000 ft. and also because the ruler in the region was friendly.[2] Clarke met the ruler and committed himself to building a school and settling a teacher there but the ruler suggested that Clarke begin at Clarence first, so that they could observe whether their children would be 'abused or ill-used', so indelible had the happenings of the past been etched upon their memories.

During the Summer months a determined effort was made to make contact with the mainland. In June Prince attempted to see King William of Bimbia but was again rebuffed.[3] Clarke in the meantime in a letter to Dr.Hoby reported that he had discovered about fifty townships with an average population of 250 in each scattered in several parts of the island.[4]

In November, the Missionary Herald decided to feature the mission on Fernando Po. It carried a print of the island as approached from Clarence Cove and published extracts from four letters from Clarke written to members of the Committee the previous June and July.[5]

The letters were designed to encourage interest and to appeal to adventure and the extracts were well chosen. The story was designed to give information about the 'general character' of the 'experimental station'.

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1. M.H. Sept. 1841, p.133 (letter d/d April 30th, 1841) The site at Bassipoo was about 50 acres.
2. Ibid., p.131.
3. Ibid., M.H. Nov. 1841, p.162 letter d/d June 24th, 1841; Clarke Journal I, p.354.
4. M.H. Oct. 1841, p.145 (letter d/d June 25th, 1841).
5. M.H. Nov. 1841, pp.162-164 (June 10th, 24th, 27th, July 13th).

It reported that the missionaries had not only succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Krau township but had conducted a Wednesday evening class, which in the context of the times had self-improvement overtones, conducted twenty weddings and reduced the noise level - the brawling between the Krii men and Dewallas from Cameroons.

But more significant than these words of encouragement was the declaration of intent which Clarke had written and the Herald published. Clarke asserted,

> 'This island I hope will be the first starting point for our society; and at no distant day we hope to see a line of missionary stations stretching from the regions of Mohametan darkness on the borders of the great 'Sahara' to the same thick night at Timbuctoo, Housa, Bornu, the Nubian desert and the Egyptian Sea. The unknown interior will open before the peaceful messengers of the Lord. The wild inhabitants of the islets of Lake Tchad, the warlike Bergharmians, the dwellers on the tops of the mountains of Donga and Jebel Kimra, shall hear and will receive the tidings of great joy. The missionaries who shall penetrate by the desert plains behind the Congo and Angola will untimately join those who have entered by Mozambique and Zanquebar; and again unite with those already making silent progress among the mountains of Abyssinia, and to the north of the deserts of Laltakoo ... I hope God will bless the present attempt of our government and others, to introduce a system of justice and humanity into Africa.'[1]

This comprehensive concept of missionary penetration was the common goal of the Missionary Societies. Indeed it had been this that Buxton had incorporated into his Niger Expedition. As Ifemesia observed,

> 'Buxton proposed that 'pure' humanitarians should also be put to work. There should be actual missionaries to preach the Gospel; the Bible should go with the plough and the trader's goods. In his view, it was through the work of missionaries that the old society built on slavery and the slave trade would ultimately be

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1. Ibid., pp.163-164.

dismantled and another based on Christianity and civilization reared in its place.'[1]

But just as the Buxton thesis had been accepted by the British Government for pragmatic reasons in face of bitter opposition from the West Indian and West African interest so too the African mission had been one way of diverting Jamaican Baptist attention from their own internal problems as well as providing a possible avenue for future missionary outreach. The irony of the November Herald was that while it had been designed to build up hope and outline the vast drama of the conversion and civilisation of Africa, at that moment in time disaster had shattered the very basis of this dream.

It must not be assumed that news travelled as fast in 1841 as it does today and it took at least three months more for the full impact of the crisis to reverberate through British society. In the meantime, the letters written in August had arrived and were duly printed in December giving this time encouraging news of a possible breakthrough in Bimbia with King William and definite success in King Agua's region.[2]

The details of the disaster began to trickle into Britain by late November. By January it had already aroused much feeling in certain circles especially in Parliament. In February, the Missionary Herald published two lengthy extracts from Prince and Clarke which presumably had arrived in January dated October 6th and October 21st.[3] But these added

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1. Ifemesia, 'The Civilising Mission of 1841: Aspects of an episode in Anglo-Nigerian Relations' J.H.S.N. Vol.2, No.3, 1962, p.293 (Article 291-310) cf. Buxton, Remedy, pp.337-338.

2. M.H. Dec. 1841, pp.188-189. letters d/d Aug. 24th Fernando Po (Prince) and Aug. 28th (Clarke).

3. Ibid., Feb. 1841, pp.211-214.

little to what was already known. Ifemesia observes that the outbursts were 'on account of the large number of men lost (53 out of 303), the great amount of public money (nearly £100,000) and the high hopes so suddenly frustrated'.[1] Not even the West African interests rejoiced.

Jamieson for instance put up a modified Niger plan soon after this and attempted to get public support.[2]

And yet, as far as the Baptists were concerned the Niger expedition had established three things. Firstly, the absolute necessity to use Jamaican personnel if the mission was to be a success. Secondly, that a model farm was in fact possible since the farm at Lokaja had been established and only failed because of bad management. Thirdly, it seemed to provide conclusive proof that a knowledge of local language and the necessity to reduce them to writing was a necessary prelude to any planned evangelisation of the continent.

As an immediate consequence the Mission abandoned any serious attempt to go up river and on November 22nd 1841, the Clarence church was established at a Baptismal and Communion Service.[3]

With the constituting of the Clarence Church, Clarke began to employ local personnel and he chose John William Christian as a full time itinerant

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1. Ifemesia, art. cit., p.308 cf. London Times, April 25th 1842, page 6 column 1; Hansard Vol. LVI, Jan. 26th - Mar. 5th, 1841, pp.510, 692-708.

2. See Jamieson, The Amelioration of Africa with an outline of a plan etc. (Liverpool 1844) A prospectus called Scheme for the Extension of Commercial intercourse with Africa etc. was published August 1844.

3. See Driver Collection, Clarke to Swan d/d Nov. 23rd, 1841. Both Schön and Crowther of the ill-fated mission were present at these Services. The Baptismal Service took place in the river at the point where it passed the graves of Lander and Allen. cf. Clarke Journal I pp. 459, 508 (actual Baptism) p.512 (five candidates).

preacher whom he had known for some time. Unfortunately, the details of his background are obscure. It is known that he was married by Clarke and that his zeal had led his wife and three others to become Christians. It is quite probable that he had had some previous contact with the Church since he was a Fanti and there existed a strong Methodist cause on that coast. What is known, however, is that he was responsible for the introduction of the Gospel to the Bubi towns of Bani, Bassa-ka-troo and Ba-Ka-Ka and was later the leader of the Clarence church during the absence of Prince and Clarke [1]

The events in Clarence moved swiftly from this time. Kerr of the Model Farm, Schön and Crowther were still on the island together with Dr. Vögel, the botanist. Schön was at work on the Haussa dictionary and Crowther on a Tarribean one and both men discussed their work with Clarke.[2]

When Schön and the others left, they took with them nine workers to help on the farm, but Clarke was by now convinced that the point of entry into Africa was via Sierra Leone and not the Niger. The problem was that, as far as he knew, the Baptists of Sierra Leone had fallen on bad days. But he had hopes that the Independent Methodists and Church Missionary Society would be able to begin something and this was quite in keeping with his universalistic approach.

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1. See M.H. Feb. 1842, p.211. cf. M.H. March 1842 letter d/d Nove. 16th 1842 (Prince to Cox). Christian subsequently won his wife Phoebe and three friends to Christianity, Joseph Wilson, Peter Nicholls and Mary Ann Duroo. M.H. March 1842; also Clarke Journal IBk[2] p.555: See also Driver Collection, Christian to Clarke and Prince d/d March 24th 1842, May 5th 1842, June 1842 (n.d.) requesting Family Bible, a school master, pictures of angels and giving general information to Clarke and Prince in Britain.

2. See Clarke Journal IBk[2], pp.470-490 (passim) Vögel died soon after this pp.464, 565.

In December Clarke set about compiling a notebook of Fernandian words in common usage and by the end of the month he had also collected the numerals between 1 and 21.[1] On December 19th Clarke and Prince set out on another tour of the island. They revisited Bassipu, Basapo and had a conference with King Boidiba. From him they acquired more land for the mission and commented upon the trustworthy nature of land tenure. They were sill engaged on the tour when 1842 arrived. On New Year's Day, they conducted an evangelistic meeting with King Boriakko and his people and went on to visit King Boobualla and his people. There he met the Cooper family, a useful contact who traded from Barsualla, the second largest port on the island. Clarke gave to King Boobualla the local chief some tobacco[2] and they proceeded from there to meet with King Bootiash (Prince calls him Boo-ete-ah) at the 'Balla' (Bala) or play area. The Balla (Bala) ground was a semicircle of staves, or trees if the staves had grown, in which there stood a 'palaver house', where the king met to transact state or social business, it also contained a 'stump' or a cluster of sacred palms which constituted a charm against illness, and the king's throne. In many instances the throne was situated under the sacred palms or at least near them. Around these objects, within the semicircle was an empty space where the tribe would gather for social and sacred occasions.[3]

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1. Ibid., pp. 502, 523, 566

2. Tobacco was a commodity used extensively in barter. Clarke had made use of it before. Clarke Journal, I/ p.583 and M.H. March 1842 p.228 column 1. BK2

3. Ibid., p.629ff. cf. M.H. Oct. 1841 (for Bala Ground) pp.146-148.

Clarke used the occasion as an evangelistic opportunity and according to Prince, preached on death, hell, judgment and the devil which 'made our auditors show an inward terror.' Later the king requested a teacher for his people and told his people to accept the Christian teaching. After accepting from the king twenty yams as a token of sincerity and good will the mission proceeded to Ribolo towards the eastern part of the island. While at Ribolo, the king, (who was called Bassapa Money, because he dressed his hair with money) and his brother Bo-le-ito, spread a feast in their honour. It consisted of goats flesh stewed in palm oil and flavoured with herbs. Clarke who described this scene as well as Prince, calls the king Dikona and reported another king, Boiriako, whom he had met previously. Prince reported a Boe-coo-di, whose house was the actual place of the feast although the king was the host.[1]

It would seem that the confusion of names in the reports was due to the prevalent custom of giving false names to important persons and places for security reasons. It seems probable that Clarke had the correct names and not Prince, firstly because Clarke discovered the practice and therefore would have taken steps to be accurate and secondly, because Clarke understood the languages better than Prince.

The mission arrived back in Clarence (Goderich Bay) on January 24th, 1842 to see the ships in disarray. The survivors of the Niger Expedition were further decimated by malaria and fatigue and morale was low. Added to this there were rumours of tribal warfare on the island between the Bauni,

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1. Ibid., pp.516ff, 527-31, 575-583, 587-607. cf. M.H. Oct. 1842 pp.358-360 (a portion of Prince's Journal, now lost in its entirety).

Bakakki and Bassualla. Some months before Clarke had managed to intervene and peace had resulted but there was still animosity present.[1]

As it was the exploratory mission had planned to sail to Britain in time for the April Meetings of the Society. But there were things to be done before they left. They held a baptismal service of eight, the third of the church, and cast about for transportation to Britain. News arrived that Cameroons was about to make war on Fernando Po to get slaves but King Aqua's plans were frustrated. Meanwhile, some men from Dewalla, Cameroon and Bimbia began to report Slavery in the hinterland and that the earnings of all Bimbia men went to King William.[2]

After thirteen months on the island, Prince and Clarke set sail from Bassipa on February 2nd 1842 on the 'Mary' bound for Liverpool. They had contemplated a journey on a Dutch brig to London but chose the English vessel because it was cheaper and more seaworthy in their opinion.

Their route to Liverpool utilized the South East Trade Winds, and therefore it was not uncommon for the ships to sail via Sao Thome (St. Thomas), Princes Island, as it did in this case. Generally, the ship sailed to the Cape Verde Islands and home. More often however, Spanish and Portuguese bottoms went to Pernambuco (Recife), then either to Barbados, or to the United States before they headed home. It will be appreciated that there were other variants of this trade which may be studied more fully in

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1. M.H. Oct. 1842, p 362 col. 1. (The incident went back to Col. Nicholls time.)

(BK2)

2. Clarke Journal, I,/pp.645-654.

Fage's An Atlas of African History (1958).[1]

On the 11th February disaster struck. During a severe storm, lightning struck the mizen mast and killed one of the crew. Squalls and unsettled weather impelled them to weave an indirect course and Clarke reported that the ship crossed and recrossed the Equator three times between Feb. 20th and March 22nd, when by good fortune they managed to get into the North East Trade winds. But unfortunately, the main mast, obviously weakened by the buffeting of earlier weeks, was uprooted from its moorings and carried with it the fore and mizen tops and afterwards the foreyards.

On February 29th, the 'Mary' sighted and hailed a French South Sea whaler, but she was forbidden by French law to carry passengers. Clarke and Prince decided that perhaps it was the work of Providence which had led them to be on a course to Demerara, the nearest landfall, and this seemed to be confirmed when the 'Kate Nickleby' of Glasgow, in a second meeting on the high seas, could not provide suitable accommodation to London.[2]

The 'Mary' made a straight course towards Demerara and on April 9th, 1842, Berbice was sighted. On the following day the 'Mary' made for the light ship in the Demerara river and Prince and Clarke transferred to a cutter which took them to George Town on April 11th.[3]

Demerara had been the centre of the John Smith episode of 1824, which had led to the abolition of Slavery and George Town was a centre of a large

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1. Fage, op. cit., p.29. cf. M.H. July 1842, p.305 (Clarke's letter says he left on Feb. 3rd.).
2. M.H. July 1842, p.305 cf. Clarke Journal BK2 I, pp.686-690.
3. Ibid. cf. Clarke Journal BK2 I, pp.694-6.

African population It had been their hope that the African mission would have found some support there. Lodgings had been found for Clarke and Prince in George Town by one of the pilots, but when he heard that two Methodist ministers lived nearby they went to see them. From one of them, Mr. Padgham, they learned that Wallbridge, who had succeeded Trew at Mico in Jamaica, had been ordained and was pastor of John Smith's old church and the tutor of a college to train men for the ministry.[1] Clarke and Prince then went to see Governor Henry Light , who did not support the African policy in its entirety although he sympathised with their motives. But he came to the public meeting with the Press and the project was given status and publicity. It was however marked that the Methodists were conspicuously absent but this was probably due to the conflict of interests which would have arisen had they given full support. The Methodists already supported Freeman and his mission. The missionaries of the L.M.S were particularly helpful to the mission. They opened their churches and pulpits to them and during their sixteen day stay preached in Montrose, seven miles from George Town, Lucignan, twelve miles away on the east coast in the swampy forests, at Ebenezer, seven miles away across the Demerara River, and at Freedom Chapel, twelve miles in the opposite direction across the Essequibo River. Clarke even found time to purchase two properties with the view of establishing Baptist work in the region, but this plan never matured.

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1. Ibid., p.306, col. 1: Wallbridge was appointed to Demerara by the L.M.S. in September 1841 to a Normal School, which had a theological department. He was ordained on January 17th, 1842. See Ev. Mag., Feb., 1842, p.102.

The two men sailed from George Town on April 27th and arrived in St. Christopher (St. Kitts) at Basseterre early in May. Here there was a warmer welcome from the Methodists and when news of their presence was spread, Moravian pastors whom they had known came to see them. Both groups were excited about the African prospects and it is quite possible that it was this visit which laid the foundations for the Moravian mission to Akropong in 1843.[1]

From St. Christopher, the men made their way to St. Thomas (Virgin Islands) where they disembarked to get the 'Ann Laing' which was bound for Jamaica. In St. Thomas the atmosphere was different from the British colonies. The Dutch Reformed pastor, Labagh, believed that freedom for the Black should be a slow process and that the Blacks were not in the same human category as the Whites. Clarke and Prince were not deterred and had an interview with the Governor on the question of the abolition of Slavery. The Governor invited Clarke to preach while on the island, but withdrew it after Labagh protested. The Moravians however had no such hesitations and Clarke and Prince preached in their churches about Africa, drawing as a result large congregations and the displeasure of the authorities, who naturally feared a revolt. This led to an official ban being issued forbidding them to speak in public. Their stay as it happened was however drawing to an end and on May 21st, they embarked on the 'Anne Laing' for Falmouth, arriving there on May 27th, 1842.[2]

It would certainly appear that some divine Providence had taken a

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1. See Debrunner, op. cit., p.108. BK2
2. M.H. July 1842, p.307. cf. Clarke Journal I,/ pp.716-740.

hand and given them firstly, the opportunity to test the reaction of a large cross section of the Caribbean to the African idea. Secondly, in coming to Jamaica, they would be able to be brought up to date on Association plans and strategy, as well as inspire the churches with an aim to future recruitment. But perhaps most important for the mission itself was the fact that this tour had given added weight to Clarke and Prince's arguments for such a mission, thus creating a situation where the Committee was almost faced with a fait accompli.

CHAPTER 7

Men, Money and Machines - planting the Mission 1842-1844

The arrival of John Clarke and George Prince in Jamaica set in motion a train of events which effectively made an African mission the primary concern of the Association once more. The exploratory mission could hardly have been aware that this had been pushed into the background by local problems of land, rents and housing and also the tension which had resulted from the declaration of independence earlier that year. Thus Clarke's premonition that in some strange way he had been led towards Jamaica seemed confirmed by fact.

In assessing his reasons for coming to Jamaica, Clarke had recorded six reasons, ranging from deep spiritual commitment to a mixture of practical common sense and personal need.

He observed that in the first place, he had been aware of an overriding Providence, and could only interpret his journey to be a fact of God's will. Secondly, he decided that the trip could be done without much loss of time. After all, they had already missed the Annual meetings in Britain and the Jamaican trip could compensate by the possible increase of enthusiasm which could be generated there, now that it could not be generated in Exeter Hall. Thirdly, there was the problem of finance related to the Jubilee Fund and the projected mission. Clarke proposed to raise money to help reduce the B.M.S. debt, to which Jamaica had in fact committed itself through Knibb. Fourthly, it was his plan to persuade

certain churches to guarantee specific sums of money on a permanent basis for the African mission. Fifthly, he was acutely aware of the time limits within which he had to work. On his departure from Clarence no ministerial replacement had arrived, although he must have known that Sturgeon and his wife were on their way. And so the urgency demanded that he begin immediately the work of recruitment, screening as many possibilities as came forward, in order that he might have some idea of the Jamaican response. Sixthly, he admitted to himself that he had gone for his own sake, to renew old acquaintances and to see his old church again.[1]

George Prince might have added a seventh. He could visit his wife's relatives whom he had not seen for some years.

The visit resolved itself into two main activities (a) the publicising of the Mission and (b) a recruitment drive which was perhaps the most important aspect of the stay.

As soon as the preliminaries were over, both men engaged in an exacting schedule of meetings. The schedule was planned to take them to every large population centre in the island and attention was paid to the areas from which reports of interest had come. Results were encouraging. At Falmouth, Knibb's church pledged itself to £100 for the mission and the group of churches in the region promised to buy a sloop with proper boats, 'to enable us to go to the mouths of the rivers and ascend the streams.'[2] Enthusiasm was widespread. The speakers reported to public meetings in town squares, at prayer meetings in churches and private houses, in schools and

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BK2

1. Clarke Journal I /, pp.689-693; 700, 704-775.

2. M.H. Sept. 1842, pp.348-9.

to groups of teachers. The 'Western Union' called a special meeting to receive the mission and it was decided to begin recruitment immediately. It is not known whether the South-Eastern Union under Phillippo had a similar meeting then , but an immediate outcome of the visit was to pay the fares of Prince and Clarke back to Britain and the Association sent a sizeable contribution to the Jubilee Fund.[1]

Recruitment was successful. Clarke managed to obtain the names of at least fourteen who showed great interest. Most of these were within the scope of the Western Union, suggesting that interest was strongest in those churches. At Mt. Carey, Burchell's church, Clarke recruited James Steel, and other unnamed persons.[2] In Montego Bay, two offered to go, including Mrs. Andrews, the widow of the late Head of the Normal school.[3] There was an offer from Fletcher's Grove and another from Sav-la-Mar, in this case a couple.[4] A teacher from Lucea also offered.[5]

In the St. Ann region where John Clark was pastor, the Gallimore family of Refuge offered to go as settlers. Gabeadon and his cousin from Sturge Town, who were both teachers and Mico trained, Dalling of Brown's Town and James Ellis, of St. Ann's Bay, all teachers, offered to go.[6] While in Montego Bay, the Chief Constable, Mr. Popkins, unsolicited, began to collect funds for the imaginative venture.[7]

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1. Ibid. cf. Nov. 1842, p.372 (Report of October meeting - Angus reported £1,000 from the Jamaican churches).
2. Clarke Journal I/BK2, pp.742, 746
3. Ibid., pp.747, 752
4. Ibid., pp.748, 753-4
5. Ibid., p.754
6. Ibid., pp.753-756.
7. Ibid., p.748.

But perhaps the most important recruit was Joseph Merrick, (1818-1849) a coloured Jamaican and a protege of Clarke, who for a long time saw in an African mission the fulfilment of a cherished ambition.

Clarke first met the Merricks in Port Royal when he succeeded William Knibb as pastor. Through his ministry, Richard Merrick (1790-1844), a coloured artisan and Joseph's father, came to faith and eventually was called to the Christian ministry. This pastoral encounter began a life long friendship, which was to be sustained with Joseph on three continents.

Joseph was born in Port Royal on August 24th, 1818, at a time when the port had fallen on bad days. It had been an important station for the Royal Navy and a repair yard for the ships. It had boasted in the past Henry Morgan, Rodney and Horatio Nelson, who had lived within its boundaries for considerable portions of their lives. With the growth of Kingston across the channel, the port had declined, both as a commercial centre and as a maintenance depot. Since the costs had induced the Navy to transfer most of its operations to Antigua.

Joseph had a good education for that time, learning Latin and Short-hand from soldiers at the Barracks. He studied both Spanish and French, and betrayed an early flair for languages. With the reduction of the family fortunes they moved to Kingston and on Clarke's advice Joseph was apprenticed to the printers, Jordan and Osborn, who owned and printed the Watchman, a liberal newspaper. There, in the family of the Osborns, he continued his language study and was so quick at his work that before his term of apprenticeship was complete, Jordan and Osborn set him up in Spanish Town in 1836 with his own paper, The Telegraph.

The Telegraph was a failure. It was undersubscribed and the overheads - rent, printing costs etc. - were too heavy and in 1837 he became a bankrupt.

One reason for failure was that the paper had been designed to advocate the cause of the Apprentices, and in doing this offended the Governor's Secretary. The natural reaction had been suppression, which Merrick did not have the capital to resist. He was broken in mind and health as a result, and went to stay with a sister, who had trained as a teacher and gone to one of Clarke's schools, in St. Thomas ye Vale.

Tragedy followed upon tragedy. On May 11th, 1837, his sister Diana died, probably from tuberculosis, and left him alone and ill. But on her deathbed, she begged him to be a Christian.

Joseph, now ill himself, probably with the same disease, went to his parents to recuperate, and while there read Doddridge's The Rise and Progress of the religion of the Soul (1812) and this, together with the last requests of his sister, made him turn down a lucrative offer to go into business and instead to go to Jericho and replace her as the teacher at £30 per annum. He arrived in Jericho on August 15th, 1837, and on January 14th, 1838, was baptized by John Clark of Brown's Town.

It would appear that one of the attractions to Jericho had been the use of Clarke's library. He soon discovered that he had an ability for Hebrew and Greek, which Clarke taught him to prepare him for ordination. During one of these classes, Clarke remarked that the Bible had not been translated into any African language and Merrick determined to do it.

He was 'accredited' on February 16th, 1839, on the same day as his

father and when Clarke fell ill and had to go on sick leave to the United States and subsequently Britain, he left the Merricks in charge.[1]

So eager was Merrick to participate that together with his wife Elizabeth (née Knowles), whom he had married afterClarke had arrived in Jamaica, he sailed with Clarke and Prince on August 8th, 1842, to London, where they arrived on September 8th, to meet with Phillippo and Alexander Fuller, who were already there.[2]

The closing months of 1842 did not provide much scope for added development of the African mission. The Jubilee celebrations had been built up to a climax in the London meetings, and at the meeting both Clarke and Merrick spoke, focussing attention upon the African situation. Jamaica had not been forgotten; Knibb and Tinson in Kettering, and Phillippo in London had played upon the theme that Africa and Jamaica were integrally linked and that Jamaica and its story was the inspiration.

The members of the Committee committed themselves to this too. Thomas Sturgeon was even then attempting to cope with the African situation such as it was assisted by Wilson, Christian and Nicholls, while the urgency for new volunteers was a recurrent theme at every Committee meeting.

Urgency had been the theme at the London Jubilee meeting too. Colonel Nicolls, a former Commandant and Superintendent of Fernando Po and an interested party, moved a resolution that,

> 'the society having been directed towards Africa by the earnest entreaties of the Churches in Jamaica and our brethren the Rev.

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1. See Clarke, Memoir of Joseph Merrick (1848) cf. Memorials of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica (1869), pp.206-210. For Doddridge: Rise and Progress etc. a book of great influence; see D.N.B. Vol.V (1908), p.1067.
2. M.H. Oct. 1842, p.362. cf. Memoir of Joseph Merrick, pp.66-67.

> John Clarke and Dr. Prince having at the request of committee, visited the western coast of that continent, and established a missionary station ... trusts that the mission which has been thus assiduously begun will continue to enjoy the care ... of the church.'[1]

Coming from such an important person, though couched in terms of gratitude to God, it was nevertheless a powerful endorsement in public of the Jamaican case.

But the harsh realities of life had to be faced and it became quite clear that the Committee had to address itself to three important items (a) finance (b) personnel and (c) transportation. Of the three, the last one was most pressing, since least consideration had been given to it and indeed Nic olls, in his public address in Exeter Hall, had among other things, pleaded for a steam vessel to be a part of the missionary equipment of the evangelising force.

It must be acknowledged that ever since Clarke had returned this item had regularly appeared on the agenda of the Committee in some form or other.[2] But nothing was done.

In October, the question of a steamer for the African mission was discussed in the Committee and a sub-committee of Hinton, Allen and Angus was named to make enquiries of McBeale and Cochrane with respect to a mission boat.[3] In January, 1843/the firm tendered a design drawn by Edward Cowper for consideration and Clarke was invited to comment.[4] In the end

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1. M.H. Nov. 1842, p.379.
2. Ibid., Nov. 1842, p.380. cf. B.M.S. Min. Bk. H, Min.214 d/d Oct. 20th 1842.
3. B.M.S. Min. Bk. H., Min.214 d/d Oct. 20th, 1842.
4. Ibid., Min. Bk. I, Min. 345 and Min. 366 d/d Jan. 19th 1843. The letters of Cowper on the matter have been lost (Nos. 2361, 2473).

the Committee decided to set up another sub-committee, consisting of Green, Whitehorne, Allen and Cozens, together with the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society to examine the matter with Mr. Bayley, a Baptist and an underwriter at Lloyds.[1]

The mandate of the sub-committee was to estimate the annual cost of a steamer and to put forward any adequate alternatives to a steamer.

The sub-committee reported on February 23rd that the running costs were likely to be between £800 - £1,000 per annum and that this did not include 'the anxiety attendant with the grave risk of such a vessel'. Bayley, they reported, had suggested that it would be a better thing to acquire a schooner of approximately 70 tons, since this would satisfy in many respects the requirements of the mission, with less risk and that the overall cost would be less, some £800 to construct with an annual running cost of £300 - £400 per annum.[2] The Committee adopted the report of the sub-committee and sent it to Clarke for comment.

Clarke rejected the report arguing that for the 'thoroughgoing efficiency of the mission' a steamer was a necessity. When the report was read in Committee, Angus supported Clarke on the grounds that both McGregor Laird and Nicolls were of the same opinion. The Committee, in the light of this set up another sub-committee consisting of Cox, Steane, Whitehorne and Hinton together with the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society to meet and consult with Bayley, Clarke, Nicolls, McGregor Laird and Dr. Prince

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1. Ibid., Min. 399 d/d Frb. 16th, 1843.

2. Ibid., Min. 407 d/d Feb. 23rd, 1843. Bayley offered his services to the Society on a permanent basis free of charge!

on the matter.[1]

The Committee reported in March that it had met with Laird and Nicholls and were now prepared to recommend on their advice,

> 'a schooner with an engine and Archimedean Screw attached as a subsidiary to the sailing power and that the said schooner be made of iron.'[2]

The compromise was accepted by all parties and the schooner went to tender.[3]

By the 4th May, three tenders were received and it was decided to accept that of John Laird of Liverpool, who then recommended a vessel of 70 ft. instead of 60 ft., with an engine of 16 h.p. at a total cost of £2,110, some £30 less than he had originally tendered. And he promised to deliver in London four months from the date of order.[4]

With the possibility of their own boat delivered in July, the Committee turned its attention to other matters affecting Fernando Po. In February, the Committee met and decided 'that negociation be opened with the West African Company for the purchase of their premises.'[5] This had occurred because the Company had suddenly decided to cease operations and wind up its affairs. As it turned out this was a wise decision on their part because the Spanish were about to reassert their authority over the island.

Clarke, who was present at the meeting, strongly supported the suggestion and recommended the Company's price of £1,500 as an opportunity not

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1. Ibid., Min. 419 d/d March 2nd, 1843.
2. Ibid., Min. 424 d/d March 9th, 1843.
3. Ibid., Min. 433 d/d March 16th, 1843. The question of the African mission and the boat was raised at the Quarterly Meeting the following week but no comment was made either way. See Min. 444 d/d March 22nd 1843.
4. See Min. 7 d/d May 4th, 1843. The tenders were: 1. Fairbairn and Co. of Poplar £2,270. 2. Miller and Ravenhill of Blackwall £2,250. 3. John Laird £2,140.
5. Ibid. Min. 408 d/d Feb. 23rd, 1843.

to be missed. But the Committee was cautious and suggested that they should negotiate along the same lines suggested by Clarke and Prince in September 1842.[1] The Committee authorised the secretary to offer up to £1,500 for both the land and the property of the Company at Clarence Cove.[2] On May 4th, the secretary tabled a memorandum of agreement from the Company with the caveat that the W.A.C. be allowed to retain rent free any trading rights they now possessed for three years. This the Committee agreed to do and the purchase was made a fortnight later according to the articles of the memorandum.[3]

Unfortunately, the purchase was an unwise one, although in line with Baptist thinking. The Baptists were not interested in trade but needed a missionary base, and so the facilities of the W.A.C. were ideal for the purpose. What the Baptists did not envisage was that the Spanish reoccupation of the island would present them with problems of religion.

When the Committee met on June 2nd, the secretary after presenting an abstract of the title to the W.A.C. holdings at Clarence observed that he had read that the Spanish Government had resumed possession of the island and had appointed a governor.[4] The news of course created uncertainty. Firstly, because Spain was Catholic. Secondly, because she had not

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1. Ibid., Min. 419 and Min. 420 d/d March 2nd 1843. cf. Min. 185 d/d Sept. 29th 1842 when it was resolved that 'the West African Company be respectfully requested to convey to this Society ... the land in Fernando Po called Adelaide Point extending from Timbu Road to the sea (being part of their property at Clarence) for the purpose of erecting on the Mission premises.'
2. Ibid., Min. 18 d/d May 4th, 1843.
3. Ibid., Min. 21 d/d May 18th 1843 and Min. 49 d/d June 2nd 1843.
4. Ibid., Min 50 d/d June 2nd, 1843.

renounced the Slave Trade and thirdly because the validity of the land title would now be in question. And so it was decided at the next meeting to send a deputation to Lord Stanley to get an opinion.[1]

Stanley referred them to Aberdeen and he assured the deputation of Angus and Steane that he would,

> 'make enquiries of the Spanish Government and use his good offices for the protection of the rights and property of British subjects.'[2]

This new uncertainty created panic among the pro African mission sympathisers. Clarke began to campaign openly for a steamer and to canvass opinions outside the Committee. In August, even the Missionary Herald published an extended account of the links between Britain and Fernando Po, with a summary of B.M.S. work there to date, and a plea for 'native workers' on the pattern of the Methodists in Badagry and the American Board of Mission in Gaboons. The Herald also recommended that Clarke should return to Jamaica to recruit black missionaries in order to set up a settlement of Christians in Clarence from whom the faith would radiate into the continent.[3]

But even more important than this official endorsement of the African mission were four articles which appeared. There was a paper from Clarke, which is not referred to in any other place, which was obviously a 'position paper' and it was followed by letters of comment from Buxton, Clarkson, Nicolls and MacGregor Laird.

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1. Ibid., Min. 60 d/d June 8th 1843.
2. Ibid., Min. 72 d/d June 15th 1843
3. M.H. Aug. 1843, p.135 (editorial).

What had led up to this August publicity?

In April, it would appear that hopes had been high. The Missionary Herald carried a letter from Clarke that month, putting the claims of Fernando Po and requesting items of manufactured hardware, clothing and books ready for sailing in July.[1] But by August things had gone awry. The boat was not ready and there were tensions and memories of the Niger Expedition, the Spanish Government had resumed possession and above all there was apathy in the highest Baptist circles.

At the Annual Meeting, for example, some speakers were pre-occupied with Puseyism and the acrimonious debates of 1842 in the denominational magazines.[2] And although there is no concrete evidence to suggest this, it is probable that it was at this time that Clarke in concert with others, decided to use the tactics of the 'Agency Committee' and send circulars to important persons whose opinions mattered.

The 'Clarke Paper' took as its starting point two main ideas (a) the need for proper transportation and (b) the importance of Fernando Po as the site for the mission.

He pointed out that four towns on the island could be reached by boat, each with 1,200 people. But that while Fernando Po might be served by small craft, it was a dangerous trip in the rough seas and was unsuitable for the mainland crossing. He observed that no regular traders called at

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1. M.H. April 1843, pp.80-81.

2. M.H. June, 1843, pp.102-111 esp. (Leifchild p.105 and Mursell p.109) Birrell did support the African mission observing 'Our churches will pass from the West Indies into Africa under the solemn conviction that the eye of the Christian world is on them.' (p.108 col.1)

the island from the continent and the few which called on their way to the continent were unscheduled and infrequent. In any case these boats, engaged as they were in the Slave Trade, proved an embarrassment to the missionaries. At times when a schooner or small boat was available, the captains seemed seldom to be sober, the open structure of the boat did not provide shelter from the elements and fever resulted. If a small boat were purchased then health cruises which were a necessity could not be undertaken and most important of all, a vessel which could provide regular communication was absolutely necessary, he asserted. Clarke concluded with a request of a 50 ton steam boat arguing that

> 'the expense of such a vessel ... would I believe, be amply repaid by the great facilities it would give for the spread of the gospel in Africa. Fuel could be obtained at the cost of cutting it (cut cost). The engineer should if possible be also a missionary.'[1]

An added advantage was that the ship could become a floating mission headquarters which in itself combined the virtues of independence, mobility and personal protection.

With regard to the centrality of Fernando Po, he argued that it was an ideal place for 'acclimatisation' before entry into Cameroons, Bimbia, Bonny or Calebar (Calabar). It could provide a centre for stores from which the stations could be supplied and it would be an ideal place granted there was an adequate boat from which,

> 'we should be able, in connexion with our higher object, to do much to promote civilisation; and to open the way for legitimate trade from Lagos to the Gaboon, and to an indeterminate extent

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1. M.H. August, 1843, pp.135-136 (Clarke's letter).

> up the numerous mouths of the Niger, and other rivers in the Bights of Benin and Biafra; the cultivation of the soil would no doubt follow and soon we might hope that our supply of cotton and sugar would be furnished, and a wide field for our manufactures opened throughout this populous country.'[1]

With such a restatement of the aims of the African Civilisation Society, it is not surprising that Buxton reacted with alacrity and praise. Writing on June 11th 1843, he commended the plan, supported the demand for a steam vessel, confirmed Fernando Po as 'the best point from which to forward the civilization and the education of the negroes' and encloses a donation of £20.[2]

The aged Clarkson in a longer reply from Playford Hall, and who had already contributed £2 to the enterprise, suggested 'that Fernando Po is situated opposite the great rivers which flow into the Niger and opposite also to the great continent of Africa' and as such was suitable with 'such a vessel'.[3]

Nicolls, no stranger to the region, endorsed the paper, remarking that its authenticity was guaranteed by the 'names which are signed to your paper'.[4] But neither the Minutes of the Committee nor the Herald suggest that there was such a/**signed** paper. There is a mystery here, which need not detain us. It is more important to note that not only did Nicolls support a steam boat, which he had done at the Jubilee meetings and to the sub-committee but suggested that Clarke's plan might well be adopted by the

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1. Ibid.
2. M.H. August, 1843, p.143.
3. Ibid. (col.2) cf. B.M.S. Min. Bk.I., Min. 403 d/d Feb.23rd 1843.
4. Ibid. p. 144 (Bap. Mag. 1843, p.444).

Government and the public, laying special emphasis upon religious instruction, agriculture, peaceful and legal commerce and schools.[1]

MacGregor Laird, emphasized the qualities of the island as a 'sanitorium' and its place in the centre of European trade, although he recognized that it was bypassed by outward bound traffic. With respect to a boat, he advised a steam boat due to uncertain sailing conditions in the region.[2]

This was formidable support and when Phillippo's Jamaica, its past and present State (1843) appeared on the bookshelves in September that year, the African mission had received the fillip it so badly needed and the arrangements already made and partly carried through received added support from the churches.

Merrick had been anxious to get to Africa. At the Annual Meetings in April he had given the impression that his departure was just a matter of time but this had dragged on. In March, a letter had been received by the Committee from Messrs. Horsfall and Sons, offering him free passage to Fernando Po but it was not accepted, presumably because a Baptist boat was in the offing and in any case he had preaching appointments in Britain.[3] By May, their anxiety knew no bounds and so the B.M.S. having appointed Prince a missionary, and written new instructions for the group, agreed to find alternative transportation to Fernando Po. Both Prince and Merrick decided to go on the 'Marys', Prince accompanied by his wife and daughter

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1. Ibid., p.144 (col.1).
2. Ibid., pp.144-145.
3. B.M.S. Min. Bk.I, Min. 430 d/d March 9th 1843.

as soon as the advisers to the Committee, Mr. Bayley and Capt. Hall endorsed the seaworthiness of the vessel. They eventually sailed on June 14th, 1843 from Gravesend accompanied by Mr. Alexander Fuller and arrived in Fernando Po on September 6th, 1843.

The case for a 'Native Agency' had been argued in the August issue of the Missionary Herald, and in any case the subject had been of great moment during 1842, when Trew presented his report of the African Civilisation Society.[1] Phillippo had underscored it in his book and in a negative way the failure of the Niger Mission had supported it.

In the West Indies, as far as the Church leadership was concerned, the outreach to Africa was the next logical step after the conversion of the Antilles. But the great problem had been transportation.

The Committee did not, it would appear, consider the problem on that scale. Instead their primary concern seemed to be mobility within the Bights of Benin and Biafra and that for a limited number. And yet someone must have faced the problem of transporting the black agents from Jamaica to Fernando Po.

It is probable that some saw the solution to that problem in the Baptist boat, but there exists no documentary evidence to support this. Indeed the evidence suggests that the earliest Baptist plan was a trip to

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1. Ibid., Min. 460 d/d March 30th, 1843 (Prince appointment) Min. 40 d/d May 18th, 1843 (instructions, no copy available); Min. 44 d/d May 25th 1843 (Cox to preach Valedictory address); Min. 46 d/d May 25th, 1843; Min. 51 and 52 d/d June 2nd, 1843; Min. 70 d/d June 15th, 1843 (deal with sailing arrangements); Min. 71 d/d June 15th, 1843 (Prince's salary). cf. Clarke, Memoir of Joseph Merrick, p.67.

Fernando Po from Liverpool direct.[1] We may only conjecture that due to a last minute decision Clarke and Saker (1814-1880), who had been employed as engineer on the Baptist ship, sailed for Fernando Po via Jamaica by the chartered 'Chilmark', to recruit and transport the Jamaican agents. They sailed on August 20th, 1843.[2]

The production of the Baptist boat was bedevilled with misfortune. At first there was delay due to the need to secure a licence to operate the Archimedean Screw. This was resolved amicably for the Society, the Ship Propeller Company granting a rebate of £30 on the licence.[3] This was followed by difficulties in choosing a Master and in the end, Captain W. Walters was chosen on his own conditions that his command should last from six months to a year or until someone was trained to take his place. A second applicant, Griggs, the Master of a Newcastle trader and a member of the North Shields church, accepted the job as Mate but had to withdraw due to the serious illness of his father.[4]

In order to stir up interest, John Laird, the schooner's builders, offered the Society 200 lithograph drawings of the vessel for propaganda purposes but the Missionary Herald commented that 'the special contributions

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1. Ibid., Min. 83 d/d June 22nd, 1843.
2. The Committee decided to advertise for a vessel to go to Africa via Jamaica and the 'Chilmark' was chosen. See B.M.S. Min. Bk. I, Min. 84 d/d June 22nd 1843, Min. 95 d/d July 6th 1843 and Min. 110 d/d July 20th 1843. It was hired for £1,094 through Messrs. Hall and Co. cf. M.H. Sept 1843, p.162. For Saker see M.H. April, 1880, pp.107-112 (obit.). There are two biographies of Saker. See also Min. 151 d/d Aug. 10th, 1843, also Min. 156 d/d Aug. 17th, 1843.
3. Ibid., Min. 53 d/d June 2nd, 1843.
4. Ibid., Min. 121 d/d July 27th 1843 and Min. 134 d/d Aug. 3rd 1843. Walters was employed at £15 per month. For Griggs see Min. 122 d/d July 27th, 1843 and Min. 169 d/d Aug. 24th, 1843.

for the Missionary Vessel ... come in but slowly.'[1]

In September, the Secretary reported to the Committee that the ship would now be ready before October and that he had recommended that the ship should sail to London before it went out to West Africa, and he suggested that it should be called 'Morning Star'.[2] The arrangements for her trip to London were accepted but at the following meeting a new name, the 'Dove' was proposed because the name 'Morning Star' had recent tragic associations.[3]

The 'Dove' was launched two weeks late in November and the Liverpool Standard commented,

> 'we do not remember to have seen a vessel of a more beautiful model or one more likely to be found a good sea boat in a gale, and a swift sailer under ordinary circumstances',[4]

but despite this panegyric Captain Walters was dissatisfied and wrote to the Committee informing them that the Company had decided to fit a new Archimedean Screw and that this would cause further delay.[5]

When the Committee met in January, further letters of dissatisfaction had arrived and it was decided to communicate with John Laird of North Birkenhead informing them of the Captain's observations. Laird replied promptly disputing Walters' findings but the Committee, now cautious,

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1. Ibid., Min. 123 d/d July 27th 1843. cf. M.H. Sept. 1843, p.163. Despite the delay engineers were employed and Saker and Thompson accepted. See Ibid., Min. 128 d/d July 27th 1843 and Min. 135 and 139 d/d Aug. 3rd 1843. cf. Min. 438 d/d March 16th 1843. See M.H. Oct. 1843 pp.165-166 (for lithograph).
2. Ibid. Min. 197 and 198 d/d Sept. 27th 1843.
3. Ibid., Min. 209 d/d Oct. 5th 1843 and Min. 224 d/d Oct. 19th 1843. The Dove was subsequently registered in London in the names of Angus, Tritton, Whitehorne and Allen for use of the Society at Custom House; see Min. 285 d/d Nov.30th 1843 and Min. 289 d/d Dec. 7th, 1843.
4. Liverpool Standard d/d Nov.11th 1843, reported in M.H. Dec.1843 p.207
5. B.M.S. Min. Bk. I. Min. 314 d/d Dec. 21st, 1843.

suggested that two competent surveyors should be invited to report on the vessel. But Laird refused to co-operate and so a special meeting of the Committee was called to discuss the issue.[1]

The meeting was held on January 31st, 1844 and it was reported that:-

1. the Committee had decided that the 'Dove' was not seaworthy for both sailing and steaming purposes
2. since Laird in his letter dated January 12th had said he would 'meet the Society fairly and liberally', in reference to the 'Dove', that communication be opened to define the position
3. the secretary and Mr. Allen be appointed a deputation to meet Mr. Laird to discuss the issue and that they be empowered to settle the matter.
4. Mr. John Cropper of Liverpool be associated with the deputation, so that he might give any necessary assistance.[2]

The deputation arrived at an agreement with Laird and at the February meeting of the Committee a joint statement signed by Angus, Allen and Laird was tabled. It proposed a new steamer 90' x 15' x 7'6", complete with plain cabins, forecastle, two light masts and rigging, anchors, cables, sails etc., 'suitable to such a vessel' for £1,400, to be delivered in four months from the signing of the contract. It further proposed that the engines of the present 'Dove' be fitted to the new 'Dove', with paddles and that the old 'Dove', now valued at £1,300, be sold at joint account

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1. Ibid., Min. 355 d/d Jan. 11th, 1844; Min. 362 d/d Jan. 18th, 1844; Min. 378 d/d Jan. 25th, 1844.

2. Ibid., Min. 385 d/d Jan. 31st, 1844.

and the loss borne 50 : 50 by the Society and Laird. And that the new vessel be

> 'something like the Thames Woolwich Iron Boats and the model and specifications of the stores and fitments be submitted to the Society for approval, and in general strength the vessel to be equal to that specified for by Messrs. Ritterdorn and Carr.'[1]

To deal with this new problem, the Committee set up another sub-committee with a mandate to deal with the specifications of the new vessel and to test Laird's proposals with Ritterdorn and Carr. At the same meeting, the Committee also noted that Laird had accepted responsibility, in a signed letter, for the transfer of the engines from one boat to the other.[2]

The sub-committee submitted the Laird proposals to Ritterdorn and Carr, who pronounced them unsuitable and submitted alternative drawings of their own, which Laird accepted with the proviso that he should have regard to 'the form and class and price of the vessel already agreed upon.'[3] Ritterdorn and Carr however would not agree to this and withdrew from 'the peculiar circumstances of the case'.[4]

The Committee decided to take matters into its own hands. It authorised the sale of the Dove's engines, in the meantime informing Clarke, who had arrived in Fernando Po by this time, that he should 'draw whatever may be necessary to enable him to form and visit various stations on the continent.'[5]

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1. Ibid., Min. 396 and 397 d/d Feb. 9th 1844: Laird's letter d/d Feb. 7th 1844.
2. Ibid., Min. 398, 399, 400 d/d Feb. 9th, 1844.
3. Ibid., Min. 445 d/d March 7th, 1844.
4. Ibid., Min. 473 d/d April 4th, 1844.
5. Ibid., (J) Min. 55-61 d/d June 20th, 1844.

The engines fetched £800 and at the Quarterly Meeting, in August it was decided to advertise for a suitable vessel and it empowered the sub-committee to ascertain the qualities of the 'Dove' as a seaworthy craft.[1] Captain Walters tested the 'Dove' and reported that she was seaworthy but the Committee decided to have a second opinion and invited Bayley's comments on her suitability for Africa. On September 19th, a letter from Joseph Fletcher and George Bayley was read rating the 'Dove' with a first class certificate from Lloyds and the Committee decided to conclude the purchase with Laird.[2]

The 'Dove' sailed eventually for London under the command of Captain Walters and Thomas Milbourn (Milbourne) who had been recruited as an engineer. In the meantime the Committee had set up two sub-committees, one to draft instructions for the management of the Mission and the 'Dove' and another to recommend physical alterations to the structure of the boat. Both committees reported on December 12th, 1844 and it was recommended that (a) a Superintendent be appointed over the Mission for two years who would be responsible for its management (b) that assistant missionaries would be responsible to him (c) that the movements of the 'Dove' would also be his responsibility and (d) that he would control the mission stores. The recommendations were accepted and the Committee decided to insure the 'Dove' for one year from the period of sailing.[3]

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1. Ibid., Min. 114 (Quarterly Meeting) d/d Aug. 14th, 1844.
2. Ibid., Min. 144 d/d Sept. 5th, 1844 and Min. 154 d/d Sept. 19th, 1844
3. Ibid., Min. 254/55 d/d Dec. 5th, 1844. cf. M.H. Dec. 1843, p.207; Min. 246 d/d Nov. 28th, 1844 (Clarke's request for Draft instructions on management); Min. 259-261 d/d Dec. 12th, 1844.

When the Committee met again, it was January 1845 and the Secretary reported that the 'Dove' had now been formally registered as had been recommended,[1] but that Captain Walters had resigned his command because of a civil action pending against him in Wales.[2]

It was decided to draw up instructions for the Captain and engineers and to request the British and Foreign Sailors' Society to hold a service with the B.M.S. aboard the vessel. And a notice was published in the Missionary Herald reporting that the 'Dove' was being sent to Fernando Po as a sailing ship and that it would be sailing from East India Export Dock with additional missionaries for Africa.[3] And in the meantime, Milbourn was given command of the ship.[4]

But the boat created problems of its own. It lost the sympathy of Jamieson, with whom Cropper was associated, because by Clarke's own statements, it appeared as a rival for trade and in any case, there was now some tension between his agents Beecroft and Lynslager and the Baptist mission on Fernando Po, and even on the mission itself a sailing boat was the last thing Clarke wanted.[5] The 'Dove' sailed for Fernando Po on February 5th, 1845, arriving there on the 22nd March, 1845.[6]

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1. Ibid., Min. 284 d/d Jan. 2nd, 1845. Registration had been recommended in Dec. 1843.
2. Ibid., Min. 282 d/d Jan. 2nd, 1845.
3. Ibid., Min. 310-312 d/d Jan. 23rd, 1845; M.H. Jan. 1845, p.12. For an account of the proceedings see M.H. March 1845, pp.42-3.
4. Ibid., Min. 327 d/d Feb. 13th, 1845.
5. M.H. Feb. 1845, pp.28-29 letter d/d Oct. 2nd 1844 (Clarke's reaction) Jamieson owned the S.S.'Ethiope' stationed on Clarence and he founded a trading company in which Cropper was a shareholder. Note also the articles sent by the 'Dove' to Clarke. See M.H. Aug. 1843 pp.145-147

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It had been decided in the summer of 1843 that Clarke should sail for Fernando Po via Jamaica in the chartered 'Chilmark'. The tender of £1,094 had been presented as early as July 6th but the Committee was cautious. It requested Bayley to survey the ship and on his advice it was accepted. At the meeting Frederick Trestrail, a member of the Committee, inquired whether Clarke had applied to the Common Council of London for help towards the expenses of the ship but the Secretary replied, he had not.[1] The 'Chilmark' sailed on August 20th from Plymouth for Jamaica, arriving there after a rough crossing on Saturday, October 14th, 1843.[2]

The journey had been a strain on all the passengers. Clarke and Saker had a disagreement aboard, when he discovered that Saker was not a teetotaller. Indeed so serious had the inconveniences and tension been that Saker had threatened to go no further.[3]

On his arrival in Jamaica Clarke set up his headquarters in the East Queen St. Mission House, since Oughton was in Britain on furlough, and began to organise his campaign. On the Sunday after his arrival, Clarke preached in both city churches from an Exodus theme but the response was poor. In the meantime Saker had gone to Spanish Town with no better results. Clarke, although cheered by the response of George Bundy wrote,

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(acknowledgments); Dec. 1843, p.208; April 1844 p.275; July 1844 p.322 (copper rods, cloth, fish hooks etc.) Sept. 1844 p.354; also March 1845 pp.42-3, 45-46.

6. M.H. March 1845, p.42 and M.H. Aug. 1845, p.117.

1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. I, Min. 85 d/d June 22nd 1843; Min. 95 d/d July 6th, 1843; Min. 95 and 110 d/d July 6th and July 20th, 1843.

2. There is a discrepancy in dating the departure of the 'Chilmark'. The Missionary Herald has July 19th from Portsmouth (M.H. Sept. 1843 p.102) The Minutes of the Committee give Aug. 17th (Min. 151, 156 d/d Aug.10th Bk. I) Clarke Journal II (Bk. I) give Aug. 20th pp.10-12) The latter is preferable dating.

Clarke Journal II (Bk. I d/d Aug. 1843-Nov. 1844), pp.33-34 esp. pp.22-23,27

> 'how chilling to me had been the thought that of 50 thousand Christians in Jamaica not 40 would be found with love sufficient to God and to their Fatherland to cause them cheerfully to give up Jamaica.'[1]

On Monday October 16th, a meeting of the missionaries was held and it was decided that the Sakers should proceed by boat to the north coast, leaving Clarke to proceed overland after he had recruited others in Kingston. Saker was displeased at this and tempers flared.[2]

Tuesday October 17th was a busy day. Clarke held a prayer meeting in the East Queen St. Church at 4.30 a.m. and at the Hanover St. Church that night at which he outlined the plans for the African Mission. He observed that he presented 'the present state and future prospects of Africa', underlining the link between the churches in Jamaica and Africa. It was a presentation of the 'Providential Design'.[3]

On Wednesday, the 'North-Eastern Union' convened in Kingston and George Bundy and his wife Dorothy were formally accepted. Clarke described Bundy as

> 'acquainted a little with medicine having dispensed it for 5 years for Dr. McGrath of Kingston. He is white-by-law, aged 33. He has been a member of East Queen St. for 2 years. His wife is a mulatto and aged 27 years - Her grandfather was (brother) to Oscar Tutmo Quamina, King of Quamina of Ashanti.'[4]

Clarke also adds that Dorothy Bundy had been baptized the previous year. Clarke employed Bundy as an assistant missionary and a teacher.

At the same meeting, a couple and their adopted son and grandson

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1. Ibid., p.35; see also p.37.
2. Ibid., p.38.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp.39-40.

applied and were accepted as settlers. Francis and Diana Duffus had an adopted son, Edward Tinker, a boy of eleven years old and a monitor in the East Queen St. School. His parents had given him to the Duffus's, together with a two year old, Augustus Bartin. Clarke gave no more details and his description of the relationships is obscure. Duffus was himself about sixty and had been born in Kabenda. His wife was fifty and a Fanti.[1]

Clarke left Kingston on Friday, October 20th for Spanish Town and on the Saturday visited his old friend Charles Harvey, who had given much legal advice to the Association over the years and an important man in the city. Clarke consulted Harvey on the possibility of obtaining recruits from the 2nd West India Regiment.

It had been the policy to post to Barbados or Jamaica portions of the Regiment which had been constituted of 'recaptives' released in Sierra Leone. Some of these recruits were very unhappy in the West Indies and wished to return to Sierra Leone. In the Regiment were some four Akus, Baptists who had enlisted in Sierra Leone and wished to return there. They did not wish to be missionaries but to leave the army and 'return to seek the good of their native land.'[2]

The four were a mixed group. There was Sergeant Wing who was married and had two children. He had been baptised by Burton in Nassau and was from Yorubaland. The second was Thomas Hope, of whom nothing was known. Thomas Alladay had been baptized in Honduras on Nov. 28th1839 and had been enlisted at the tender age of 14 as a 'recaptive' on May 2nd, 1825. He

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., pp.47-48.

was sworn in without knowing that he had a right to refuse and he had since lived to regret it. He married an Akus, who was a baptized Christian. Finally, there was Thomas Davis, married with one child, who had been enlished in Sierra Leone, at the age of twentyone on June 6th 1828. He was a member of Phillippo's church at this time, later he moved to Kingston and joined East Queen Street.

Since all four were Baptists they looked to Clarke to help them out of their dilemma. They met Clarke at Harvey's house and requested him to speak on their behalf to their superior officer, Captain Darling. Neither Clarke nor Harvey were optimistic but they contacted Darling who suggested that Clarke should write to Colonel Campbell, the Commanding Officer at Port Royal. Nothing came of it.

On the following Wednesday afternoon, October 25th, Clarke met with the prospects from Spanish Town and St. Johns and accepted them.

First among them were the Normans. William Albany Norman and his wife Martha were Creoles. William had been a teacher at the Metropolitan School in Spanish Town for eight years and previously had been a member of staff on Knibb's school in Kingston. He was twenty eight years old and his mother had accompanied Sir Lionel Smith, the Governor, to Mauritius as a servant. His wife Martha was thirty two, a member of the church for eighteen years and mother of his four children, Ebenezer (10 yrs.), Margaret Ann (4 yrs.), Charlotte (2 yrs.) and Sarah Alberry (3 months).[1]

The second group were the Ennis's. They were coloureds. George Ennis

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1. Ibid., p.55

had been a teacher in Kitson's Vale (Kitson Town) in the parish of St. Johns. He was twentyseven, a church member of six years standing and married. His wife Jesse was twentyfive and a member for about the same time. They had three children, Julia (4 yrs.), Charles (3 yrs.) and George (9 months).[1]

The remaining recruits go together. Miss Emily Davis was a Sambo Creole, twentyfive years old and a member of the Spanish Town church for six years. Her sister had been the school mistress in one of the schools attached to the Lucky Valley church in St. Thomas ye Vale where Clarke had worked. She was engaged to be married to Alexander Fuller who had preceded her via London. She was accompanied by Fuller's two sons, Samuel and Joseph. Samuel Jackson Fuller was eleven and a monitor in the Metropolitan School, while Joseph Jackson Fuller, his elder brother was seventeen, a mason and although not baptized a member of the Catechetical class. The two boys were black and their mother had been a slave of another family from that of their father and though they had two children had never married. There is/some evidence that the boys stayed with their mother at this time, and we know that Phillippo had attempted to take Joseph with his father the previous year, but he could not obtain a berth.[2]

From Spanish Town Clarke set out for Brown's Town, St. Ann after visiting his former charges now bereft of Merrick as well as himself and arrived at the Mission house of his namesake on October 31st. Awaiting his arrival were William Knibb, John Henderson and John Clark. Henderson

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. cf. Fuller J.J. Autobiography (Ms. typescript) pp.1-3.

wished to discuss the offer of his brother George to go to Africa with Clarke, to ascertain the conditions, the terms of service and the scope of the work. But also to be candid with him and to inform him that he did not think his brother was suitable. Henderson was partly persuaded to recommend the venture to his brother, but in the end George remained in Jamaica, married John Clark's daughter and succeeded him at Brown's Town.[1]

The other prospects were more fruitful. The Gallimores were members of Knibb's church at Refuge, a Free Village in the hills about twelve miles from Falmouth. William Gallimore was coloured, twentyseven and a member of the Refuge church for three years. His wife Jane was twentyfive, also a Church member and they had one child, a daughter, Mary Knibb Gallimore. The Gallimores also cared for Jane's sister, Anne Cunningham, a twelve year old black and she was also accepted.[2]

A second family was that of the Trustys. William Trusty was a black Creole of thirtyseven and a member of the Brown's Town church. His wife Charlotte was also a member and the same age. They had one child, a son Alexander, who was literate.[3]

The third family accepted was the Phillips. William Phillips was forty and a Black. His wife Amelia was thirtyfive and they had a son, James, aged twelve, who could read. Clarke does not give their connection with the church, but presumably if not actual members they were sympathetic.[4]

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1. Ibid., p.60. cf. Cooper R.E., From Stepney to St. Giles, p.119 and Henderson, Goodness and Mercy: A tale of a hundred years (Kingston 1931, reprint 1969, partly autobiographical). Mrs. Fenn, of the Fenn Collection was a daughter of George Henderson.
2. Ibid., p.61.
3. Ibid., p.61
4. Ibid.

John Clarke, accompanied by John Clark[1] the pastor, now moved to Bethany, another of the group of churches. Here great interest had been shown in Africa and on November 2nd, they interviewed four families with the proviso that since he was short of teachers, their places would be forfeit if in later interviews teachers became available.

The Williams had three in their family. George Williams was a Congo Black, fifty years old and a sawyer by trade. His wife Sarah, the same age, was also a Congo and they had a son John, twenty, who had been baptized the previous year. They were all members of the Bethany church.[2]

The second family accepted were the Whites. William White was black, thirtyseven and a carpenter. His wife Amey, was a Quamini, fortynine, and they had been members for three years.

The third family was white. Dr. and Mrs. Newbigin had come to Jamaica to practice. He had settled in Bethany and had built up a reputation as a Christian doctor. He responded to Clarke's invitation but wished to get parental permission in Britain first. He therefore returned to Britain, secured it, met the Committee and was on board the 'Dove' on her maiden voyage to Fernando Po.[3]

The fourth family were the Bloomfields. All that exists is an entry

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1. The relationship between these two men is obscure. It would appear from the Northamptonshire Biographies that they were not related. No mention is made of a cousin in Jamaica. Similarly, John Clarke (Berwick) makes no mention of John Clark (Brown's Town) as a relative in his Memorials. But there was confusion; both names appear with and without the final vowel. And in Clarke Journal II/B/1 p.87 John Clarke (Berwick) records 'my cousin wished to leave with me his pretty dog etc.' referring to John Clark (Brown's Town). On balance the evidence suggests that they were not related but more research is necessary on this point.

2. Clarke Journal II/B/1 p.62. Unfortunately Mrs. Williams died before the sailing date; see Clark, Voice of Jubilee, p.132.

3. Ibid., p.62. cf. B.M.S. Min. Bk. J, Min. 349 d/d Jan. 11th 1844; Min. 358 d/d Jan. 18th 1844 and Min. 371 d/d Jan. 25th 1844.

of their names and no other details. They do not occur in any other place in the Journal, so it must be assumed they did not go.[1]

Clarke then travelled to Falmouth where he received a letter from Cornford who was the pastor at Rio Bueno, saying that he had 'two or three for Africa' but that he had been told by Saker that the cabin space was a dark hole of '19 feet by 20 feet', and so he could not encourage his members to travel in such a vessel.[2] The news increased the tension between the two men particularly because Mrs. Clarke had already been reduced to tears when the Sakers had accused her of avoiding them and complained that they had been snubbed. Clarke, who had a standing disagreement with Saker, let it pass, carrying on despite growing discomfort due to persistent dyspepsia.

Around this time he was invited to make a visit to Waldensia, a village on the fringes of the Cockpit Country, a well wooded area, to discuss with John Henderson the possibilities of the manufacture of prefabricated houses for Fernando Po. Henderson acquiesed and in the conversation mentioned that George and his wife had not completely put Africa from their mind. Indeed the Western Union had taken up the matter to see if the difficulties, probably financial, could be resolved. Clarke discussed the matter again with George and there it rested.[3]

On November 19th, the 'Chilmark' arrived in Montego Bay and Clarke was there to meet it and together with Saker they held meetings in the

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp.65-66.
3. Ibid. pp. 67-68.

region for the next two days. The results were discouraging. None of the earlier contacts presented themselves and Burchell, from whose church many had come, refused to co-operate on the grounds that the sugar crop was now on and mission services would disrupt the harvest. Such a rebuff could either mean that Burchell was now siding with the Planters in discouraging emigration of any sort due to labour shortage or that Burchell, like Cornford, was not enamoured either by the plans or transportation, which had inspired this African Odyssey.

Clarke returned to Falmouth on November 21st and there met a twenty year old white, a teacher in the Brown's Town School, and accepted her.

Isabella Stewart was an Englishwoman born in Dingwall, Shropshire on March 1st, 1823. She was an orphan. Her father had been a lieutenant in the Navy and her mother was a daughter of the manse. Her maternal grandfather, the Revd. Dougald McKenzie of Maryfield, was well known in Bible Society circles. Together with her sister Mary, she had grown up with her grandparents, and when her grandfather died, they moved into Edinburgh from Maryfield. Tragedy dogged their steps and their grandmother died suddenly. Then they moved in with their uncle who adopted them.

In 1835, just thirteen, Isabella went as governess to a Bristol widow and there was seriously influenced by evangelical faith. Mary, in the meantime, had taken a similar post in 1836 with Archdeacon Bathurst of Norwich, an influential figure in the Anti-Slavery Movement and a controversial figure in ecclesiastical circles. However, the girls did not remain long as governesses for in 1837 their uncle decided to leave Bath and live on his estates in Jamaica and he took his nieces with him. For

a time the two girls lost all their connections with evangelical fervour but their interest was re-awakened by the Baptist mission in the area, which led them eventually to join the membership. This infuriated their uncle who expelled them from his house and so Mary went to live with the Burchells and Isabella with the Abbotts. It would appear that Abbott himself had done some persuading which had led to her volunteering as a teacher in Fernando Po.[1]

With Miss Stewart's decision, Clarke now felt that the African complement had been met and the Jamaican churches arranged a Valedictory Service to be led by Tinson, the senior missionary in the island and President of the newly established Calabar Theological College in Falmouth on November 29th, 1843. The Valedictory Service was followed by a Communion Service led by William Knibb after which the African mission embarked ready to set sail on November 30th. But the tide was low and it was with great difficulty and with the help of four boats that the 'Chilmark' was able to sail on December 1st, 1843.

Their preparation for departure and 'settling in' aboard had been long and tedious. The mission had to erect their own berths in the 'Chilmark' and lay in provisions of live pigs, goats, fowls and yams for the voyage. Apart from this the prefabricated houses had to be packed and no wonder tempers were frayed. The Captain even accused Knibb's nephew of the theft of rum! And on more than one occasion the Captain threatened not to fulfil his contract but return to Britain.[2]

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1. Ibid., pp.73-76

2. Ibid., pp.80-82.

The weather itself was no better. Cramped in tight quarters and travelling slowly, in a week they had sailed only 50 miles and were off Ocho Rios The crew resorted to drink, swore loudly and in every way were disorderly. Even Captain William Penny, who had taken his wife along, was little better.

Clarke soon arranged classes to involve the young people aboard. He organized classes in Dutch, Greek, Arabic, Fernandian and English Grammar and he also conducted prayers three times daily. He had made an acquaintance of Lyndeart Byl, a Dutch apprentice aboard, and it was probably he who taught the Dutch while Clarke taught him to read the Bible. He arranged that he should share a cabin with Angus Duckett, a member of Falmouth, in order that a friendship could be formed.[1] And as perhaps necessary relaxation, Clarke also tended the plants destined for the model farm, which he hoped to establish on Fernando Po.[2]

The voyage was a hard one in every sense. Clarke spent most of the crossing settling quarrels between the Captain and the Jamaican group but the situation only worsened as the voyage proceeded. The chief cause of dissension was food. The Captain was responsible for the rations of biscuits and this was inadequate. Added to this, he had begun to use the withholding of supplies as a means of enforcing compliance to his wishes and this 'smacked' of the bad old days of Slave ships. It was also the custom on ships at this time to barter the ship's supplies of food for other provisions which passengers might possess. The Jamaican group

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1. Ibid., pp.86, 88, 104.

2. Ibid., p.93: For Angus Duckett see Clarke, Memorials etc., pp.212-213 There are no details how either he or Ann Cooper were recruited in the Journal.

accused the Captain of dishonest trading, suggesting that there was less meat given for the ground provisions offered. And to add to their misery, the Captain had arranged the cooking facilities in such a position as to cause maximum discomfort, the smoke filtering into their cabins.

Within the group itself there was internal dissension. Bundy observed that Isabella Stewart, Ann Cooper, Lyndeart Byl and Angus Duckett stayed up for many nights in succession. It was known that Duckett and Cooper had some understanding between them and for the other two, they were young and thrown together. Bundy made such an issue of it that it disturbed whatever harmony there was in the group.[1]

When at last Fernando Po came in sight, Clarke wrote 'I am truly thankful to God for all his mercy',[2] and well might he have been.

The 'Chilmark' came in at Clarence Cove and berthed beside the Jamieson settlement at 12 noon on February 16th, 1844. The party was met by Merrick and Christian, the others being elsewhere on the island. Joseph Fuller in later life described the scene in his Autobiography of the Rev. J.J. Fuller of Cameroons, West Africa, observing that when he saw the fishermen in the canoes alongside naked, he went to tell the ladies to remain in their cabins.[3]

No preparation had been made in Fernando Po to receive the party and Clarke was dismayed to see that the two large houses on which he had counted had been dismantled. Further, many other alterations had been

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1. Ibid., pp.135-6, 137.
2. Ibid., p.152.
3. Op. cit., pp.7-8

made and the large storehouses were still in the hands of the West African Company. By the evening however the situation resolved itself and the visitors found temporary lodgings with local folk. Clarke then unloaded the plants and in doing so a sailor accidentally broke the pear tree (avocado) near the seed and it was ruined, but the mango and breadfruit remained intact and survived. He had enough to begin the Farm.

The news of their arrival soon began to spread and the membership and missionaries at a distance began to gather. A Thanksgiving Service was held that night to acknowledge as Clarke wrote that 'God manifested His Hand and His Power in establishing the African Mission.'[1]

Although Clarke had now begun the long awaited mission, its composition was a far cry from that which he had been led to expect in 1842, and the hopes for which Knibb had built up such support. Finances were woefully inadequate, and suitable transportation non-existent. Added to this, many unexpected changes had occurred in the physical surroundings at Clarence and in relationships with the Company. It all added up to a dismal picture.

In December 1843, a letter from Prince and Merrick had informed the Committee that they had taken possession of the West African Company's property in the name of the Society, and the Secretary informed the Committee that the purchase money was now due. The Committee, on hearing that certain houses had been demolished, voted that the amount be paid with the proviso that the cost of the demolished houses be refunded. At the January meeting, the Secretary reported that he had now received the

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1. Clarke Journal II BK1 p.157

title deeds to the Fernando Po property and that he would send them to the missionaries there for attestation, but there was no word about the houses.[1]

In March, the Secretary reported that two plots of land had been purchased in the Cameroons and that a Trust Deed had been drawn up as recommended by the Africa sub-committee.[2] These two transactions, did they but know it, bore within them the seeds of future disruption, for in the first transaction there existed the possibility of tension with the Company and therefore with the commercial forces in the region, and in the second there lurked the possibility of over-expansion of missionary resources, leading inevitably either to retrenchment or bankruptcy.

Although Clarke's enthusiastic letter had been read to the Committee in December, suggesting that the recruitment had gone well, that letter had been written from Kingston, and the end had been a different story. Even his later letter, read at a January meeting, giving a number of 37 possibles apart from Newbigin, who would go to Fernando Po via Britain, failed to show that instead of the five teachers he had been led to expect, he had only recruited three; that he had fewer settlers than he anticipated, and that apart from Fuller and Merrick, no trained pastors. Even the promises of the Western Union were only partly fulfilled. There was no sloop with boats. Prefabricated houses, meat and vegetables had been supplied, but Clarke did not mention that he received any cash.[3] Such letters could only

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. I, Min. 316 d/d Dec. 21st, 1844 and Min. 377 d/d Jan. 1844.
2. Ibid., Min. 455/456 d/d March 21st, 1844.
3. Ibid., Min. 304 d/d Dec. 13th, 1843; Min. 317 d/d Dec. 21st 1843; see also Min. 347 and 349 d/d Jan. 11th 1844; Min. 358 d/d Jan. 18th 1844.

have fostered in the mind of the Committee wrong conclusions.

As for the Mission itself, though established, the areas of responsibility and its chain of command were ill defined. The fact was that the mission had been done in a hurry. Such hurry had suited both the Jamaica Baptist Association and the Committee. The Association had courted urgency in order to satisfy a theological ideal, an ideal which the leadership discovered, alas too late, was neither shared by the membership as a whole, nor realizable in an environment of suspicious Planters. The Committee, for its part, wished to proceed quickly in order to be rid of the Association, which had proved to be a financial albatross and an embarrassment in dealings with other missionary societies. It also wished, nevertheless, to demonstrate by its involvement elsewhere, that the Association could bear its own responsibilities, organize its own mission, and raise its own funds. And by this, to demonstrate also that Emancipation had worked and that freedom had created an authentic human society. It would also, in effect, show that Christianity had, and so could reinstate the African within the Human Race, and that, in the West Indies at least, black humanity had passed the test of economic self-sufficiency, the touchstone of true manhood in these mid-Victorian times.

Note

The Itinerary of John Clarke and George Prince in Jamaica May-July 1842

See Missionary Herald Sept. 1842 pp.348/9

May	28	Unity - (Trelawney)
	29-30	Falmouth ditto
	31	Kettering via Stewart Town to Brown's Town (St. Ann)
June	1	Brown's Town meeting of Scholars and Sunday School teachers
	2	Public Meeting, Brown's Town - Rain washed it out
	3	Moneague and Jericho - Prayer Meetings (St. Catherine)
	4	Jericho (St. Thomas in the Vale)
	5	Moneague - return to Brown's Town
	6	Stewart Town Public Meeting
	7	Calabar - Rio Bueno - Public Meeting
	8	Kettering meeting of Western Baptist Association and return for Public Meeting at Calabar
	9	Duncans - Public Meeting in Wesleyan Chapel, the return to Falmouth
	10	Salter's Hill, Public Meeting (St. James)
	11	Mt. Carey Anchovey - ditto
	12	Montego Bay "
	13	Montego Bay " Dr. Prince falls ill on May 12th at Shortwood with fever and is taken to Mt. Carey to be cared for by Thomas Burchell
	14	Fletcher's Grove - met in the Wesleyan chapel
	15	Lucea - Poor congregation (Hanover)
	16	Lucea Public Meeting
	17	Gurney's Mount
	18-20	Savana la-mar (Westmoreland)
	21-23	Salter's Hill
	24	Bethephil (Adelphi)
	25	Falmouth
	26	Waldensia
	27	Brown's Town
	28	Bethany
	29	Clarksonville
	30	St. Anne's Bay
July	1	ditto
	2	Ocho Rios
	3	St. Anne's Bay - Public Meeting
	4	Oracabessa
	5	Port Maria
	6	No information
	7	Annatto Bay

After this the missionaries travelled in the South side stations - St. Thomas in the Vale, Kingston and St. Thomas in the East, but this is not recorded in the Herald. Clarke's Journal has references to this part of the journey.

N.B. Parish names and modern names are in brackets.

CHAPTER 8

Penetration, Patterns and Pragmatism - converting a continent 1844-1846

Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation had been the panacea prescribed for the ills of Africa by Whitehall and Exeter Hall for almost half a century. This had led to Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Niger Expedition and now to the arrival in Clarence Cove of the 'Chilmark' on February 16th, 1844. While it is not in the scope of our study to discuss in any detail any of the previous attempts, the one thing that can be said of them all is, that in the popular mind, each in its turn had represented failure. Merrick at the Annual Meeting observed,

> 'The world has long since endeavoured to heal the maladies of Africa, but all in vain. It has sent its missionaries to Africa. Park, Landers, Clapperton, Denman, and a host of travellers have penetrated the wilds of that country. An expedition has since then been fitted out, at a cost of £50,000 which proceeded to Africa, for the purpose of civilizing her, but too has unfortunately failed. The world seems now retiring from the contest disheartened; they seem to be inclined to give up all hopes of civilizing my father land. Let the church of Christ advance ... let it march into the very heart of Africa, and plant the blood-stained banner of the Cross on the Senegal and the Niger ...'[1]

The Church then appeared as the repository of the last hopes of 'Humanitarians', and it is no wonder that the African Civilisation Society put money into the Baptist venture. This was the last chance, at least for the Humanitarian movement in Britain, to justify the claim that 'the

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1. M.H. July 1843, p.127.

missionary cause had triumphed over slavery itself'[1] and that as a result the United States should abolish the institution within her borders. It was also a last chance to prove that religious freedom and civil liberties would inevitably lead to economic independence and self-sufficiency. Unfortunately, side by side with this, in certain 'evangelical' sections of the Baptist churches, there also existed a naive concept of the task. Birrell could say,

> 'a few more years of labour, a few more years of prayer, the blood of a few martyrs to sanctify the sands of Africa, and we shall realize the glories of the period when that country shall stretch forth her hands unto God.'[2]

Nor was the Jamaica Baptist Association without its hopes, modified as they might have been by the painful experiences of the recruitment drive. Merrick observed that

> 'if the kingdoms of the world are ever to become the kingdoms of our Lord and His Son Jesus Christ, then a native agency must be trained',[3]

and there is little doubt that he meant by this the conversion of Africa by Africans. It would be interesting to know how the Committee would have reacted had this idea been proposed in their midst since most of them equated the West Indian and the African. Merrick also stated that since Bible translation was an integral part of the enterprise,

> 'The work to be performed cannot be accomplished by the brethren from Jamaica ... We shall require the friends of England to come and assist us.'[4]

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1. Ibid., June 1843, p.103
2. Ibid., June 1843, p.108
3. Ibid., July 1843, p.127
4. Ibid., July 1843, pp.127-8

Thus his statement deprecated the current assumption that the B.M.S. were merely co-operating in a Jamaican mission and instead shifted the major responsibility to the Committee, which was the Association's general understanding of the matter.

It must not be assumed however despite Merrick's statement that there was a consistent rationale of the African endeavour. While both Knibb and Tinson, to name but two, would have been in agreement with him,[1] Phillippo and probably Abbott, while agreeing in principle, nevertheless tended to give the impression that the Jamaica Baptist Association could conduct its own mission from its own resources.[2] These contradictory opinions were interpreted by members of the Committee as they wished, but in Jamaica had led to the dissolution of the Association.[3] But this did not alter the Committee's official policy towards the Jamaican Churches.

The unsettled climate of opinion had even less effect upon the African situation. There events continued very much as Prince and Clarke had left them in 1841 and as Sturgeon had continued to maintain them with the help of local leadership. In a long letter dated September 23rd, 1844, a fortnight after his arrival, Merrick reported a programme identical to the one Clarke had reported before his departure. There were three Sunday Services, and the Lord's Supper was observed every Sunday. There were daily meetings connected with the church on weekdays - on Monday there was

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1. Both Knibb and Tinson were doubtful about the Association's ability to become financially viable, so Knibb saw the mission as a co-operative effort, personnel from Jamaica, education and finance from Britain. It was an embryonic 'trusteeship'. See Hinton, op.cit., p.282

2. Phillippo was chairman of the Association in 1842 which decided to become independent and left soon after this for Britain. He advocated the 'Voluntary Principle'. See Phillippo, Past and Present etc. pp.457-458.

3. B.M.S. Min. Bk., Min.428 d/d March 9th 1843.

a prayer meeting; on Tuesday a Bible Class of instruction and on Wednesday all members and catechumens were given private instruction. There was a lecture on Thursday, another Bible Class on Friday and on Saturday another prayer meeting. Visitation was left in the hands of Sturgeon, who either met people in their own homes, or at his residence.[1]

With the arrival of Merrick and Prince in the island, it was obvious that a new dimension could be added to the effectiveness of the Mission. The primary motive behind the establishment in Clarence was that the congregation should become the nucleus of a movement for the penetration and conversion of the continent. At the welcome meeting held to greet the new arrivals, both men immediately shared this concern with the church.

Prince suggested that the membership should be more adventurous and occupy the foothills of the nearby mountains and develop small hillside farms. Merrick recommended that export crops should be produced since the Mission would own a steamer, thus making marketing possible. He suggested crops like sugar, yams, plantains, arrowroot and coffee might be suitable, and that alongside agriculture, a building programme of suitable 'comfortable cottages' should be initiated. Fuller observed that in Jamaica, the churches had not only supported their pastors but had built chapels and schoolrooms, paid the teachers and contributed to overseas missions as well.[2]

It seemed that not only was there a programme but that these Jamaicans assumed that the financial support could be generated from within the island itself - a grave mistake. Nor does Merrick suggest from where the

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1. M.H., Mar. 1844, p.249

2. Ibid., P.252, (col. 2).

seedlings or suckers were to be had for the ambitious agricultural programme. It was a transplant of the 'Free Villages' of Jamaica which was being proposed.

The locals reacted to this on an individual basis, each pointing to his own country, as in need of the Gospel. Joseph Wilson, who described himself as from 'Popo' country,[1] where 'when a thunderbolt falls ... the people dig a whole month ... and if they find it worship it as God',[2] was most concerned about his region and Calabar. Similarly, Peter Nicholls, an Eboe (Ibo) reported that in his area, 'the people plant a tree, which they call chicu kiki and offer goats and fowls and other things, as sacrifice to it.'[3] He urged the gathered company to think seriously of educational expansion into Calabar and Camaroon (Cameroons) in order that tolerance and sympathy be shown to the old and ill.

The work of penetration may be divided into two aspects (a) the consolidation on Fernando Po itself and (b) the attempts at establishment on the Continent itself. While the first was due more particularly to Prince assisted by some of the new arrivals from the 'Chilmark', the second was associated with Merrick, who saw in this the fulfilment of his 'call'.

Consolidation on Fernando Po was done in several stages. Prince and Clarke had made two extensive missionary tours of the island during their first stay, 1840-42. Travelling widely with an interpreter they had

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1. See Fage, An Atlas of African History, p.31. Popo is on the banks of the River Mono.

2. M.H. March 1844, p.251.

3. Ibid., p.252.

established contacts in the villages along the coast[1] and had secured plots of land from the West Africa Company or local kings (chieftains).[2] This policy had enabled the B.M.S. to have sites for stations in Bannappa, Bassippoo (Bassippu) and Bassilli, each well-peopled and adjacent to a fine harbour.[3]

When the 'Chilmark' arrived, these stations up to that time had been under-manned, partly because Prince and Merrick had made exploratory journeys to the mainland and partly due to lack of physical amenities. Clarke began to settle each village in turn, constructing a multi-purpose building, which served as a school-chapel and which became the social centre of the community. By September 1844, the Missionary Herald could report that buildings had been erected in Clarence, Bassualla, Old Bassakatta and Bassippoo, and that further opportunities existed at the important centre of Rebolah.[4]

The foresight of Clarke and the generosity of the 'Western Union' paid off in the rapid erection of buildings which prefabrication had made possible, and the new buildings, once erected, started a trend in building among the local people. The impact was tremendous and its effect may be observed in the first tour which Clarke made in November 1844 and which was reported in detail in the Missionary Herald of April 1845.[5] In it he

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1. Clarke Journal II,(Bk.1), p.233
2. Ibid., pp.239, 287, 300, 310, 312, 318; Vol.II, p.565.
3. Ibid., pp.228, 287; Vol. II, p.527
4. M.H. Sept. 1844, p.344
5. Ibid., April 1845, pp.51-55

mentions nineteen possible sites, some of which were already settled and others which showed definite possibilities He also mentioned contacts with an off shore island which was inhabited, called Etula, on which he preached. The purpose of the tour appears to have been to get a general impression of the inhabited areas in order to plan for future development.

Mission policy in Clarence resolved itself in a decision to concentrate on five strategic areas in Fernando Po: (i) Basswalla (Obokokibwilla) settled by Mr. and Mrs. Trusty (ii) Bassappo (Old Bassakatta) settled by Mr. and Mrs. Ennis (iii) Rebola, settled by Mr. and Mrs. Bundy and (iv) Bassippoo (Bassippu) settled by Mr. and Mrs. Gallimore. Clarence remained the centre of the Mission, where the senior missionaries lived and from which they supervised the field. It also housed the medical team of Prince and Newbigin (Newbegin) and Sturgeon, as pastor of the church, and was the fifth centre. There were also two schools, one supervised by Mr. and Mrs. Norman, John Christian and Peter Nicholls and the other was in the care of Miss Stewart, Miss Cooper and Miss Vitou,[1] who had been sent out from London in 1844.[2]

There is not much evidence of the work of the teachers, the curriculum or the problems of language which they encountered, but it is reported that Norman had enrolled 300 pupils at Clarence.

Even less information exists with regard to the attempt to establish a hospital. It is known that some type of establishment existed since in

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1. Miss Vitou eventually married David East, President of Calabar and an important figure in later Jamaican Baptist history. See B.M.S. Min. Bk. I Min. 266 d/d Nov. 16th, 1843.
2. M.H. Dec. 1844, p.396; also May 1846 (see list of missionaries).

1846, the Presbyterians made use of it. And it can be established that Bundy was retained near to Clarence specifically because he had knowledge of dispensing medicines, and when he was sent to the continent, it was with this in mind.[1]

All that may be assumed about the state of the social outreach of the Missions is that no news was good news, and that these basic institutions functioned and performed as well as could be expected.

At Bassappoo, Mr. and Mrs. Ennis had established themselves. Sturgeon in a letter dated May 27th, 1844, published in the Missionary Herald observed,

> 'up to the present time but little has been done by our Jamaican friends, they having been sick, with but few exceptions, really the whole time they have been with us. Mr. Ennis is the only one upon whom we can look as at all likely to be a permanent teacher. He has been residing several weeks in a town called Old Bassikatti. His reception has been all that we could desire; and as he is soft and affable in disposition we hope that he will accomplish great things among those with whom he is now about to live and in the native towns of which there are many. He is to leave today with his wife and family for Old Bassikatti which he'll probably reach by tomorrow noon.'[2]

The attempt here was to influence the Bubis (Boobies) the original inhabitants of the island, who were extremely suspicious of white strangers.

Mr. and Mrs. Trusty had gone to Basswalla. It is not clear at what date they went. If Ennis was getting settled in May 1844 finally, and he was well, presumably the Trusty settlement was later. Clarke reported in

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1. Ibid., Aug. 1844, p.331. Some ships called at Fernando Po for medical attention and the Baptist establishment was known. (M.H. Sept. 1844, p.345.

2. Ibid., Sept. 1844, p.347.

November 1844 that the family lived in a partially floored, small two-roomed house, with no chairs, no tables and no candlesticks. His work stretched over three or four towns all within an hour's walk of Basswalla. Yet despite his Spartan existence and his extended pastorate, he was able to interest two neighbouring townships, Oitoipoki and Otiritshi in Christianity and to persuade the latter to make a grant of five acres of land to Clarke, to construct a school and provide a teacher.[1]

Unfortunately, no documentary evidence has become available on the work of Mr. and Mrs. Gallimore at Bassippu, but we may infer from Clarke's references in his November diary that the situation there was quite similar to that at Basswalla.[2]

Towards the end of 1844 however the atmosphere became strained in the Mission on Fernando Po. This derived from two reasons (a) the attitude of of the West African Company to the Mission, an attitude complicated by the new Spanish authorities and (b) increasing tension between the Jamaican agents and the British agents on the island.

It has already been observed that the agreement entered into by the B.M.S. and the West African Company was one-sided and was liable to misinterpretation. By the end of 1844, it had begun. On February 20th, 1845, the Committee read letters from Clarke and Merrick to the effect that 'certain parties' refused to pay rent to the missionary agents.[3] These

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1. Ibid., April 1845, p.52 (1). Trusty's house was called Salem!

2. Ibid., April 1845, p.53.

3. B.M.S. Min. Bk. J., Min. 346 d/d Feb. 20th, 1845. cf. Driver Collection Prince to Swan d/d Nov. 6th 1843. Prince thought the Company had cheated on the deal. The houses were in disrepair.

letters have been lost but the action taken by the Committee on the letters would seem to indicate that more than rent was at stake. The Secretary, commenting on the letters, stated that he had written to Lord Aberdeen seeking clarification on the state of the titles to the properties on Fernando Po. The Foreign Office was prompt and Canning replied in a letter read to the Committee on March 6th, 1845, that Lord Aberdeen had instructed the British ambassador in Madrid to recommend the request of the Society, viz., 'that the Spanish Government would confirm the title of the property in Fernando Po.'[1]

The B.M.S. made its own approach through the Secretary, who contacted the Spanish ambassador in London, General Sancho, and Captain John Beecroft, who was Acting-Governor on the island, to seek their aid. Angus had done a similar thing in 1843 and then had obtained favourable responses.[2] Probably on the advice of the ambassador, the Committee drew up a 'memorial' and addressed it to the Spanish Government, requesting the sanction of the conveyance of the property at Fernando Po to the B.M.S. by authenticating the Deeds, and this they sent together with attested copies of the Deeds.[3] This was sent to the Foreign Office and in April a letter from Canning reported that Lord Aberdeen would forward the documents to the British ambassador in Madrid for his action.[4]

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1. Ibid., Min. 362 d/d March 6th, 1845.
2. Ibid., Min. 363 d/d March 6th, 1845: It would appear that copies of earlier correspondence were also read since reference was made to a letter to Sancho d/d Dec. 29th, 1843 and Beecroft, Sept. 13th, 1843. See also (I) Min. 195 d/d Sept. 27th 1843 (Angus reports on interviews with Beecroft in London.)
3. Ibid., Min. 389 d/d 20th March 1845.
4. Ibid., Min. 398 d/d April 3rd, 1845.

The embarrassment created for the missionaries emphasized how bad the liaison was between the Baptist leaders and the Government. It was an embarrassment for the 'voluntaryists' who looked askance at any such dealing but it created more suspicion in the Spanish mind as to the true intentions of the Mission in Fernando Po. It would appear that the West Africa Company had been able to secure most advantageous commercial rights from the Baptists without being affected by the legal strictures which the new political developments entailed. And this uncertainty in itself created an uneasy situation among the agents in the Mission.[1]

The belief that the West Indian Black was immune to the diseases of Africa was common currency in the 1840's. It had bolstered every theory of repatriation and was the main plank of many missionary endeavours. It had not been disproved by the Niger disaster, which in a negative way tended to support the theory.[2] When the Jamaicans fell ill on their arrival and remained ill until well into 1844, faith in their usefulness was shattered especially since many of the recruits had not much more to offer. Even Prince confessed that he 'had no idea that our Jamaica friends would suffer so speedily and generally from the climate.'[3] While Sturgeon had described Ennis in sympathetic tones, there is no doubt that he is being presented as the exception and not the rule. Merrick reported that,

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1. Prince did not share the opinion that co-operation with the State was unwise. He wrote to Swan asking him to seek permission from the Committee for the Mission to be represented on the Governing Council of Fernando Po. See Driver Collection, Prince to Swan d/d Nov. 6th, 1843, p.8.
2. See Allen and Thompson, Narrative of the Expedition ... (1848) passim. cf. M.H. Feb. 1842, pp.211-214 (Clarke's letter d/d Oct. 21st, 1841).
3. M.H. Aug., 1844, p.331, Prince to B.M.S. d/d April 10th, 1844.

'the greater part of the Jamaican friends are poorly with fever, Mr. and Mrs. Bundy and Mr. Duffus from Mr. Oughton's church; Mr. Gallimore from Kettering, one of Mr. Norman's daughters from Spanish Town; and Mr. and Mrs. White from Bethany ... Mr. Fuller's sons have also been ill ... Miss Cooper from Brown's Town.'[1]

Their illness and probably the more lenient treatment they had received at the hands of Clarke and Prince was misunderstood. In his July Report (1844), Sturgeon paid many compliments. He described George Williams as a man who has won the confidence of the people by his piety and industry. He extols the virtues of Miss Stewart, 'a white female from Jamaica' and Miss Cooper, 'a coloured female from the West', who work with diligence under the superintendency of Mr. Norman, who 'promises to be useful among us.' But he concludes with a stern warning that

'Persons coming to Africa should well count the cost; should consider what they will have to teach, what to do, what to suffer. They should be men who have been proved; who have exhibited an untiring zeal in works of self-denial, strong faith in God, and a growing love of perishing souls. And let none come to labour in Africa who will not cheerfully forego the luxuries of Jamaica and willingly travel a few miles through a little rain or grass wet with dew. If persons coming from the west anticipate a comfortable home in Africa, to be waited upon, and fare sumptuously every day; disappointment, shame and discontent and uselessness will follow, and you will have many loiterers in the field. There are probably but few countries where more good may be done than in Africa, but those who come should be prepared for the worst and not expect to enjoy the reward until they have patiently endured the toil. These things and many others have been said already - publicly spoken and widely spread, but there are not yet understood. The prosperity of our cause in Africa for many years, and perhaps centuries, will greatly depend upon the band of teachers and missionaries who will next be sent out. I therefore with diffidence, and with a degree of trembling, say again let them be tried men - men who have been accustomed to reading and teaching and suffering for Christ.'[2]

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1. Ibid., July 1844, p.310

2. M.H. Dec. 1844, p.398 (Report d/d July 1844).

Even Clarke could not disguise his disappointment. In a letter to friends in Camberwell at the end of July, he observed

> 'I think most of our Jamaican friends will turn out well, but they need at present constant watching, directing and instructing. They in Jamaica, have not been called to act for themselves.'1

There is no doubt that, as far as the British agents were concerned, the Jamaicans had fallen below their expectations. Illness had revealed their fallibility and despite Clarke's excuse that failure was due to lack of training in decision making for others, some held that the fault was in the character of the recruits and those who held that view held it deeply. Clarke's comment also reveals that he had recognized that he had not obtained recruits from the Jamaican church leadership. And now he had become increasingly aware of it.

An important part of the Mission to Africa was to establish the Church on the African continent. In June and July, 1841, Clarke and Prince had established contacts with local kings in the Cameroons and at Calabar and although thoroughly shocked by some of the happenings, had established lines of communication.[2]

Prince had attempted prior to the arrival of the 'Chilmark' to re-establish contacts with Calabar. In a letter to Thomas Swan dated November 6th, 1843, he described a meeting with King Nyamba, who had succeeded Duke Ephraim in the Calabar delta. The letter goes on to describe the hopes which he entertained, as well as certain observations which illuminate the

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1. Ibid., Jan, 1845, p.11 (letter d/d July 25th, 1844).
2. Clarke Journal I, Bk.I., p.176ff (For Cameroons); p.377 (Calabar).

political and social situation in the delta at the time.

It is not necessary to go into detail about the political unrest which existed because of Ephraim's death and the massacre which followed and which was the main cause of Prince's visit. Its details and the internal relationships of the region may be studied in the introduction to the reprint of Waddell's, Twentynine years in West Indies and Central Africa, (1970), written by Jones.[1] But the religious and social aspects relate directly to the emerging missionary policy.

There is no doubt that Prince had gone to Calabar to protest against the sacrifices consequent on Ephraim's death. In a letter to Dr. Cox enclosed in Swan's letter he observed,

> 'I have left Clarence for the purpose of reproving this bloody man and his depraved subjects for their sins and call them to repentance'

but suggested to Swan that the Calabar chiefs both Nyamba, Eyo Honesty and Henshaw 'think it politic to be less offensive to Europeans'.[2] He was aware that he represented not just the Gospel but a European culture.

In a discussion of 'Egbo', a secret society analagous to a primitive army of police force, he reported that Nyambo had used it to close down the town and all trade had been stopped. Prince suggested that this might be used as an argument to gain the support of

> 'commercial men for the Christianization of Africa; and many of the lives of our seamen would be protected if their detention in the rivers co(uld) be shortened'.[3]

While Prince obviously disliked Nyamba, he spoke highly of his subjects

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2. Driver Collection, Prince to Swan d/d Nov. 6th, 1843, p.2.

3. Ibid., p.3.

1. Waddell, op. cit. New Introduction ix-xi; xiii-xix.

as literate people who could

> 'read and write our written characters, can understand and speak our language ... can keep their accounts with our traders - have tradespeople amongst them and dwell in furnished houses'.[1]

With such a background it can be understood why the attraction of the missionary enterprise was weak. Calabar would not be interested unless Prince could offer more than literacy and trade, both of which it would appear they already had to some degree. And it is probable that the Presbyterian success in 1846 was due to the fact that Waddell could offer more than education. He, with the commercial interests supporting him, offered security at a time when the chiefs were under pressure from the slave population. The Baptists, if Prince is an example, fired with the enthusiasm of individual freedom and personal responsibility, appeared to offer anarchy.

Prince was more favourably disposed to Eyo Honesty, who had employed a Fernandian to conduct a school on his premises for his immediate family. And he expressed the hope that if he succeeded to become King in chief reformation would ensue.

Eyo Honesty and Nyamba, it would appear had written letters to the Naval Commander in the region about this time repudiating the Slave Trade and requesting 'white men to visit them as instructors in white man's religion and in agricultural cultivation'.[2] These letters were to become important in the settlement of the region in 1846. It is sufficient here

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1. Ibid., pp.3-4: The contribution of the trader to the literacy of Calabar has been overlooked and is a field for future research.

2. Ibid., p.5.

to observe that Prince reports that they came into his possession in November 1843.

The letter discussed also the difficulty of suppressing Slavery not because at this time the Chiefs had not recognized the immorality of the institution, but because as they said, there was no other commodity to sell to buy the luxuries they needed. The effect of the climate upon the mission was also mentioned. In a poetic sentence, Prince declared

> 'The Climate, the Climate, is the great cause of apprehension. Had Aeneas known the Rivers of Africa he might have been launched ... into the presence of his departed Father - they are the waters of Lethe.'[1]

About the same time that Prince had sailed for Calabar in the 'Majestic', Merrick had sailed for the Cameroons and in a letter dated November 7th, 1843, reported that he had been received with kindness by King Bell.[2]

Bell (Bel) was known in Jamaica and in Britain. Although he had never left the Cameroons, Knibb had suggested that one of the 'recaptives' he had received was a son of Bel and thus there was great interest generated. And of course he had been visited by Prince and Clarke, 1840-42.

Merrick had gone to Cameroons as a second choice. He had been told that 'Eyes Honesty' (Eyo Honesty) needed a teacher and had planned to settle in Calabar but Prince diverted him to Cameroons to fulfil his promise to send a missionary, which he had made to Bell during the previous visit.

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1. Ibid., p.7.

2. M.H. March 1844, p.254.

Merrick did not establish a station immediately but visited King Acquia (Aqua) and there made a favourable impression on the heir apparent. On his return to Bell Town, he was given a cottage and began to instruct those who wished to learn to read and write.

The evidence suggests that they were motivated by trade and that the quest for literacy was to protect them from the dishonesty of some of the traders. Merrick for his part was not disturbed by this and encouraged this aspect of the Mission. In fact, on his return to Fernando Po, to which by this time the 'Chilmark' had arrived, he conferred with Clarke seriously about the trading aspects of the Mission and it was agreed to appeal in the Missionary Herald for suitable gifts, which had commercial value in order to relieve the drain on the funds of the Society.[1]

Although Merrick spent most of the time at Bell Town, he took opportunities to consolidate his contacts with King William and King Acquia, with an eye to a second and more permanent establishment in the region.[2]

He returned to Bimbia in April 1844, accompanied by Angus Duckett, one of the new arrivals. His intention was to make a more extended tour and visit the tribes who lived on the slopes of the Cameroon mountains. By the end of April he had succeeded in winning the support of King William who agreed not only to a school on the coast but another in the interior as

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1. M.H. March 1844, p.255. cf. Africa Report M.H. May 1844, p.285. The Mission requested for Cameroons, salt, Blue, Baft or Serampore, chilloe (a kind of handkerchief), Romale, Tom Cuffie (another type of handkerchief), cutlasses, machetes, axes, tobacco. For Calabar, soap, needles, fishhooks hinges; for New Calabar white and striped shirts, figured shirts are worn by Juju men and witch doctors; see M.H. July 1844, p.314

2. For an account of the tour see M.H. July 1844, pp.314-316.

well. The former Merrick immediately established, installing Duckett as school master and John King, a local convert, as assistant. The enthusiasm was boundless. In the first week the average attendance was 56, and in a letter to the B.M.S., Merrick reported that he had an open permission to build.[1]

Merrick did not return immediately but kept in touch with Clarke through frequent letters. The progress reflected in them was so great that Clarke decided to initiate the second phase of the mission there. On May 31st 1844, together with three carpenters, a frame house obtained in Jamaica, Fuller and one of his sons and Lyndeart (Lendeert) Byl, he sailed for Bimbia. The party was met by Merrick and Duckett, who conducted them to meet King William in a friendlier atmosphere than on the previous occasion (1841), and from the audience to the house which had been provided as headquarters for the mission.[2]

Coeval with these events in West Africa, certain new developments occurred in Jamaica and Scotland among the Presbyterians which were to have a profound effect upon the development of the Baptist interest in the region.

It has already been observed that as early as 1840 the question of a mission to Africa had been discussed by the Jamaica Presbytery but no conclusion was reached. The Presbyterians were as susceptible to the internationalism of the Anti-Slavery Movement as were the Baptists despite their

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1. Ibid., Aug. 1844, p.332; Sept. 1844, pp.349-351. Merrick also attempted to climb the Cameroon Mts. and in the process discovered a well used path to Calabar and suggested a line of mission stations linking Bimbia, Rumby and Calabar but it did not materialize. See also M.H. Feb. 1845, pp.18-28 (for journey of discovery).

2. Ibid., Oct. 1844, pp.363-5.

differences on ecclesiastical discipline and the theology of initiation. Thus when the Presbytery met at Goshan in July 1841 to censure the Baptists, it still was quite normal that they should follow their lead and discuss the possibility of an African mission. Waddell has reported that the urgency of the situation derived from a reading of The African Slave Trade and its Remedy and this is not to be doubted but more probably it sprang from a mixture of motives some of which even Waddell himself was unaware of. There seems little doubt that the rivalry between the Baptists and the Presbyterians had some influence, together with the recruitment drive by some C.M.S. missionaries, particularly in Port Antonio, to stir interest in the African Civilisation Society;[1] and not least, the actual departure of the Moravian mission for Akropong.[2]

The Presbytery passed six resolutions committing itself to an African mission along the lines of the proposed Baptist endeavour and set up a Corresponding Committee of Blyth, Waddell and Anderson to raise the matter with the S.M.S. in Edinburgh. At first interest was shown, especially in Edinburgh, although there were some reservations due to the failure of a previous attempt in Sierra Leone. Unfortunately, even the minimal interest died on the news of the failure of the Niger Expedition.

In 1842, the Presbytery reaffirmed the six resolutions[3] and decided that implementation demanded a special missionary society for the project, which would underwrite, supervise and publish it. It was also decided to

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1. See Report of African Civilisation Society ... (1842), p.27 for subscriptions. Appendix MM cviii - cxiii.
2. Debrunner, op. cit., p.107 cf. Clark A Short Centenary Sketch, p.8 and Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa Vol.2, pp.23-27.
3. See Goldie and Dean, Calabar and its Mission (1901), pp.71-72. See, Appendix D pp. 415-16.

begin at once to train coloured missionaries in the Academy at Montego Bay for Africa and the catechist Edward Miller was instructed to do so.

Blyth and Anderson left Jamaica on furlough in 1842 and were instructed to take up the matter with S.M.S. But support was hard to secure. However, Dr. Robson, an influential Glaswegian in missionary circles, who had visited Jamaica to recuperate, and there had become enthused with the idea, decided to help. He introduced Blyth and Anderson, who incidentally at this time were in a controversy with Knibb with regard to the 'purity' of the Jamaican churches, to Dr. Fergusson, a Liverpudlian, who had contacts with West African shipping. Through him a letter was sent to the Calabar kings making enquiries about the possibilities of a mission. They replied that a mission would be welcome, protection would be guaranteed and a grant of land was available. It was this letter or a copy of it that Prince seemed to have got hold of in 1843.[1]

Blyth returned to Jamaica in 1843, taking with him the reply of the Calabar kings and also the knowledge that little support could be expected from the S.M.S. The Presbytery decided to take matters into their own hands and they wrote to Beecroft, now the Governor and President of the newly created Island Council, requesting him to act in the matter on their behalf. He did and he obtained the land and free tax concessions from the kings. Of course, Beecroft was delighted to do this in view of the troubles he was having with the Baptists and also because the Presbyterians were supported by the commercial interests in Liverpool.

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1. For a copy of this letter see Waddell, op. cit., appendix II.

In September 1843, the Presbytery met at Hampden and created the proposed Society. It elected Waddell chairman and decided to send him to Edinburgh to plead the cause. It also reaffirmed its intention of accepting the Calabar invitation.

The events of 1844 moved swiftly and it would appear that the arrival of the 'Chilmark' and the campaigns of Clarke had an encouraging effect upon this venture, for on September 12th, 1844, at a special Presbytery meeting at Hampden, it was decided to send Waddell, with a small exploratory group to Calabar to investigate the possibilities and establish a mission.

Blyth wrote immediately to the United Associate Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions informing them that the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery had resolved to undertake a mission to Calabar and had named Waddell to proceed to Scotland and then to Africa. He also suggested that a board of Missions be formed in Edinburgh,

> 'to be composed of sub-committees or delegates appointed by the various Missionary bodies in Britain, to have the management of the West Indian and African Mission.'[1]

Such a suggestion was in keeping with the atmosphere of the time since in February 1843, the secretaries of the M.M.S., B.M.S. General Baptists, Church of Scotland, Moravian and several continental societies had met in London to consider 'the best means of expressing and promoting unity among Christians' and it was decided that they would work together in every

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1. See Minutes of the United Associate Synod d/d Stirling Dec. 9th, 1844. Church of Scotland Archives. Edinburgh. Blyth reported that such a board had been formed in Jamaica and steps were taken to form such a thing in Britain but it was forestalled by the 'Leader - Ticket' controversies.

practical way for 'the oneness of their objects as missionary Institutions.'[1] But no agreement finally emerged to accept the policy of one communique and one strategy despite many meetings, but it did ease tensions. It also robbed the B.M.S. of some of its Scottish support, as the tension surrounding Knibb's visit to Edinburgh at this time suggests, and effectively channelled the efforts of some Liverpudlians towards the Scottish missionary societies.

At the meeting in Stirling on December 9th, where the proposed mission was mentioned, no decision was taken on it, and it was postponed for discussion on December 23rd when it would appear it was still shelved. In the meantime the United Presbyterians had acted and adopted the Mission at their Annual Meeting in Glasgow that year.[2]

In January 1845, the S.M.S. granted permission for Waddell to come to Scotland and contemporaneously, the Jamaica Presbytery published a statement signed and supported by the Governor of Jamaica, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, commissioning Waddell to proceed to Africa on their behalf.[3]

Waddell was given two years' leave from the Presbytery and instructed to sail to Scotland via the United States of America. It is known that there he met with the Bible and Tract Depository and the Colonization Society, both possessing interest in Africa. He arrived in Liverpool early in 1845 and proceeded to Scotland where on April 22nd the United Associate Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions ratified the Jamaican statement, thus

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1. See B.M.S. Min. Bk. (I), Min. 393 d/d Feb. 16th, 1843.

2. Goldie and Dean, op. cit., p.76 and Minutes of Associate etc. d/d Dec. 9th, 1844.

3. Waddell, op. cit., pp.664-65.

accepting the mission. It was then stated that

> 'some promising youths had already entered on a course of training at the Academical Institution at Montego Bay'

and that

> 'the Committee resolved to give Mr. Waddell and other Missionary Agents all the assistance in their power both in making the preparatory arrangements with a view to the commencement of this Mission and also in carrying it on after it is commenced.'[1]

This was quite different from the strategy employed by the B.M.S. Here both missions were integrally linked to central headquarters which possessed control while in the Baptist mission, there were two unco-ordinated centres of control, and a third centre on the field which could play one off against the other. The policy was based in the de facto ecclesiology of each denomination.

With the denominational support, Waddell was able to raise funds for the Mission, but as important, to persuade Robert Jamieson, the owner of the 'Ethiope' based on Fernando Po, the mentor of Beecroft, its operator, the opposer of the Niger Expedition and now an influential West African trader with a plan to civilize the continent, to provide the Mission with a 150 ton brig, the 'Warree' free of charge on an extended loan, and also to contribute £100 per annum toward her upkeep.[2]

When the preparations in Stirling and Edinburgh became known they created alarm in London. On July 12th, Angus reported that he had seen a circular, probably in the Friend of Africa, signed by Waddell, and had corresponded with John Watson on the matter. He observed further that he

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1. Ibid., p.666 (Appendix III).

2. Goldie and Dean, op. cit., p.77.

had written to Dr. McKerrow also, and on August 14th he read a reply which did not satisfy the Committee.[1] Nothing more was heard until November when the matter again arose this time tinged with much unpleasantness. The Committee decided to ask Saffrey to interview members of the United Secession Missionary Society to arrive at a modus vivendi but the S.M.S. rejected the idea. Instead a letter arrived signed by Somerville, the Secretary, stating that they had been invited to Calabar by the chieftains and that they intended to go to Old Calabar and so requested the B.M.S. to withdraw its agents.

The Committee decided in response to pass a resolution instructing the Secretary to call attention to the letter he had written to McKerrow on June 11th and to reiterate that the B.M.S. regretted that 'there are any prospects of collision between their missionaries', but that the withdrawal of Mr. Clarke from Calabar and the abandonment of that area, which he had promised to settle in 1841, must depend on the negotiations he had already pursued. Somerville replied, forwarding a resolution from the S.M.S., the text of which is lost but probably leaving the final arrangements to the missionaries in situ.[2] This is borne out by Waddell's later report that

> 'occupying Old Calabar was a delicate question which the respective Committees at home had been unable to settle and had left their missionaries on the spot and to me when I arrived to adjust as amicably as possible.'[3]

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. (J), Min. 39 d/d July 12th 1845 and Min. 80 d/d Aug. 14th, 1845.
2. Ibid., Min. 151 d/d Nov. 20th 1845 and Min. 165 d/d Dec. 4th, 1845. Waddell produced a statement in Fernando Po which probably was based on this minute to the effect that both Committees had given authority to the missionaries on the spot to arrange the terms of settlement.
3. See Waddell, Hope Waddell's Journal, Vol.I (after Waddell I), p.5.

It is not quite clear how much detail the Baptists in Fernando Po knew of the proposed Presbyterian mission. There is evidence to suggest that there was correspondence between Clarke and Waddell. But even if much was unknown, the general outline was. Thus it was extreme provocation to the Presbyterians when an extended account written by Thompson of a missionary tour by Clarke, Newbigin and himself sppeared in the November issue of the Missionary Herald. And it was more pointed when the account stated that,

> 'God has there, I trust, opened an effectual door for the introduction of the gospel; for the civilization and enlightenment of the people ... Our mission to Calabar was undertaken after much prayer and deliberation.'[1]

Perhaps from the Baptist point of view, it was self-protection because matters had deteriorated between the Company, the Government and themselves and it was a way of escape. But there is little doubt that the report was provocative and solicited the brusque reply sent to the Committee later that month.

Yet it must not be forgotten that the Baptists had had a long association with the region. Prince had promised that as soon as transportation arrived the region would be exploited and at that time, Waddell had not even left Jamaica. So that when the 'Dove' arrived on March 22nd 1845, the time seemed ripe to fulfil the pledges of 1841 and 1843.[2]

The missionary tour of the Calabar region took place between June 5th and 9th and covered the most important townships. It was a fact finding

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1. M.H. Nov. 1845, p.169 (Account in pp.169-172).

2. Ibid., Aug. 1845, p.118 The 'Dove' brought Newbigin, Vitou and Capt. Milbourne.

tour designed to seek out the best sites and then settle them. The party met with Eyamba (Nyamba), Henshaw's Town, Henry Cobham's house, King Eyo's town, Will Tom Robin, the chief of Old Calabar, Henshaw Duke, and on a return visit to Eyamba's palace, Egbo Jack.[1]

The report suggests that Clarke had met the most important leaders of the community including Egbo Jack, the head of the secret Ekpe society. Before the mission left, Eyamba agreed to grant land for mission premises and labourers to clear it and Clarke promised to send a teacher and launch a school in two months.[2]

Clarke kept his promise and returned to Calabar in October, remaining there from October 7th to 21st. Thompson was the journalist and he reported that a schoolroom was erected, and John Christian installed as locum tenens but with the arrangement that he alternate on a six-weekly basis with Clarke.[3] While in Calabar, the Mission seized the opportunity to paint the bottom of the boat.

The sojourn in Calabar was most important however for the 'Clarke-Eyamba Agreement'[4] which was drawn up on October 10th, setting out in eight paragraphs the terms of occupancy. Eyamba was invited to sign it as a token of his good will.

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1. These officials and rulers are important, and their significance may be studied in Waddell, Twentynine years etc, the introduction by G.J. Jones excellent in describing the hierarchy of Calabar at the time. For a description of Eyamba's palace: Driver Collection, Prince to Swan d/d Nov. 6th, 1843.
2. See M.H. Nov. 1845, pp.169-172. cf. Dec. 1845, pp.184-186 (contact with Eyo).
3. M.H. May, 1846, p.267.
4. See M.H. March, 1846, p.233 (for the Agreement) see Appendix E.

The king kept the document for two days then called a meeting of the chief men, to which Clarke read the document, the king acting as interpreter, and to which they all gave assent. The king signed it.

Armed with this, Clarke was now in a strong position as among other things it offered to the king a group which would not interfere in his quarrels but whom he was bound now to protect.

As 1845 ended, the Mission had been established at several points on Fernando Po. In Bimbia Merrick, Duckett and Fuller had not only established a station but set up a printing press and at Calabar a teacher had been installed and an agreement ratified, while in September Prince and Saker had begun investigating the possibilities of another mission on the banks of the Cameroons river.[1]

1846 brought to the Mission two serious reverses (a) the loss of the Calabar station to the Presbyterians and (b) a threat from the Spanish authorities to close down the work on Fernando Po.

Hope Waddell sailed from Liverpool for Calabar on January 6th, 1846 aboard the 'Waree'. He was accompanied by four Jamaicans, Samuel Edgerley and his wife, Andrew Chisholm, Edward Miller (not to be confused with the catechist in Montego Bay) and a servant called George Waddell, a 'recaptive'.[2]

Unfortunately, the voyage began on a sour note. Edgerley had written to a relative in Shrewsbury commenting on the controversy with the Baptists

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1. See M.H. March 1846, pp.230-231 (Fernando Po); Feb. 1846, p.215 (Cameroons); May 1846, p.267 (Bimbia and Calabar).

2. See Waddell I; p.5f. George was baptized 'George B. Waddell' and was a personal servant to Waddell and steward aboard the 'Waree'. He had been rescued from a Portuguese man-of-war in 1843 and had been taken and settled in Jamaica.

and had received a reply which he gave Waddell to read. Waddell upbraided Edgerley for writing about the Baptists in those terms especially since they would be the nearest neighbours and in any case he certainly did not wish to carry into Africa disputes which occurred in Jamaica.[1] The following Sunday he preached from Psalm 68 v.31.

The 'Warree' sailed via Cape Coast to meet with Freeman, and there was told that the Spanish authorities had closed down the Baptist Mission on Fernando Po and that they had moved to the mainland. This increased Waddell's apprehension since this could mean that they had occupied Calabar. But he was partly prepared for the news, since he had become aware of increasing tension between the Spanish Government and Protestant missions while in London. There the Spanish ambassador, in granting a visa for Fernando Po at the request of Col. Nicolls, told him that he could reside on the island as a private citizen only, since orders had been issued from Madrid for the removal of the missionaries already there. And as if to emphasize the predicament, Waddell learned that a Spanish corvette had called in at Cape Coast with a Spanish official and two Catholic priests aboard, bound for the island.[2] He was now apprehensive that he would not be allowed to live even as a private citizen.

The Presyterians arrived in Fernando Po on April 2nd, 1846, and discovered much to their relief that the Baptist headquarters was still on the island, having been given a year respite and that Calabar had only been

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. cf. Waddell, Twentynine years etc., p.233. The status of the travellers is described as a High Commissioner, a Bishop and a priest.

partially settled. Waddell almost immediately went into conference with Clarke, a fellow Scot, and he was informed that the extent of the Baptist mission at Calabar was, an agreement between Eyamba and the Baptist missionaries, the construction of a school, then in progress, the proposal to start a 'Settlement' and the actual settlement of a teacher who had been recalled in March and would not be returning. He further suggested that there were no concrete plans for the resettlement of the area and Waddell observed that Clarke was not unwilling 'to leave the district to us altogether'.[1] But whatever Clarke's views were, his associate Sturgeon had strong views on a Baptist mission to Calabar. Waddell thought it wise to consult him.

Sturgeon met with Waddell in the course of the week and was told that the B.M.S. and S.M.S. did not think it advisable for both Societies to be established in the same district. But that if this had to be, a covenant might be drawn up between them to keep out of each other's way so that the display of interference, exhibitionism, rivalry and jealousy might not occur before the local people and be reduced to a minimum.

This did not appeal to Sturgeon, who insisted on a Baptist mission in Calabar and rejected comity. He maintained that Calabar was too strategic a place to abandon. This was not a new view on his part, in his report written in July 1845, he had observed,

> 'Had I not been chosen by the church to be their pastor,
> Calabar would probably long ere now have been my residence.
> As it is I wish to guard against making my rest at Clarence.'[2]

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1. Ibid., p.17ff.

2. M.H. March, 1846, p.227.

And there is little doubt that Sturgeon's view was shared by others.

Waddell was disappointed but decided to let the matter rest for a few days. He recorded in his Journal that the Baptists

> 'had been aware of our preparations for the last two years and of course before they had taken any decisive steps themselves'.[1]

This was certainly true and that would put their knowledge back to 1844, with the 'decisive step' taken in 1845. But the crux of the matter is surely whether the Baptists in situ knew of the Jamaica developments and of Waddell's coming. And whether as Waddell suggests, they had been expecting him in 1844.[2]

It would appear that the misunderstandings arose in this way. The Baptists had made certain promises in 1841 to the Calabar kings, which they could not fulfil in 1843, due to lack of adequate transportation and the missionary policy of the B.M.S., which favoured Fernando Po. When they did attempt in November 1843 to make contact, the political situation was unsettled due to the death of Ephraim and what appears to have been an uprising of the slave population. In any case, the activities of the entrenched 'Egbo' society at that time would have made it difficult. However, in 1843-44, pressure was brought to bear by the Navy upon the kings, order was restored and the Slave Trade repudiated. Contemporaneously, correspondence with the Jamaican Presbyterians through Liverpool contacts occurred and Waddell received his mandate as a result. But the critical year 1844 passed without anything being done. Nothing was done by the

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1. Waddell, I, p.17ff.

2. Waddell, Twentynine years etc., p.240.

S.M.S. Nothing could be done by the B.M.S., due to the lack of a steamer and the late arrival of the Jamaican party. And on the other hand, of those already there and available, Merrick had his hands full in Bimbia and at Fernando Po. When 1845 arrived, the Baptists saw that urgency demanded they seize the opprtunity, and having in the meantime acquired both transportation and personnel and the S.M.S. party not having arrived, they moved into Calabar.

Waddell seemed to be aware of the motive or urgency because he commented that he had no reason to suppose that

> 'they (Baptists) had any evil design toward us by going there (Calabar) before us ... in the immediate neighbourhood of that allotted by Eyamba.'[1]

But he was not so naive to dismiss the fact that the groups were holding discussions against a background of the tension and suspicion of the 'Leader-Ticket' controversy. He observed

> 'some Baptists in Edinburgh and elsewhere seem to think that we are coming out as enemies.'[2]

However in Fernando Po the saving grace was that both Clarke and Waddell had known each other in Jamaica. And it is probable that Miller and Edgerley were also known to Prince and Merrick. A further consideration was that the Jamaican group had a universalistic approach to missions and would be more accommodating than the British group which had grown increasingly narrow. Both groups decided to resolve the situation at Calabar itself. Conflict there would be, but not with the Jamaicans.

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1. Waddell Journal, I, p.17ff. cf. Twentynine years etc., p.241.

2. Ibid.

The 'Warree' sailed for Calabar leaving Waddell, the Edgerleys, Dr. King (Beecroft's physician) and Sturgeon to travel by Beecroft's steamer the 'Ethiope'. The 'Ethiope' overtook the 'Waree' en route, which incidentally arrived on April 10th and made for Duke Town. It is not quite clear if Clarke was aboard, but Waddell observed in his Journal that Clarke and Sturgeon had by this time decided on a policy of joint occupancy, had planned to occupy Creek Town, leaving Duke Town to the Presbyterians and had made arrangements to transport a 'frame house' in the 'Dove' during the following week for use as a school. Waddell did not co-operate at this point and maintained that he had hoped satisfactory arrangements could be made 'according to the agreement with their secretary in London', which was that

> 'if his missionary brethren were there when (he) went out, (he) would go elsewhere with (his) little pioneer company; and if they were not there, they should leave it entirely to us - the coast being wide enough for all of us.'[1]

It was decided in view of the difference of opinion that King Eyo Honesty of Creek Town should be the final arbiter. This was the site chosen by the Baptists. Beecroft introduced Waddell to the king, as the minister they had talked about, then leaving both Waddell and Sturgeon outside where they had met the king, went indoors with him to talk with the king alone. There is no documentary evidence of this conversation but soon after, Waddell was invited to enter and his Journal records that he took the opportunity of airing the differences between Sturgeon and himself, with Beecroft present.[2]

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1. Waddell Journal I, p.17f and Twentynine years etc., pp.229, 240.
2. Ibid., p.19ff. cf. Twentynine years etc., pp.242-3

Waddell was accepted instead of Sturgeon, when he disclosed that he had two houses and teachers available immediately and also pointed out that Eyo had no agreement with the Baptists. Sturgeon protested and made a faux pas by suggesting that the settlers on Fernando Po might wish to settle in the delta if they were driven out by the Spaniards. This increased Eyo's determination as Fernandians were not welcomed in Creek Town, and he instructed Waddell to tell Sturgeon so.

Sturgeon, peremptorily dismissed without an interview, accompanied Waddell to Duke Town, which the Baptists had abandoned of their own volition. Waddell was greeted warmly by King Eyamba who repudiated the agreement, explaining that he had mistaken the Clarke party for the missionaries he had requested. He then instructed Waddell to 'choose what place you like for make house, that place Captain Turner chose for you and any other'.[1] It had now been clearly demonstrated that Waddell had won his right to stay, having been accepted by both kings. But was this acceptance the result of fortuitous circumstances or the manoeuvrings of Beecroft with the connivance of Clarke?

There seems little doubt that as far as Eyamba was concerned there had been a case of mistaken identity. But it is difficult not to think that the august presence of Beecroft tipped the scales in Waddell's favour. Beecroft was the agent of Jamieson, the owner of the 'Warree' and the supporter of Waddell. He had corresponded with the Jamaican Presbytery and had commercial links on the River. He was an official of the Spanish

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1. Ibid., p.20; Twentynine years etc., p.244.

Government but maintained strong ties with the naval forces in the area as well as with the commercial interests and he was known, having lived in the region for many year. His moral influence was immense and this was on Waddell's side. Indeed, as far as Eyo was concerned, his presence might have been the turning point, since Eyo was not bound by an agreement.

Clarke's role appears to be ambiguous. He was the acknowledged leader of the Baptist group, yet he did not participate in the discussions either with Eyo or Eyamba. In fact he wrote to the London Committee soon after these events that there was ample room for Waddell to work at Old Calabar and he did not see any friction arising.[1] And in August, Somerville, the Secretary of the S.M.S., informed the Committee that Waddell had been received by both Clarke and the Calabar chiefs.[2] It does appear that Clarke handed Calabar to Waddell, but went through the motions to prevent an open rift with Sturgeon.

The reason for this would appear to be the lack of adequate funds to commit the Mission to further expansion and also the growing restlessness among the personnel, particularly the Jamaicans. Clarke, aware that Sturgeon had an overriding desire to settle in Calabar allowed him to face the real issue for himself.

In 1843, Prince had expressed grave concern in a letter to Swan about the trend towards a displacement of Baptists from Fernando Po. He had attempted to resist this by two methods (a) seeking representation on the

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. (J), Min. 41 d/d June 18th, 1846.

2. Ibid., Min. 101 d/d Aug. 6th, 1846. cf. Clarke Journal II (Bk.3) pp.221 321-323.

Island Council and (b) by encouraging the settlement of church members among the Bubis so that they would be integrated. Both failed. As the Spanish began to assert their sovereignty Beecroft had gained in ascendency and resented the attitude of the Baptists, partly because of their opposition to the methods used by the West African Company in the past, in which Beecroft had interest, and also their dogmatic presentation of Baptism. And it would also appear that because the Baptists had courted the favour of James Lynslager (1810-1864), a merchant who possessed much influence, the motive of jealousy was also present.

The Spanish authorities formally arrived on the island in 1845 and decided that Sturgeon could remain on a permanent visa, the black assistants from Jamaica could stay indefinitely, but all other missionaries should leave.[1] It is probable that their action was political as well as religious. This would be quite consistent with Catholic concepts of religion as the expression of the faith of the corporate State and therefore a fit subject for legislation, as a guarantee of truth in the body politic. Sir Harry Johnston suggested also that they were impressed by the work already done and the visas were issued out of kindness.[2] But the result was disquiet and restlessness in the Mission.

The situation created alarm in London. In February 1846, the Committee again approached the Foreign Secretary requesting that representations be made to Madrid on the Society's right of tenure in Clarence. Lord Aberdeen

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1. See Fuller, Autobiography (typescript), p.10. cf. M.H. May 1846, pp.267-8; Aug. 1846, p.310.

2. Johnston, op. cit., p.22.

promised to call the attention of the Spanish Government to the matter, but when pressed on the point whether Britain would appoint a consul to Fernando Po to give oversight to British interests, replied that the Government had no such plans.[1]

In April, news arrived in London that the Spanish consul had evicted the Baptist Mission. The Committee reacted by making further representations to the Foreign Office, now under Lord Palmerston, who informed them that Lord Aberdeen had made representations to Madrid and that the Office was doing all in its power to protect the rights of individuals and of the Society in Fernando Po.[2]

The situation deteriorated and the B.M.S. decided to publish accounts of the matter in the Missionary Herald, August 1846.[3] They published a letter dated May 4th, 1846, addressed to Palmerston which outlined their grievances:

> 1. The trustees of the Baptist Missionary Society claim (as your Lordship is aware) houses and other property, such as a jetty, cistern etc. together with the use of the cleared land at Clarence. These we purchased of the West African Company who purchased them of the British Government. The Trustees also claim several portions of land in the interior of the island which we purchased (with a view of erecting schools upon them) of the native owners and chiefs. We claim the absolute freehold in the one case and in the other uninterrupted use.
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> 2. The Spanish government, in the person of their consul-general, have ordered our missionaries to leave the island immediately on the ground that they are Protestants, and have declined to give a pledge not to preach; they have however allowed them twelve or at the most fifteen months to remove their property, or (if they can) to sell it, implying that if at the end of that time it is not sold or removed it will be forfeit to the Spanish authorities ...

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk.(J), Min. 250 d/d Feb. 19th, 1846.
2. Ibid., Min. 317 d/d April 2nd, 1846; Min. 323 d/d April 9th, 1846; also Min. 14 d/d May 21st, 1846 and Min. 75 d/d July 8th, 1846.
3. M.H. Aug. 1846, pp.308-309 (Full account pp.308-313). cf. Clarke Journal II, Bk.3, pp.153-159.

Angus observed that the Spanish Consul had taken great care to absolve the Mission of all crime and had promised to represent the case of the Mission to Madrid. But that the British Government should protect them on two main points(1.)that the Society has the legal right to the land purchased in the interior, the cleared land at Clarence, the cistern and jetty to sell or retain as it wishes and(2.)that the legality of the Baptist holdings rest on the same foundations in law as the British Government's who owned the land and sold it to the West African Company and that since that time £3,000 had enhanced its value and that the property was in trust and enrolled in the English Court of Chancery. The Secretary added that as it was a Society Trust, 100,000 persons were involved and that the Society was therefore bound to protect the rights of its Trust.

With regard to the freedom to preach, Angus was conciliatory, admitting the right of the Spanish Government to regulate this. But he observed that in 1843, permission had been given to Sturgeon and the people of Clarence liberty to worship.[1]

Angus published also the Minutes of the meetings held with the Spanish Consul on December 29th 1845 and January 1st 1846 in Clarence, signed by Clarke, Sturgeon and Newbigin as a correct record.[2]

Neither the Minutes of the Committee nor the Public Records shed any more light upon this incident but it is known that the Mission had a respite. The result of these conferences on the Mission was to create additional unrest especially among the Jamaicans who had been restless during 1845.

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1. Ibid.

2. For Minutes see M.H. August 1846, pp.309-313.

The insecurity of the Jamaican group resulted from a necessary dependence upon Clarke and the structure of the Mission. Except for Merrick, the Jamaicans were assistants and were settlers with little cash and no opportunity for travel. If they did travel it was to fulfil some need in a specific area, as the carpenters and mechanics did.

Clarke was not insensitive to their plight. In April 1845, he had written to the Committee observing,

> 'All seem to feel that they have a work of greatest importance at hand; and are expected by God and man to act diligently and devotedly. All appear to have confidence in me as their friend, and although they are often in straits from my lack of cash, they murmur not - they take what we can give them, and we all unite in meeting our difficulties as best we can.'[1]

But at no time did the Committee discuss their plight because they did not consider it their affair.

On June 2nd, 1845, Duffus died. Sturgeon reported that his death had a beneficial effect upon the Clarence community because he was a man of devotion.[2] But Sturgeon saw it through the pastor's eye, for while it was no doubt an inspiration, his death highlighted the Jamaican predicament most clearly.

Missionaries were sponsored and supported by the Society. That number included Alexander Fuller and Joseph Merrick to be sure, because they had been selected and in Fuller's case trained for the field. Wives were protected in the event of widowhood by the Widows and Orphans Fund, and fares were guaranteed back to Britain. No evidence exists that this applied to the new Mrs. Fuller nor to any of the Jamaican recruits. Indeed Norman

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1. Ibid., Aug. 1845, p.118.

2. Ibid., March 1846, pp.226-227.

charged a shilling per lesson to his pupils to support himself.

There was unrest in another direction. The female teachers were attached to families and created problems for them. Clarke complained about the tension between Isabella Stewart and Martha Vitou over the attentions of Milbourn and Byl.

Thus on two grounds Mrs. Duffus was bound to suffer. There was no security in either being a Jamaican recruit or a woman. She appealed to Clarke, who appealed to Britain and Jamaica. The East Queen St. Church also appealed to the Society but the appeal was rejected. But another appeal made by Merrick's mother was upheld and a grant of £20 per annum made to her because of her reduced circumstances. And at a subsequent meeting the Committee recommended that investigations be made into the possibility of buying a steam boat for the Mission. Money obviously was not the problem.[1]

Nothing had been written down about the respective areas of responsibility when the Mission got under way and the assumptions each group had of the other's role did not coincide. Jamaica had assumed that she merely provided the agents and left ultimate responsibility to the London Committee. The Committee, for its part, interpreted the venture in terms of a co-operation between two independent and sovereign Societies, each responsible for its own agents. Whatever the Committee provided by way of funds, transportation and supervision was designed primarily for their own approved agents and as far as the others were concerned, they were either in Jamaica's

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. J, Min. 163 d/d Nov. 27th, 1845 (Mrs. Duffus); Min. 210 d/d Jan. 22nd, 1846 (Mrs Merrick); Min. 232 d/d Jan. 29th 1846 (steamboat). cf. M.H. Nov. 1846, p.357.

pay or de facto emigrants - the returned exiles.

As long as events went smoothly and money was available these roles could be ill-defined. The West Indians in Fernando Po could be treated as one step removed from Jamaica. But the new policy of laissez faire began to have its effects in Jamaica. The Association in a desperate attempt to revert to a pre 1842 situation dissolved itself but the Society continued to deal with the Western Union as if it were the Association. They could not do otherwise. Disease followed upon Depression and the Jamaican Baptists began to appeal for more help. Meantime in Fernando Po, the work had expanded and Missions in Africa were being undertaken. Clearly the Society had to choose and the years of choice were 1845-1846.

Map 3

Map of Fernando Po (Santa Isabel)

Showing the penetration of the island and indicating the establishment of the Jamaica-related missionaries (1841-1847).

Missionaries	Statuons	Date and Reference
1. Clarke, Prince and Headquarters	Clarence	Feb. 1841 and M.H. July ml841 pp. 98-101
2. Gallimore (and Bundy)	Ribalo	1942, See M.H. Oct. 1942 p. 359 and July 1844 p.313.
3. Bundy	Relolah	1844 M.H. Feb 1845 pp.28-29 7/8
4. Trusty	Bassualla (Obokokibwalla)	1945 M.H. April 1845,pp.51-55.
5. Prime(for short intervals	Melville Bay	Jan. 1842 MH Oct. 1842, p.357.
6. ?	Bass ippi Dibellako	1844; M.H. July 1844 p.31 cf. Oct. 1942, p357
7. (Ennis?)	Bassippau	April 27 1841; M.H. Sept. 1841 pp.131-134 The station was settled permanently 1844.
8. Ennis	Bassipa (Banuppa)	May 1841(?) MH Oct 1841 pp. 146-148 and July 1842 p.305

Note

There is great difficulty in pin pointing these sites but great help may be had from a map published in the Missionary Herald August 1 8/52 and The Angus Letter Book which records the Title Deeds with measurements etc. The last word on this has not been written and a considerable amount of work still needs to be done on this aspect of the African Mission.

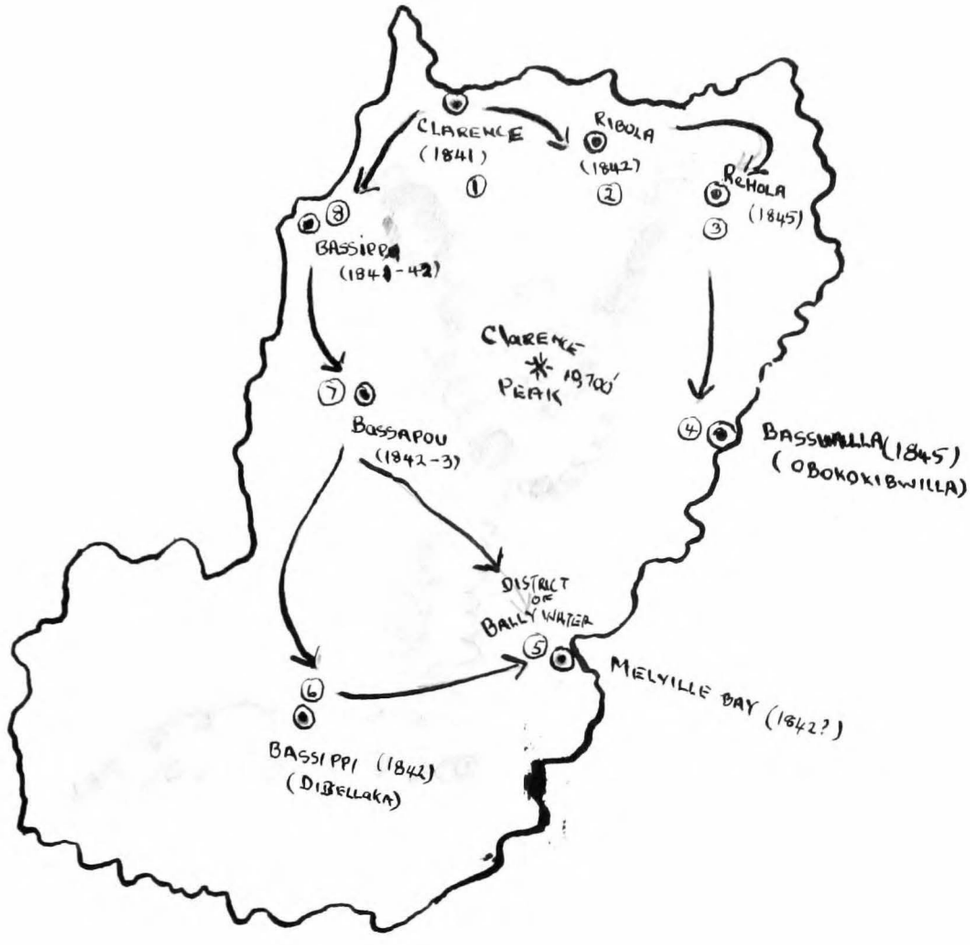
References:

See: M.H. August 1852 pp. 117-118 (map)

Clarke, Introduction to Fernandian Grammar (1842) Clarke Journals

Johnston; George Grenfell and the Congo Vol.1 (pp. 18-26)

Also: Missionary Heralds, 1841-1858, BMS Minute Book and The Angus Letter Book (1848).


N
CLARENCE
(1841)
1
RIBOLA
(1842)
2
REHOLA
(1845)
3
BASSIPPA
(1841-42)
8
CLARENCE
PEAK
1970'
7
BASSAPOU
(1842-3)
4
BASSWALLA (1845)
(OBOKOKIBWILLA)
DISTRICT
OF
BALLY WATER
5
MELVILLE BAY (1842?)
6
BASSIPPI (1842)
(DIBELLAKA)

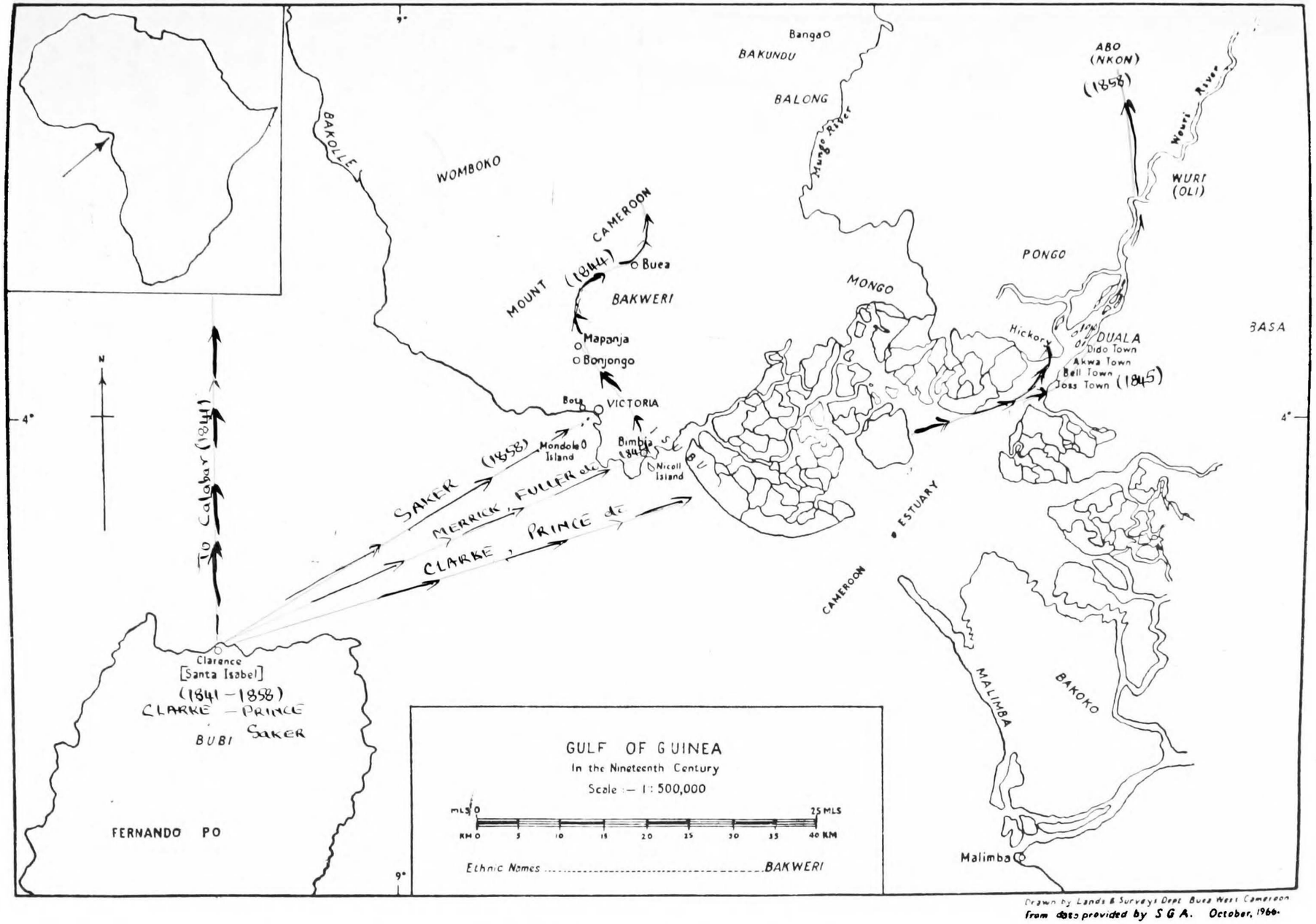
Map 4

A Map of the Gulf of Guinea in the Nineteenth Century to show the Baptist expansion from Fernado Po to the Mainland.

References: Ardener: Eye witness to the Annexation of Cameroon 1883-1887 (for the Map) p.5.

Missionary Herald for 1841-1858 esp. July 1844 pp. 314-316 and Feb. 1845 pp. 18-28.

Fuller: Autobiography



Gulf of Guinea in the Nineteenth Century

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CHAPTER 9

Struggles for Survival - a redeployment of resources, 1845-1848

The year 1845 marked an important turning point in the West African Mission. It also initiated a marked change in the fortunes of the Jamaica Baptist Association. In Britain the effect was to force the Society to re-examine its relationship with West Africa and the West Indies, and to devise a new set of relationships with both regions.

There were two basic reasons for this (a) the Jamaican Baptists were unable to accept complete financial responsibility for the West African mission and (b) the 'native agency' which should have been the source of the 'black agents', developed too slowly to fill the African need, and Calabar itself had its own financial difficulties.

In a sense, the situation was not of Jamaica's making. The independence of the Jamaica Mission had come at a time when laissez-faire had been accepted as the Government's economic policy in Britain. It would not be unfair to say that the Committee was not untouched by this philosophy. It has been observed that the Mission's independence had released for the Society about a third of its normal budget to spend in the Colonies, India and China and that in Jamaica the leadership had been released from the moral obligation to refer all decisions to London. But it meant more than this, it was in fact the granting of a possibility for a new range of choices, unfettered by former relationships. This was not recognized until the sharp shock of the Sugar Duties Act (1846) sent the sugar prices

crashing on the London market. And this was followed by the passing of the Navigation Act (1849), which completed the process by alleviating the restrictions on shipping.

The effects upon the Jamaican Baptists were instantaneous and catastrophic. The Hungry Forties had formed the backdrop to the slump in sugar prices. This had in its turn created a rash of bankruptcies and the closure of many estates. While some ecclesiastics interpreted these events as the result of Divine Grace in Judgment, others like Knibb,took a different view and were aware of other interpretations. Thus, with other colleagues he pressed for higher wages and pleaded with his members for increased production on the estates. Burchell, for example, responded to these uncertainties at the expense of the African mission. But in most cases their pleas fell upon deaf ears. With large tracts of surplus land available in the hinterland and the status of 'freedom' which land ownership represented, the vast majority preferred to live in the 'Free Villages' and rejected any attempt to work again on the estates except as a last resort. And this compounded the problems of production and marketing.

There was a second reason. New development in the hinterland had created the small trader as an intermediary between the estate, the city merchant and the common man. It has already been observed that the period coincided with the rising importance of the 'coloureds' and the 'free' Blacks.[1] The Jamaican Baptist Churches therefore, composed as they were of both groups and committed by their stance to freedom, were forced to

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1. See Augier et al, Making of the West Indies, pp.185-193.

acquire land, or to support the small trader in order to make freedom real. But this attitude brought the Jamaican Baptists into competition with the estates at a time when the land owners had increased their prices in order to sell and get out, or alternatively, in order to keep the people on the land. Both actions of the plantocracy led to the same result - an inflationary spiral. Thus the pastors most committed to freedom and therefore to a land policy were those whose churches also carried the larger mortgages.

The situation was made more complicated by the Government's policy on labour. To acquire labourers the Planters recognized that they had two courses (a) to encourage immigration and (b) to come to some suitable agreement with the freed slaves on wages. Both approaches were tried. The Church and the Planters met at odd times, but unfortunately these meetings were generally a political confrontation rather than a discussion. In any case, it is doubtful whether the Baptist leaders could have negotiated successfully, since the freed slaves had lost interest in estate field-labour. Immigration fared no better. It was opposed vigorously by the Anti-Slavery movement in Britain as well as in Jamaica, as a revival of the abolished Slave Trade in disguise.[1] And it must also be remembered that in the larger territories i.e. Jamaica, Guiana and Trinidad, where voting rights were tied to land ownership, political devices were used to deter the acquisition of land.

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1. Some alternative labour was however imported despite the opposition. See Ibid., p.195ff where these figures are given:- British Guiana, 13,970; Jamaica, 10,000; Trinidad, 8,390; Grenada, 1,540; St.Vincent, 1,040; St. Lucia, 730; St. Kitts, 460. cf. Asiegbu, op. cit., Appendix VI, pp.189-190.

The dilemma then for Planter and Churchman was the same. It was to discern a way to build a new free society in the 1840's after the dislocation which Emancipation had brought. The Baptists looked toward the masses with their resources, numbers and strength. The Planters looked to Britain with whom there had been a long history of economic and cultural association. What both did not recognize was that their allies had changed too.

Paradoxically, when the crash came, the Baptists immediately looked to Britain, while the Planters looked to themselves and their immediate interests in an attempt to create a more stable economy.

It was against this background of economic uncertainty that the Jamaican Baptists decided to send Knibb to London to meet the General Committee.[1]

Knibb arrived in Britain in April 1845 and a special three day session of the Committee was called to meet him. It lasted from April 25th - 28th, and dealt with the Jamaican financial crisis exclusively. It was decided on the very first day to draw up a resolution to put before the Annual General Meeting which had been set for the 29th. It was further decided that a meeting should be held on May 8th to clarify any points outstanding from that meeting - in fact the discussion continued both in Jamaica and London for the best part of a year!

The Committee proposed a grant of £6,000 to alleviate the immediate distress of the Jamaican missionaries, with the proviso that they renounce

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1. Knibb replaced Abbott at very short notice and was not enthusiastic about the trip nor the role he was to play.

in writing any future claims to support by the Society. It also stipulated that Calabar, for the present, lay outside this general ruling as far as the salary of the tutor was concerned, but that the recurrent expenses would from now on be the responsibility of the Jamaican Church. There was a further clause which protected the wives and families of the missionaries who had accompanied Knibb to Jamaica in 1840, which provided for their incorporation within the provisions of the Widows and Orphans Fund, limited only by the circumstances of the family in question, and the state of the funds of the Society. Further, all aid was made conditional upon the missionary and the church placing the Church property in Trust.

The Secretary presented the draft resolutions to the Annual Meeting on April 29th in Exeter Hall.[1] And after Knibb had replied to them, they were accepted and the new policy toward Jamaica became a reality. In one act, urged on by necessity the Society had made that which had been a moral understanding into a legal fact and now there was no retreat. The implications were that for the future the Jamaican Church had to be economically independent by its own means and that the B.M.S. would now accept a co-operating or moral role, only, and that the College be the only joint financial enterprise. Education was the bridge.

But there was another aspect to this decision which related to West Africa. The severed ties with Jamaica meant that the African Mission was

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1. For Committee decisions see B.M.S. Min. Bk. J, Min.437-438 d/d April 26th 1845; for resolutions see Annual Report 1845, pp.XII-XIII given April 28th 1845. This policy had been envisaged since 1844; see ibid., Min. 111 d/d Aug. 14th, 1844 (Request for funds turned down).

now solely the responsibility of the Committee, who had now to find all personnel, as well as the funds.[1]

At the public meeting held in Exeter Hall on May 1st, Knibb, who had been invited to speak by the Committee, tried bravely to put the Jamaican case. He suggested three reasons for the churches' plight (a) unjust laws (b) unnecessary taxation and unwise Government expenditure and (c) the 'sudden' poverty of church members.

Knibb singled out for comment two recent laws, the Ejection Act which enabled the Planter to eject a sitting tenant without compensation or even a reason on a week's notice, and the Trespass Act, which consigned any tenant who resisted to gaol. Knibb maintained that some 300,000 persons fell into these categories and that most of them were Baptists. This made it necessary for the peasants as well as their churches to mortgage their assets to buy land to alleviate distress. But no sooner had this been done than the Government had increased taxation while wages had remained low.

Taxation itself was unevenly distributed. It fell most heavily upon building materials and food, items most extensively used by the ex-slaves. Knibb produced figures to show that certain food prices had increased since Emancipation, together with the salaries of public officials, a significant and sinister combination, in his opinion. And he deprecated the high subsidies granted to the Established Church for education and the tax instituted to help recruit immigrant labour.

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1. The B.M.S. had forseen this and Borough Road School was used as a place of preparation for African Missionaries. See Min. Bk.(I), Min 272 d/d Nov. 16th, 1843. It must also be noted that the ties with Calabar were not cut so that personnel was open if needs be.

He also pointed out that between 1835 and 1844, the increased membership of the churches had carried with it peculiar problems. In that time it had been necessary to erect, 30 chapels, 24 mission houses and 16 school rooms. With a total of 47 chapels, 30 mission houses and 22 schools the recurrent expenses were high. To keep the Mission in repair since 1831 had cost £157,900, of which there was still a debt pending of £18,000.[1]

Knibb's speech was designed to suggest that the Society's money had been well spent and so justify an appeal. There had been 20,059 marriages since Emancipation and he further reported that a new enthusiasm had been seen in the churches and signs of increased morality. He also suggested that some political avenues had been tried to relieve the situation, but these had been blocked in the denial of the franchise to between two and three hundred freeholders.[2] But the speech made no difference. The policy remained without modification.

Knibb spent a little more than two months in Britain and on July 1st a Valedictory Service was held in Finsbury Chapel to bid him good-bye. There, Hinton delivered an address which outlined the new policy towards the Jamaican churches.in fuller terms. He observed that the visit of Knibb though generally unexpected, did not take the Committee unawares, and that the Committee was pleased to do what it did. But he suggested that Knibb tell the Jamaican Baptists

> 'that after this, they must go alone. We speak not in severity; it is the kindest thing we can say to them ... As for a perpetual

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1. M.H. June 1845, pp.91-95. Knibb reported that 19,000 households had already been settled.

2. Ibid., p.94.

> leaning on the part of the Jamaica Baptist churches on the Committee in England, we can admit, indeed, that it is natural enough, and that it may be a matter of some difficulty altogether to get rid of such an attitude.'[1]

Hinton further suggested that the continued integrated relationship was (a) unnecessary, because of the large Jamaican membership and the liberality of that membership (b) inexpedient because it would limit the Society and its world-wide work (c) impossible because the funds which used to be spent in Jamaica were committed elsewhere.

The ultimate significance of the Hinton valedictory sermon does not rest in the statement of the new policy towards Jamaica, important as that was, but in two other directions. Firstly, it was the clearest statement of the conflict of interest within the Committee, between Africa and Jamaica. And secondly, it was a declaration of a new and radical departure in missionary theology within the Society, which would have important repercussions in the succeeding years.

In commenting upon the commitment of funds and the re-alignment of interest, Hinton had charged Knibb to tell the Jamaican churches that

> 'They constrained us to commence the mission which has been begun there (Africa) and which is going on there. They did right and we own our obligations to them; but they must not cancel their own act and deed. They must understand that if they again have the thousands that they have been accustomed annually to have from the Society, those thousands must be withdrawn from West Africa, where they are now spent and the entire work, promising and encouraging as it is, which had been begun there must be abandoned.'[2]

It is significant that the Jamaican mission is not compared with India but

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1. Ibid., Aug. 1845, p.122.
2. Ibid., p.122.

There was opposition to the grant of £6000 in some quarters; see The Church (New Series) Vol. 1, 1846, pp.97-98 (letter from Angus defending the action of the Committee).

with Africa, suggesting that as far as the Society was concerned there existed a universalism of its mission to the Africans. West Africa and West Indies were then all of a piece in the missionary theology. But this action of the Committee in itself was a contradiction to this universalistic concept, and in fact meant that each region had an entity all its own.

But Hinton's second comment was even more far reaching. He suggested that the Jamaican churches might find a solution to their problems in mutual co-operation because he was not unaware that there existed strong links between the individual missionary and the Committee. And it was appreciated that at times these links were stronger than the links between the missionaries in situ. This was most pronounced when finance was involved. Hinton asserted that this unilinear situation was the result of an inherent defect in missionary strategy because it tended

> 'to produce a sense of helplessness, an attitude of weakness, in the missionary churches by the insulated and dependent character it gives them'.[1]

The cutting of the missionary ties was in his opinion, the re-establishment of first principles and the re-affirming of the Pauline approach to church planting. It was a re-assertion of the principle that supervision of infant churches should be as little as possible, maintaining that in the Committee's action was a test of 'the nature of Christianity', an experiment in the mission-field to see whether this new policy produced a self propagating or a static church.[2]

In his reply, Knibb agreed in general terms with the presentation of

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., pp.121-124 (For the speech).

policy made to him. He then proceeded to correct the impression that the Jamaican churches were not self-supporting, or that the missionaries were disunited. And he took care to point out that the African mission had been conceived with the concurrence of the Society. But Knibb had overstated the case, the facts adduced by Hinton were nearer the truth.

While it might have been true that groups of churches were self-supporting as in the case of Falmouth, with the possible exceptions of Spanish Town, Jericho, Montego Bay and East Queen Street, no single congregation was self-supporting and congregational viability, and this was what Hinton meant. And although there had not appeared any open rift in the missionary ranks, excluding the Leader-Ticket controversy, as early as 1836 there had been a strong attack upon the Association organisation and in 1843 the Association had been dissolved. Nor could Knibb have been unaware of the differences of opinion over the siting of Calabar.[1] Divisions there had been!

Yet if Knibb had overstated his case and omitted evidence of division and rivalry, Hinton and the Committee had failed to appreciate the magnitude of the problem and the dilemma of the church leadership caught in a web of economic intrigue not of their own making. On the other hand, the Jamaicans were ignorant of the financial difficulties of the Society, nor did they realize that philanthropic support had been diverted from missionary

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk.(H), Min. 273 d/d Nov. 24th 1842 and (I) Min. 13 d/d May 4th 1843. Later that year in order to ensure the national aspect of Calabar the Committee recommended that: 1. the management should be subject to the whole body of our missionaries; 2. that the locality of the College, there should be a collective agreement; 3. that the Committee deemed it essential that all the churches in Jamaica should combine in supporting one institution. See B.M.S. Gen. Comm.I Min. 199 d/d 27th Sept. 1843.

societies to support prison reform, the registration of voters, the Peace movement and to put the British house in order.[1] Both groups were at cross purposes and in competition for the available funds in Britain.

Had the 1845 appeal been a financial success, things might have turned out differently but as it was, in spite of a circular to pastors and several methods of appeal, by July the Appeal realized only £2,500, of which £1,000 had been given by four friends and in September there was still a substantial sum required to complete the promised £6,000.[2] In order to fulfil its promise the Society borrowed money to honour its obligation. But what the Appeal lacked in funds it made up in width of interest. A member of the Anti-Corn League, for example, contributed £50 to the Appeal.[3]

Knibb returned to Jamaica in July and on August 13th, 1845, he called a meeting of missionaries at Kettering, Jamaica, and presented the new policy of the Committee. They accepted the fait accompli without comment and the missionaries who were absent signified their acceptance later.[4]

The final break had at least three consequences (a) it forced the Society to abandon its schemes for expansion agreed upon as a part of the

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1. Both B.M.S. and J.B.M.S. had overexpanded. Knibb remarked 'There have been in some cases, some inadvertency and some impropriety in extending to so great a degree the cause of missions' M.H. Aug. 1845, p.124. cf. Asiegbu, op. cit., p.87 where the change of attitude is suggested to lie in the acceptance of Free Trade policies led by Cobden, Bright etc.

2. See M.H. Sept. 1845, pp.140-141 for a copy of circular d/d July 1845 to pastors and churches in Britain. cf. M.H. Aug. 1845, p.126 (Knibb's Appeal). Angus had published the original appeals and the basis for the appeal but did not reveal the deficit which was carried as a debt for many years.

3. Ibid., June 1845, p.96. cf. B.M.S. Report 1846, p.66.

4. B.M.S. Min. Bk. (J) Min. 117 and 118 d/d 9th October 1845 is an insertion in the Minute Book of the document. See also Ibid., Min. 121 d/d Oct. 9th 1845 which records the agreement of Cornford, Hume who were absent.

Jubilee celebrations, because of the lack of financial support (b) it diverted much needed help from West Africa and India to maintain the Missionary Headquarters and its organisation and (c) it introduced the suspicion created by laissez faire among the Planters within the Churches that the missionaries had been abandoned by the British churches and as a result the churches ought to look elsewhere. It is significant that a rash of 'Myalism' appeared in 1846 in the strongest and most active churches, and also many assistant pastors migrated to the United States of America.[1]

In the midst of this Knibb died on November 15th, 1845, and with him there also died the most able advocate of the new missionary policy. Tinson, who was ill with cancer, observed that he departed at a time when

> 'the circumstances of the mission and the country seem more than ever to require his services'.[2]

And when Burchell, who had preached Knibb's funeral sermon, died in Britain on May 16th, 1846, the Committee recognized that it was time for the long postponed deputation to go to the West Indies 'to confer with the brethren there on the questions which have arisen since the independence of the churches'.[3] This had become necessary as 1846 wore on because of misunderstanding over the Trust Deeds required to qualify for aid and the plight of Calabar. At the East Queen St. church, for example, an old member named Davis, a trustee, claimed the church property at the corner of Text

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1. For 'Myal ', which is a form of Spiritual Healing see Williams, Psychic Phenomena in Jamaica (New York 1939). cf. Phillippo, Past and Present. passim.

2. M.H. Jan. 1846, pp.204-206; Feb. 1846, pp.209-211, accounts of Knibb's death and funeral. Ibid., p.205 Tinson's tribute.

3. M.H. Nov. 1846, p.362. cf. Ibid., June 1847, p.89. Sir Morton Peto paid the expenses of the Deputation. The Liverpool Church made a contribution for Birrell, its pastor. For Report of Jamaica visit see M.H. July 1847, p.103, given April 29th, 1847.

Lane on the grounds that the B.M.S. planned to sequester the land.[1] While from Rio Bueno came increasing pleas for help made by Tinson whom the Committee could not ignore.[2]

The Deputation selected consisted of Godwin and Angus but the deacons in Oxford refused to give Godwin permission to go, and so Birrell of Liverpool went instead.

They sailed to Jamaica via Trinidad and Haiti and remained nearly three months in Jamaica.[3] They left Jamaica in March to arrive to make a private report on the visits to the Committee and to give a public report before the Annual Meeting on April 29th, 1847.

In a published excerpt from their report, it was reported,

> 'that it (the deputation) had received the written assurances of the pastors in Jamaica, that the visit had removed misapprehensions, relieved pecuniary embarrassment and proved an extensive blessing to their flock',[4]

and as a tangible expression of this understanding, the Committee decided to continue to print the tabular accounts of the Jamaica mission in the Herald. More significant was the omission of Africa from the purpose of Calabar where 'the Committee trusts that a race of men may be trained there eminently qualified to meet the wants of Jamaica'.[5]

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. (J), Min. 262 d/d March 5th, 1846; Oughton's son helped him out of the dilemma. See In Memoriam - Thomas Oughton 1825-1894 (1895) (B.M.S. Archives - open shelves).
2. M.H. Nov. 1846, p.360 letter to Angus d/d Sept. 19th, 1846.
3. For the Report on Trinidad M.H. Feb. 1847, pp.25-28, 29 d/d Dec. 5th 1846 for Haiti. Ibid, March 1847, pp.34, 40-43.
4. Ibid., March, 1847, p.76
5. Ibid.

The Deputation reported publicly at the Annual Meeting on April 29th in Exeter Hall and attempted to explain the background to the collapse of the Jamaica Baptist Association.

Birrell in an opening speech modern in tone and timeless in perspicacity, highlighted the three main aspects of the Jamaican problem. They were, firstly, the changed circumstances of the Slave; secondly, the lack of Jamaican pastors and thirdly, the need for general education and the right kind of teachers.

He observed that the conditions of Slavery presupposed that the Slave was provided for by the Planter but at the same time he was also free to engage in gainful employment. It was this extra money that the Slave had used to support both his church and his pleasures. With the coming of Emancipation, however, the Planter's responsibility ceased and so the Slave was thrown on his own resources and the money used hitherto for pleasure and religion was now devoted to the necessities of life - food and housing, in the main.

This was a reasonable analysis, especially if it is remembered that that zenith of the expansion of Baptist witness occurred during the period of Apprenticeship, when the leadership possessed large sums of money, and the Slave had not yet entered fully upon the individual commitments to housing, family and land. So that Birrell was correct to assume that there existed no less religious enthusiasm in the churches nor generosity in 1847 than in 1840, but that the members had been overextended in its financial commitments.

He observed in the second instance that the church membership was

stretched over wide areas, which made pastoral oversight inadequate. While he does not mention the Class System, it was well known in Exeter Hall that Knibb had defended the Methodist practice and that the Baptist leadership in Jamaica supported it. What Birrell found was that the available qualified personnel had been overextended. In some areas, the pastors or their wives were responsible for the Bible Class, in other areas able Leaders were available. In far too many areas however, Leaders were illiterate and so he maintained that there was a need 'of pastors for the people of their own colour and lineage'.[1] But the problem was intricately linked with the standards of the general education of the island, which was itself low. Birrell observed, 'the entire population stand intellectually at zero', and so if an educated ministry was to be created, then

> 'it was necessary to embark upon a national educational scheme ... until the standard of education is raised universally, there will always be great obstacles in the way of a highly qualified race of native pastors.'[2]

The unfortunate thing was that there was money available for this national approach which Birrell advocated but it was money from the Negro Education Grant, (1834). And the advocacy of the 'voluntary principle' forbade Baptists from openly using these grants. While Phillippo despite his protests did use portions, by and large the Baptists supported their own schools which deteriorated as money became scarce. The Assembly for its part provided money for Anglican churches as a part of their educational

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1. M.H. June 1847, p.87.

2. Ibid., Franklyn Johnson has pointed out in his thesis on Education in the British West Indies in the Post emancipation Era (Oxford. D.Phil. 1971) that this subject of education was a common tie between the metropolis and the colonies.

programmes since both the British Government and missionary societies conceived of popular education as a path to moral reformation.[1]

But Birrell meant more than this. He defined education not so much in terms of a moral reformation but in categories of social well being. This was a radical departure in the missionary understanding of popular education. He observed,

> 'the notions which most of us have derived from our nursery pictures of the appearance of the negroes is altogether erroneous ...'

and proceeded to be highly critical of the stereotype of the simple and naive. He criticized the concept of popular education which provided the apparatus without the personnel and the popular desire for education. He observed,

> 'a splendid educational apparatus is one thing, and the disposition of an ignorant population to avail themselves of it is quite another'.

Thus the schoolmasters who had sailed with Knibb in 1841 had become pastors in order to

> 'call into operation an agency, which no legislation can produce, of which the part shall be to enter the homes of the peasantry, and to track the footsteps of the children ... to awaken the desire for improvement'.[2]

Unfortunately, this was said and understood in Exeter Hall but not in Falmouth.

Angus, for his part, filled in the details and informed the meeting

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1. See Campbell, 'Obstacles to Development of Education in Jamaica 1834-1865', The Journal of Caribbean History Vol.1, Nov. 1970, pp.57-88. For correspondence on Negro Education Grant, see C.O. 318/122, 318/126, 318/130-1, 318/138-9, 318/145, 318/152, 318/156, 318/163 (Public Record Office). cf. M.H. July 1847, p.100.

2. M.H. June, 1847, p.88.

of the purpose of his visit, and its results in the establishment of a new organisation in Jamaica. If Birrell had outlined the philosophy of the deputation, the Secretary made that philosophy concrete. He reported that his task was to

> 'ascertain on the spot the state of the property and deeds, to attend to various minor questions of business and generally to make the fullest inquiry into the condition of the churches.'[1]

The inquiry was concerned with three aspects of the churches' life (a) the legal background of the Deeds (b) the current methods of church-financing and the existing financial institutions and (c) the question of internal and external relationships.

After a brief account of the spiritual state of the churches, Angus reported that,

> 'according to most of the Deeds which were framed in the days of slavery, or before churches were formed, the appointment of the pastor was with the Committee'.[2]

This power, the deputation transferred to the membership of each church but at the same time secured the properties under Trust-Deeds, in order to ensure that Baptist property was retained for the objects for which it had been given and maintained. This protected both pastor and people and since half the trustees were in London, this gave the Committee at least 50% say in the future policies of the Jamaican church.

The Deputation examined the accounts of the churches and devised some plans for the future. It would appear that in 1847, the debts outstanding were £8,500, but a part of it was the responsibility of widows who had died.

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1. Ibid., p.89

2. Ibid., p.90

This money was not owed to the Society. The deputation did three things, they persuaded some creditors to write off £1,400; next the Society gave £1,800 on condition that the churches would raise £1,800 themselves, and this reduced the debt to £4,000 approximately, but these were creditors who were prepared to wait.

With regard to the spirit of fellowship among the churches, Angus observed that although there had been disagreements between missionaries this had in no way affected the congregations. But he deprecated the role of the pastor as it appeared within the Jamaican situation, preferring to see 'manly independence and self-sufficiency on the part of the people'[1] rather than the consultation of the pastor as lawyer, physician and friend.

Angus, schooled as he was in the rugged individualism of his day, with more than a passing fancy for Bacon, the doctrine of self-help and laissez faire, could not but fail to appreciate the concept of man assumed by the African-orientated church membership which found its authenticity in a societary definition of the person. Despite Slavery, the Baptist churches had preserved a societary nature of Christianity, which gave meaning and was more understandable to the membership than an individualism expressed in the idea of a local church. As the members in one church put it,

> 'We are one concern, Falmouth, Brown's Town and St. Ann's Bay never fear trenching one another. It's only one church, and we are all brothers.'[2]

And this was not far removed from the theology of the Founding Fathers of the Society.

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1. Ibid., p.90

2. Ibid., p.91

The Deputation did not confine its activities to Kingston, and it would appear spent a considerable time in Montego Bay, meeting the Western Union. From the Montego Bay church it first gained insight into a method of financing which developed into the 'co-operative plan' which stood as missionary policy for a long time. It occurred when instead of approving a grant of £500 which the church needed, the Deputation offered £200, if the church would raise £300. This they did in a fortnight. But the dangers attendant on this system are obvious. The method works only if there is money available in the region , and also where continued enthusiasm can be sustained. The Montego Bay episode was not typical and this was demonstrated at the General meeting of Pastors and Missionaries, called to discuss the future of the Jamaican Baptists and to formulate resolutions for presentation in London.

Although the Association had been dissolved in 1843, and in its place there had sprung up at least three Unions, there had been regular meetings of these Unions and presumably the leadership conferred on important aspects of common policy. In November 1845, the Western Union met at Mt. Carey, Burchell's church and drew up certain resolutions which had been endorsed by the other leaders and forwarded to London. Among them was the resolution that

> 'no pastor in membership with the Union shall be at liberty to offer the pastoral office to anyone until he has consulted with the Committee of four brethren elected for this purpose'.[1]

This Pastors' Committee was also instructed to keep under constant review

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1. Tucker, Glorious Liberty, pp.59-60. cf. Burchell, Memoirs, p.382. This was a restatement of the old Trust-Deeds and may have been an attempt to keep power in Missionary hands, which London ideologically repudiated.

the picture of the Mission as a whole, and to report regularly to the General Committee of the Western Union, which had the final authority in the matter.

The Deputation reversed this trend in 1846 by giving the final authority to the church membership, at least to choose their pastor, but left oversight and administration where it had always rested, in a council of Missionaries. In fact nothing had really changed but the channels had now been opened for such a possibility.

The Resolutions which were drawn up as a result of this meeting in Jamaica were discussed at a Quarterly Meeting of the Society held on June 16th, 1847, and were accepted for implementation with the proviso that Resolution I be ratified at the Annual Meeting.[1] The question of the application of the Widows and Orphans Fund to Jamaican missionaries was deferred for discussion and separated from the other Resolutions as it stood on a different basis. It was the only resolution which required any money from the Society.[2]

The Committee was aware that for many reasons time was short. The Jamaican churches had to be organized then dismissed so that the Committee could turn its full attention to Africa, where the situation was rapidly deteriorating. The key to the re-organisation was the Model-Deed. This

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1. M.H. July 1847, pp.103-105. Resolution I read: 'That the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society be empowered to place missionaries sent out by the Society to Jamaica between May 1840 and May 1846, in the same relation to the Society as missionaries sent out previous to that date as that relation is defined in the resolutions of the Annual Meeting of 1845' - Resolution iii.2. See M.H., June 1848, p.82.

2. Ibid., Aug. 1847, pp.529-532.

Deed served two purposes. It allayed the fears of the missionaries, giving them security of tenure and for the membership, it created a sense of continued well being. The Society urged on its lawyers and by August a model Trust-Deed which each church had to sign as a condition of receiving the Society's grant was published in the Missionary Herald. Thus the process initiated in 1842, continued in 1845 came to a conclusion in 1847.

But there still remained much to work out, especially in the relationships with Fernando Po.

The increasing importance of Fernando Po had been made clear to the Committee as early as 1845. In November 1845, a finance sub-committee of Peto, Gurney, Kensall and Foster had presented to the Committee by their committee a signed report which the Secretary read recommending the abandonment of further appeals on bahalf of Jamaica and an increased expenditure of £1,000 on the Africa account.[1]

In 1846, the situation of the African mission became more serious. In the Spring of 1846, Thompson died, removing from the staff a valuable member. Writing on March 13th in a letter which did not reach the Committee until June 18th, Clarke reported Thompson's death and also the unsettled state in the Mission. The political situation on the island had deteriorated because of a challenge to Spain's right by France, a repetition of Sierra Leone was feared. At Calabar an epidemic of some sort had broken out.[2]

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. (J), Min. 147 d/d Nov. 13th, 1845. N.B. footnote pp.205-210 - account of allocations.

2. Ibid., Min. 42 d/d June 18th, 1846. cf. M.H. July 1846, pp.293-294 and Bap. Rep. (Baptist Reporter) 1848-49 Vol. V, p.199

At the same meeting it was reported that Bundy had arrived in Liverpool with a well authenticated doctor's certificate, signed by Prince, King (Beecroft's doctor) and Mr. Alexander (?) and a Bill drawn on the Society in favour of Lynslager, a merchant on the island.[1] The Committee decided to lend £60 to Bundy, the amount of the Bill and take securities for it but to dissassociate themselves from the transaction between Bundy and Lynslager by returning the Bill. This was done on the grounds that the Society had not authorized it. But it had the further implication of emphasizing the respective status of the missionary and the Jamaican recruit. Unfortunately, the action, though unavoidable, was guaranteed to worsen relationships between the Mission and the commercial interests on the island and in the Calabar region and alienate the one ally the Baptists had among the authorities.

In June, Clarke wrote to say that many Jamaicans wished to leave the island and Prince hinted that the Mission Headquarters might be transferred to Bimbia due to increased harassment by the local officials and the Spanish Government.[2]

At the Quarterly Meeting held on July 8th, 1846, letters were read reporting the anxiety of Jamaican teachers to return home. Clarke had supported their return and the Meeting endorsed a plan to provide transportation if the 'Dove' could be spared, and Clarke could go. A sum of £150 was voted to provide transportation for the Mission while the 'Dove' was away.[3] At the Committee meeting held on July 30th, further letters

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1. Ibid., Min. 43 d/d June 18th, 1846.
2. See M.H. July 1846, p.294; letter d/d March 13th, 1846.
3. Ibid., Min. 74 d/d July 8th, 1846.

were read and it was reported that Mrs. Thompson, Mr. Newbigin's son, the Gallimore family and Mr. Norman were about to sail for Britain. The Committee quickly endorsed the decision of the Quarterly Meeting, adding

> 'that if on review of all the circumstances connected with the African Mission - it be thought expedient by Mr. Clarke and the brethren that the 'Dove' should go to Jamaica either for the purpose of being repaired or to secure a change for the missionaries themselves, the Committee willingly concur in her going under the general superintendency of Mr. Clarke.'[1]

But the 'Dove' did not sail to Jamaica, instead Clarke secured passages on the 'Warree', which sailed in June and took ten persons, two families on her first recruitment trip to Jamaica.[2]

The death of Thompson at the early age of 27 had frustrated plans devised by Prince and himself to begin a new station a little distance from Merrick's. So Prince decided to stay in Fernando Po and practice medicine, having as his chief patients the Spanish priests who had been left behind to convert the island to Roman Catholicism. By the end of June, the absence of British ships was most noticeable and a decision was taken to move the Mission by ship to Bimbia. The Spanish Government decided not to colonise the island either, and the priests left, giving their buildings to the Baptists.

The date of the 'Baptist Move' is uncertain but it occurred between July and August, 1846. In a letter from John Clarke, dated July 27th to August 5th, he described the settlement carried out by Newbigin, Merrick and himself. The site for the new headquarters was opposite Fernando Po,

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1. Ibid., Min. 94-95 d/d July 30th, 1846.
2. Waddell, Twentynine Years etc., p.298.

which they had named Jubilee. The land was divided into seven plots and a township was laid out. In the first lot there were the Newbigins, and the Williams; in the second lot, the Clarkes; in the third lot Captain Milbourne; in the fourth the Byls, the Philips and the Trustys, together with the Store room and the Fernandian boys; the fifth lot contained the Merricks, the Old Chapel and the interpreters; in the sixth lot, the Ducketts and the outhouses and on the seventh lot, the Fullers. Clarke included a plan of the settlement but unfortunately it has been lost, but we can get an idea of its form from some suggestions by Jonathan East in his 'The importance of suitable dwellings to the cultivation of family religion' (1863). On August 1st, a new church was organised in Jubilee consisting of all those who had come over from Clarence, twenty three members in all. Meantime Prince remained in Clarence, and Saker in the Cameroons.[1]

The move to Jubilee had necessitated a major re-organisation of the African Mission. Saker's place was clear enough and late in June, the 'Dove' had taken Mrs. Saker back to the Cameroons although not quite recovered. Miss Vitou, who had been in Bimbia, was recalled to Fernando Po to replace Norman who had returned to Jamaica.[2] Miss Stewart finally married Byl and settled in Bimbia, while Sturgeon, who was at Clarence, decided to employ both Mrs. Johnson and her daughter Elizabeth, local recaptives as teachers, and to assign Miss Vitou to the British School. Newbigin extended his practice in Bimbia and set up within the new Mission complex. Williams, who had remarried, moved as has already been indicated

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1. M.H. Jan. 1847, pp.9-11.

2. B.M.S. Min. Bk. (J), Min. 275 d/d Jan. 28th, 1847. Angus and Phillippo agreed to make a donation of £5 to Norman and the Committee added £15 in appreciation for his work. Angus made the presentation in Jamaica.

to Bimbia and Prince, although wishing to set up a practice in Cameroons at Dido's Town, had to remain in Clarence to serve the Mission there.[1]

Hardly had the re-arrangement occurred than Death struck again. This time it was Sturgeon. In a letter dated July 29th, 1846, Prince reported that Duckett was at Clarence being treated for acute bronchitis but that Mrs. Saker had returned to the Cameroons. But it does not appear that Sturgeon was unwell then. According to Clarke, his death was unexpected, as he had attended a joint meeting in the Cameroons on July 23rd and had left in good health. Instead of returning directly to Clarence, he had put in at Bimbia to attend to some administrative matters and had left on August 5th. But he fell ill with a chill and died on August 13th. With his death, the only European with a valid residential visa had been taken and this posed a serious threat to the Clarence church and work on the island. However, Beecroft allowed Prince to remain and act as interim pastor and later when the church elected him moderator, it was a mark of the quality of restored relationships that he was granted a permanent visa.[2]

Few letters arrived in these closing months of 1846. When they did arrive the news was bad. They reported the severe illness of Duckett, the death of Mrs. Newbigin and the necessary return of Mrs. Sturgeon and Mrs. Saker to Britain. And also that preparations were now under way to sail for Jamaica in the 'Dove' taking Milbourne, the Ducketts and Mrs. Clarke in order that they might improve their health.[3]

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1. M.H. Nov. 1846, p.357. cf. Ibid., March 1846, pp.226-231 and Fuller Autobiography (mimeographed), p.10.

2. M.H. Dec. 1846, p.375.

3. M.H. March 1847, p.39 and July 1847, pp.98-99 letters d/d Feb. 5th, 24th.

In Britain in the meantime, the events in Fernando Po had been discussed by the Committee. In September, Gallimore arrived in Britain and the Treasurer reported that he had made an advance of £30 on fares to Jamaica on his behalf. The Committee made no comment, but it was clear that they did not hold themselves responsible, in the final analysis. This may be illustrated by the way in which the Committee rebuffed the legal advisers of Lynslager, who wished to hold them responsible for a Bill of £150, presumably also incurred by Bundy.[1]

In December certain indications of tension in Fernando Po reached the Committee. And with the report of Clarke's declared intention to sail to Jamaica, the Committee wrote to Clarke, stating that it was now unnecessary for Merrick and himself to go to Jamaica. That instead the 'Dove' should sail for England under Capt. Milbourne. In the meantime, no decision should be taken to close down the Mission on Fernando Po. Clarke should sell no more houses, nor remove any more to Bimbia. Prince could sell the house he had advertised but no more. And as an epilogue, the Committee observed that the whole question of the Superintendency of the Mission would be re-examined and a changed system instituted.[2]

In the meantime Clarke wrote his annual report to the Committee and observed,

> 'we will all admit with grief our unworthiness - but with the painful excepts from Jamaica, all are heartily engaged to promote the work of God'

and the Annual Report bemoaned the fact that,

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1. B.M.S. Min. Bk. J, Min. 112 d/d Sept. 10th, 1846 (Gallimore); Min. 121 d/d Oct. 1st, 1846.
2. Ibid., Min. 239 d/d Dec. 31st, 1846 and Min. 284 d/d Feb. 4th, 1847. cf. Min. 45 d/d June 16th, 1847.

> 'Europeans and West Indians have been sufferers alike and the Committee faces that before long it may be found necessary for some of them to revisit their native shore.'[1]

So that while official policy hoped that the Jamaicans would recuperate and return, the Mission leadership was no longer convinced that they were assets to the mission.

The 'Dove' sailed from Clarence on May 15th, 1847, and after a long voyage arrived in Kingston on July 5th.[2] The voyage was not just for purposes of recuperation and taking home some of the more difficult recruits, but also to sell the 'Dove' which had become increasingly expensive.

The trip to Jamaica was justified in the light of succeeding events. Not in the best of health himself, and fearful for his wife's health, Clarke had responded to the pressures of disgruntled Jamaicans. The illness of the Jamaicans in the Calabar Presbyterian mission, and the deaths of Edward Miller and Alexander Fuller were not events calculated to calm them.[3] Their fears were realized when they arrived in Jamaica; Mrs. Clarke, remained ill for a further eight weeks with an enlarged spleen; Duckett, with a badly infected lung, was given three or four years to live; William White, who had been such a comfort to Fuller in his last hours, was dead by October 26th and Mrs. Fuller (Miss Davis), now a leper, died on August 2nd.[4] The only unscathed survivors of the crossing appear to have been the Phillips and Williams Jnr.

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1. M.H. May 1847, pp.75-76; also p.66.
2. Ibid., Sept. 1847, p.137. cf. Sept. 1847.
3. Goldie, op. cit., pp.108-110 (death of Miller) and M.H. Sept 1847, p. 135 (Fuller died April 23rd 1847). cf. M.H. Aug. 1847, pp.528-9 and Fuller, Autobiography, pp.11-13.
4. M.H. Jan. 1848, p.8. cf. Bap. Rep. (New Series) V, p.160.

The departure of Clarke left the superintendency vacant and each missionary exercised oversight in his area as best he could. But the Society corresponded with Merrick, partly because he was in Bimbia, the new Headquarters, and probably because he had the largest staff. But disease further reduced its efficiency. Prince fell ill and went to Gaboon accompanied by his wife to recuperate and Newbigin was transferred to Clarence as he could fill both posts. But he too fell ill from a combination of overwork and loneliness.[1] He had secured permission to finish the church at Clarence, but had been denied a permanent visa and attempting to finish the building quickly, he had collapsed. By good fortune, the 'Warree' on its way back from Jamaica, called in and Waddell remained for about six weeks and helped with some duties until Prince returned. Prince diagnosed 'black-jaundice', probably Black-water fever, endemic malaria, but Newbigin diagnosed himself as suffering from 'Asiatic dropsy' and an enlarged spleen and refused to return to Britain, as Prince had recommended. When Newbigin returned to Bimbia, Clarence was manned by one resident missionary doctor and a schoolmistress.

In July, the Merricks fell ill and had to sail for Clarence to be under Prince's care, leaving Newbigin and Trusty to carry on at Bimbia.[2] In the Cameroons things were no better, as early as May, 1847, Saker was reported to be more dead than alive, but remained at his station.

The lack of funds also had its effect. Before he had left in May, Clarke had stopped all building on the Jubilee site, paid off the workmen

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1. Ibid., Sept. 1847, p.135 letter d/d May 18th, 1847. cf. Oct. 1847, p.152.
2. Ibid., Nov. 1847, pp.170-171 letter d/d July 28th, 1847.

and decided to do maintenance work only.[1] Merrick had to continue the same policy due to lack of funds. In September 1847, he described Jubilee as an area covered with large cotton trees, timber and almost impenetrable undergrowth. He maintained that this was in itself a hazard to health. He complained of lack of transportation and that he had no money to buy a boat or build a boat house. But above all he was distressed that he had no money to hire the interpreters which he desperately needed. His dilemma was whether to go ahead and do the necessary things in order to ensure health and efficiency or await the Committee's pleasure and in the meantime suffer the consequences. At least the African Mission had learnt that the Society stood by its policies in this respect.

Disease and deficits were not the only enemies that the Mission had to fight. There was the real tension of religious ideas between a Protestant and Catholic approach as occurred on Fernando Po and also the confrontation with African religions. There was real danger to life and limb whenever the Mission took a stand against human sacrifice and therefore against a time honoured local custom. Prince, in a letter to Winks, published in the Baptist Reporter, described Saker's residence in Cameroons as a cage surrounded by a barricade 6 ft. high on three sides, and Merrick, acting as mediator between the 'Bush' people and King William, who had disallowed the customary execution of three men for witchcraft, nearly lost his life.[2]

In June and July 1848, it was as if the events of the previous year were reproducing themselves afresh. In Clarence, the Princes were struck

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1. Ibid., May 1847, pp.75-76. cf. B.M.S. Report 1847, p.32.
2. Ibid., Aug. 1848, pp.120-121; letter d/d March 16th 1848. cf. Prince to Winks d/d Jan. 11th 1848. Bap. Rep. V, pp.243-245.

down again and this time Miss Vitou did not escape. Saker, whose health had long been impaired, added his voice to Merrick's with a passionate plea for help, only spoilt by the observation that

> 'Our Jamaican band has almost disappeared, some by death - we hope in glory - some by the more disgraceful end of "having loved this world".'[1]

He questioned the decision of Clarke to transfer the Headquarters from Clarence to the Cameroons, arguing that the former was more important and suggested the recall of the Princes on grounds of health.

The importance of Saker's observation is its advocacy for a 'native agency', derived from within the field itself. It is quite clear that he does not share the 'awe' of the black West Indian agent, which both Clarke and the Committee had shown. His approval of the Merricks and the Princes reflected the moral and social outlook which he had taken with him into West Africa. While it would be too severe to accuse Saker of a definite racial prejudice, it is quite clear that he took a less friendly view of the Jamaican in the field, and it will be seen that because of this he could develop and identify with the African situation. Thus his models were not transplanted models, as the other leaders tended to possess.

The missionaries continued to write for help. Prince wrote to Angus enquiring whether Whitehorne his friend could be persuaded to come to Clarence as schoolmaster. But Angus in a long letter replied that Whitehorne had accepted a job with the Mico Charity and was unavailable. He took the opportunity to advise Prince on his dealings with Mrs. Lynslager.

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1. Ibid., Nov. 1848, p.169 d/d July 5th 1848. The Editor attempted to soften Saker's comments but Saker can be forgiven. He was ill and his wife was away.

The issue is not stated but Angus suggested that he ought to be 'inoffensive in deportment' and to seek Divine guidance to know when to compromise and when to contend. Angus also reported that there was no transportation available to take Mrs. Saker from Liverpool, Bristol or London, adding also that the European economy was unstable and that funds were scarce.[1] Three days later Angus wrote again, stating that he was still looking for a missionary without success but that he was able to get passages for three youths, Thomas Thompson, William Knibb and Thomas Williams, who carried orders on Prince for £8, £4 and £1 respectively. He had booked them on the 'Majestic' bound for Clarence and he was sending six packages with them.[2]

Overcome by ill health himself, and with the persistent illness of his family in a hostile atmosphere, Prince decided to sail for Britain. The immediate cause was the circulation of a rumour, labelling him as a 'troubler and a wicked man' in Liverpool. So he arrived on October 9th, 1848, to face the Captains of the trading vessels in order to clear his name.[3]

With Prince's departure, Saker moved to Clarence and requested the help of Dr. Halleur to act for a year as locum tenens. While we have no knowledge of his connections other than this, evidence does show that he attempted to join the Society's staff but Angus in a letter to the Mission advised caution.[4]

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1. Angus to Prince d/d Aug. 7th 1848 (Angus Letter Book: after A.L) B.M.S Archives. Prince was aware of his failures in this respect. cf. Bap. Rep. V., pp.243-245.
2. (A.L) ditto d/d Aug. 10th, 1848.
3. M.H. Nov. 1848, p.170. Prince did meddle in other peoples' affairs and was probably carrying over the Jamaican pastor's role into Fernando Po.
4. (A.L) Angus to African Mission d/d Nov. 24th 1848. Later Merrick

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Merrick had remained in Bimbia and with Newbigin for a part of the time had held that part of the mission together. Angus reported that there was uncertainty about the return of both Prince and Clarke due to illness and he enquired whether Newbigin had acquired a schooner for £250. He observed that he had hoped it was untrue as the Society would not underwrite bills for repairs done upon it. No evidence exists on the conclusion of this matter but it does show how carefully the funds were being spent. The letter also informed Merrick to restrict all spending in Africa to members of the Society only and to keep stations in repair, nothing more. But it also reported that a new press and paper for printing purposes would be sent out to him soon.[1]

John Clarke proceeded from Jamaica to Britain in the 'Dove' having failed to secure a sale in Haiti.[2] He arrived in time for the Annual meeting on April 27th in Exeter Hall, where he was invited to speak. He had been accompanied by the recent Mrs. Milbourne, William Knibb's eldest daughter Catherine, whom the Captain had married early in 1848, after a whirlwind courtship.[3]

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wished to have Halleur in Bimbia, but Angus advised caution because the Berlin Mission would not recommend him. Angus to Merrick No. 127 d/d Feb. 9th, 1849.

1. A.L. 53, Angus to Merrick d/d Nov. 14th, 1848. Angus gives an itemized account of the paper to be expected. This is the first occasion when the Missionary policy re agents appears in print.

2. There exists a letter in the B.M.S. Archives from Milbourne to Angus d/d Aug. 20th, 1847, stating that the 'Dove' needed painting and repair and that the Jamaican churches had given him money to do it. He promised to give an account when he came to England. He suggested that the 'Dove' be sold in Haiti.

3. See Clarke, Memorials etc., pp.113-4; 214-5 and M.H. Feb.1848, p.23. Clarke writing from Mt. Hermon, Jamaica, says a voyage to England is thought desirable for health's sake.

In his address, Clarke emphasized the 'oneness' of the missionary enterprise in Africa, which embraced Wesleyan, C.M.S. and Presbyterian endeavours as aspects of one attempt to convert a continent. He advocated language study and translation work as one of the methods of evangelisation. He repudiated local religious rites and customs but emphasized the relationship of the Gospel to them. And then he passed from Africa to Jamaica.

He observed that it had been said that there was a lack of religious interest in Jamaica. He admitted that this was true because of their changed economic position. There were now 23,000 land owners, who had built upon their land and were groping toward a higher standard of living. This had taken up the money. What was needed was more visitation and teaching by pastors who could visit their flocks in their homes and as a result the giving would improve.[1]

Clarke was partly right. The Pastoral visitation was lax and neglected but that was not all there was to it. The Baptists were still obliged to support their schools, their teachers and their pastors and with a higher standard of living there was also a higher cost of living. In 1847, for example, with a total membership of 30,000, the Baptists were supporting 35 schools and 55 pastors beside teachers and chapels.[2]

With the situation so unstable in Jamaica, it was unlikely that the Society saw even a faint hope of further recruitment there, even if they had not been put off by the 'painful examples'. But Jamaican recruits were still in Africa and the situation there appeared to be unrewarding. The

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1. M.H. June, 1848, pp.85-88.

2. Ibid., May, 1848, p.80.

Treasurer presenting his report, called for a drastic retrenchment of missionary personnel and the abandonment of certain areas of operation.[1] The Committee did not appoint replacements in 1848 in Africa and in India it reduced the 'native agency' drastically. In Africa the Mission was told not to expand any more and expenses were to be kept at a minimum.

For this and other reasons, Clarke did not return to Africa, but retired to Berwick-on-Tweed, having been forbidden by the doctor to travel or preach, to compile Specimens of Dialect - Short Vocabularies of Languages and notes of countries and customs in Africa (1848) and to produce an Introduction to Fernandian Grammar (1848). Despite these reverses, the Committee ordered the 'Dove' overhauled and by November it was given an A1 certificate by Lloyds and it was decided that it should sail as early as possible with the Milbournes, Dr. and (the new) Mrs. Newbigin, Mrs. Saker and a new recruit, Yarnold.

With Clarke in Britain, the needed re-organisation of the Mission could take place. Newbigin was given wider powers and the management of the 'Dove' was put on a new footing and in the hands of the Captain.

On November 20th, the Committee met to draw up a set of seventeen instructions to define the management of the 'Dove'. They reflect the measure to which the efficiency of the business world now permeated the Society. These instructions in contrast with earlier agreements were conceived in legal terms and were tantamount to a business contract between the Committee and the Captain. Instruction 12 clearly states that although

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1. Ibid., June, 1848, p.88

the Committee regard Milbourne as a messenger of Christ - the arrangement is a business one and no claims will be made on him beyond the contract.[1] New instructions were also drawn up for the Mission and handed to Milbourne for them[2] which bear the same marked contrast with those of 1814 and 1842.

On the following day, November 21st, a Valedictory Service was held in the Albion Chapel and valedicted with the Mission were three Fernandians who were to assist as navigators. These were probably the same three to whom Angus had referred in an earlier letter. The 'Dove' eventually sailed on December 8th, 1848, after incurring a minor mishap. On board were a new printing press consigned to Merrick at Bimbia and a small sugar mill, the gift of Sir Morton Peto, an indication of the nature of the Mission conceived in London. Unfortunately, the ship did not clear the coast until December 19th because of further delays at Ramsgate.[3]

During the months of November and December 1848, Angus spelled out the new thinking of the Committee in correspondence both with Jamaica and

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1. A.L. See Instruction, The Agreement between Milbourne and the Committee: To Capt. Milbourne d/d Nov. 20th, 1848 and Appendix. F

2. There were seven instruction which provided for:
   1. Specific orders must be sent home
   2. The amount of the order must be stated clearly
   3. An account must be kept and must be within the budget
   4. Teachers' accounts are placed to Missionaries' accounts so that the Missionary is responsible for deducting orders from Teachers' salaries
   5. All bills for Salary must be personal
   6. In the event of disposing part of stores to the Missionaries, they should pay with a draft drawn on London
   7. Orders and Drafts must not exceed the budgeted amount for a station.

   See A.L. 68 d/d Nov. 20th, 1848.

3. M.H. Nov. 1848, p.183 (Fernandians); ibid., Jan. 1849, p.2: Angus wrote a letter of introduction to Beecroft on behalf of Yarnold the new teacher; see A.L. 77 (Angus to Beecroft Nov. 29th, 1848). cf. M.H. Feb. 1849, p.29.

Africa. To the African Mission it was a plea for economy and a strict adherence to the budget. On November 22nd, he had written to Newbigin and commissioned him as a medical missionary, but requested him not to exceed his budget of £250. He told him that he was uncertain whether he ought to be placed in Bimbia or Clarence and left it to him to decide. He also gave him a grant of £250 for Williams, who had been employed as a teacher, but added that he would have no 'formal recognition from us'.[1] So that at this point, the Society took some financial responsibility for the recruits even if they rejected legal responsibility for them.

Merrick was granted £400, with the same distinctions, this time applied to Nicholls, Fuller and Trusty.

It would appear that the overriding consideration was economy. When Milbourne, for example, objected to his Instructions on the grounds that no provision had been made for his wife's passage back to Britain in the event of his death, Angus replied that the Society had neither the resources of Peto or Gurney, the Treasurers, but were bound to spend with utmost economy 'consistent with justice to all parties.'[2]

With respect to Jamaica, the decisions of 1845-47 had been accepted with resignation. Angus was aware of this and attempted to create enthusiasm so that the new arrangements might produce the best results. In an enclosure to the Secretary of the Western Union, Dendy, he elaborated the Committee's decisions which were substantially his own recommendations, in a firm and gracious manner. He observed that too many pastors on the

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1. A.L. 69. Angus to Newbigin d/d Nov. 22nd, 1848 and Dec. 11th, 1848.

2. A.L. 76. Angus to Merrick d/d Nov. 24th, 1848 and A.L. 85. Angus to Milbourne d/d Dec. 11th, 1848 and Dec. 14th, 1848.

island were deserting their primary task because of financial strain and he appealed to the pastors to remain at their posts and see it through. He reminded them that,

> 'the eyes of the Christian World (were) watching their steadfastness. Never was a good experiment tried under circumstances more favourable to success and if it (failed) through unfaithfulness ... that would be most dishonouring to God and injurious to ourselves'.[1]

But it would appear that the October letter did not convince the Union.

On All Saints Day 1848, Angus wrote again, this time in more detail outlining a plan through which the Jamaican churches might improve their situation. The plan was based on two concepts (a) the founding of a co-operative fund - the Union Fund to which all churches would contribute and from which each could be aided, in proportion to their need and (b) the development of the Spiritual resources of the churches by intensive visitation.

As regards the first, not only did he maintain that it had been used by the Wesleyans as the basis of their system, but observed that it could well be used by the Union in Britain where average stipends in England were £40-£60 and in Wales, £30.

The second problem as Angus saw it, derived from deep-seated divisions within the churches themselves. He observed that pastors were not concentrating enough upon the building up of the Faith. They were more concerned with seeking external aid. He maintained

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1. A.L. Angus to Dendy Oct. 27th, 1848 with an enclosure d/d Oct. 18th, 1848.

> 'if you (the Jamaican churches) are divided among yourselves or unwilling to co-operate, or relying on foreign help rather than on your own churches; there will be nothing but disappointment and failure ... in Jamaica itself and not in England must be sought the means of your improvement and success.'[1]

In Jamaica however, not everyone was convinced by the Angus analysis and the remedies. Claydon had reacted to the earlier suggestions of a Union Fund by suggesting that the concept infringed the idea of the sovereignty of the local church and observed that the Model-Deed encouraged interference. Angus replied that the former was untrue and the latter was improbable, but that it would be a help to all concerned if Claydon did present regular and better accounts![2]

A new era had begun in the Society in which for the first time it was run as a business enterprise with an accounting department, suggested by Sir Morton Peto, and clear policy guide lines derived from theological principles, but 'costed'.

This meant of course that new relationships began to develop. Jamaica was no longer economically viable and fell into the background. India and China, the new possibilities, emerged into prominence. Africa was kept going with no diminution but no improvements. The startling thing is that the Society reflected accurately the approach and attitude of that same State which the Voluntary System so vigorously opposed. There was, on balance, not much difference in the Missionary policies evolved in Exeter

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1. A.L. 47. Angus to the Western Union Nov. 1st, 1848. cf. Underhill, Principles and Methods of Missionary Labour, pp.350-357. N.B. changed tenses from the original in brackets.

2. A.L. Angus to Claydon d/d Nov. 1st, 1848.

Hall and the Foreign policies in Whitehall. The fact was that there was a remarkable similarity between Voluntaryism and Free Trade.

While 'Voluntaryism' had many aspects, it was also a method of financing the propagation of the Faith. As Angus himself observed,

> 'the objects and the hopes of voluntaryism its advocates hesitate not to avow: their efforts can never cease till every religious tax and every religious prerogative be utterly abolished'.[1]

And he more than most was aware of the political implications of Voluntaryism and its association in the popular mind with laissez faire. Angus observed

> 'it has been said, for example, that dissenters hold the principles of Voluntaryism through love of popular applause, for party and political purposes; through envy for the promotion of their own secular ends ...'[2]

But in the proposed second edition, Angus eliminated the phrase, 'party and political purposes'.

There is however other evidence to suggest the close association between both ideas despite Angus' embarrassment. In Jamaica, two of the leading Baptists, Knibb and Phillippo were life long advocates of 'free-trade' and 'voluntaryism'. This may be demonstrated by any examination of their writings and Phillippo wrote a booklet on the subject as an attack upon the Jamaican church establishment. An investigation of the finances of the Society also reveals sums contributed by the Anti-Corn Law Lobby and known members of the free trade movement, who were of course associated with the Anti-State Church movement.

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1. Angus, The Voluntary System, 1839 (original corrected edition in Angus' own handwriting), p.13.

2. Ibid., In the second edition 'for party ... envy' is omitted at Angus' request.

Of course the times were propitious. Cobden the high priest of laissez-faire since 1841, had a continued reception in the factories, as well as in the chapels, and Sturge, a staunch supporter of missionary endeavours, had himself been associated with both. Indeed, Cobden had even sought the help of W.F. Burchell, the brother of the missionary, to publicise his paper.[1]

But while in Britain Baptists had been logical both in their approach to commerce as to religion, maintaining laissez-faire in trade as well as in evangelism and church finances, Jamaican Baptists were not. They advocated freedom to evangelize but in financial matters sought the protection of the London Committee. These were mutually exclusive policies.[2]

Strange as it may appear, however, the problems were real. The white missionary had for a long time derived his status in an identification with the Society, and latterly from the Anti-Slavery movement. He was an alien and became increasingly alienated by his very task in the Jamaican society. He was international in outlook. The 'Leader', on the other hand, had derived his status from the congregation which he served and increasingly

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1. For Cobden and his association with the churches at the Conference of Ministers in Manchester 1841, see Stoughton, Religion in England 1800-1850, Vol.2, pp.172-174. cf. Hammond J.L. and Barbara, The Age of the Chartists, pp.217-276, passim; also Burchell Autographs, No.6 Cobden's letter d/d Aug. 1843, seeking Burchell's help for publicity.

2. For a discussion on laissez-faire see Burn, The Age of Equipoise, pp.132-136 and Chap. 4 on Legal Disciplines. The differing attitudes between British and Jamaican Baptists had also to do with differing emphases on Work and Self-Help. See Harrison, The Early Victorians 1832-51, pp.139-145. cf. Smiles, Self-Help (passim).

he had become indigenized. Accultured, as he was required to be in the framework of the church, he because of his task acquired a more limited world view. He became nationalistic. The Society's action attempted in a stroke to make the white missionary a national and displace the Leader. The possibility of confrontation was very real.

There were perhaps four factors which prevented the confrontation. Firstly, there had been in the highest Baptist circles intermarriage with local persons. Knibb's daughter, for example, married a 'coloured' theological student. Secondly, it was the policy of the Unions to accord the same status to every ordained graduate minister. Tinson had advocated this at the very establishment of Calabar and so black and white enjoyed equal status in the churches. Thirdly, the society itself was antagonistic to the Baptists and despite their divisions they stuck together in times of crisis. Fourthly, there had always been an outlet in renascent African religions, which existed inside as well as outside the Baptist churches. Whenever tensions arose the Leader could and often did become the Leader of a Myal or Obeah group and this gave him back his religious status and it also relieved the tension.

It would appear then that 1847 marks the end of an era begun in 1845. These two years defined once and for all the attitude of the Jamaican Baptist to Africa. Neither the leadership, which was now mixed, nor the membership wished to prosecute an African mission at the expense of a Jamaican one. For the leadership it was a matter of finance, for the membership it was also a lack of perspective or world vision. Instead the churches turned in upon themselves encouraged by the Society.

The Society itself had grown narrow in its concepts. Bereft of the Humanitarian breadth of outlook, the money of the philanthropists and a universalistic theology, the Society developed its work through the channels it had already created, chiefly educational ones. Spasmodic and small attempts were made to evangelise China and expand in India but there was not the enthusiasm which marked the early 1840's.[1] The Reports show a preoccupation with analysis, anthropological detail and a rugged individualism. But these were also the years of Bible translation and this ought not to be overlooked.

In Africa, the Mission was maintained on an even keel. No expansion occurred but a sincere attempt was made to grapple with the questions of African languages, education and translation. A new phase had begun. But if 1847 marked the beginning of an end in which the notion of the West Indian as the salvation of Africa was ever on the wane, it also is a new beginning when the West African came into his own.

① The Particular Baptists (B.M.S.) began a mission to China in 1859 but Baptists as a whole had supported the General Baptist Missionary Society which had entered China in 1845. See: The Centenary Volume of the BMS. 1792-1892 ed. Myers pp. 105 - 149.

CHAPTER 10

The eclipse of the West Indian by the African - the development of a new missionary policy 1848-1853

There were great hopes for the West African Mission once the Committee had decided upon the redeployment of its resources. This new assurance seemed justified when it was reported at the Annual Meeting in April 1849 that a new station had been established at Bimbia; that teaching had been conducted consistently in the vernacular in most stations; that Bible 'portions' had been translated into several local languages; that agriculture had been encouraged and that at Clarence, the plants transported from Jamaica for the Model Farm had now matured.[1]

But these signs of success savoured by the Committee in London contrasted with the magnitude of the problems which the Mission faced in its setting.

King William of Bimbia, a supporter and friend of the Mission for many years and who had treated Merrick as a confidant, had been alienated because the Mission was uneasy over the marriage arrangements his elder son had made with King Bell for Inangge, his sister. At the same time, the Mission found itself caught between the forces of William and his rival Dick Merchant,[2] when the latter had attacked a vassal of William's, Mafe-mo-kema.

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1. M.H. May 1849, p.66
2. M.H. March 1849, pp.38-39. 'Dick Merchant' was a pseudonym for McKindo, chief of Dikulo town. He signed a treaty with the King of Bimbia, see Ardener, S, Eyewitnesses to the Annexation of the Cameroons etc. (1948) Appendix A, pp.63-65.

These events presented a serious set back for the Mission, for William's enthusiasm had even led him to promulgate a law forbidding the breaking of the Sabbath and he had maintained it despite opposition from traders and his own medicine men.

It is not clear whether the traders and medicine men had a hand in the local revolt but it is strange that it occurred soon after William had pardoned three men charged with witchcraft. He had declined to put them to death to propitiate the death of a swimmer killed by a shark, as the custom, had been.[1] Dick Merchant, his rival, however had hanged a couple for the same thing a few days later and it would appear that his action was designed to be an appeal to popular sentiment against the liberal tendencies of William. As the conflict developed Merrick, who had a station in each kingdom, watched helplessly.

Merrick's helplessness had another basis too. His approach to the 'Inangge Affair' had been condemned in London as unwise and meddling in local affairs.

Inangge was the sister of Nggombe, King William's eldest son. (Sometimes she was referred to as William's granddaughter, so it is clear that the relationship to William was a close one.) Nggombe had betrothed her to King Bell but unfortunately the details of the betrothal are not known. It may however be assumed that it carried with it some economic advantage for her brother. In order to prepare her for marriage she had been sent to the Mission to be taught the arts of domesticity by Mrs. Christian.

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1. See Ardener, Witchcraft, confessions and accusations London, 1970. Chap 7 pp. 141 - 160

While in residence at Mrs. Christian's she made friends with Fanny Watson,[1] a young Christian convert herself betrothed to King Josh, and as a result became a convert herself. The upshot was that she refused to marry King Bell. Her brother, upset, brought pressure to bear upon the two young ladies. He inveigled Josh to claim Fanny, but Merrick bought the rights from Josh, smuggled Fanny out of Bimbia to Fernando Po, from where she eventually made her way to Jamaica.[2]

Merrick reported the incidents fully to the Committee, which seemed more concerned in their reply with the purchase of Fanny Watson than the fate of Inangge. The Secretary observed that some members of the Committee had grave doubts,

> 'whether for a white man to recognize the rights of an owner to a slave and to buy off that right does not in the end do more mischief than the individual advantage does good.'[3]

These members had maintained that the compensation attendant upon the abolition of slavery paid to West Indian planters and some African kings had a regional relevance and that even if this was disputed, the act of redemption for money was itself a denial of the Gospel.

While it must be observed that this argument was consistent with the stance the Committee had maintained since 1816, the action of a Committee

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1. Ibid., letter d/d Nov. 1st, 1848; ibid., Oct. 1849, pp.161-164. For 'Fanny Watson' see Juvenile Missionary Herald, Oct. 1849.
2. Ibid., see letter d/d July 3rd 1849, Newbigin to Sir Morton Peto. It seems that what Merrick had paid was the 'bride price' to Josh and so the king had surrendered his rights to Fanny. But the exchange of money had one meaning only in London - slavery. cf. Trestrail to Newbigin A.L. 279 d/d Sept. 25th 1849 and Clarke, Memoir of Joseph Merrick, p.102.
3. A.L. 120, Angus to Merrick d/d Jan. 26th, 1849.

in 1849, with reference to Africa can serve only to illustrate how ignorant its members were of the nature of slavery in Africa itself. The form of Slavery in Jamaica had been 'chattel slavery' on the whole, but there were many forms in West African society and it would appear that Merrick's action was not designed to buy freedom but to save a life.

The Committee's action through its Secretary betrayed the first signs that the influence of that bigoted superiority which Carlyle made so popular in his infamous diatribe[1] had itself begun to be felt in the Mission House. For the criticisms hinge upon the propriety of Merrick's behaviour in terms of the 'whiteness', the first evidence of colour as the authentication of action in any of the Society's records.

Added evidence of this tendency toward the cultural dominance of the missionary may be observed in the criticism Merrick sustained because of the Sabbath Law. Merrick had informed the Committee of the law. The Committee instructed the Secretary on reading Merrick's report to discover (a) what was the nature of the Sabbath Law and (b) whether Merrick had agreed with the law. Then the Committee concluded that they were themselves opposed to such a law in principle since it violated the principles of Voluntaryism and observed 'we must not recognize the rights of a State to interfere in enforcing even the truth'.[2]

It would appear that between 1848-1849, new patterns of thought had enmeshed the churches who would have preferred to abandon an African Mission

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1. See Carlyle, Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question, first published in Fraser Magazine 1849.

2. A.L. 135, Angus to Merrick d/d March 10th, 1849.

in favour of local schemes. And if they looked, preferred to look rather to India and China and in this make an unfavourable cultural comparison with the African.

As far as the Mission itself was concerned - the new attitude at present evident in the Committee created the need for a new orientation and other emphases within the field. But this was difficult to accomplish for it would appear that the caution of the Society was also connected with a lack of personnel and funds which had imposed upon the Committee its new conservatism. This meant that at one and the same time the missionaries were being called upon to react with the West African societies as if they were microcosms of British society on a conservative basis and also to accept the realities and differences which each society possessed on a liberal basis. And both could not be done at the same time.

This pluralistic approach could not be appreciated in London, nurtured as the Committee had been to believe that Africa was in some senses the West Indies one step removed. The fact was that the Committee had yet to be educated to recognize that there was an essential difference between the 'accultured black' who had been evangelized in the West Indies and the 'indigenous black', who already possessed a religious frame of reference all his own, either in an animistic form or in Islam. And that this demanded a different method and even interpretation of the Gospel.

The 'Dove' and its complement arrived after an eventful voyage from London to Clarence on February 18th 1849.[1] It was the hope that its arrival

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1. M.H. June 1849, p.104 and also March 1849, pp.41-42 (storm en route).

would make organisation easier, travel quicker and reduce mission expenses. Saker, on her arrival, planned a visit to the Cameroons.[1] Merrick, who had acquired a schooner in the meantime, was advised to sell it now that the 'Dove' had arrived. And to reduce general expenses he was instructed to stop all non-essential spending either on the buildings or on comforts.[2]

In Britain in the meantime an encouraging Report was presented to the Annual Meeting in April, and when the Committee met in May, it was decided to increase the African budget by an extra £130. It was also agreed that the new budget should be sent as a circular to all concerned in the African Mission. But before the circular was sent, the Committee had to revise its estimates and as a result reduced the African allocation to the earlier figure of £2,000, stipulating that the amount drawn between June 1849 and April 1850 should not exceed £800, inclusive of the running costs of the 'Dove'. Despite this however the Secretary sent a draft for £1,330, some £530 more than the suggested amount.

It is quite difficult to explain why this occurred unless it was an attempt to show the £530 in the 1850-51 accounts thus giving the appearance of a reduced cost of the Mission in the accounts to be presented in April 1850. This of course would have been good publicity for a hard pressed Society and it would also have spared the missionaries from financial embarrassment. Although hard to account for, it was a generous gesture.[3]

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1. Ibid., July 1849, p.110.
2. A.L. 120 d/d Jan. 26th, 1849.
3. A.L. 152/156 d/d May 10th 1849. The General Budget was:

Clarence	£300	
Cameroons	£430	
Bimbia	£540	Merrick
	£260	Newbigin
'Dove'	£600	
		Total: £2,130

The Mission needed encouragement at this time. The 'Inangge affair' had assumed larger proportions than had been foreseen. In a letter dated June 28th, 1849[1] from Merrick, it was reported that the princess had been taken to Cameroons and had 'been shamefully treated by King Bell' but that King Josh who owned Fanny Watson, had renounced all claims to her and that she had already left for Clarence. On July 3rd Newbigin, who had by this time become involved in the affair, confirmed that Inangge had indeed been taken reluctantly to Cameroons after her imprisonment in both King William's house and at her brother's house. And that an emissary of King Bell, called 'Bottle-of-Beer', who had been sent to conduct her to the king, had threatened to attack him and to seize him as a slave.

The confrontation between the missionaries and the king's messenger suggests that Christianity had begun to challenge the social customs of the societies in which the Mission was set. Of course the motives were misunderstood. For example, while talking with Inangge, Newbigin held her hand and immediately 'Bottle-of-Beer' attempted to pull him away and when Inangge finally sailed away, some Bimbia boys were heard to shout 'Mr. Merrick teaches lies; Mr. Merrick is a thief.'[2] This would suggest that to them the action of the Mission had been an attempt to steal that which was the property of Bell.

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1. M.H. October 1849, pp.162-164 letter from Merrick to Sir Morton Peto d/d July 3rd, 1849.

2. Ibid., p.164. 'Bottle-of-beer' may have been either a nonsense name given to him as was known to occur in Sierra Leone. Or it could refer to his duty. Beer drinking formed a part of betrothal and marriage ceremonies and it might be that this is evidence for a special 'official' responsible for the ceremony. The references here are too short to be certain.

The action of the Mission as it had appeared to the society was not an objection to an unsuitable marriage but rather an objection to the uniting of the families of King Bell and King William. While it is not our task to examine the social or political implications of this action, it is important to appreciate that the Mission by its action had manifested an antagonism to Bell and it was this which had provoked the violent reaction of 'Bottle-of-Beer'. He would have been hard put to understand how a 'friend' of William could deny Bell the sister of William's eldest son. This was tantamount to a declaration of war.[1]

In spite of the determined effort to break the nexus between West Africa and Jamaica, the ties of kinship still remained and they exerted their influence. News arrived in Fernando Po of the death of Knibb's nephew, who had been responsible for the wellbeing of Mary, his aunt. In addition, Catherine herself had succumbed to the diseases of the Coast and both things increasingly turned Milbourne towards Jamaica.

Angus, who was aware of this, wrote to Milbourne in July asking him his plans but strongly requesting him to remain on the field.[2] Unfortunately, no copy either of his reply or the Committee's reaction exists but in August, presumably to a letter which probably crossed with his, Angus, in an enclosure to Newbigin, requested that if he had decided to leave, it would be appreciated if some alternative arrangements for the transportation

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1. See Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage (O.U.P. 1950), pp.45-52. The Introduction is very important.

2. A.L. 237 d/d July 13th, 1849.

of mission staff be made in the region. He suggested that an arrangement with the Presbyterians appeared to be the most reasonable.[1]

Milbourne finally decided to leave when his wife's health deteriorated further and together with Miss Simpson, the domestic help, they returned to Britain on September 18th, 1849. About a month later on October 16th, they set sail for Jamaica, Milbourne having resigned his command and having been commended for his service by the Committee.[2]

With the departure of the Milbournes, Angus consulted Newbigin on the future plans of the Mission. It would appear that he had either assumed the superintendency unofficially or that Angus had thrust it upon him without ceremony. Although no official documents exist to suggest that he had been appointed to the post, the indications are that he was accepted as such by the missionaries in the field.

The primary need at this time was for a quick re-organisation of the Mission due to the unsettled state of the society. Angus therefore drew up a set of instructions and sent them to Newbigin instructing him to put them into action. There were four main points: (a) No more houses were to be built (b) Saker should be informed that permission had now been granted for him to accept the pastorate at Clarence but since he alone of the missionaries knew the languages in the Cameroons, adequate arrangements should be made for the 'churches' in his absence (c) Newbigin should consult Watson, a neighbouring doctor to establish a common approach to medical

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1. A.L. 238 d/d May 7th, 1849.

2. M.H. Nov. 1849, p.180. For biography of Milbourne see M.H. Dec. 1899, pp.553-554.

practice in the region and (d) immediate arrangements should be made for the disposal of the 'Dove'.[1]

These four instructions suggest that the Committee was acutely aware of the need to consolidate the Mission, to reduce the capital expenditure and to create a stable nucleus from which future expansion could take place.

In the Summer of 1849, Angus resigned the Secretaryship to become Principal of Stepney Baptist College and in his place two Secretaries were appointed. Frederick Trestrail (1802-1890),[2] had been the Secretary of the Irish Society and he assumed his new office on September 1st, 1849. Edward Underhill (1813-1901),[3] was somewhat of a newcomer to the Society and he assumed office on October 1st, 1849. Their immediate task, as they interpreted it, was to stimulate public interest in the African Mission and so they drew up a joint appeal addressed to the churches on its behalf.

The Appeal was addressed To the members and contributors of the Baptist Missionary Society, and published in the December issue of the Missionary Herald.[4] It had been prompted by the imminent return of Merrick, who had been advised to sail for England at the earliest possible opportunity to save his life. The document gave an historical account of the Mission to the region, detailed the tragedies which had struck down the personnel,

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1. See A.L. 160 d/d June 6th 1849 and A.L. 239 d/d Aug. 1st 1849. The problem concerning the charge for medicines was that while Prince had charged a fee and even of fellow missionaries, Newbigin had not. The Committee laid down a policy that fellow missionaries should be treated 'free'. With regard to other patients Angus referred Newbigin to Dr. Watson of Emilio attached to the Medical Missionary Society (1841) which supplied medicines free to doctors. The B.M.S. could not do this and so both Angus and Newbigin contacted the Society. For a history of the Society see A Handbook of Foreign Missions pp.297-8(Rel.Tract.Soc)
2. For Trestrail (obit.), M.H. Dec. 1890, pp.453-4.
3. For Underhill (obit.), D.J. East; M.H. July 1901, pp.346-353.
4. M.H. Dec. 1849, pp.186-188

outlined the disappointment which had accompanied the return of the Jamaican recruits and having reported that only seven missionaries now manned the Mission, appealed for volunteers.

Two aspects of the work at Clarence designed to appeal to the churches were emphasized. Firstly, it was reported that the church within the last five years had increased its membership to 79 and now had 210 enquirers awaiting baptism. Secondly, it was observed that the congregation had raised, by its own efforts, £250 to build the chapel. But these statistics did not impress churches which were now struggling themselves to maintain their congregations and to raise money for their own work with difficulty. A few years earlier these facts might have appealed to the leisured classes who tended to be interested in a successful project, but Baptists did not now appeal to that constituency as once they did when the missionary enterprise was set against a universalistic background. Now this project seemed prosaic and distant.

The Committee had become increasingly aware of the decreasing interest in Missions. In November 1849, the month preceding the Appeal, an article appeared in the Missionary Herald entitled Why is it that the Majority of our Young Men stand aloof from Missions?[1] The writer outlined four reasons for the evident lack of interest in the churches. Firstly, the missionary enterprise had lost its charm and novelty; secondly, missionaries were not personally known to young men; thirdly, the claims of Missions were not enforced from the pulpits and fourthly, the theme of Missions was too frequently forgotten in public devotions. As a remedy 'James' suggested

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1. Ibid., Nov. 1849, pp.182-3 (written over the name 'James').

(i) that public intercessions should be held based on missionary themes (ii) that each church should consider itself a missionary church (iii) that correspondence between missionaries and people in the churches should be encouraged and (iv) more accurate and specific knowledge of mission fields, with respect to social customs, religious practices, geography and climate should be disseminated to arouse interest and sympathy and to challenge the spirit of adventure.

These two articles appeared against a troubled background indeed. In February, the Herald published two letters which taken with the articles illustrate vividly the crises of the Society and the Mission.

The first letter was written by Joseph Merrick to his mother and sisters (out at sea) on his last voyage to Britain. It was a farewell letter commending them to God and recording in it his last will and testament.[1] Merrick died soon after this on October 21st, 1849, and was buried at sea.

The second letter was written on October 6th, 1849, the day Merrick sailed from Clarence and it expressed the great apprehension of Saker at ever seeing him alive again. The symptoms he described in the letter appear to be those of tuberculosis to which his undernourished and emaciated body succumbed.[2]

It would appear that death was not unexpected. Merrick had written to John Clarke, his former pastor and colleague on September 26th reporting that his illness had been made worse by the sorrow over the death of his

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1. M.H. Feb. 1850, p.24.

2. Ibid., p.25.

daughter.[1] Saker had himself reported that Merrick could neither walk nor ride and that his body was disease ridden.

His death removed another of the early Jamaican recruits and at that perhaps the most important. So impressed was the Committee by his work that the Society in a resolution of gratitude for his work extolled him as one of African descent, educated in the Society's schools, who died shattered in health while on active service.[2] But his passing weakened still further the already overextended Mission staff.

Perhaps Merrick's greatest contribution had been in the field of language study, translation and printing. He had been responsible for the translation of portions of the Bible into Isubu, which was the lingua franca of the basins of the Niger and Cameroon rivers. The evidence suggests that Isubu was spoken or understood by at least 125 villages and townships scattered in the region.[3]

His knowledge of the language had gained for him wide recognition in Bimbia. In 1848 he had acted as the official interpreter for King William and the Naval Squadron when a local dispute arose and had been instrumental not only in settling the misunderstanding but had signed as a witness to a subsequent treaty.[4]

A short biography of Merrick was written by Clarke, who was of course biased in his favour, and presented him in a favourable light. But after

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1. Clarke, Memoirs of Joseph Merrick, p.99 (letter d/d Sept. 26th, 1849).
2. M.H. Feb. 1850, p.29; Committee resolution d/d Jan. 15th, 1850.
3. M.H. July 1848, p.101. Clarke estimated that 50,000 people either spoke or understood Isubu.
4. Ibid., July 1848, pp.101-103 for a full account. cf. Ardener, Eye-Witnesses to the annexation etc., Appendix A, p.65 (for Merrick's signature) d/d March 31st, 1848.

making due allowances for this, his achievements were truly remarkable. In November 1848,[1] Angus himself acknowledged the receipt of his translations of Genesis, Matthew and other Scriptural extracts used for catechetical purposes, as well as an unfinished dictionary. In August 1849, Angus replied to advise him to write to the British and Foreign Bible Society for a grant to print the Old Testament, since the money allocated from the Bible Translation Society had been exhausted.[2] Later that month, however, the Secretary suggested that Merrick might well make an application to the Bible Translation Society for aid towards the completion of the New Testament and simultaneously approach the British and Foreign Bible Society for a grant for translation, supplying them at the same time with evidence that his translation was authentic.[3] Unfortunately, death intervened and the work was never completed although much had already been accomplished. When Saker arrived in Bimbia in January 1851, he reported that amid the decay of the printing office and some partly ant-eaten printed pages, he discovered 200 copies of the Gospel according to Matthew, 200 copies of the Fourth Gospel and 130 copies of Genesis intact. And in a

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1. A.L. 53 Angus to Merrick, Nov. 14th, 1848.
2. A.L. 240 Angus to Merrick, Aug. 1st, 1849: The Bible Translation Society was established to finance and supervise the work of translation under Baptist auspices. At first Baptists worked under the British and Foreign Bible Society but a complaint was lodged in 1827 by paedo-baptists objecting to the translation and not transliteration of 'baptizo' in the Indian texts. It came to a head in 1830 and the Baptists withdrew and formed their own Society. See Underhill, Christian Missions in East and West, pp.41-42.
3. A.L. 276, Angus to Merrick, Aug. 23rd, 1849. In a letter d/d Oct. 24th, 1848, Merrick had reported that he had translated parts of the Old and New Testaments and the Gospel of John. M.H. Feb. 1849, p.27.

a subsequent letter he reported that two days later he had found quite unexpectedly, an Isubu grammar, more copies of Matthew and some chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.[1] This had been completed in the space of three short years!

But Merrick was also a man of ideas. In his report on the mission at Bimbia for 1848, he put forward a scheme for the establishment of a Jamaican immigrant township in the midst of Isubu tribal lands. The idea was that it would serve as a model for the Isubus and their neighbours. It was a bold suggestion but it did not take into account the problems which such an 'invasion' might have created in the region. But even if Merrick was not aware of them, others on the Committee were well aware of the objections which had gained currency at the time of the Niger Expedition nearly a decade earlier.[2]

While the idea of a 'model' within the situation was by no means new - it had been a part of the motivation for Sierra Leone and Libreville, and to a limited extent Liberia - it was a novel idea in the missionary understanding of its nature. Merrick's idea meant that the life of the Christians in the midst was the 'preaching' of the Gospel. Unfortunately, his

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1. M.H. July 1851, pp.108-9 letter d/d Jan. 20th 1851. cf. Clarke, Memorials of Baptist Missionaries etc., p.208; also M.H. May 1849, pp. 22-23; Report for that year in which it is stated that Merrick translated hymns as well as the Scriptures. According to Clarke, Merrick translated, compiled and printed Isubus Class Books (1844) in Fernando Po and while at Bimbia:- 1. School books and hymns in Isubu 2. Genesis and Exodus 3. Matthew and John's Gospel 4. Extracts from Old and New Testament 5 Isubu dictionary 6. Set the type for St. Mark's Gospel but this was not printed 7. Isubu Grammar 8. A comparative Dictionary of Isubu, Baquir, Monggo, Balung, Dewalla and Balimba.

2. M.H. May 1849, p.83 (end of the Report).

description of the idea was so brief that it is not clear whether the community was also to be a ready-made source for preachers and agriculturalists, or whether it had simply been a groping towards a theological concept, that 'preaching' was the 'presence' of the Christians in the midst. But there might have been other influences.

Merrick could have put into concrete form an idea which had converged upon him from two points (a) from the Mission-Compound or Plantation idea of self-sufficient fellowship and (b) the 'tribal' concept of the church - the gathered community.

Since the migration of the Mission in 1846 to Bimbia, there had been an unconscious development of the idea of the Model Farm. In a report to the Committee on the events of July 27th to August 5th, 1846 already mentioned, it was observed that the new site had been marked into lots which had been apportioned in a similar manner to apportionment on a sugar plantation. While on the estate the Great House was the focal point, Clarke had so designed the village that the foci were the Chapel and the Printery. From these two buildings the dwellings radiated and behind the dwellings were the open fields on which the crops were grown. It is unfortunate that the only descriptions of 'Jubilee' extant are verbal ones, although Clarke reported that he had sent a print, alas now lost, to the Mission House.

That 'Jubilee' had been based upon the idea of a Model Farm is quite a reasonable assumption because evidence exists to suggest that Clarke was enthusiastic about the Model Farm at Idda, and had met not only Kerr, the Superintendent, but other members of the staff as well.[1]

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1. See Simpson, A Private Journal kept during the Niger Expedition etc. (1843), p.50: Simpson was chosen to make the trip up the Niger on

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The 'Compound' or 'Plantation' was an ideal model to adopt. It offered both self-sufficiency and protection and created the possibility of economic viability. In ecclesiastical terms it could become an outpost of the Kingdom in a heathen land. But the dangers are obvious. It could isolate the Mission from the tribes and this could lead to cultural alienation as it did elsewhere. It could mean that although the missionaries had physically come to Bimbia, Bimbia had to come to the missionaries psychologically.

Nevertheless, it was an expression that the Baptists had taken seriously the dictum that the 'Bible and the Spade' went together and had treated it as more than a slogan, recognizing in the dictum the declaration of faith it was meant to be. There was here the assumption that the Gospel could be preached through a living fellowship without which no adequate understanding of the missionary policy of this time can be appreciated.

This assumption of living the Gospel appeared in the work of other Baptist theologians who worked in the West Indies. David Jonathan East, a Baptist pastor at Waltham Abbey and later the President of Calabar College, Jamaica, from 1850-1890, in his The importance of Suitable Dwellings to the Cultivation of Family Religion (1863),[1] suggested that the physical lay-out of the home could be in itself a declaration of Christian belief. It was therefore a radical incarnational Christianity that the Merrick idea wished to demonstrate from the context of the Mission and this stood in stark contrast with prevailing attitudes within the metropolitan churches of the

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the 'Wilberforce'. He met both Clarke and Prince on Fernando Po and his account illuminated their thinking on the Model Farm in 1841.

1. East, op. cit., pp.4-6 and 9-10.

period. It was also a contrast to laissez-faire and its rugged individualism emphasizing as it did the idea of a community based on mutual self-help in a co-operative framework. On both counts it was doomed. It could not appeal to the popular British mind.

Merrick was a victim of his own theological framework. As a Baptist, despite the universalistic approach of the Jamaican church structure, the idea of the 'gathered' community was very strong. Thus it was easy for the church within the Mission context to become another tribe, possessing its own definite leader, rites and customs.

This was not necessarily a bad thing, as it defined the church in a way that was easily understood by peoples whose societies had been built around the tribal units of ancestor and family interpreted by systems of marriage and adoptions. Thus when a person became a Christian, there was always the tendency not only to accept a new framework of belief but also to make a physical move. This may be illustrated by the case of James Bell, the brother of King Bell, who on becoming a Christian fled with his family to the Johnsons, where they were left undisturbed because in the popular mind they had opted for the Christian tribe. Similarly, the slaves who were rescued by missionaries from varying degrees of punishment were handed over to the Mission as their property for the same reason. Thus any sensitive ruler tended to suspect the missionary and was always on guard against what might appear to be the usurpation of his authority. A situation which was made no easier when, as happened not infrequently, the missionary appealed to the Navy for protection.[1]

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1. M.H. Jan. 1847, p.10. (William looked to the Navy for guidance in protocol) cf. A.L. 279 d/d Sept. 25th 1849, Trestrail to Newbigin advising him to seek protection from the Navy as the Presbyterians had done at Calabar.

The policy of missionary immigration was never adopted, nor was it even discussed seriously by Missionary Societies, with the possible exception of the Presbyterians. It would appear that the reasons were more economic than social and political at Committee level, although in the British churches it might not have been well received. In West Africa, however, because it did not occur, Saker was actively encouraged to develop local potential during 1849. The places left empty by the Jamaicans were filled by graduates from Sierra Leone, some of whom had begun to trek east in the wake of developing trade and the missionary expansion by the C.M.S.

In 1853, for example, Saker reported that the Mission compound possessed a sugar mill, a lime kiln and a brick yard, and in addition had planted a cotton plantation and had facilities for gathering palm oil.[1] By 1854, it was reported that the Mission was writing and printing lesson books and had engaged upon industrial and mechanical education as part of a plan towards a total integrated programme of evangelistic outreach. The African Mission now stood on its own, so much so that when Thomas Hands, a missionary to Jamaica, attempted to project the old model of universalistic theology, despite his criticisms of the current anthropology, and the anti-mission lobby and his advocacy of Missions as the hope for world peace, the speech was ill received.[2]

Contemporaneously, there had been developments in Britain which had also tended towards the Africanisation of the mission. The new Secretary,

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1. Ibid., May 1853, pp.69-70 and May 1854, pp.166-167.

2. Ibid., June 1854, pp.90-94.

Frederick Trestrail, in a letter to Saker had attempted to revert to the former policy by instructing him to return to the Cameroons, an order which he was reluctant to obey because in Clarence he could see the prospects of recruits for the Mission.[1] And he was also apprehensive about missionary recruits from Britain.

The instructions to Saker suggest that Trestrail had not fully understood the extent of the deterioration of the Mission. Yarnold, for instance, who had gone to Clarence as the resident teacher in 1848, was on his way back after only a year's stay, thus leaving four accredited missionaries in the field.

The Quarterly Meeting met in March 1850 and it was decided to attempt another re-organisation of the Mission. Saker was told that he should return to Clarence from which he had reluctantly moved for Cameroons a few months earlier on the Secretary's instructions. Newbigin was to give oversight to Bimbia assisted by Joseph Fuller (1825-1908)[2] and the Cameroons were to be managed by the Johnsons. In the meantime efforts were to be made to secure a couple to act as teachers either from the C.M.S. or Wesleyan training institutions in Sierra Leone. The Committee estimated that this would save the Society £700 and with the sale of the 'Dove' some stability might be restored to the Mission.[3]

Although the problems facing the Mission had been many, some implantation of Christianity did occur. In the Cameroons, for instance, during

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1. A.L. 278 d/d Sept. 24th 1849, Trestrail to Saker. cf. M.H. Feb. 1850 p.24 (the reply).

2. For Joseph Fuller see Autobiography (mimeograph) copies in the B.M.S. Archives and M.H. 1909 pp.55ff. cf. The Baptist Handbook 1909 No.14, pp.483. Fuller was accredited at this time due to shortage of staff.

3. M.H. Mar. 1850, pp.43-44. The budget for Africa was to be reduced to £1,100 per annum.

November 1849, Saker formed a Baptist church, having travelled from Clarence to do so. In a moving account published in the Missionary Herald he described the events of the day, the baptismal service in the sea early in the morning, the dismissal of the Johnsons and the Sakers from the Clarence church and then the final act of the Formation. Perhaps the most important aspect of this Service was that the whole liturgy was conducted in Dualla, the local language. It would appear that Saker had written the hymns, translated the Scripture passages and composed the readings and prayers for the occasion.[1]

Newbigin exercised an itinerant ministry too for although he had been stationed in Bimbia, Calabar and Fernando Po appear to have been part of his regular rounds. He had been responsible for the care of both the Yarnolds and the Merricks before they departed for Britain and had accompanied them aboard the 'Dove' to Clarence via Calabar. He had conducted the Service of the Formation of the church in Cameroons and it would appear that he was also responsible for the health of the Presbyterian missionaries at Calabar.

In March 1850, the Sakers and Miss Vitou, the Clarence staff, returned to Britain aboard the 'Warree' on a long overdue furlough. Newbigin was left behind as superintendent to cope with the tacit understanding that the Presbyterians would help if necessary.

On April 17th, 1850, Newbigin died suddenly. He had moved to Clarence to give oversight there and from that point administer the region. His death was a tragic blow to the Mission and since it happened while the

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1. Ibid., April, 1850, pp.50-51. cf. Underhill, Alfred Saker etc. (1884), pp.53-54.

Clarence staff were en route they did not hear the news until they had arrived, in fact at the same time as the Committee, some time in August.

In the meantime, the Quarterly Meeting of June 26th had already made extensive plans for the Mission. It had been decided that Saker should return to Clarence as locum tenens with a mandate to

> 'train a member of the native church at Clarence for the re-establishment of the British schools ... to carry on the infant school by means of a native teacher who has it now in charge'.[1]

The Committee stipulated that as soon as a suitable incumbent was found for Clarence then Saker should return to the Cameroons to proceed with the consolidation of the church and translation. Newbigin and Fuller were to remain at Bimbia. Horton Johnson and Samuel Fuller were to be general itinerant assistants.

The Committee also instructed Saker and Newbigin to pay attention to the training of converts as evangelists in order that suitable recruits might be acquired from the local population.

With the death of Newbigin, however, one of the principal architects of the new design had been taken. Saker himself, conscious of the precarious nature of the local organisation offered to return immediately. In a letter to the Committee he observed,

> 'I have a fear that some of you who wish well to Africa will be discouraged and I think you ought not to be ... Ten years since you have commenced the work. You have sent many labourers and expended much treasure. Of those sent out God has gathered to himself Thompson, Sturgeon, Fuller, Merrick and Newbigin: Prince and Clarke have been driven from the field and a small company of West Indians have fled, terrified with the toil and suffering... This suffering

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1. M.H. Aug. 1850, p.125. There was strong opposition to his return by Clarke on moral grounds but the matter was settled. See Clarke Letters B.M.S. Archives, Box A/2 (Letter Folders).

> and loss of life shows that the sacrifice you have made is large. But ought we to have expected less? Bloodless victories are not common ... let me refer to these results. There are now living in Africa about one hundred souls hopefully converted to God. In nine years past forty may have died, leaving the pleasing testimony that they are gone to a better land. They are saved, instrumentally through you and your agents.
>
> There are eight native teachers now engaged, more or less in the efforts for the salvation of souls. They are not all supported by you, but they are what they are through you ... And let me refer to the fact that although the field is without an European the work of the Lord goes on. H. Johnson for two years alone laboured at Cameroons. Fuller nobly stands at Bimbia and at Clarence the natives maintain the ground we occupied ... I think the past all tends to show us that we must not rely on European agency. At present it is impossible to do without it, but as you have sanctioned the principle of sustaining the mission by native agents, I shall go to Africa and devote my remaining days to the preparation of the natives for the work of the Lord.'[1]

This declaration of Saker was in agreement with a perceptible trend which had occurred within the Committee upon the resignation of Angus. In essence it was also a movement against the popular concepts of the time. For it was an acceptance of Africa on its own terms for what it was, and a declaration to work within the framework of African social and political structures.

On September 25th, 1849, in a letter to Newbigin on the 'Inangge Affair', Trestrail, after recommending possible avenues for protection which the Mission might take, observed,

> 'it is a very delicate and critical thing when converts join the church to act for them and with them, as if they were British subjects or ceased to be bound by the Social laws of the country to which they belong'.[2]

Here was recognition of the principle that the African convert was still an authentic African personality bound within his cultural setting. And

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1. M.H. Aug. 1850, p.117.

2. A.L. 279, Trestrail to Newbigin, Sept. 25th, 1849.

it was this that had led to the programme for the indigenisation of the Church. Of course the principle raised the ethical questions with regard to polygamy, the murder of twins, the reaction to witchcraft and the attitude to ancestors, but this new shift of emphasis allowed a dialogue to occur rather than a confrontation. Nowhere has this been more marked than perhaps in the approach to Marriage customs as the 'Inangge Affair' suggests. Lyndon Harries, a lecturer in the London School of Oriental and African Studies has observed,

> 'the Protestant doctrine of conversion usually postulated a change of heart at the time of conversion. This meant immediate reference to the convert's moral condition. Protestant missionaries would not accept the Roman Catholic view that, theologically speaking, conversion to the faith may exist without conversion to a better moral condition, since one may possess the infused faith and receive baptism without renouncing thereby a blameworthy attachment... With reference to Protestant mission, unless a man or woman proved acceptance of the faith by consistent living, they refused even to open the door of the church to him'.[1]

This summarises the dilemma which the new policy was attempting to solve. But the British churches were not ready for this nor for that matter the British society. The Society was ahead of its time. But Saker could understand it. Firstly because his natural aversion to the West Indian created a sympathy within him for the African and secondly his own experience had led him in that direction.

A new understanding had developed between the Baptists and Presbyterians

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1. See Philips, Arthur (ed.), Survey of African Marriage and Family Life (1953), p.342. The problem of indigenisation also presented itself at the point of Biblical interpretation, particularly in the exegesis of Romans 1 and 2. See Walls, The First Chapter of the Epistle of the Romans and the Modern Missionary Movement: Reprint from Gasque and Martin, Apostolic History and the Gospel (1970), pp.345-347.

since their confrontation in 1846. The Presbyterians had used the medical facilities offered by the Baptists on Fernando Po and when Edward Miller, one of their Jamaican assistants, fell ill, he had been nursed by the Baptists, and when he died the local pastor had conducted the funeral. Some Jamaican teachers had travelled by the 'Warree' back to Jamaica and the S.M.S. had returned their passage money to the B.M.S. as a gesture of good will. On several occasions, Waddell had acted as pastor at Clarence and Mrs. Yarnold, who had been unexpectedly confined aboard the 'Dove' in Calabar waters, was delivered in the house of the Andersons, one of the Presbyterian couples who had worked in Jamaica.

It was therefore to be expected that on Newbigin's death not only would Beecroft and Lynslager have contacted Waddell but that the church at Clarence also would have looked to him for guidance and leadership.

In a letter to the Committee dated May 4th, 1850, Waddell outlined the events which had led to his arrival in Clarence and reported on the actions he had taken with regard to Mrs. Newbigin and the Mission itself.[1] He reported that he had called a meeting of 'the teachers and deacons of the Baptist Mission on the West coast of Africa' on May 1st, 1850, at which a general policy had been agreed and a plan of action accepted.

It had been decided at the meeting that at Clarence the deacons should be in charge of the church meetings but that they should not administer the sacraments unless one of the missionaries from Calabar or Mr. Wilson from Gaboon was present. The day school was to be discontinued due to a lack

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1. M.H. August 1850, pp.114-116 (Waddell's letter and the Minutes of May 1st at Clarence).

of teachers but the sabbath school was to be retained under the guidance of the deacons. At Bimbia, Fuller and Trusty, both Jamaicans, were to continueto keep the mission open and run the school. Williams, another Jamaican teacher and Newbigin's assistant, was instructed to pack Newbigin's belongings for shipment and was appointed the Storekeeper. Christian was given a general brief as an itinerant preacher. In Cameroons, Johnson and Samuel Johnson (it ought to be Fuller), were instructed to continue with the schools and keep the Mission open, but if needed at Bimbia they should be available. The 'Dove' which had not yet been sold was put into the hands of a local trader, Mr. Hardur, to be used as a cargo vessel for transporting bamboo and roofing mats between Bimbia and Clarence, in order to improve the Mission housing in both places.[1]

The publication of these documents in the August issue of the Missionary Herald and the nature of the news itself created some response in the churches. As a result, the Religious Tract Society made a gift of paper to the Mission, the British and Foreign Bible Society doubled its allocation of Bibles, while Sunday Schools and individuals showered Saker with gifts ranging from clothing to pins and needles and from paper and pens to printing press accessories. The quality and type of the gifts do not indicate that the essential policy of the Society had been understood, but only that the state of the Mission had been appreciated.[2] The Rochdale Church, for example, sent a letter of encouragement signed by the minister William

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1. M.H. Aug. 1850, p.116.
2. Ibid., p.118. Woodfall, a printer from Footscray, gave a press ... and money was collected to acquire the material for binding.

Burchell and five deacons in August to the Committee, imploring them not to be discouraged but to continue in the path of the founders.[1] There was much good will but few volunteers.

During the months of August and September the Society received letters from nearly all the workers in West Africa. Joseph Fuller wrote on May 20th 1850, describing in detail the events which led to Newbigin's death, and in a second letter outlined the dilemma facing the local staff and the need which still existed. John Christian wrote a supporting letter and indicated that both Fuller and himself had visited Clarence in order to encourage the church and appealed to the Society to send another missionary. Horton Johnson wrote to inform the Society that he had returned to Clarence to build a boat for Beecroft but that he had left Samuel Fuller in charge in the Cameroons and that in the meantime he had prepared some persons for baptism and others for marriage at Clarence.[2]

It was to be expected that at the Annual Meeting of 1851, the African Mission would form a major part of the discussion. Its fate hung in the balance because of two things (a) the lack of personnel and (b) lack of interest to put finance into the region, as the Presbyterians had done. In a speech before the meeting, William Landels of Birmingham expressed the thoughts in every mind, 'I am aware that some are of the opinion the African Mission should be discontinued'. But he observed that the Committee had decided that it intended to carry on.[3]

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1. Ibid., Sept. 1850, pp.141-142.
2. Ibid., Oct. 1850, pp.155-157 and Jan. 1851, pp.7-8.
3. Ibid., June 1851, pp.66-75.

This was a bold decision on the part of the Committee because it had been taken in the face of two other pressing considerations. Firstly, Jamaica had re-appeared on the budget because the churches had been ravaged by the Smallpox and Cholera epidemics of 1850 and the Society had been pledged to help in times of crisis and secondly, the mission in India had developed a new significance in the minds of some members on the Committee.

At the same Meeting, Makepeace, a missionary to India, made an impassioned speech contrasting what the Society had done for Jamaica with what it had done for India. He maintained that the Jamaican mission had monopolized the attention of the Committee to the detriment of India and that there were at least five reasons to reverse the policy. Firstly, India was a larger land mass. Secondly, Indians were of the same race as the British. Thirdly, Indians were subjects of the Empire. Fourthly, Britain owed a debt to India for the Commerce and Trade she had enjoyed. Fifthly, Indians were an ancient and cultivated people and not savages.

It was the minister of Bloomsbury Church, William Brock, who replied to Makepeace, and pointed out that it was by no means true that India had been overlooked. He was supported by Wheeler of Norwich, who observed that the Society had looked for its first successes in India, where a civilised people would with open arms be expected to embrace the truth, but instead it came from the slave population of Jamaica. The Society had sent its best missionaries to India but it was in Jamaica that the men of distinction arose.[1]

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1. See M.H. June 1851, pp.90-94 (Makepeace), 95-96 (Brock), 97-98 (Wheeler). cf. ibid., 1847, pp.162-165.

While the contrast between India and Jamaica might not have been as sharp as Wheeler suggested, there did exist a general social and cultural acceptance of India which had never been the case with either Jamaica of Africa. Underlying the arguments to abandon Africa were unspoken reasons and it would appear that the Committee, having been well aware of them, had rejected them utterly.

The discussion on the relative merits of the fields originated in the first place from the report of the Treasurer that total receipts had been £19,064 (approx.) of which £5,751 (approx.) had been received for the West Indian Cholera Fund. This was reported against the background of at least five years of retrenchment in India, a land itself noted for Cholera. But in the second place, it also arose from the relationship between the Society and Jamaica since 1847 and it focussed for that reason on Calabar, its meaning and organisation.[1]

The Society's insistence upon local support for Calabar had created grave problems of financing and organisation. In its earliest years the Institution had accepted married men for training, but the College had been forced to accept bachelors only and married men in exceptional circumstances only due to lack of resources.[2]

In 1847, the year of change, Angus and Birrell had visited the College and been favourably impressed but this did not satisfy some members of the Committee. Tinson had then replied on behalf of the College to those who had suggested that the lack of a larger student body had been due to a

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1. Ibid., June 1851, p.84 (col. 1)

2. Ibid., Sept. 1847, pp.138-141 (College Report).

faulty missionary policy by the Jamaican missionaries. He observed that Calabar had been justified by the ministry of the pastors it had trained and that the Society had therefore been correct in its policy. But he went further, he observed that on the basis of Calabar there was no reason why

> 'missionary churches in any part of the world now, should not supply men of character and capacity to sustain the pastoral office as well as in the days of the apostle'.[1]

Tinson had advocated here not only the Pauline concept of mission but had challenged the double standard in the Society's policy in that it had hitherto supported a 'native agency' in India and now after four years was reluctant to do so in the West Indies.

The question of the College arose again in 1848. In a letter dated November 3rd 1848, in acknowledgment for gifts sent to the College, Tinsom, mindful of the response of Peto and Kensall who had given £50 each to the College and another £150 towards recurrent expenses, again stressed the need for external aid if the College were to remain open. For as he observed, 'the chances of support from this country are daily lessening'.[2]

At the Annual Meeting in 1849, Calabar was again in the limelight. Sir Morton Peto, toward the end of his Chairman's address, quoted extensively from a letter sent to him by Tinson, the gist of which was to keep the College open. Peto, who supported such a view wholeheartedly, remarked that this was necessary since it was a 'valuable institution ... whose object is to train up young men and qualify them for the ministry'.[3] But

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1. Ibid., Feb. 1848, pp.22-24.
2. Ibid., June 1849, p.10. cf. May 1848, p.75 (for gifts).
3. Ibid., June 1849, p.89.

not all were convinced that the black students had the inherent ability to benefit by theological education. So Tinson wrote again, this time to the Committee, defending the moral integrity of the black man and arguing his ability to exercise spiritual guidance.

In a letter dated November 27th, 1849, he observed,

> 'The notion of a black man's incapacity to guide others has probably arisen, in some minds at least, from what has taken place in some churches in the island. The leading men, who during slavery seemed mighty in good works, are for the most part now powerless and are manifestly unequal to the new circumstances in which they have been placed ... Many of them could not read but they were often very shrewd, clever and active men, and better informed than their fellows, hence they obtained influence in the Church; and on the same account such as were slaves were reckoned of importance by their masters and placed over their companions. Freedom has destroyed the one and almost extinguished the other. Many of the leaders and deacons, though good men and true, readily admit that the people will not yield to their authority.'[1]

He then suggested that the reason for the inadequacies which had admittedly shown themselves was due to a lack of ministerial education. The youth in the churches,now better educated, demanded a higher standard of education in their deacons and leaders than they did before. Thus the important task in the Churches' life had now to be the granting of that educational status to the minister which guaranteed a hearing. What Tinson might not have realized was that education also guaranteed social mobility and by that token contained the seeds of alienation from those who did not for several reasons acquire this mobility.

The possibility of moral improvement through education corresponded to the views currently held in Britain, where self-improvement by education

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1. Ibid., Feb. 1850, p.28: see pp.27-29 for full report.

had now come to be accepted as one remedy for the social ills of the time.

In an undated letter to Sir Morton Peto, probably in 1850, Tinson developed the idea a step further.[1] He argued that a 'native' ministry should never be seen in a subordinate or supporting role only, existing always under European superintendency. To be truly native, the black preacher had to be equipped to carry on the work when the European had been withdrawn.

To support this thesis, Tinson gave examples of Calabar graduates who had continued to sustain a ministry on their own and suggested that this was in keeping with the current trends in the island. He observed that while it had been the custom to bar black and coloured persons from public life in the past, there had now arisen a group of black lawyers, merchants and statesmen. Thus there seemed no reason to continue to deny black men Holy Orders.

Anticipating the argument that there had been black pastors who had been dismal failures, he suggested that the present situation was a new one and ought not to be affected by the past. Hitherto, the black pastor arose within the church because of schism. The lure of leadership had enticed some Deacons and Leaders to attach themselves to groups outside the Association, hoping that they would gain some recognition if they made good. Now, he observed, the pastors who had been trained had been selected by the congregation and accepted as bona fide agents of the Mission while in training and after graduation.

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1. M.H. July 1850, pp.105-108.

Thus the native ministry had the same status as the ministry of the European in the eyes of the people, the churches and the missionaries.

There were two other arguments which had been made against the 'native' ministry (a) the question of expense (b) colour.

On the question of expense, Tinson observed that the native ministry was cheaper since local persons made easier adjustments to the manners and mores of their own people. But he was at pains to point out that the cost of ministry would be in no way cheaper, since the support of ministry did not depend upon the physical origins of the minister, but upon the place and nature of that ministry.

As regards 'colour', Tinson observed,

> 'With colour I have nothing to do; I view any assumption of superiority, merely on that ground from whatever quarter it may arise, as meriting nothing but contempt. Neither will I institute an inquiry as to whether a black man can or cannot do with less than a white man. Such a course would lead to invidious comparisons ... Let there be a fair field, and no favour and leave every man, be his colour what it may, to occupy the status to which his abilities and character may raise him. If a black or coloured man, by his talent, piety and intelligence should rise to the pastorate of one of our largest churches, let him enjoy all the advantages such a position could give him and let us rejoice in his elevation.'[1]

Although this letter was in some senses a personal one, it nevertheless bears the marks of a public statement.[2] And although it is by no means clear if others collaborated with Tinson on it, it presented the stance of the Jamaican churches at this time. The question arises - why did the

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1. Ibid., p.107.

2. Ibid., Nov. 1851, pp.171-173. N.B. the support given by the Western Union to the idea of a ministry based on 'merit' and the endorsement to College policy.

Jamaican church feel it necessary to justify the equality of the 'native agency' to the Committee? For it would appear that Sir Morton Peto was the spokesman on this subject at almost every meeting.

It would seem that the failure of the African Mission and the rising costs of Calabar were important considerations. But it would also appear that current anthropology had begun to influence the thought of the church in the interpretation of the African. It is not our intention in this study to chart the subtle changes in theological emphasis during the crucial 1850s in this regard. Christine Bolt's well documented work on Victorian attitudes to Race-studies in Social History (1971) indicated that this shift did take place and that for several reasons the Black had now to justify himself as an intelligent, moral being.

Against this popular background of discrimination on grounds of colour, culture and 'race', the Committee urged three important considerations. Firstly, that experience had shown that the black man was moral and intelligent. Secondly, that the 'native' agency or the ministry of black and coloured men was as valid and authentic in its own right, and needed no continued white supervision and thirdly, that where there had been evidence of moral failure it had been due to a lack of proper education and not to a genetic flaw.

The 'Peto - Tinson' correspondence was important in that it created the climate within which the Committee could take its decision on Africa. But the correspondence had a wider reference. It brought into the forefront the question of ministerial training. And it set the education for ministry within the framewortk of missionary policy and strategy. It also

gave to the Society a new model of relationships at a time when the old model had been more than tarnished. If the Society could not now relate to its fields in ecclesiastical terms, it could do so in educational terms. And it is perhaps significant that the 1850s saw new and stable relationships developing between the Society and the regions in which it worked, more in terms of ministerial education than in any other form. These years saw the re-establishment of relationships with Serampore in India, the concern for Acadia College in Canada and the maintenance of Calabar in Jamaica.[1] Further, it is significant that it was this model that Saker was instructed to take with him to West Africa.

Although these years saw a primary emphasis upon ministerial training, this did not prevent the Society expressing its concern in other matters in the field. In 1851, for instance, the Society, having been deluged with letters for help from the Jamaican pastors whose churches had been decimated by the epidemics in 1850, responded by launching an appeal and making a special grant of £2,000 to the missionaries and their churches.[2] Unfortunately, so slender were the Society's reserves that in order to do this, the budget for India and Africa was cut and some staff retrenchment occurred.[3] Such precarious financing did not make for good relationships and it was

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1. See M.H. Nov. 1851, pp.171-173. cf. Gould, The Baptist College at Regent's Park, pp.53-54, 68; see also ibid, May 1849, p.70, Jan. 1852 pp.6-7, May 1852, pp.73-74 for Serampore.

2. Ibid., April 1851, pp.57-61 (letters from Jamaica); Feb. 29-30 and March 1851, p.44 (appeal and grant).cf. July 1851, pp.116-117 (Jamaican response).

3. Ibid., June 1850, pp.84-91 (Annual Report of 1850). In order to keep expenditure down, the India budget was cut by £2,625, Ceylon by £200, Africa by £1,000 and other expenses £150. See also 'Gurney's speech' Annual Meeting 1851, ibid., June 1851, p.99. A deputation was sent to India to make investigations in situ.

clear that if the Society was to serve properly and fulfil its task, some rationalization of the relationships between the Society and the West Indies, India and Africa had to be established. The question was on what basis should this modus vivendi be established. There were two possibilities. Firstly, the Society could consider itself a 'service agent' of the churches and allow relationships to develop between local churches in Britain and in the field. Secondly, the Society might be a 'development agent' creating and developing within the field indigenous churches by sending in personnel and supplying finance on a temporary basis. So that as soon as the local situation created its own leadership, the Society would withdraw both funds and leadership gradually.

On February 3rd, 1852, Makepeace, to whom reference has already been made, in a farewell adress in Birmingham, suggested

> 'there should be more practical identification between the church at home and missionaries abroad. Missionaries should be regarded, not so much the Agents of the Society, but as indeed and in truth the Messenger of the churches. Instead of intercourse with distant brethren being confined mainly to official correspondence, let the churches in their individual and associated capacity, communicate freely and directly with missionaries and missionaries with the churches.'[1]

Makepeace had opted for the 'service' relationship.

In contrast with this church-related approach, stood the Study-paper prepared by the Secretaries of the Society on the instruction of the Commitee. It advocated the severance of Mission House ties as soon as possible. At the Annual Meeting in April, Sir Morton Peto, in presenting the paper , which later appeared in Principles and Methods of Missionary Labour, attempted

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1. M.H. April 1852, pp.60-61; for complete address see ibid, March 1852, pp.44-45; April 1852, pp.60-61.

an evaluation of the 'native agency' and the 'european agency'. Quoting from the document he observed that,

> 'under present arrangements there must be an ever increasing absorption of funds of the Society in the mere support of the ministry of the native churches and their European pastors'.[1]

And the paper stated that the policy of the Society ought to be that,

> 'Missionary Societies have not as their object the creation of endowments in any form with their attendant mischief; but the continual expansion of the Kingdom of the Lord, our Saviour ... Native mission churches, ever dependent on the parent bosom, become unnatural absorbents of that nutriment which should flow forth to the health and salvation of other lands.'[2]

The official policy appeared to be the 'development agency' concept.

In January 1853, the Missionary Herald published an article entitled The Mission Field, the Pastorate of Mission Churches which suggested the European missionary had left the evangelisation of the mission field to the 'native' evangelist and instead functioned as an administrator. The writer suggested that the implication of this emphasis was to re-interpret the function of missionary societies from that of the proclamation of 'the gospel to the heathen to that of societies for the support of the churches'.[3] In a wide ranging survey from the policy of American Baptists in Assam, based upon the two basic principles of (a) self-support and (b) self-propagation to the declaration of Archdeacon Williams on his return to New Zealand that C.M.S. policy was 'to transfer the congregations from the missionary basis to some settled ecclesiastical position by which they may

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1. Ibid., June 1852, p.83. cf. Underhill, Principles and Methods of Missionary Labour, pp.25-40 (for study paper). also West Indies and West Africa Sub Committee Records - B.M.S. Archives (original papers).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., Jan. 1853, p.2 (Article pp.2-4).

be rendered independent of the Society'[1], the writer attempted to show that a policy which envisaged the continued dependence of infant missions upon the European missionary both in pastoral and educational terms was deficient. The proper view ought to be to reliquish the pastoral charge as quickly as possible to local persons. The great fear was that if this were not done the missionary enterprise would grind to a halt under the weight of the missionary administration.

By 1853, it was obvious that new lines of policy had been drawn. No longer was Africa to be treated as an extension of the West Indies. Both regions now assumed their own integrity and became entities in themselves. Thus the dictum a national church with its own pastor supported by its own resources would appear to have been the aim of missionary policy.

The adoption of the new policy coincided with the death of one of the Jamaican recruits in West Africa. In 1852, Williams died at Clarence,[2] and this left the Fullers,[3] who had grown up in Africa and were thoroughly accultured, Mrs. Johnson, who according to Thomas Lewis, claimed to have been a recruit on the 'Chilmark' on its journey from Falmouth[4] and Trusty of whom nothing more is known. Although these Jamaicans did remain and later two others volunteered to work in West Africa, 1852 marks the terminus ad

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1. Ibid., p.3
2. M.H. 1852, pp.37-38.
3. See Fuller, Autobiography (mimeographed). Samuel Fuller returned to Jamaica in 1852, sent back by his brother because of his questionable behaviour. See ibid., p.20.
4. See Lewis, These Seventy Years - an Autobiography (1930), pp.55-56. There is no evidence of a Johnson travelling over on the 'Chilmark' in any of the official lists or in Clarke's Journal. There is something of a mystery here. She was probably a young girl who married while there to Horton Johnson's son. If we knew her first name that might have given a clue.

quem of the Jamaican interest stimulated by emancipation, repatriation and a missionary zeal.[1]

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1. Francis Pinnock, a graduate of Calabar, volunteered to go to Africa and was at first turned down. When the Jamaica Baptist Union volunteered a sum of £100 per annum toward his salary the B.M.S. invited Pinnock to see the Society and was accepted. He settled in Abo, but fled for his life when Innes, another Baptist missionary, incited the local ruler against him. See M.H. (Bapt. Mag.) May 1856, p.321; Jan. 1857, p.119. cf. p.120, April 1857, p.315; July 1857, p.515; Nov. 1857, p.726; Dec. 1857, p.791. Feb. 1858, pp.122-3; also Fuller op. cit., pp.28-29.
S.C. Gordon (1859-1930), was trained at Spurgeon's College and from there went out to Africa in 1870. (Details exist in the Personal files in the College) and M.H. Nov. 1901; p.324 and Jamaica Baptist Reporter, June 1930, p.2 and Nov. 1930, p.2. He married an American missionary, Nora, a graduate of Spelman Seminary, but she died on Jan. 26th, 1901. See M.H. March 1901, pp.93-94.

General Conclusions

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages to examine and trace the origins and development of the first organized Christian mission from the West to the East. It was therefore necessary if its motivation was to be discovered to see whether the movement had its genesis in the ethnic composition of the Jamaican Baptist churches who had migrated from the United States, or even if the early theological framework of their faith possessing innumerable parallels drawn between the captive Israel and the enslaved African on the one hand, and the deliverance from Egypt and Babylon on the other, had an effect. And further whether together they combined to formulate in the churches a corporate hope projected towards Africa, as Promised Land.

The evidence so far does not support either an ethnic origin for the motivation of the mission to Africa, nor any great influence by the Old Testament parallels although they occurred, nor the presence of a combination of both ideas fused in any way.

While there did exist, especially in the earlier days, a great emotional attachment to Africa among the Baptists, and they described themselves as 'poor Ethiopians', this was conceived of in terms of Ps. 68 v.31, and had a missionary emphasis towards 'Jamaica' and not Africa.

This was probably due to three reasons. Firstly there was active discouragement of any hope of return to Africa because this was in fact a tacit encouragement of escape. Secondly, the eschatological hope in African religion, which tended to be focussed upon the ancestor, was transferred to

the burial rites in Jamaica and found their meaning there and as a result due to Christian ideas of Heaven, Africa became illocalized and spiritualized. Thirdly, the growth of the 'Free Village' out of the 'Provision Grounds' related a large segment of the membership significantly to Jamaican soil and effectively succeeded in mythologising Africa even more.

There exist, it is true, references to occasions on which Africa played an important part in Baptist church life. These reports are limited to John Clark of Brown's Town, Walter Dendy of Maldon and James Reid of St. Dorothy. However they occur between 1839 and 1841, well within the time when other events were being discussed in London about an African Odyssey.

In fact, those events might more accurately be interpreted as support for a policy launched by the Jamaica Baptist Association in 1839, the reaction to scarcity of available arable land in the three mentioned areas and since in two cases prayers were quoted, as proof rather of the acceptance of a Pauline concept of mission than a particular love for Africa, per se.

This would not be incongruous within a mission whose origins lay in the theological presuppositions of Carey, Fuller and Rippon, whose church structure had been rebuilt by the pupils of Ryland from the Bristol Academy and who were supported by colleagues with the liberal traditions of Stepney College, London.

Where then did the motivation originate?

It would appear that the motivation emerged from within the missionary leadership itself. It seems indisputable that by 1832, the Jamaica Baptist

Church was in fact two churches related to each other by the pastor and some Leaders. While it would be premature to assert too strongly that there existed a 'plurality of religions', most certainly there was a 'plural church', i.e. that within the one overall Association, there existed two self-contained, identifiable churches, each with a hierarchy and discipline. And by 1839, the situation was plain for all to see. This was the basis of the criticism of the Baptist Association by Presbyterians and Independents in 1841-1842, and some Baptists concurred. While this did have some effect upon the structural development of the Jamaican Baptist Churches, (which will be dealt with in a succeeding paragraph), for the genesis of a Mission the more important consequences were that although a mission was proposed, unless it could gain the active support of the Leader, who was the nexus between both churches, and the director of the black church membership, it could not succeed.

The 'plural-church' may be observed by an analysis of the motives adduced for a mission to Africa. For the missionary there were two basic motives (a) the Providential Design and (b) Compensation or reparation. Most missionaries had betrayed these motives before 1839 and subsequently up to 1843, as an analysis of the writings or sermons of Knibb, Tinson or Phillippo, to name a few, indicates. The support given to and received from John Trew also underscores the assumption that as a whole the missionary leadership was in sympathy with the aims of the African Civilisation Society, whose motivation was Compensation.

The black membership on the other hand expressed more concern about the continuation of the Slave Trade and Slavery in Africa than a desire to

convert the continent to the Faith. There does exist the case of Thomas Keith, first told to the British public by William Knibb, and probably repeated by Buxton. On the face of it, Keith does appear to be motivated by the faith alone but it is necessary to exercise great caution here. This story, as indeed most of the evidence at this time, is gleaned from the pens of the missionaries who certainly had defined motives which guided their choice. They wished to show that the freed-slave was a good black missionary motivated by the right things. Yet even the missionaries added the motive of 'gratitude' in their writings. It was this motive that they urged upon the membership but it is significant that while for the missionary gratitude was related to a mission to Africa, for the freed slave, where there is a report e.g. the Maldon meetings of 1841, gratitude was related to freedom, generally. As a matter of fact, Sturge complained to John Clark that the freed slaves who had written to him seeking money in order to show their gratitude for freedom were not prepared to go to Africa themselves but to send someone else. Thus gratitude as a motive was not related to a 'personal going' but to a 'giving for sending' which was no different from the attitude of the indigenous population of say, Britain.

But this plurality had another effect upon the church. It effectively isolated the missionary from the deepest counsels and from the points of basic motivation. A case in point was 1831 and the peripheral part played by the missionaries in the planning or frustration of the Christmas Uprisings. It occurred in 1843 again, when Clarke returned with Saker en route to Fernando Po to engage in a recruitment drive. Unlike the enthusiasm of 1842, when there was widespread support, 1843 fell flat and Clarke did not acquire

those whom he hoped. While it would appear that the withdrawal of support by Burchell, the absence of Phillippo and the fact that Knibb did not lend his personality to the drive had much to do with the final result, nevertheless had the Leaders been enthusiastic about it, the mission would have fared better. As it was,their interest lay in the Crop-time (sugar harvests) and although Burchell was blamed for lack of support by Clarke in his Journal, he could do nothing about it even if he wished. Knibb, who was not blamed, ought not to have escaped so lightly, since from a church of many thousands and an admitted large budget, he could provide one young teacher only, a year after promising a schooner!

This all adds up to a massive lack of enthusiasm for the African mission by the church membership at least, in 1843.

The question arises now - why was it conceived in the first place in 1839, and reported as of popular request? The fact is that it was popular in 1839. It was popular for two reasons. Firstly, it had originated from the Anti-Slavery Movement and secondly, it provided an outlet, a new goal for the Jamaican Baptist Association.

After the uprisings of 1823-4, in several parts of the West Indies, the Assemblies began to pass restrictive laws which infringed on the civil liberties of the missionaries. The Missionary Societies in Britain appealed through the Anti-Slavery lobby against these oppressive laws and at the same time against the Slave Trade and Slavery because each was inextricably bound to the other. Thus the missionary became involved with a cosmopolitan movement and from it replenished his world view. The process continued at varying levels of intensity and reached its climax in 1837, with the

help given to Sturge to destroy Apprenticeship and usher in Emancipation. When this same group also projected an African possibility through the African Civilisation Society, it would be unreasonable to expect the missionary not to respond positively.

But Emancipation was in itself an ultimate goal. Since 1833, all energies had been bent towards this end and on its achievement, Knibb for instance confessed confusion with regard to a future goal for himself in 1840. Phillippo took leave soon after this to write a review of the period and Tinson, Burchell, Dendy's wife - indeed between 1838-1840 about a third of the Jamaican staff were in Britain. (But the membership remained in Jamaica.) Thus the missionaries absorbed that metropolitan ideal of West Indian emancipation as a staging post along the highway of freedom for American slaves and ultimate abolition of the Slave Trade in Africa. So that probably through the Anti-Slavery Convention (1840) and certainly through contact with the leadership, Africa became the new terminus ad quem. When this was reported within the context of emancipation, it received a ready welcome.

Having now established that the African mission was the idea of the missionary leadership, probably Knibb's to begin with as Hinton suggested, but certainly supported by both Tinson and Phillippo, it is now necessary to see what effect it had on the Jamaican church and the Baptist Missionary Society of London.

There were three results. Firstly, it made it necessary for the church to take ministerial training seriously and Calabar was established in 1843. Secondly, it redefined the financial arrangements between London and

Kingston and as a result re-interpreted the status of the 'mission' and the missionary between 1845-1847. Thirdly, as far as the Society itself was concerned it was forced to rethink its own missionary theology and policy between 1847 and 1853.

The question of the 'Native Agency' has been discussed in the body of the thesis and it is unnecessary to discuss it in detail here but it arose primarily to create a source of manpower for the Jamaican church and the African Mission. The evidence suggests that for the Society it was the first reason which had priority although by 1845, hopes had been entertained for Africa as well.

With regard to finance, it has been demonstrated (see Appendix C) that the Jamaican mission in 1842 had been responsible for about a third of B.M.S. annual expenditure. So that the fortunate break of 1842 was extremely welcomed in London. But the ties with Jamaica were not just financial. The evidence suggests that the missionary considered himself a part of the Baptist Church of Britain stationed overseas and the Society itself concurred. By 1842 however the two groups had grown apart. For instance, Jamaican pastors were not averse to using the Courts to further their aims or protect themselves. The Society frowned upon this activity. Jamaican churches participated within the social structure in several ways, as trade unions, as welfare agencies etc., the Mission House could not do this since its work was confined to overseas matters. Increasingly both organisations drifted apart much in the same way as a drift may be seen within Britain between the Society and the Union at this time. The fact was that the Mission in Jamaica had now become a church and a church could not be related to a

Society unless that Society, as was the case with the C.M.S. or S.M.S. was itself the expression of that church in mission. That the point of rupture was money and morals is not of great moment, the break was inevitable because of the ecclesiological understanding of church and mission present both in Jamaica and Britain.

An illustration of the differences and similarities may be observed in the events of 1845-1847. Angus, in a valiant attempt to create stable Jamaican Baptist finances, suggested a centralized budget. But this was criticised on the grounds that it tended to contravene the authority of the local church. Precisely the same argument would have been used within Baptist church circles in Britain. Yet that same fellowship of churches about this time agreed that the B.M.S. should no longer be 'independent' but be a representative body of the Baptist churches of Britain, with all that meant for a centralized budget and unitary control. Perhaps this was the reason why the first organisation created in Jamaica was a Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society in 1842, and a Jamaica Baptist Union came into being only in 1850. If the Jamaican Baptist churches had to act together like their British counterparts there was only one way open - missions. Thus it is considered opinion that even if the Jamaican churches had not been presented with an African mission they would have created an external mission of sorts for failure to do so would have meant disintegration of their embryonic church structure. And it is reasonable to conclude that the fact of an African mission only served to stimulate a church consciousness.

As far as the B.M.S. was concerned it had to rethink both its theology and strategy. Between 1847 and 1853, the African mission as it affected

Jamaica was over and two discernible trends began to emerge in London (a) the inclusion of ministerial training (apart from general education) as a basic part of missionary strategy quite separate from the cultural and civilising aims of the Mission and (b) the development of a mission which was culture-based within a particular region.

To suggest that these two trends were discernible is not to claim for them in any sense newness. They may be traced to the early relationships between Carey and the Indians but their application to Africa and to Blacks generally was new.

While there is no doubt that these approaches arose at a time when it was expedient to have them, the part played by the Tinson - Peto correspondence in forming opinion ought not to be overlooked. These letters read at Annual Meetings and published in the Missionary Herald attempted to establish the rationality of the Black as a general principle, citing cases of intellectual prowess and they also defended the spiritual and moral integrity of the Jamaican Black, who had come in for severe criticism not only from the African failure but also from current political criticism and anthropology. And it was perhaps due to their advocacy that the Committee could proceed in face of the odds, admittedly at a lower key, to continue a mission to the continent.

It also enabled the mission to be culture centred without any embarrassment. There had always existed the belief that a black skin protected the individual from African diseases and that it would gain entrance more easily into African counsels. Neither proved true much to the dismay of the Society but it enabled the Society to confront the culture squarely.

As entrance had previously been made through language and commerce this of course continued but there existed a perceptible indigenisation of the faith which created the conflicts seen during the later part of the period.

The second aspect was the growth and establishment of ministerial training centres. It is significant that Tinson was the President of Calabar and wrote as such. It is also noteworthy that the relations with Serampore improved in the 1850s and that there was increased support for Arcadia in Canada. Saker's 1850 mandate was that he should begin to train men for ministry. So that it would appear while the Mission House found it increasingly difficult to maintain relationships on a church level, ministerial training provided the new meeting point at which this missionary strategy could be sustained. And indeed this has continued ever since.

There is however the question of the African Mission itself. There are at least seven reasons which account for its failure.

Firstly, the Mission was unsupported by the mass of the Jamaican church membership. Thus the church provided neither personnel to run it nor money to underwrite it. It is possible that if the mission had occurred after there had been built up a centralized financial infra-structure there might have been more success provided that enthusiasm had been generated. As it was, the lack of adequate finance for the Jamaican staff created tensions since the B.M.S. were prepared to underwrite the expenses of their own staff only, thus leaving the others in a very precarious economic position. And further there was not enough capital expenditure of the right sort at the beginning, which made the matter worse.

Secondly, the mission suffered because of disease. Within a few days

of arrival nearly all the Jamaicans fell ill. This was clearly unexpected, believing as they did the argument that black skins were a protection against the worse effects of the African climatic conditions. Yet in retrospect nothing more could have been expected of a group composed of either over forties for the most part,and young children.

Thirdly, the quality of the recruits left much to be desired. Fuller who had travelled via London was a mechanic, Bundy a medical assistant, but the majority were untrained to deal with an initial situation. Furthermore, their expectations had been too high and the 'coloureds', who had come most of them as teachers, returned by 1847. The settlers, all black, fared much better and stayed in Bimbia.

Fourthly, the mission did not have the 'glamour' which had been an integral part of the Jamaican mission. No doubt some had hoped that this would have been transferred but there were three things which conspired against this. Firstly, the Niger Expedition had failed and by 1842 the Society was disappointed and frustrated. Secondly, by 1846, there had occurred a confrontation with the Presbyterians which robbed fringe support in the north. Thirdly, the black missionary did not present a picture as appealing as the white missionary speaking on behalf of the Black because the British public could not identify with him.

This lack of glamour was not the mission's fault but was due to the combination of unforseen circumstances against a background of reaction to Anti-Slavery policies by conservative groups.

Fifthly, there was a general decline in philanthropic support for universalistic missions. This coincided with an increased support for

denominational societies. Thus where Africa received help it came from narrow based societies e.g. C.M.S., S.M.S., and the Basel Mission. These were church-related societies and did not depend upon either popular or project appeal for their funds. The B.M.S. for its part was hard put to find popular projects which appealed to the churches and contented itself with a restatement of the Pauline concept - that the seed of the church is in itself. In 1845, Hinton had restated it as a great experiment to be tried in the missionfield.

Sixthly, there also existed severe opposition from the Spanish Government, the Roman Catholic church, the commercial houses and local kings. It would be easy in retrospect to blame John Clarke for leading the Society into a faulty commercial arrangement with the West African Company. There is no doubt however that the Company itself acted somewhat dishonestly and that its former employees Lynslager and Beecroft were at times distinctly unhelpful and even obstructive. We may not excuse Clarke and Prince either for their provocation of an uneasy situation by 'spying' on the Company's operations. But a modus vivendi might have been arrived at if the situation had not been aggravated by the arrival of the Spanish Government and the Roman Catholic church. The Government and the church obviously approved of Beecroft and this created a greater possibility of confrontation with the Mission.

Seventhly, the mission collapsed because the personnel was extended and transport to service it arrived late and was inadequate. Had the settlement occurred on the mainland primarily the outcome might have been different because communication would have been easier on a single land

mass. But the uncertainty of the Fernando Po establishment and its distance created uncertain lines of supply.

Despite the failure of the mission, however, and the collapse of the first 'Back-to-Africa' attempt, there was also a positive side to the endeavour.

The Mission helped to define the shape and structure of the Jamaican Baptist Church and determined its final form and proved right the observation made by Randall to Goderich with regard to Slavery that 'The Black in the West Indies will ... receive his Emancipation at the expense of his Brethren in Africa' (C.O. 267/117; April 19th, 1832).

This was true because Jamaica developed for herself with B.M.S. aid a theological college, an educational system for teacher training, a financial infra-structure for the churches and a missionary policy because of an Africa which it pretended to serve for four short years! And Africa for its part suffered by comparison with a stereotype and did not get the aid it needed until later in the century.

And yet despite the Jamaican advantage, Africa also gained. The new situation forced the Society to develop the indigenous peoples and on Saker's return in 1850, a new policy was put into operation, the fruits of which exist until today.

It must not however be interpreted that the Jamaican failure meant an absolute withdrawal of all Jamaicans. The younger ones grew up within the situation and gave a lasting contribution in the Cameroons, among them Joseph Fuller, Mammie Johnson and Mrs. John Pinnock. From the other denominations at later dates came missionaries to Gambia, Rio Pongas, Ghana and

Sierra Leone itself. While in Calabar the Presbyterians maintained a long line of Jamaicans well into the twentieth century. This was true also of the lesser known Qua Iboe mission.

Yet these West Indians were not a true succession of either the ideals which had inspired the Baptists to attempt an African mission or the hopes of the African Civilisation Society to change the face of Africa with Commerce, Christianity and Civilisation. For unlike their predecessors, they were consciously non-African and yet so African that both the differences and similarities were acute embarrassments.

Added to this, the faith which they possessed did not emerge within an integrated and authentic environment. Despite the movement from acculturation to indigenisation, the faith was not a part of the whole process and so was in some senses unreal and unauthentic. Thus the West Indian missionary tended to serve as 'among the people' but was seldom at one with his African brethren.

The true succession must be sought in that Church which Philip Hair described as related to more than a thousand years of Christianity and also to the traditions of African religion - Freetown Christianity (S.L.B.R. Vol. 6 No. 2, pp.13-20). It was here that the Cross became fused with Africa and from the Sierra Leonean Church that the real conversion of West Africa began but that is another largely untold story.

APPENDIX A

Short Biographies of the Chief Missionaries (with Jamaican connexions) to Africa 1841-1853

1. John Clarke 1802-1879

John Clarke, the most important missionary to Africa, was an Englishman (Scotsman?) born at Teviotdale, near Kelso on a small farm in 1802. He grew up on the land and at eighteen after a severe illness decided to become a Christian. He became attracted to the local Presbyterian church and influenced by Thom, a missionary to South Africa, decided to be a missionary. In 1823, however, he became a Baptist and began to attend the chapel in Berwick-on-Tweed.

Soon after this he became a teacher and moved to Ford Forge, Northumberland, where he began to study for the ministry under two neighbouring pastors.

He offered while at Ford Forge, to the B.M.S. and was accepted for service in Jamaica after a short spell at the Borough Road School. He was valedicted on July 28th, 1829 at the Eagle St. Church, London.

He married his pastor's eldest daughter and sailed for Jamaica, arriving in Kingston on December 12th, 1829.

Clarke succeeded William Knibb as teacher at the East Queen St. Normal School and also as pastor at Port Royal, where he came into contact with the Merricks, one of whom became his associate in West Africa.

In 1832, he moved to Spanish Town at the request of the Association

in order to give oversight during Phillippo's abaence. In 1833, he extended the work into St. Thomas ye Vale, founding 'Bove Rocks' (1834). During the same year, 1833, he was summoned before the Courts, cautioned for preaching without a licence outside Spanish Town, but the case was dismissed. He nevertheless continued and a convert, a Miss Cooper, offered her house at Constant Spring as a meeting place.

Phillippo returned in 1834 and Clarke moved to Constant Spring where a congregation of 500 had gathered regularly. A piece of land called Jericho was acquired and on August 1st 1835, the foundations were laid for a chapel seating 1,200 persons.

Jericho became the centre of a wide ranging work. From this congregation sprang Point Hill (1835), Moneague (1836), Hampshire (1836) and Mt. Nebo (1836?).

In 1839, Clarke suffered an attack of yellow fever and so severe was the attack that he was given over for dead. Preparations were made for the funeral and his faithful members had gathered to pray. He lived and travelled to the United States to recuperate. But on further advice went back to Britain to retire.

By this time the Jamaican Association had pressed for an African Mission and there was need of an initial survey. Clarke and Prince about whom unfortunately very little is known, went to Fernando Po, arriving there on January 1st 1841.

After a survey and the establishment of an embryonic church, Clarke and Prince returned via Jamaica to England, He then returned to West Africa via Jamaica in 1844 on the 'Chilmark' and remained there until 1847 when he

returned to Jamaica.

In 1848 he went back to Britain and was advised to give up all public speaking. But he held a small pastorate in Perth and returned to Jamaica in 1852, settling at Savana-la-Mar and Fuller's Field.

In 1853, he established a new cause at Sutcliffe Mount and re-organised Fuller's Field as a principal station, settling there one of his teachers.

In 1865 he moved to Jericho, his old church, and although crippled with arthritis so that he had to be carried from the Mission House to the pulpit, he continued until 1879, when he died.

His chief contribution to the Mission was his interest in African languages, which study he pioneered. He began to study these languages in 1830.[1] In response to Clarke, Dendy for instance supplied him with a list of his membership which showed Karomantees 19, Eboes, 119; Papaws, 17; Bondas, 3; Mandingoes, 5; Warnee, 1; Kongos, 29; Guineas, 40; Chambas, 6; Nangos, 5; Hausa, 1 and Mako, 5.[2] As early as 1845, Clarke had used the Lord's Prayer in Fernandian[3] and had remarked that he had given King Eyo books in Isubu.[4]

In 1847, Clarke gave oversight to the compilation and printing of Isubu and Fernandian primers, and lesson sheets and in 1848 Clarke was able

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1. Clarke, Specimens of Dialect etc., passim.
2. M.H. Dec. 1842, p.392. cf. Jan. 1841, p.10 letter d/d Aug. 31st, 1840.
3. Ibid., Apr. 1845, p.53 - a report of happenings on Nov. 19th, 1844.
4. Ibid., Dec. 1845, p.186: Merrick printed first books July 25th, 1844.

to give the Annual Meeting in London details of translations into at least fifteen local languages.[1]

But perhaps his most famous works in this regard are Introduction to the Fernandian Tongue (1848), which was a pamphlet designed to be used to make contact for purposes of evangelism. It was divided into two parts, the first half covering grammar and the second half the practical application of the grammar. It also contained a translation of Matthew, Chapters 3 - 5 and a hymn. Later on the same year he produced Specimens of Dialects Short Vocabularies of languages and notes of countries and customs in Africa (1848). This was a collection of 200 simple words in several dialects arranged in parallel columns and this was followed by a dictionary of terms and customs related to African daily life. Neither of the books was designed for sustained conversation but the words given were certainly an aid to conversation.

In 1850, he produced two memoirs, one of Richard Merrick and the other of Joseph, his son. These books sometimes are bound in one volume, at other times they exist separately. They are now extremely rare.

In 1863, Clarke, aware of the impending Jubilee of the Jamaican Mission in 1869, sent out circulars to every Baptist Missionary and produced Memorials of Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica including a sketch of the labours of early religious Instructors. This is still a standard work on the early history of Jamaica and ought to be revised and reprinted.

Apart from this Clarke conducted an extensive correspondence. Letters exist to Joseph Angus in several places, to Underhill, especially on the

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1. Ibid., June 1848, p.86

Innes disturbances of the African Mission, and with the Ethnological Society, of which he was a corresponding member. It is hoped that a more extensive work on Clarke will one day be forthcoming.

References

Clarke: Memorials of Baptist Missionaries etc., pp.134-140

Missionary Herald, Nov. 1879, pp.330-331 and Dec. 1879, pp.359-364

A Cameo of Clarke exists in B.M.S. Headquarters and was painted by H. Room - engraved by J. Cochra.

2. Joseph Merrick 1818-1849

Joseph Merrick was born at Port Royal, Jamaica on August 24th, 1818. His father Richard (see Clarke, A Memoir of Richard Merrick (1850) Angus Library, Oxford) was a 'quadroon', one of the colour gradations current in nineteenth century Jamaica and his mother, Rosanna, was a 'mulatto'. His mother had been a slave along with the children but their father had bought their freedom.

Joseph was twelve when his father and his sister Diana were baptized and became Baptists and he wept because they had left the Established Church.

He attended the Port Royal school but he also had some private tuition from two sergeants stationed at the barracks,in Shorthand, English grammar and Latin.

On graduation he was apprenticed to the Watchman as a printer on the advice of John Clarke and while there attended classes in French and Spanish.

In 1834, his parents moved to St. John's to engage in pastoral work and Joseph was left with Robert Osborn, one of the owners of the newspaper and an American. Without parental guidance he dropped his studies and began to learn ballroom dancing.

In 1836, the Watchman sent him to Spanish Town although his apprenticeship was incomplete, to start a subsidiary newspaper, the Telegraph, but it collapsed due to bad financing and clashes with the authorities. And during the same year his sister contracted tuberculosis and died at Port Royal in his presence in 1837.

Diana's death affected him and during the same year he went to Jericho

to fill his sister's place as a teacher at Clarke's school and began to learn Hebrew and Greek.

He was baptized in 1838 and in 1839 he was ordained co-pastor together with his father at Jericho as locum tenens for Clarke, who had to leave due to illness. And that same year he was accredited by the B.M.S. as a missionary in Jamaica.

In 1842, he travelled to Britain with Clarke and Prince bound for West Africa on which he had set his heart years before, after having raised £556 (approx.) for the B.M.S. Jubilee Fund.

On June 14th, 1843, his wife and himself sailed with Alexander Fuller from London for Fernando Po, arriving on September 6th, 1843. He established the first station on the mainland at Bimbia and pioneered not only language study but mapped the area before Burton did so accurately. He died at sea on October 22nd, 1849 en route to Britain to recuperate.

Although his life was short Merrick was responsible for a large number of things. Beginning in Fernando Po, he set up a printery and printed the first books in Fernandian and Isubu in 1844. In 1845, he moved from Fernando Po to Bimbia in the West Cameroons to live and transferred the printery there. There he was responsible for: a hymnbook in Isubu, translations of Genesis and Exodus, Matthew's and John's Gospel, several extracts from the Old and New Testaments (Acts of the Apostles, mainly), a dictionary in Isubu which ran to over 60 pages of type, St. Mark's Gospel (but this was not printed, only set in type), an Isubu grammar and a dictionary of comparative terms in seven dialects.

Apart from this he established a church in Bimbia which had its

influence both in East and West Cameroons. He also preached both in English and Isubu and his facility in the languages of the region was well known.

The biography written by John Clarke is biased and a pamphlet on his life should be done. There is much material in Clarke's Memoir of Joseph Merrick (1850) which could be supplemented by extracts in the Missionary Herald between 1844 - 1849. It would appear that Merrick wrote a journal but it has not yet come to light although parts of it are reported in the Missionary Herald.

His wife returned to Jamaica and died some time in 1880 but it would appear that very little of his work remains either in Britain or Jamaica. But a lasting memorial exists in the Cameroon Baptist church.

See: Clarke, Memorials of Baptist Missionaries etc., pp.206-210.

" Memoir of Joseph Merrick (1850), 104 pages.

M.H. Nov. 1968, pp.166-167 (article: Basil Amey).

An engraving of Merrick is reproduced in Missionary Herald, Feb. 1845 (Frontispiece) and is the only one available.

3. Joseph Jackson Fuller 1825-1908

Joseph Jackson Fuller spanned the longest period of the African Mission, from 1844-1887, when the Cameroon mission was handed over to the Basel Mission because the region was annexed by Germany. He experienced the unsettled state of affairs in 1845 in Fernando Po, and helped to move the mission to Bimbia in 1846, and in 1858 helped in the final move from Clarence to the new settlement Victoria, which still exists. After the annexation in 1886, he attempted to become a part of the Congo Mission, launched with his help from the Cameroons in 1879, but this proved too much for a sixty-one year old and he retired to Britain with his second wife Charlotte and lived in Stoke Newington.

Fuller was born in Spanish Town of slave parents and was himself a slave. Fortunately his lot was easy since in the towns owners treated their slaves with kindness. His mother belonged to a Jewess and it would appear that his maternal grandparents were also a part of that household. His father belonged to an English family named Cole and his paternal grandfather seemed to have belonged to that household. And so although there was no marriage permitted between his parents, the family was as stable as it could be and his mother produced two children, Joseph and Samuel, for Alexander McCloud Fuller.

Not much is known about Alexander except that he accompanied Merrick, Clarke and Prince to Britain in 1842, having been sponsored by Phillippo for the African Mission. He was a mechanic and after training went with Merrick and Prince to Fernando Po in 1843, moving subsequently to Bimbia

where he died in 1847.

With his father gone, Joseph came under the influence of his grandparents, particularly his maternal grandparents, for it would appear he was a member of this Jewish household. He attended the Metropolitan school attached to the Baptist church and since he paid, it is certain that his relatives were not badly off.

He had been chosen to accompany his father, but at the last moment a higher bid for the available berth robbed him of immediate travel. He decided to become a brick-layer but consulted his father by letter on the matter and was told not to sign the Indenture he planned as he had other ideas for him.

By this time, emancipation was a fact and his grandparents became full members of the Spanish Town Baptist church, his mother married a Mr. Bullock, who was now a deacon and had suffered in the past for his faith.

In 1844 the 'Chilmark' arrived in Jamaica and John Clarke stayed in Spanish Town to recruit for Africa. It would appear that Alexander had given Clarke the impression that the boys were to accompany him to Africa. Joseph had other ideas, although Samuel, the younger, was in favour.

It came to a head with Reid, a senior deacon and a confidant of the family, persuading him to go and so with his brother, he sailed from Kingston to Falmouth and from there to Clarence, Fernando Po on the 'Chilmark'.

Alexander Fuller married one of the passengers who had come out on the 'Chilmark' and with the two boys set up a home on the island until 1846, when they moved at Merrick's request to Bimbia. There he helped lay out

the 'township', and erected the houses for Jubilee.

His main tasks were in the printery. Merrick taught the boys to set type and to print and most of their time was spent in this. And here he remained with his brother until the death of Merrick and the disintegration of the mission.

He did find time after the death of his father, which had a lasting impression upon him, to engage in evangelistic work and he established schools in several parts of the region between 1847-1850.

With the death of his father, the boys separated. Samuel taught in Cameroons with Saker, while he remained in Bimbia to print and teach and when Newbigin died in 1850, was left in charge of the Mission.

He remained assistant to Saker from 1850-1859, being responsible for all the printing and collaborating with him on the Dualla version of the Bible. And in 1859 he was ordained to the Christian ministry and exercised pastoral rather than educational functions. And when Saker retired was in fact the Superintendent of the Mission in the Cameroons.

Fuller was married twice. Very little is known about the background of his first wife. But we do know that none of the children of that marriage survived. She died in 1859. He subsequently married Charlotte, the daughter of a fellow missionary, an Englishwoman, on New Year's Day, 1861 and had at least one son.

He translated the Pilgrim's Progress into Dualla and also the Gospel according to St. Mark, but Saker forbade the printing of the latter until he had checked it. Nevertheless, a few copies had been run off but it would appear these did not survive.

His importance for the historians lies in the part he played in the development of a language and a national consciousness in the region. It was the trust he developed which enabled the Mission to be handed over as smoothly as it occurred in 1887, and he more than anyone else through Baynes, the Secretary of the Society, established the good will between Christians.

On the wider canvas his name appears appended to most of the treaties between the Naval squadron stationed in the area and local kings. And he despite much opposition, eradicated the practice of human sacrifice and reduced witchcraft.

An annotated publication of his autobiography is long overdue and his place in Cameroon history has scarcely been assessed.

References

Fuller: Autobiography of J.J. Fuller (mimeographed) (1902?)

" Journal (4 pages in note form) (n.d.)

" The West African Mission of the B.M.S. from its beginning to 1887 (mss. circa 200 pages) (n.d.)

" Cameroons and Fernando Po (similar to 'The West African Mission etc. 29 pages) (n.d.)

The Baptist Handbook 1909, pp.483-484

The Missionary Herald, Feb. 1909, pp.55-56

Lewis These Seventy Years - an autobiography (1930) passim

Several photographs of Fuller exist in B.M.S. Headquarters but for the most usual cameo see M.H. Feb. 1909, p.55.

4. Thomas Milbourne 1819-1899

Thomas Milbourne relates to Jamaica in a roundabout way. His chief relationship with the region was that his first wife Catherine was the eldest daughter of William Knibb, whom he married in 1848 and that not only did he live in Jamaica from 1850 to 1858, but was the Captain of the 'Dove' and had much to do with the welfare of the African Mission.

Milbourne was the son of John Milbourne of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a family of considerable property including Armathwaite Castle. He was born on April 5th, 1819 and was by birth a freeman of Carlisle and Newcastle. He ran away to sea at an early age but by the age of twenty he had obtained a master's certificate.

About this time he was converted and applied to the B.M.S. for a berth on the 'Dove'. After being appointed Mate he was subsequently made Master and after a chase at sea by the pirate ship 'Raven' landed the missionaries on Fernando Po in 1845. He operated the 'Dove' under the superintendency of Clarke and in 1847 took it to Jamaica for repairs and with the view to a sale. He sailed it to Haiti but when he failed to sell returned to Jamaica and from there to Britain in 1848.

By this time he had courted and wed Catherine, Knibb's eldest daughter and they went together to Fernando Po in 1848 on the 'Dove's' second spell of duty. Unfortunately, her cousin who had care of her mother in Jamaica died and she fell ill and so Milbourne resigned in 1850 and returned to Jamaica to live.

On the death of Catherine at Stewarton on October 11th, 1858, it would

appear that Milbourne returned to sea because he was Master of the 'Wanderer' which took a missionary party including Charlotte Diboll, the second wife of Fuller, back to Cameroons in 1860.

He next appears in affairs to do with King Pepple of Bonny. He had become an agent for some African merchants and it would appear that in August 1863, Milbourne had accepted an appointment as an agent to King Pepple. There is evidence to suggest that Pepple wished him to see the Bishop of London about sending a missionary to Bonny and Lord Palmerston about an old man-of-war for a hulk.

Milbourne at this time lived in Sierra Leone where he shared a house with Burton, the British consul, and on Burton's retirement was offered the Consulate, which he refused for family reasons.

In 1863, he married Sarah Thomas, a granddaughter of John Thomas, Carey's colleague to India, but not much is known about this marriage. And after this he gave up the sea and went to live at Fairford, supervising the Baptist church at Maisey Hampton and the other village churches in association with his brother-in-law, Charles Kingsley.

References

Clarke: Memorials of Baptist Missionaries etc., pp.113-114.

M.H. Dec. 1899, pp.553-554.

Fuller: Autobiography (p.31ff (personal mimeograph copy))

5. Angus Duckett

Angus Duckett was a Jamaican, probably from the Falmouth area, for he was a member of that church and a teacher in the school. His date of birth is unknown and the background of his early life also a mystery. But we know that he volunteered for Africa and sailed on the 'Chilmark' to Fernando Po. There he married Ann Cooper, a teacher from Brown's Town who also travelled on the 'Chilmark' on July 17th, 1844.

Duckett was chief assistant to Merrick and acquired great facility in Isubu, using it in his preaching.

He fell seriously ill in 1847 and had to be taken from Bimbia to Clarence. There it was decided that he should return to Jamaica which he did on the 'Dove' that same year and went to teach at Salter's Hill.

In Jamaica he was given three years to live but survived until 1853, when he entered Calabar College for training. After two years he was called to Cross, Clarendon and was ordained, giving oversight also to Hayes, Vere, an area with strong links with Africa.

On May 30th, 1859, Mrs. Duckett died leaving him with two children and he remarried in 1860. East reports an interview with him in 1884, so that it is probable that he died about 1890, after which date no accounts appear.

See: Clarke: Memorials of Baptist Missionaries, pp.212-213.

M.H. May 1844, p.285; Sept. 1844, p.349, 350; Aug. 1849, pp.128-129

The Freeman Nov. 7th, 1855

6. Accredited missionaries with little biographical data available

George K. Prince	1841-1848	(d.1865)	medical missionary
Alexander Fuller	1843-1847	(d.1847)	pastor and mechanic
George Williams	1848-1852	(d.1852)	asst. to Newbigin, teacher
William Newbigin	1843-1850	(d.1850)	medical missionary
Isabella Stewart	1844-1846	married Byl and migrated to USA, teacher	
William Norman	1844-1846	given a pension by B.M.S., teacher	
William Trusty	1848- ?	teacher	

Non accredited status but probably helped by John Clarke

William White	1844-1847	(d.1847)	returned to Jamaica 1847
Francis Duffus	1844-1845	(d.1845)	settler and teacher
George Ennis	1844-1847		"
William Gallimore	1844-1846	(returned to Jamaica 1846)	settler and teacher
George Bundy	1844-1846	(returned to Jamaica)	medical asst.
William Phillips	1844- ?	his son returned to Jamaica in 1847 but no trace occurs in the records after that date.	

APPENDIX B

B.M.S. Secretaries during the period of study

Andrew Fuller	1792-1815	(part time)	
John Ryland	1815-1825	"	
James Hinton	1825-1827	"	
John Dyer	1827-1841	(full time)	
Joseph Angus	1840-1849	"	
Frederick Trestrail	1849-1870	"	Joint secretaries
Edward Underhill	1849-1876		Joint secretaries

Appendix C

A Graph of the Comparative Expenditure of the BMS 1819-1861 (correct to nearest '000)

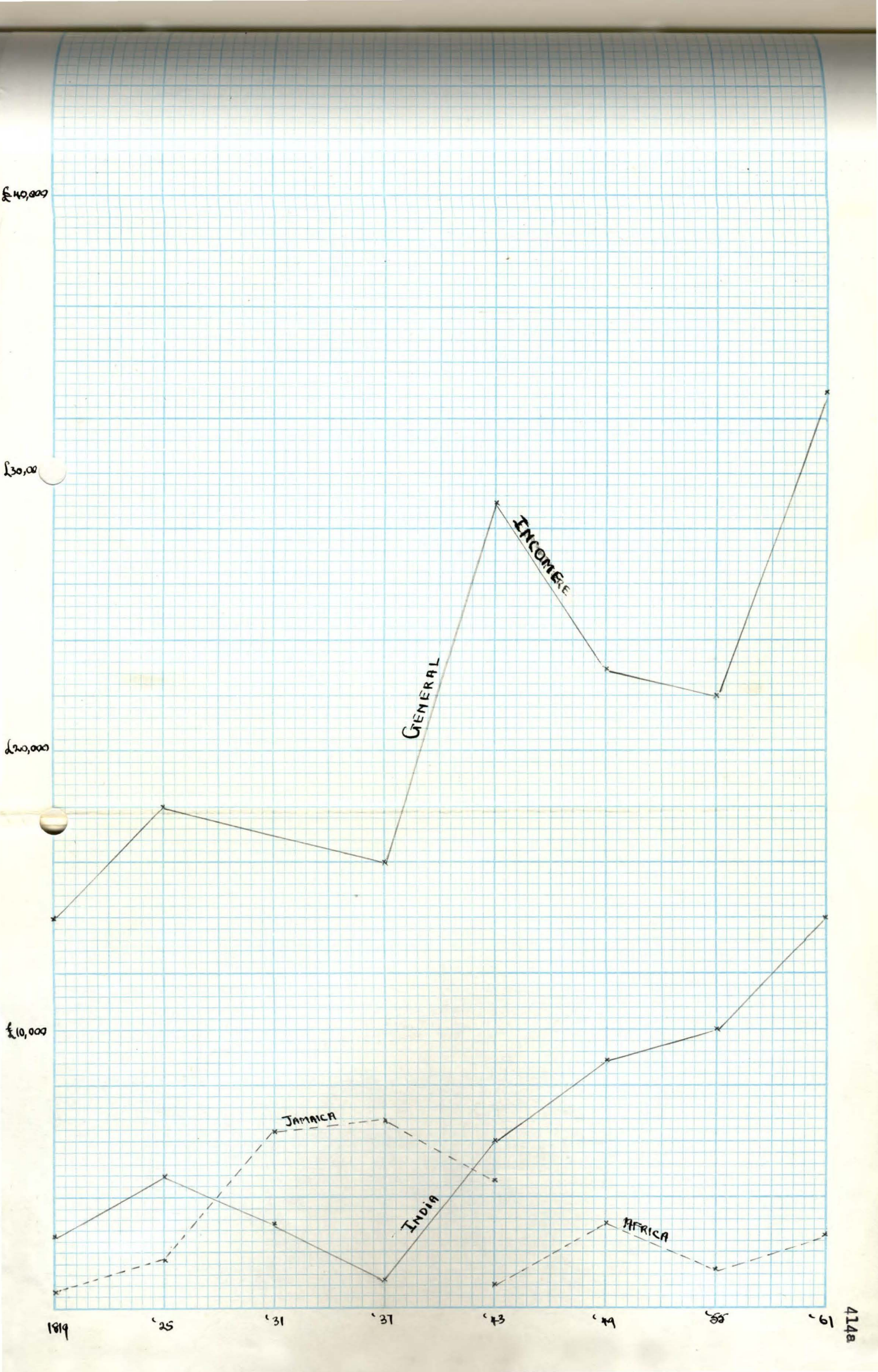
(i) India means all work including Serampore and Printing but does not include Java or Ceylon.

(ii) Jamaica means all work including educational work.

(iii) Africa means all expenses including the 'Dove'.

Note: (1) The rise in general Income in 1843 was due to the Jubilee celebration.

(2) 1843 marks end of Jamaican involvement and beginning of African Mission.


£40,000
£30,000
£20,000
£10,000
GENERAL
INCOME
JAMAICA
INDIA
AFRICA
1819
'25
'31
'37
'43
'49
'55
'61

Appendix C

F I N A N C E

A TABLE OF COMPARATIVE EXPENDITURE CORRECT TO THE NEAREST £'000 FOR THE DECADE PRECEDING AND SUCCEEDING THE AFRICAN MISSION

The expenditure of the B.M.S. includes total expenditure as a guide to the amount available for spending. The West Indian figure is limited to Jamaica and has been gathered from Annual Reports and compared with figures given by Underhill in Principles and Methods, etc. pp. 380-381. I have relied upon his judgement but have not always accepted it. The figures for India, include Mission Work, salaries Serampore, Translation and Printing, but do not include Ceylon or Java. Calabar Theological College is listed separately and the figures include transportation, salaries and the expenses of the Normal School. West African expenditure is all inclusive.

	B.M.S.	INDIA	JAMAICA	WEST AFRICA	CALABAR
1834	17	4	7	NF	NF
35	36	3	4	NF	NF
36	27	2	19*	NF	NF
37	16	2	7	NF	NF
38	18	2	8	NF	NF
39	22	6	6	NF	NF
40	22	6	7	NF	NF
41	29	5	8	.4	NF
42	26	5	7	.7	NF
43	29	6	5	.7	1
44	22	4	1	3	.4
45	20	3	2	4	.5
46	26	6	1	4	.4
47	28	6	.04	5	.4
48	22	7	.2	3	.4
49	24	9	.03	3	.5

1850	20	6	.1	2	.3
51	19	5	.2	2	.4
52	19	7	.3	1	.5
53	NF	NF	.3	NF	NF
54	NF	NF	.4	NF	NF

* includes figure from the British Grant indemnifying Riot damage of 1832.

FIGURE CONTRIBUTED BY JAMAICAN CHURCHES TO B.M.S. FOR THE AFRICAN MISSION IN THE FIRST DECADE, £'000

1841	.2
42	.3
43	.2
44	.5
45	.04
46	.01
47	.2
48	.2
49	.08
50	.04
51	.05

Appendix D

The Six Resolutions of the Jamaica Presbytery passed at Goshen 1841, see: Goldie and Dean: Calabar and its Mission (1901) pp. 71-72.

1. That the time seems to have arrived, and to be in an eminent degree favourable for introducing the blessed Gospel into Central Africa.

2. That the long neglected and critical condition of the inhabitants of that vast country, hitherto sunk in the deepest darkness, and exposed to all the miseries of the most iniquitous system that ever defiled or desolated the earth, together with the duty which the Church owes to the Lord Jesus to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature and the Divine prediction apparently about to be fulfilled "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand to God" demand of us most seriously to consider our duty in that solemn and important matter.

3. That the employment of some of the intelligent and pious black and brown people, already under training in our Churches of the West Indies as assistants seems to be the best means that can be devised for commencing and carrying on the work but that it is indispensable that they be accompanied by ordained missionaries from the island whose experience, already acquired in the work and whose constitutions already acclimatised to the tropics, besides prossessing the confidence of our native teachers, would render them in all probability, fitter for this new missionary field than others direct from Scotland.

4. That our congregations feel a deep interest in the matter and have been forward and zealous in promoting it wherever it has been brought before them, even to urging of the subject on us their ministers.

5. That in dependence on Divine promises, we all express a willing devotion of ourselves to the Lord for this service in any way He pleases to call upon us, and that particularly we engage to furnish one, or if necessary, two of our number, beside several assistance from our churches, to go forth to Africa.

6. That in the most earnest manner we call on the Socieities we are connected with to take up the business and to go forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

Appendix E

The Clarke-Eyamba Agreement - October 10th 1845 see (Missionary Herald, March 1846, p. 233).

1. All persons desirious of receiving instruction in reading and writing and in the doctrines of the Christian religion are to be allowed to attend the missionary station, or elsewhere at suitable times, when such attendance does not interfere with their duties as servants or as subjects.

2. That all proper encouragement shall be given to persons to attend; but that no force shall be used to compel such attendance, except on the part of parents, who have the right to compel if they choose, their children to attend schools, for the benefit in after years. Children being unable to judge for themselves of that which is for their real benefit, parents are authorized by God, to direct them in their duty, and to enforce obedience to their right commands.

3. That all encouragement shall be given to the missionaries to instruct the people, and that all who choose shall be allowed to attend upon their instructions; especially on the first day of the week, which is God's Day, and is required by God to be set apart from other days for his service and in commemoration of the raising of his son Jesus Christ from the dead.

4. That the missionaries shall not be expected to interfere in any differences or wars except as peace-makers; their work being for the good of all.

5. That the missionaries and all connected with them, shall be at liberty to buy and sell in the market, or in the town, the same as the other inhabitants, to hire men or women to do their proper work, and have all the privileges in this respect enjoyed by the townsmen.

6. That there shall be no attempt made to hinder the missionaries, or any connected with them from visiting any town or country near or distant, for the purpose of teaching the way of eternal life to the people. They shall enjoy the full liberty of the subjects of Gfeat Britain; but must go to any town or country at their own expense and risk; King Eyamba or his people not being chargeable with the expense of the journey nor accountable for their safety whilst prosecuting it.

7. That no unreasonable charge shall be made for food or labour, but that all such food or labour shall be honourably paid for according to the rate at which provisions are sold and labour performed to other inhabitants of the place.

8. Should anyone injure the missionaries they are to seek redress from King Eyamba; and should any missionary or person connected with a missionary offend King Eyamba, he is to state his complaint to the superintendent, who if unable to settle the matter immediately, will lay the case before a meeting of missionaries at Fernando Po, or before the committee in England.

Appendix F

The Instructions (Agreement) between Milbourne and the Committee on the Management of the Dove.

To Captain Milbourne d/d November 20th, 1848.

1. We hereby place the Dove in your care to take the Brethren to Western Africa - to employ her for 12 months visiting the different stations of the B.M.S. and at the end of time to leave her there or take her to such parts as the Committee of the Society may direct - In these visits you are to act on your own discretion 'with certain provisos' - but always for the comfort of the missionaries.

2. In case where there are stores at Clarence or elsewhere for the Missionaries, let them be detained for the shortest possible time. Visit the station with the largest consignment.

3. Unless there are important reasons vist each station in succession. At each station place vessel at disposal of missionaries but if for any reason why this should not be so have a discussion on the matter.

4. Have a fixed schedule of visits e.g. Calabar every 1st weeks; Bimbia every third week etc.

5. The Dove must not relinquish the visiting without consent from London and general agreement between Captain and Missionaries.

6. While the command is the Captain's - the brethren have authority to reclaim the entire command if circumstances arise which the majority feel justify it.

7. The limit of operation costs for Dove is £500 for the next year (49) which includes salaries, stores etc.

8. If more money is needed, the vessel must not suffer for (Of) a low estimate.

9. You have offered to command Dove on the Coast of Africa at £10 per month and therefore engagement terminates early 1850.

10. You must give the brethren in Africa 3 months notice, which is the time needed to return to England.

11. As long as the Captain remains beyond 12 months, he will be paid at same rate per month.

12. Although the Committee regards "M" as a messenger of Christ - the arrangement is a business one and no claim will be made on him beyond the contract. This is the Committee's understanding of his wish and don't want any misunderstanding.

13. Salary commences when the Dove sails - and in Africa but if Committee asks her to return during the 12 months Melbourne must accede.

14. In event of the termination of the contract abroad, the Society is not responsible for fares to England, but if health fails, the Society will pay fare to England but Mrs. M must pay her own fare.

15. It is agreed that salary cease on leaving service of the Mission except in event of coming home at the end of the engagement, without working in any other vessel - then salary will continue but fare will be own responsibility.

16. Mrs. Milbourne's board while on the Dove, will be paid by the Society but all expenses ashore by her husband.

17. Sailing and General Instructions (Home Letters No.1974) are still in force.

P.S. We understand that a servant from Jamaica (Elizabeth Simpson) goes with Mrs. Milbourne (Catherine Knibb). To this we do not object but all charges and risks connected with her going beyond her board will be met by you.

Appendix G

These resolutions were drawn up in the presence of Birrell and Angus, the deputation of 1847, sent out to investigate the conditions.

Missionary Herald, July 1847, pp. 103-05

ARRANGEMENTS ON BEHALF OF JAMAICA.

It will be remembered that a part of the duty confided to the deputation which recently visited Jamaica was "to confer with the brethren there on questions which have arisen since the independence of the churches." These questions related principally to the nature and degree of connexion to subsist between the ministers and churches there and the Society. Our friends in the island were anxious that the Society should exercise influence there, in ways which seemed to the Committee to be inconsistent with that perfect independence to which self-supporting churches are entitled. The deputation found accordingly a prevalent and strong conviction that it would prove injurious to the churches if the Committee were to leave them at present to their own guidance, and withdraw the superintendence and protection which they feel to be still needed. When Messrs. Angus and Birrell were about to leave the island, a general meeting of missionaries and pastors was held, at which their views were embodied in a series of resolutions to be forwarded to this country, with an earnest request that the Committee would accede to them. They were these :—

1. That the Deputation be requested to represent to the Committee the desirableness of placing those missionaries who have been sent out by them between January 1840 and April 1845 on the same footing as those who were sent out previous to that period; and as the same is defined in the Resolutions of the Annual Meeting of April, 1845.

2. Some doubt having arisen as to the position of brethren in this island who were accepted by the Society, and sent out to aid in supplying stations as preaching schoolmasters at the request and charge of individual missionaries; and the Deputation having stated that the Committee could not regard them as having any pecuniary claim on the Society,—Resolved, "That in all cases where such brethren are pastors of churches, with the consent of the Committee, they be regarded by the brethren generally, as occupying a position as honourable as their own; and that so far as their position in reference to the Committee is concerned, the Committee be requested to consider them (should the proposed Widows' Fund be formed) as eligible to all the benefits of that fund, on the terms that may be laid down for other brethren."

3. The question being raised whether in case the health of any one of the missionaries fail, and he be compelled to relinquish his labours in Jamaica, the Committee regard the Society as responsible for the expenses of his return to England. The Deputation explained that the practice of the Society in such cases is to meet as much of the expense of a missionary's return as may be necessary; but that whenever the church over which he presides is able to meet all the expense, or part of it, the Committee rely on their help. Resolved, "That this explanation be regarded as satisfactory."

4. The question being raised whether in the event of the churches in Jamaica being unable or unwilling to support their pastors,

missionaries sent out by the Society have any claim to be taken home at the expense of the Society; and the Deputation having explained that by the words "full and final discharge of all claims whatever," it was certainly contemplated by the Society that such a case would not arise, and need not be provided for, Resolved, "That the Deputation be requested to represent to the Committee the great desirableness of placing all the brethren sent out previous to 1845, on the same footing in this respect as any missionary of the Society; i. e. that if the pecuniary circumstances of the churches are such as to make it necessary in the judgment of any of these brethren to leave Jamaica, he be regarded as free to write to the Committee in reference to such circumstances; and that the Committee be free to consider his application, and, if they deem it right, to aid in providing for his removal from the island in such a way as the facts of each case may seem to justify."

5. A question having arisen as to the position of pastors in Jamaica not sent out or taken up by the Committee, but occupying property now in trust for the Society, the Deputation explained that the Society cannot regard them as having any claim upon their funds under any circumstances, though the Committee will be quite prepared to concur in their occupying trust property on the same terms and conditions as those pastors whom the Society sent out, and which are contained in the trust deeds, or in the accompanying resolutions.

6. That the Committee be respectfully requested to give their aid and sanction in reconveying, as it may be found convenient, all chapel property in Jamaica connected with the Society, on such trusts as are expressed in the model deed now laid by the Deputation before the brethren: and at the same time to pass a resolution not to sell any of the chapel property without the concurrence of a majority of ministers in the island appointed in conformity with the subsequent resolutions.

7. That in the opinion of the brethren, it is exceedingly desirable in the present state of the churches in Jamaica, that the accounts of each station, after being duly audited and signed on behalf of the church, and entered in the church book, should be forwarded early in January to the Committee, with a request that they will examine the same, and give to the church from time to time such suggestions and encouragement as the pecuniary circumstances of each may seem to demand; and that the audited accounts of every church applying for a minister, be laid before any one who may be selected for it by the Committee, for his information and guidance.

8. That the Committee be respectfully requested not to concur in the occupancy of any chapel now in trust by any minister, unless he acknowledge the debts shown by the audited accounts of the church to be due upon the chapel for building and other than casual repairs; and undertake, if required, to meet from the income of the church, the interest and so much of the principal as the annual receipts will allow; and unless he accede to the resolutions now adopted.

9. That while the brethren disclaim all interference with the independency of the churches, they respectfully suggest that the Committee should not allow chapels now in trust to be taken possession of, except by such ministers only as are known to the Committee to be of good character, and are of good standing with the majority of the pastors of the churches, appointed in accordance with the present trust deeds or these resolutions.

10. That in case any church in Jamaica apply to the Committee for a pastor, they be requested to inquire for and obtain one, on receiving from the church at least one half of the expenses of his outfit; and on receiving the concurrence of the majority of the pastors who are members of the Missionary Fund, in charging the remainder to that fund.

11. That none of the foregoing provisions are understood to imply the existence of any pecuniary responsibility on the part of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, whose funds are not to be regarded as at all liable for any expenses connected with the carrying on of the cause of God in this island; nor is it intended that they should interfere in any way with the resolutions adopted by the Society at their annual meeting in 1845, except so far as these resolutions may hereafter be modified by the Committee in compliance with the resolution in reference to missionaries sent out since 1840.

12. That it is distinctly understood that no minister who may be hereafter sent to Jamaica, or who may now, or at any future time, be pastor of a church in Jamaica, though not sent out or taken up by the Society, has any claim whatever on the Society for any purpose in consequence of the resolutions now adopted, or in consequence of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society acceding to them.

13. That in the opinion of the brethren it is most desirable, in order to revive and perpetuate a missionary spirit among the members of our churches, and to carry on the cause of God in this island and elsewhere, that a "Missionary Union and Auxiliary to the Baptist Missionary Society" should be formed, whose object shall be to obtain at least £1000 a year, or an average of one shilling from each member, to be sent home and devoted to such objects as the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society may direct; it being suggested, that in the present state of the chapels and chapel debts in this island, a considerable part of this sum should be spent at the discretion of the Committee to meet chapel debts or aid cases of religious destitution in the island.

14. That we, whose names are attached,

heartily concur in all the foregoing resolutions, and will deem the adoption of them by the Committee as the harbinger of better times for the churches in Jamaica: they meet and will remove the misunderstanding that has unhappily arisen between some of the missionaries and the Committee: they define the position of all, and they contain provisions in reference to the chapel property in this island, and the control of it by the Committee, which we regard as just to all parties, while they will prove (as we hope) highly conducive to the peace and spiritual interests of the churches at large.

Joshua Tinson, Pastor, *Rio Bueno.*
James M. Phillippo, Pastor, *Spanish Town.*
Pastor, *Old Harbour.*
Thomas F. Abbott, Pastor, *Falmouth.*
Walter Dendy, Pastor, *Salters' Hill.*
J. Hutchins, Pastor, *Savannah la Mar.*
Benjamin B. Dexter, Pastor, *Steward Town.*
John Clark, Pastor, *Brown's Town.*
Samuel Oughton, Pastor, *East Queen Street.*
David Day, Pastor, *Port Maria.*
George Rouse, Pastor, *Port Royal.*
J. E. Henderson, Pastor, *Waldensia.*
Benjamin Millard, Pastor, *St. Ann's Bay.*
Philip H. Cornford, Pastor, *Montego Bay.*
John May, Pastor, *Lucea.*
Chas. Armstrong, Pastor, *Gurney's Mount.*
Edward Hewett, Pastor, *Mount Carey.*
James Hurford Wood, Pastor, *Hanover St.*
Thomas B. Pickton, Pastor, *Bethtephil.*
G. R. Henderson, Pastor, *Bethsalem.*
Thomas Hands, Pastor, *Manchester.*
Thomas Gould, Pastor, *Coultart's Grove.*
Robert Gay, Pastor, *Refuge.*
James Hume, Pastor, *Mount Hermon.*
Samuel Jones, Pastor, *Manchioneal.*
William Teal, Pastor, *Mount Angus.*
Samuel Hodges, Pastor, *Sturge Town.*
Henry Bloomfield, Teacher, *Jericho.*
Jabez Tunley, Pastor, *Spring Field.*

At the Quarterly Meeting of the Committee, held at the Mission House in Moorgate Street, on the 16th of June, these Resolutions, a copy of which had been previously furnished to each member, were maturely considered. After hearing a variety of explanatory remarks from the deputation, and deliberating on the subject in its various bearings, the Committee resolved, first, that Resolutions 2 to 14 inclusive, be acceded to; and, secondly, that Resolution No. 1 be acceded to, subject to the approval of the next annual meeting. Another Resolution, having relation to the Widows' Fund, remains for future consideration; but this is altogether independent of the rest, and the Jamaica brethren themselves, while they propose it as desirable, agree that "If the Committee are compelled to decline all aid, their decision is not to influence in any way the foregoing Resolutions, nor is it to diminish the satisfaction of the brethren on their being adopted."

Questions that have occasioned long and perplexing correspondence are thus apparently settled, in a manner that is perfectly in accordance with the wishes of the brethren in Jamaica. May the practical working of the arrangements conduce to the comfort and usefulness of the Redeemer's servants both at home and abroad!

Appendix H

Model Trust Deed

The signing of this Deed was a condition of the Grant. With this Deed the BMS effectively severed all financial responsibility for the Jamaican Baptists.

Missionary Herald, 1847, pp. 529-532.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.

Among the resolutions, published last month, to which a general meeting of missionaries and pastors in Jamaica had requested the Committee to accede, and to which the Committee had assented on the 16th of June, it will be remembered that the following article was included:—"That the Committee be respectfully requested to give their aid and sanction in re-conveying, as far as it may be found convenient, all chapel property in Jamaica connected with the Society, on such trusts as are expressed in the Model Deed now laid by the Deputation before the brethren." As a sight of the provisions of this Model Deed will doubtless gratify many members of the Society, we subjoin it, only remarking that some phrases in the preamble will of course be modified in correspondence with the varying circumstances attending the original acquisition of the property to be put in trust.

THIS INDENTURE, made the day of , in the year of our Lord 18 , between [the vendor], of the first part, [the missionary], of the 2nd part, and [the trustees] being persons nominated and approved by the Baptist missionary as trustees for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, of the 3rd part. Whereas on the 2nd day of October, 1792, certain ministers of the gospel of the denomination of Particular Baptists (that is to say, the Rev. John Ryland, Reynolds Hogg, John Sutcliff, Andrew Fuller, Abraham Greenwood, Edward Sharman, Joshua Burton, Samuel Pearce, Thomas Pearce, Thomas Blundel, William Heighton, John Eayres, Joseph Tims being then assembled at Kettering in the county of Northampton, by certain resolutions, under their respective hands, did agree to act in society for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen, and did further agree that such society should be called "The Particular Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen;" And whereas the said society have ever since continued in existence and operation, and whereas at a general meeting of the members of the said society held at Exeter Hall, in the county of Middlesex, on the 27th day of April, 1843, a certain plan of regulations was duly adopted and established as the plan and regulations of the said society, and in particular it was thereby declared and resolved that the name by which the said society had been and still was designated, was "The Particular Baptist Missionary Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen," or "The Baptist Missionary Society;" And whereas the said [missionary] hath for some time past acted as one of the missionaries of the said society at [name the place where the proposed chapel will be situated], or in the neighbourhood thereof, and hath in the course of his duties as such missionary become possessed of certain sums of money intended to be laid out in providing a chapel or place of worship, with such appurtenances as might be thought proper, to be settled in manner hereinafter expressed, for the use of the Baptist church now or lately under the pastoral care of the said [missionary] at aforesaid; And the said [missionary], in pursuance of such intention, and with the concurrence of the parties hereto, of the 3rd part, has contracted and agreed with the said [vendor] for the absolute purchase of the piece of ground and hereditaments hereinafter described and released, at or for the price or sum of [state the price in the proper currency]; Now this indenture witnesseth that in pursuance of the said agreement, and in consideration of the said sum of [state the price in the proper currency] to the said [vendor], in hand, paid by the said [missionary] out of the moneys in his hands, as aforesaid, at or before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof he the said [vendor] doth hereby acknowledge, and doth hereby admit the same sum to be the full and bona fide value of and in full for the purchase of the ground and hereditaments hereinafter particularly described; And also,

in consideration of the sum of [nominal consideration], by the said parties hereto of the 3rd part, in hand, at the same time paid to the said [vendor], the receipt whereof is hereby also acknowledged, He the said [vendor], at the request and by the direction of the said [missionary], testified by his being a party to and executing these presents, doth grant, bargain, sell, alien, release, and confirm unto the said parties hereto of the 3rd part (in their actual possession now being by virtue of a bargain and sale for a year to them thereof, made by the said [vendor]), and to their heirs and assigns, all, &c., [describe fully and accurately the property intended to be conveyed] together with all houses, outhouses, buildings, trees, fences, hedges, drains, paths, waters, water-courses, lights, casements, and appurtenances whatsoever to the said piece or parcel of ground, messuage, or tenement, and hereditaments hereby conveyed and assured, or intended so to be, belonging or in any wise appertaining, or with the same or any part thereof, used, occupied, or enjoyed as part, parcel, or member thereof, or any part thereof, to have and to hold, all and singular the said ground, hereditaments, and premises, unto and to the use of the said parties hereto of the 3rd part, their heirs and assigns for ever; but nevertheless upon the trusts, and to and for the intents and purposes hereinafter expressed, declared, and contained of and concerning the same, that is to say, upon trust that they the said parties hereto of the 3rd part, or other the trustees or trustee for the time being acting in the trusts of these presents, with and out of the moneys which are now, or which hereafter may be possessed by them or him for that purpose, and as soon after the execution of these presents as conveniently may be, shall and do erect and build upon the said piece of ground, or convert the buildings now standing thereon, into a chapel or place of religious worship, without a dwelling-house, vestry-room, and school, and other offices, conveniences, and appurtenances, or with or without any of them respectively as and in such manner as the said trustees or trustee for the time being of these presents shall from time to time deem necessary or expedient; And upon further trust, from time to time and at all times, after the erection or completion thereof respectively, to permit the said chapel to be used, occupied, and enjoyed solely as a place for the religious worship and service of God, and for preaching the gospel and expounding the holy scriptures according to the doctrines and usages professed and observed by the body of Christians known in England as "Particular Baptists," and to permit the said dwelling-house to be used and occupied as a residence for the minister of the said chapel for the time being, or otherwise to be let, as the major part of the members of the church assembling in the said chapel shall at any church-meeting, duly convened, from time to time direct. And also to permit such person, or persons, as shall be nominated by the said church assembling in the said chapel, or by the major part of the members of such church at any church-meeting for that purpose duly assembled, to receive and take all such voluntary subscriptions and other sums of money as shall from time to time be paid or subscribed by any person or persons whomsoever, towards the support of the worship of God in the said chapel, and for defraying the expenses and charges attending the same, or the schools from time to time connected therewith. And also, to permit to officiate in the said chapel such person or persons, of the denomination of Christians known in England as "Particular Baptists," as the major part of the members for the time being of the said church assembling in the said chapel, at a meeting duly convened for that purpose, shall from time to time elect to officiate as their minister or pastor in the said chapel, according to the usual order and customs of churches of the denomination aforesaid in England. Provided always, that in case any dispute or question shall at any time arise whether the doctrines and usages, or any of them, from time to time taught, maintained, or practised in the said chapel, or in any part of the said trust premises or their appurtenances, are or is in conformity with the doctrines or usages respectively of the said denomination of Particular Baptists in England or not, it shall be lawful for the Committee of the said Baptist Missionary Society, if they think fit, from time to time to decide such question, and their decision thereon signified in writing, under the hand of their secretary or secretaries for the time being, shall be binding and conclusive on such dispute or question. Provided also, that until a school room, or school rooms, shall be erected or provided on the said piece of ground, or some part thereof, it shall be lawful for the said trustees or trustee to permit a Sunday or other school, or schools, to be conducted in the said chapel, but at such hours and times only as shall not interfere with the religious services to be held therein. Provided further, that of every meeting of the members of the said church for the purposes aforesaid, there shall be public notice given in the said chapel on the Sunday preceding such meeting, during the time of divine service, and that no such meeting shall be held earlier than the Wednesday succeeding such Sunday, and that all the members of the said church, both male and female, shall be entitled to vote at every such meeting; and upon this further trust, that the said trustees, or trustee, for the time being, shall at any time when thereunto requested by the Committee for the time being of the said Baptist Missionary Society, such request to be signified in writing, under the hand of their secretary or secretaries for the time being, convey and assure the said trust

estate, freed and discharged of and from all the trusts and powers expressed and declared in and by these presents, unto such person or persons, body or bodies corporate, and upon and for such trusts, intents, and with, under, and subject to such powers, provisoes, conditions, and agreement as shall be nominated and approved by the major part of the members for the time being of the church assembled at the said chapel, testified by some deed or instrument in writing, signed, sealed, and delivered by the pastor of the said church, which deed or instrument in writing so signed, sealed, and delivered, it is hereby declared and agreed, shall be conclusive evidence of such nomination and approval as aforesaid, to all intents and purposes. And upon this further trust, that the said trustees, or trustee, for the time being, shall at any time or times, when thereunto requested by the Committee for the time being of the said Baptist Missionary Society, such request to be signified in writing under the hand of their secretary or secretaries for the time being, absolutely make sale of the said trust estates, or of such part or parts thereof respecting which such request in writing as aforesaid shall have been made, by public auction or by private contract, and in such manner as the Committee for the time being of the said Baptist Missionary Society shall deem most expedient, and convey the same trust estates, when sold, to the person or persons who shall agree to become the purchaser or purchasers thereof, freed and discharged from the trusts hereby declared. And also, at any time or times, at such request as aforesaid, convey the said trust estates, or any part thereof, to any person or persons in exchange for or in lieu of other hereditaments, to be situate within miles of aforesaid. And upon this further trust, that the said trustees or trustee for the time being, should be taken in exchange as aforesaid, upon the same or the like trusts, and to and for the same and the like ends, intents, and purposes as are hereinbefore expressed and declared concerning the hereditaments hereby conveyed, or as near thereto as may be, and the nature of the hereditaments to be so taken in exchange, and the purposes for which they shall be taken in exchange, will admit. And upon this further trust, that the said trustees or trustee for the time being shall stand possessed of the money which from time to time shall be received on any sale or exchange which shall be made under the trusts hereinbefore mentioned. Upon trust, in the first place, to retain to and reimburse himself and themselves respectively all costs, charges, and expenses lawfully incurred by him or them in or about the execution of the trusts of these presents, or any of them, and in the next place to dispose of the surplus, if any, in such manner and for such purpose as the Committee for the time being of the said Baptist Missionary Society, by any writing under the hand of their secretary for the time being shall direct. And the said parties to these presents do hereby respectively agree that the person or persons who shall become the purchaser or purchasers of all or any part of the said trust estates, his, her, or their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, shall not be obliged to inquire into the authority of the trustees or trustee for the time being to proceed to any sale or sales, or to execute any conveyance or conveyances of the said trust premises, to see to the application of the money paid by him, her, or them respectively, as the consideration of such purchase or purchases, nor be answerable or accountable for the misapplication or non-application of the same money, or any part thereof, after the same shall have been paid to or to the order of the said trustee or trustees for the time being, under these presents. And that every receipt which shall be given by the said trustee or trustees for the time being of such purchase money, or any part thereof, shall be a good, valid, and sufficient acquittance and discharge for the sum or sums of money which therein or thereby respectively shall be acknowledged or expressed to have been received. And that every sale which shall be entered into, and conveyance which shall be executed by the said trustee or trustees for the time being pursuant to the trust hereinbefore declared, shall be binding and conclusive on all persons claiming any benefit or interest under the trusts hereinbefore contained. Provided further, and it is hereby directed that when and so often as it shall seem expedient to the Committee of the said Baptist Missionary Society to appoint any new trustees of these presents, either for the purpose of filling up any vacancy or vacancies occasioned by the death, incapacity, or refusal to act, of any of the trustees for the time being of these presents, or for the purpose of increasing the number of trustees for the time being of these presents to any greater number (whether more or less than the number of original trustees), or for any other reason, it shall be lawful for the Committee of the said Baptist Missionary Society for the time being, by any writing signed by the secretary of the said society, to nominate one or more person or persons, body corporate or bodies corporate, to be trustees or a trustee of the said piece of ground, chapel, hereditaments, and premises, and thereupon the said piece of ground, chapel, hereditaments, and premises shall forthwith be legally and effectually conveyed and assured to and vested in such new and such surviving and continuing trustees jointly or to and in such new trustee wholly, as the case may be, upon such and the same trusts and to and for such and the same ends, intents, and purposes, and with, under, and subject to such and the same powers, provisoes, declarations, and agreements as are contained in

these presents, or such of them as shall be then subsisting or capable of taking effect, and to, for, and upon no other use, trust, and intent, or purpose whatsoever. Provided further, and the said parties to these presents do hereby agree that in case the said Baptist Missionary Society shall at any time hereafter be incorporated, the several rights, powers, duties, and privileges hereinbefore granted or reserved to the Committee of the said Baptist Missionary Society respectively, or their secretary, shall be enjoyed and exercised by the governing or directing body of such incorporated society, or their secretary respectively. And the said [vendor], for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, doth hereby covenant with the said parties hereto of the 3rd part, their heirs and assigns, that notwithstanding any act, deed, or thing by him the said [vendor], made, done, or committed to the contrary, he the said [vendor] now hath in himself good right to convey and assure the said hereditaments expressed to be hereby conveyed, upon the trusts and for the ends, intents, and purposes hereinbefore expressed concerning the same, and according to the true intent and meaning of these presents. And also, that he the said [vendor], and his heirs and all and every persons and person now or at any time hereafter rightfully claiming or possessing any estate, right, title, or interest into, upon, or respecting the hereditaments and premises hereinbefore mentioned to be conveyed from, through, under, or in trust for him or them will at all times hereafter, at the request and expense of the said parties hereto of the 3rd part, or any of them, their or any of their heirs or assigns, make, do, acknowledge, execute, and perfect all such further and other acts, deeds, conveyances, matters, and things whatsoever, as shall be necessary or expedient for the more effectually or satisfactorily conveying and assuring the said hereditaments and premises, or any part thereof, to the said parties hereto of the 3rd part, their heirs and assigns, upon and for the trusts and purposes aforesaid, or for conveying and assuring the same premises, or any part thereof, to any purchaser, or other persons to whom they or he shall convey, or assure, or contract for the conveyance or assurance of the same, in pursuance and by virtue of these presents in writing, &c.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

N.B. Since London is the source of the majority of publications, it may be assumed if a date appears in brackets or no name appears. If however publication occurred in more than one place of which London was one, it will appear.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES AND LETTERS

1. Angus Library, Regents' Park College, Oxford

(I) The Burchell Autographs

A bound collection of letters and autographs arranged by W.F. Burchell, the pastor of the Rochdale Baptist Church and biographer of his brother Thomas Burchell between 1870 and 1874. The collection consists of ninety-four items which include letters from Cobden, Bright, Sturge, Gurney, Ryland, Fawcett, Ivimey, Wilberforce, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Knibb, Spurgeon, Newman, etc. It reveals a close connection between the Anti-Slavery lobby and the Anti-Corn Law League and the interest of Burchell in the social issues of the time. It covers the dates 1836-1876 and the book seems to have been deposited in the Regents Park College Library on the latter date with added material.

(II) The Burchell Confessions d/d 1823

A ms. in Burchell's hand which was left at Calabar College, Kingston, Jamaica and kept there until the Rev. E.C. Askew the President handed it to Dr. E.A. Payne in 1953 for safe-keeping in the Angus Archives.

It contains Burchell's written responses to his Ordination questions and reflects normal practice in the Baptist Churches. Section 1 deals with the circumstances of his conversion and was written between September 15th and October 4th, 1823. Section 2 deals with his Call to the Ministry and was written between September 19th and October 10th. Section 3 which deals with the doctrines he proposed to preach, bears no date.

Appended to these sections is a brief biography which concludes when the ship taking him to Jamaica rounds the Lizard. It is valuable for the insight it gives into the theological

climate in the Bristol Academy at the time, as well as the missionary motives which prevailed at the time.

(III) T. Burchell; the Missionary Enthusiast (1850)?

This ms. is an appreciation of Thomas Burchell and by its form was a missionary discourse of some kind. It was definitely addressed to a Jamaican Church and was by a person with local knowledge. It shows knowledge of W.F. Burchell's Memoir of his brother but corrects local points which supplements the official publication.

(IV) The Fenn Collection (Sturge Letters to John Clark)

This collection covers the years 1837-1858, and consists of letters written by Joseph Sturge, Birmingham, to John Clark, Baptist minister, Brown's Town, Jamaica. The collection was deposited with Dr. E.A. Payne in 1946 by the Rev. E.C. Askew, of Calabar College, Kingston, Jamaica, for safe-keeping in Oxford. The letters were originally in the possession of Mrs. Fenn, a grand-daughter of Clark, who had collected and stored them.

The letters reflect not only Sturge's personal interest in Jamaica but the attitude of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to certain policies in Britain and plans for the Freed Slaves in Jamaica. There exists a gap between 1839 and 1843 but this can be accounted for by a Jamaican presence at the Anti-Slavery Conferences of 1840 and 1842. The chief value of'Sturge's Letters' which forms the bulk of the collection is the light it throws upon the measures taken to establish a free land-owning peasantry after the Apprenticeship Period and the three links between the Anti-Slavery Movement, the Anti-Church establishment Movement, the Peace Movements and the rejection of a mass exodus to Africa from the Americas.

The collection includes three other items of interest

(a) A letter from Harvey, an attorney in Spanish Town with regard to property at Stewart Town (1846) which shows the legal relationship between the B.M.S. and Jamaica in the way the Trust is set up.

(b) Two letters from Thomas Clarkson to Baptist congregations in Brown's Town and Bethany (1838-39) encouraging them to become economically independent now they had gained physical freedom.

(V) The Driver Collection (1841-1843)

This Collection consists of nine items and was given to Dr. E.A. Payne in 1945, for the Angus Library and originated from Rev. H.H. Driver, one of the founders of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society. It contains two letters from John Clarke, the pioneer missionary to Africa, to Thomas Swan, pastor in Birmingham, and a leader in Baptist Missionary Society circles (April 20th and November 20th, 1841). It contains also two letters, and the copy of a third letter from prominent Baptist leaders in the Fernando Po church to John Clarke and George Prince, urging them to return as missionaries to the Church (March 24th, May 5th (copy) and June 26th, 1842).

There is also a letter from George Prince, the co-founder of the Fernando Po Church to Thomas Swan originating from Calabar, Nigeria, (November 6th, 1843) and is a valuable source for the social, cultural and religious structures extant in the region. It provides corroborative evidence for Waddell's valuable work "Twenty-nine years, etc." (1858).

Three other items exist but are related more to India than to Africa:

(a) Yates to Pearce d/d Calcutta February 8th, 1839.

(b) W.H. Pearce to Swan n/d, but is a request that certain missionary material be inserted into the Annual Report.

(c) A section of a letter from George Pearce d/d Calcutta, March 7th, 1846.

The Collection emphasizes the unity existing in the 1840's in the minds of certain members of the Society with regard to the work of the Society in the World. It also reflects the attitudes of the pioneer missioners to Africa, its culture and its religion.

(VI) Angus Lecture Notes (1835-7) (23a.12a)

These lecture notes were taken in class and comments made while Angus was in Edinburgh University. They are appended to the syllabus of the course of lectures on Natural Philosophy. Most important are random jottings made on the book-mark which reflect the influence of Bacon upon his theology and the 'inductive' processes which found expression in a universal theology.

Letters

(VII) James Coultart to John Smith of Watford d/d May 19th, 1819 - deals with money raising schemes for the Church in Jamaica.

(VIII) William Knibb to Miss Gurney d/d Falmouth April 20th, 1835 - deals with the state of the Church in Jamaica.

(IX) John Clarke to Joseph Angus d/d Perth, December 4th, 1850 - deals with the adverse circumstances of an unnamed person who had been in the B.M.S. employ.

(X) Joseph Sturge to the same d/d Birmingham, August 2nd, 1858 - attached to front cover of presentation copy of Hinton's 'Memoir of William Knibb', given by Sir Morton Peto to Joseph Angus (3 f.31). A statement of general concern at the happenings in the world.

2. Baptist Missionary Society, 93-97 Gloucester Place, London

(I) Angus Letter Book (1848-1849)

This book contains the correspondence of the Foreign Secretary of the Society between July 3rd 1848 and August 23rd 1849. It consists of 249 letters.

The letters dealt with discipline on the mission fields, the personal matters of missionaries and interprets the Society's policy to the personnel in the field and were addressed to India, Jamaica and Africa.

There are also three letters from Trestrail, Angus' successor in office (1849) and reflect a definite change of policy, as well as a new accommodation to African religion and culture on the part of the Society.

There exists also several copies of a circular letter sent out to invite the recipients to a meeting to establish an auxiliary of the B.M.S. called the Young Men's Christian Association, c.f. Miss.Her.Oct.1848.p.54.

(II) Bible Translation Society (4 vols. 1839-1914)

These are minute books of a sub-committee of the Society. These minutes are corroborative evidence for the General Committee Minute Books; c.f. Underhill 'Christian Missions in the East and West'. pp.41-42 (1873)

(III) General Committee Minute Books. (1792-1799; 1815-1914)

There are 53 books and are identified by a letter and a date. While the individual minutes are numbered, care must be exercised in using this numeration because of the changes which take place. A safer method of identification is by dating. The importance of these books is obvious.

IV (A) The Clarke Journals (1840-1846) A/2

The John Clarke Journals are generally described as two volumes and this is misleading. While it may be considered a two-volume work to each volume dedicated to a single journey, it consists of five books. Volume I contains two journals and Volume II three.

Volume I contains approximately 780 pages but the pagination is unreliable since Journal 2, begins at page 387 and page 574, an index runs from 574a-574i before 575 appears. This has led some scholars to suggest that there is a last Journal but internal evidence does not suggest this.

Journal I, begins at October 13th 1840 and concludes on June 29th 1841, and covers the voyage to Fernando Po up to the middle of the stay on the island. Journal 2, begins June 30th, 1841 and concludes on August 14th, 1842, and covers the later days in Fernando Po, exploratory visit to Calabar, the voyage and visits to Guyana and Jamaica. It ends with the events abroad the vessel taking Prince and Clarke to Britain, somewhere outside the Turk's Islands.

Volume II, contains 972 pages and consists of three Journals. The pagination is more reliable. Each Journal however begins at page 1, or near enough e.g., Journal I, begins on page 3. Journal I, August 16th, 1843 to November 5th 1844 (309pp) traces the second journey from London in the "Chilmark", to the first events in Fernando Po. It describes the recruitment drive in Jamaica and the early settlement. Journal 2, November 6th, 1844 to August 3rd, 1845, (331 pp) is an account of the establishment of the Mission on Fernando Po and in

the Camerons. It describes the social structures in these regions, gives analyses of the language and an account of the religions. It also threws light on the activity of Europeans and coloured Americans in the region. Journal 3, August 3rd, 1845 to November 14th, 1846 (332pp) gives an account of the decline of the mission. It describes the rivalry between Prince and Clarke, the temper of Saker who does not emerge in a good light, the quarrels of the Jamaicans and there determination to return home, the rivalry between the women missionaries for the attentions of Bijl and Milbourne and the conflicts with the Spanish athorities and the West African Company. The Calabar Question is also dealt with and the relationship between Baptist and Presbyterians outlined.

These five Journals reflect not only the policies of the BMS towards Africa but corroborate evidence given by Waddell in his Journals (1846-1856), inform on Government policy in the Colonial Office Documents, especially on Migration and is a valuable source for the study of early Calabar, Fernando Po and Cameroon society. There is need for an annotated published volume of these important documents.

(B) Letter Folders in A/2

There are also two cardboard folders in this box which contain copies of letters written by Clarke, Pinnock, Saker and W.B. Gurney. They all centre on the character of Saker and the African Mission.

One letter deals with the mishandling of the B.M.S. Jubilee Funds in Jamaica, 1842, by Edward Hewett who suceeded Merrick at Jericho. And it deals with the arrangements made to rectify the situation.

The other letters deal with Clarke's reports on Saker to Innes and Gurney's response to this. Allegations of immorality were suggested which led to the return of Newbigin and Miss Martha Vitou and this is investigated. Letters of Saker to Pinnock are also contained here with the suggestion that S. was an autocrat.

They provide an interesting sidelight on the human relationships on the field but do not materially influence any assessment of the whole movement.

(V) The Joseph Jackson Fuller Journals A/5 (n.d.)

These are three in number and similar in form and content:

(a) A journal in note form and probably the first statement (4 pages)

(b) The West African Mission of the B.M.S. from its beginning to 1887 (200 pages)

(c) Cameroons and Fernando Po (29 pages). This contains similar material to "The West African Mission of the B.M.S. etc."

(VI) The Fuller Autobiography (217 pages) A/5

An autobiography written in England probably about 1900. A few typewritten copies exist and it is an additional source of information for the African work of the B.M.S. and the Jamaican participation in it.

(VII) The Fernando Po Baptist Church Minute Book (October 2nd 1842 - February 18th, 1849) A/11.

(VIII) The James Mursell Phillippo Autobiography (WI/2)

Rough sketch of my autobiography. A valuable source of Jamaican background material over a long period. The ms. has been widely used but remains unpublished.

(IX) The West Indies Letter Book (151 pages)

This contains copies or extracts of letters written by missionaries in the West Indies to the Society. Most letters are dated between 1840 and 1846 and relate to the independence of the Jamaica Mission in 1842 and its results. This is a source for understanding the status of the Jamaican mission at the time and influence upon the African scene.

LETTERS

(X) George Prince to John Wenger d/d November, 1846. (IN.35) indicates a tie-up between Africa and India.

(XI) Dendy Letters to Dyer, Angus and Underhill, 1834-1868. WI/5. Fifteen letters dealing with personal matters.

(XII) William Knibb to his mother d/d February 11th, 1828, September 7th and September 9th, 1828; July 8th, 1831. W/I/3. Personal matters.

(XIII) William Knibb to Charles Young d/d December 19th, 1839. re-training of the peasantry after apprenticeship. WI/3.

(XIV) William Knibb to Joseph Angus d/d July 9th, 1842 - an important letter dealing with the future of the mission work in the West Indies. WI/3.

Additional Material

(XV) West Indies and West Africa Sub-Committee Records (1850-1866).

This is a bound collection of letters, reports and instructions given and received by the Sub-Committee. It has no pagination and some pages are blank. It is handwritten except for a copy of the instructions to the Secretaries before a deputation to the West Indies in 1860 and a paper given to the Annual Meeting of the Society on the Principles of Missionary Labour (1850).

It begins with a hand-written report of the first decade of the African Mission written by Underhill which is quite short. Appended to it is an account of the total expenditure upon the project first in general terms and then itemized. This is dated September 24th, 1850.

It also contains the Annual Reports of the Jamaica Baptist Union for 1862, and the report of the Jamaica Days' School, sub-committee for the same year. There is also a statement of the plans for the Jamaica Mission Jubilee, 1864 and a revised document on the relationship between European ministers at work in Jamaica and the B.M.S. outlining the responsibilities of the parties.

There are also letters dealing with the "Innes Affair" and its relation to the African Mission. Other letters deal with India.

The collection is not in chronological order nor systematized in any way.

(XVI) Jamaica Baptist Mission Reports (1848-1860).

This bound volume of Reports in chronological order emanate chiefly from the Western Union, 1848-1850 after 1850 from the Jamaica Baptist Union, 1855-1860. The collection also includes a copy of the Baptist Herald and the Friend of Africa (1848); Reports of Calabar Theological College 1847-1859; Reports of Calabar Normal School 1855-1859; the Report of the Day School 1860, Annual Report of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society, 1858 and bound with reports of the Western Union are copies of the reports of the Jamaica Baptist Education Society, 1848-1850.

These reports give a wealth of statistical information about church membership, finance and education. Some reports included speeches and these illuminate the policy of the Jamaican church at this time. An important source book.

3. The Church of Scotland Archives. 121 George Street, Edinburgh

The material is housed in cupboards in nearly all the rooms on the third floor and can be consulted only with co-operation from the Officers of the Church of Scotland Missionary Society.

(1) Room 71 Book case 23 - all materials on Africa and the West Indies, mostly books, newspaper cuttings, etc.

(2) Room 44 Book case 1 - Free Church of Scotland Proceedings, 1843-88.

(3) Room 44 Pigeon Hole 12/18 Book case 2
Old Calabar minutes and papers. Some of these have been transferred to the National Library.

(4) Room 44 Book case 3 - United Associated Synod Minutes. N.B. min.Dec.9th, 1844 where a decision was taken to begin an African Mission at the request of the Jamaican Brethren.

4. The British Museum, London

(1) The Huskisson's Papers Add Mss 38754 - 770

(2) The Kinds Mss A memoir relative to the Island of Jamaica 1782 .. Major General Archibald Campbell.

5. Jamaica, Institute of (West India Reference Library) Kingston

(1) The Dendy Letters

There are about seventy/seven letters which deal with land settlement, education and Baptist policy towards the Government in the period just before and after 1838.

(II) The Private Papers of the Marquis of Sligo. Mss.

This provides intimate background material for the Emancipation period and throws some light on Baptist involvement.

(III) Two letters from Jamaica d/d 1740-41 (anon, n.d.)

Reflects the state of mind of slaves towards their country of origin at this period.

6. John Rylands Library, Manchester

The Rawson Papers which contain letters of Knibb and many leading Baptists to Sturge.

7. Public Record Office, Portugal Street, London

(A) There exists a wealth of information dealing with Jamaica, Fernando Po and West Africa during the period under study.

(1) C.O. 137 deals with correspondence and contains the originals of the despatches of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Jamaica, together with returns of manumissions, 1817-1830. Slave Rebellion and military papers, etc. Vol. 1 - 194 (1694-1834)

(2) C.O. 138 contains book of commissions, instructions and other correspondence.

(3) C.O. 139. Acts of Councils and Assembly of Jamaica. Volume 1-73 (1662-1834). Nos. 1 and 8 printed but the remainder in Mss.

(4) C.O. 140/2. Copy of Vol. 1 of the Printed Journals of the Jamaica Assembly 1666-1709.

(5) C.O. 141, nos. 1-12. Court Gazettes, Royal Gazette, 1794, 1813-18.

(6) C.O. 142. Miscellanea and Newspapers.

142/1-2 The Watchman and Jamaica. Free Press
142/3 Kingston Chronicle 1835-37
142/4 Morning Journal 1835-39
142/33 Memoranda, military barracks arrangements, the Maroons, Blue Books, etc. 1823-35.

(B) The material relating to West Africa is varied and large for our purposes. Consultation took place of

(7) C.O. 82. Original correspondence and entry books relating to Fernando Po 1828-43 12 vols.

(8) C.O. 248, 267 and 270 contain the remainder of Fernando Po material but deals more particularly with Sierra Leone.

(9) F.O.2. deals with Fernando Po.

8. Rhodes House, Oxford

British Empire Mss. S5 Bickell, Rev. R. "The West Indies as they are, etc." Published London 1805.

British Empire Manuscripts S.20

Anti-Slavery Society, Rough Minutes, 1826-35 (E5/1-4)
Anti-Slavery Society, Rough Minutes, 1823-39 (E2/1-5)

British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society Minutes, 1839-47 (E2/6-7)

Minutes for the General Convention for Anti-Slavery, 1840 (E2/18)

Memorials and Petitions, 1839-43 (E2/19); Oct.28th, 1843 - Dec.7th, 1853) (E2/20)

British Empire Manuscripts S.18

Correspondence of the Anti-Slavery Society (C1-C3)

Correspondence of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (C4-C23)

9. The University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica

Library Mona Campus. Scripts of the Radio Education Unit (mineographed)

(1) Augier, Morrison et al. "The Cult of Rastafari" n.d. (3 Programmes)

(2) Wynter, Jacqueline "The Enchanted Garden" - a Latin American writer's view of 19th century Jamaica n.d.

(3) id. "Living Names - Garvey, Cypriani Seacole, etc." n.d.

(4) id. "West Indian History Series, 8 talks n.d.

(5) Morrison, Hugh "Race and Colour" n.d.

(6) Nettleford, Rex; Sherlock, Philip and Lewis, Sir Arthur. "The African Connexion" 4 talks n.d.

(7) Scripts on West Indian Emigration - 9 programmes (1957)

(8) Reports on Sunday Discussions on "The Church in West Indian Society" (8 discussions)

N.B. "A Psychiatrist's View" - Beaubrun, Michael
"A Sociologist's View" - Smith, Raymond. Kingston 1968

(9) Reports of Sunday Seminars on National Identity (8 seminars)

N.B. Smith, M.G. "Identity and our attitudes to Race" n.d.

(10) James, C.L.R. West Indian Personality (2 scripts) n.d.

(11) Anon Races in the West Indies (6 scripts) esp. no.3. n.d.

10. The National Library of Scotland, George IV Street, Edinburgh

(1) Scottish Missionary Society Correspondence

(a) Foreign Secretary Letter Book. Jan.1820-March 1839 Correspondence with Jamaica chiefly with Blyth, Watson and Chamberlain. Ms. 8985.

(b) May 1820-Nov.1836. Correspondence with Crimea and Jamaica particular with missionaries in Cornwall, Carron Hall and Green Island. This included letters to Waddell, Cowan and Simpson. It also contained two letters relating to "Archibald" who was a benefactor of the mission. Ms. 8984.

(II) The Journals of Hope Waddell - Missionary to Jamaica, 1829-1846, as an agent of the Church of Scotland Missionary Society, then as Minister of the Secession Synod (which later became the United Presbyterian Church) and then 1846-56 as Missionary to Old Calabar. The Journals are the best documentary evidence of the early life in the Calabar delta and a valuable source book for the study of Nigerian culture, religion and society in the late nineteenth century.

Volumes 1,7,8,10 and 11 are extant and even Volume 1 as it now stands is an abstract of the original journal now lost, sent to Mrs. Waddell from Porto Praia. Mss. 7739-7743, 8593.

(III) Letters and Papers of the Rev. William Anderson, 1812-1895 Missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in Jamaica, 1839-48, and Old Calabar 1849-89 (Mss. 2981-83)

There are three manuscripts:

(a) Mss. 2981 contains miscellaneous papers, mostly correspondence 1833, 1839-49, 1866-77, 1888, 1895 n.d. poems 1832-42 n.d. and some writings in Efik.

(b) Mss. 2982 is a Journal 1831-5, 1836-40 of the Jamaican Mission; other events are on a loose leaf section Feb. 27th-March 1st, 1853

(c) Mss. 2983 contains notes on Old Calabar sent to Rev. James Buchanan 1846-85.

(IV) Letters of the Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the United Presbyterian Church, 1847-1929. Mss. 7683-7690.

11. Worthy Park Estate, Jamaica - Mss., Account Books, Private Journals and Sermons by slaves kept in the Accounts Office in the Sugar Estate. Some of this material has since been published.

Jamaica, Institute of (West India Reference Library) Kingston (additional information)

12. **Letters**

Henderson, J.E.,	48	1841-63
Fray, Ellis	14	1856-66
Reid, James	1	1856
Millard, Benjamin	2	1859

[These letters also cover educational problems, relationships between BMS and the Jamaica Association and land settlement].

PRIMARY PRINTED SOURCES

1. The Angus Library, Oxford

Abstract of the Evidence delivered before a select committee of the House of Commons in the years 1790-1791, on the part of the petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. (1791)

The Baptist Annual Register, 1791-1802. (4 volumes, ed. John Rippon)

The Missionary Register, (Vols. 1-111) 1813-1815.

Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons on 15th May, 1823 on a motion for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominion with a preface and Appendices. Pub. Soc. for the Mitigation, etc. (1823)

The London Missionary Society's Report on the Proceedings against the late Rev. J. Smith of Demerara, Minister of the Gospel ..... from full and correct copy transmitted to England by Mr. Smith's counsel and including Documentary Evidence ommitted in the Parliamentary copy. 18d.5a (1824)

The Missionary Smith - Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons on Tuesday the 1st. and on Friday 11th, June, 1824, on the Motion of Henry Brougham, Esq., ... with a preface containing some new facts illustrative of the subject. pub. L.M.S. 18d.5d. (1824)

Report of the Committee of the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British

Dominions read at General Meeting of the Society, June 25th, 1824, together with an account of the proceedings which took place at that meeting. pub. Soc. for the Mitigation, etc (1824)

The Negro's Memorial, or Abolitionists Catechism: by an Abolutionist (contains Cugoano's statement as an appendix, 1824)

An authentic Report of the Debate in the House of Commons, June 23rd, 1825, on Mr. Buxton's motion relative to the Demolition of the Methodist chapel and Mission House in Barbados and the expulsion of Mr. Shewsbury, etc. (1825)

Analysis of the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the extinction of Slavery with notes by the editor. pub. for the Soc. of the Abolition, etc. (1833)

Report from the Select Committee on The Extinction of Slavery ..... with minutes of Evidence and General Index. (1833)

A Review of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into "the working of the Apprenticeship System in the Colonies; the condition of Apprentices and the Laws and regulations affecting them which have been passed" (1831)

A Report of the Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention called by the Committee of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society ..... June 12th-June 23rd, 1840. (1840)

Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention ... . held in London from Tuesday, June 13th to Tuesday,

June 20th, 1843. (1844)

2. The British Museum, London.

Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica, January 20th, 1663 to December 1826. Vol. 1-14. (Jamaica 1811-19, foCSF 150). These Journals are also available in Jamaica.

Reports of the Committee on the state of the British Possessions on the West Coast of Africa and their present relations to the Native tribes. 2 vols. London, 1842. Br. Mus: 8242.

Correspondence relative to the Expedition up the River Niger, 1840-1843. (2 parts) Br. Mus: 8243.

3. The Baptist Missionary Society, London.

Periodical Accounts relative to a Society formed among the Particular Baptists for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathens. 33 vols. Clipstone 1800-1. London, 1806-18. Most of these accounts are also in the Angus Library, Oxford.

The Annual Reports of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1819-1860 (London). Some of these are also in the Angus Library.

The Missionary Herald, 1819-1860 (London) This publication contains reproduction of original letters and is the official organ of the B.M.S. Its importance is therefore clear.

Facts and documents connected with the late insurrection in Jamaica and the violations of civil and religious liberty arising out of it - Memorial and statement of (13) Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica. (1832)

Tabular View of the Churches, 1839-1848. (excl.1842) incorporated into Miss. Herald.

Tabular view of the Jamaican Education Society, 1840-1848 (excl. 1841,1843) incorporated into the Miss. Herald.

4. Rhodes House, Oxford

GENERAL

Papers relating to the West Indies, 1815 - (includes much Missionary material.)

Negro Slavery Pamphlets (several) No.4 is important as it gives the views of the Rev. Robert Bridges, a pro-slavery advocate and an important critic of Wilberforce. (500.22 r.48)

The Annual Reports of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1840-44. (S 100. 221.r. $\frac{78}{1-5}$)

Report of the Committee managing a fund raised by some friends for the purpose of promoting African instruction with an account of a visit to the Gambia and Sierra Leone. (1822)

Reports of the African Institution; especially a Special A.G.M. April 12th, 1815 (London 1815) and Appendix F. to the Report 1818 (London 1819) which deals with the African Colonisation Society.

Reports of the African Civilisation Society, especially the one given at the Public Meeting of the Society held in Exeter Hall, Tuesday 21st June, 1842, and its appendices. (1842)

Proceedings of the 1st. anniversary meeting of the Native-Wesleyan Methodist Society of Jamaica. (Jamaica, 1842)

Report of the Incorporated Society for the conversion and religious instruction and education of the negro slaves in the British West Indies islands for the year 1826. (1827)

STATE PAPERS

Some of which are in the Radcliffe Camera

Addresses and Memorials to His Majesty from the House of Assembly, 1821-1826. (Kingston & London, 1828).

Copies of the Acts passed by the legislature of the island of Jamaica:

An Act for punishing idle persons
An Act for establishing public work-houses
An Act for better adjusting of wages
An Act to enlarge the powers of the Justices
6th June, 1839. (288, 1839)

Copy of memorial addressed to Lord Melbourne .... by the Planters, merchants and others interested in Jamaica; 12th June, 1839. (304, 1839)

Copies or extracts of the further communications transmitted to the Marquis of Normandy by the agent for Jamaica ..... relative to the agricultural distress of that colony, 6th June, 1839. (290, 1839)

Hansard - Record of Parliamentary Debates (several vols. 1820-1860)

Report to the House of Lords of the Committee of Council concerning the Present State of the Trade to Africa and particularly the Trade of Slaves. (1789)

Papers relating to the Slave Trade and Captured Negroes. (Class D.)

Papers relating to Slavery and the West Indies, 1811-24. (1 vol.)

Papers relating to the Slave Population of the West Indies and particularly their religious instruction. (covers several Volumes on open shelves).

Accounts presented to the House of Commons relating to the African Slave Trade, July, 1806.

Returns of Major Moody's Report, especially Appendix B., September 11th, 1822.

House of Commons Sessional Papers - Report of the House of Assembly, Jamaica, 1831-32.

5. Jamaica, Institute of, (West India Reference Library,) Kingston

Report of the trial of fourteen negroes at Montego Bay, January, 1824, on a charge of rebellious conspiracy. (Montego Bay, 1824)

There are many duplicates of material already mentioned either under the British Museum or Rhodes House.

6. The Public Record Office, London

Parliamentary Papers

1840, XXXIII (57): Correspondence relating to the Niger Expedition.

1842, XI, XII, (551): Report of the Select Committee on the British Possessions on the West Coast of Africa.

1847-48, XXII (272, 366, 536, 623): Four Reports from the Select Committee on the Slave Trade.

1849, XIX (309, 410): Two Reports next Session.

1850, IX (53, 590): Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Lords.

S E C O N D A R Y S O U R C E S

CONTEMPORARY PRINTED WORKS

Anon ed. A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies appointed to protect Civil Rights N.B. pp.61-64 (1813)

Anon ed. New Reasons for abolishing the Slave Trade being the last section of a larger work, etc. (1807)

Anon ed. The Life of William Allen with selections from his correspondence 3 vols. (1847)

Anon West Indian Agricultural Distress and a remark on Wilberforce's Appeal; by a Member of the House of Commons (1823)

Anon A Narrative of recent events connected with the Baptist Mission in this island, comprising a sketch of the mission from its commencement in 1814 to the end of 1831 (1833)

Anon An address to the Public on the State of Slavery in the West India islands - from the committee of the Leicestershire Auxiliary of the Anti-Slavery Society (1824)

Anon British labourers and West India Slaves with some thoughts in connection with Emancipation and Compensation (Paris, 1831)

Anon Hints respecting Christian education of the Negro population of Jamaica (1833)

Anon Letter to a member of Congress of the United States of America from an English clergyman including a Republican, etc.
Angus Lib. 19 d 7(h) (1835)
N.B. The work uses the Old Testament parallels to justify making Slavery Laws more liberal and suggests the use of freed slaves who are Christians as missionaries to Africa. This is perhaps the earliest suggestion of this sort.

Anon Reasons for temporarily suspending the Constitution of Jamaica (1839)

Anon — Liverpool and Slavery. An Historical Account of the Liverpool African Slave Trade. Was it the cause of the prosperity of the town? (Liverpool 1884) repr. 1969

Abbott, T. and Taylor, H. — Narrative of certain events connected with the late disturbances in Jamaica and the charges preferred against the Baptist Missionaries in that island; being the substance of a letter to the secretary of the B.M.S. d/d March 13th 1832 (Kingston, London 1832)

Ady, J. (Clerk of the Quaker Meeting) — The Case of our Fellow-Creatures the Oppressed Africans respectfully recommended to the Serious Consideration of the Legislature of Great Britain by the people called Quakers - Rhodes House (1784)

Aldis, J. — Insurrection in Jamaica (Reading, n.d.)

Allen, W. and Thompson, T. — Narrative of the Expedition into the River Niger in 1841 2 vols. (1848)

Amistead, W.ed — A tribute for the Negro (Manchester 1848)

Angus, J. — On the influence of the writings of Lord Bacon - an essay at the University of Edinburgh (Cathcart 1836) rare

id. — The Voluntary System. The 'proof' copy is in the Angus Library, Regent's Park College. (1839)

id. — Theology an inductive and progressive Science Present day Tracts, No. 68 (n.d.)

Banbury, T. — Jamaican Superstitions or the Obeah Book (Kingston 1895)

Bateman, J. — Gospel Reminiscences in the West Indies. The Condemned Negro as Man's Victim. God's chosen. By the author of 'God our Refuge' (1850)

Bathurst, H. — An Easter offering for the Whigs from Archdeacon Bathurst being a supplement to the memoirs of the late Bishop of Norwich consisting of letters hitherto suppressed from and to the leading members of the late Whig Government including Lord Melbourne etc. ... (2 ed. 1843)

Beckford, W. Remarks upon the situation of Negroes in Jamaica (1788)

id. A Descriptive Account of the island of Jamaica 2 vols. (1790)
(Beckford was sympathetic to the Methodists)

Bleby, H. Death struggles of Slavery (1853)

Braithwaite, J. ed. Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney (Norwich 1854)

Bridges, G.W. A Voice from Jamaica - in Reply to William Wilberforce (1823)

id. A Statistical History of the Parish of Manchester (1824)

id. Dreams of Dulocracy (1824)

id. The Annals of Jamaica 2 vols (1828 repr. 1968)

id. Emancipation un-masked (1835)

Burdett, W. Life and Exploits of Mansong, commonly called Three fingered Jack, the Terror of Jamaica (Sommers Town 1800) A copy is in the Institute of Jamaica)

Buxton, C. ed. Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart. with selections from His Correspondence (1850)

Capitien, I.J. Dissertatio politico - theologica de servitate liberati christianae non contraria (Leyden 1772)

Carlyle, T. Corn Law Rhymes - Edinburgh Review No. 110
Printed separately; 3rd edition (1831)
recorded also in Critical and Miscellaneous Essays Vol. IV pp. 184-211 (1888)

id. The French Revolution 2 vols (1837)

id. Past and Present (1843)

id. Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question
First printed in Fraser's Magazine, Dec. 1849
Printed as a separate pamphlet (1853)
Reproduced in Critical and Miscellaneous Essays Vol. VII pp. 79-110 (1888)

id. Shooting Niagara and After? First published in Macmillan's Magazine, 1867; see also Critical and Miscellaneous Essays Vol VIII (1888)

Carmichael, A.C. Domestic Manners and Social Conditions of the White, Coloured and Negro population of the West Indies 2 vols. 1833

Clapperton, H. Journal of a second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin (1829)

Clarkson, T. An essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade in two parts 2 ed. (1788) This work was dedicated to Wilberforce

id. The History and the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of African Slave Trade by the British Parliament 2 vols. (1808)

id. The Cries of Africa to the inhabitants of Europe (1822)

id. Not a labourer wanted for Jamaica; to which is added an account of the newly erected Villages by the Peasantry there and their beneficial results (1842)

Cobbett, W. The Weekly Political Register (esp. Vol. LXXVIII, 1802-35)

Cobden, R. Advice to young men and incidentally to young women in the middle and higher ranks of life in a series of letters addressed, etc. (1829, repr. 1906)

id. The League: the Anti-Corn Law League Organ Sept. 1843 - July 4th, 1846

Dallas, H. History of the Maroon War (1790)

Dallas, R.V. The History of the Maroons, Etc. 2 vols. (1803)

Darwin, C.R. Journal of Researches during the voyage of the 'Beagle' (1839)

De la Beche, J.T. Notes on the present conditions of the negroes in Jamaica (1825)

Denman, J. West India interests, African Emigration and Slave Trade (1848)

Doddridge, P. The Rise and Progress of the Religion in the Soul; illustrated in a course of serious and practical addresses suited to persons

of every character and circumstance with a Devout meditation ..... a sermon on the cure of the soul (Chedgrave, new ed. 1812)

Duperley, A. — Dagueran Excursions in Jamaica, being a collection of views ..... taken on the spot with a Daguerrotype .... lithographed in Paris (Kingston 1840)

Du Tertre — Histoire général des Antilles habitees par les Ffancois 4 vols. (Paris 1667-71)

Edwards, B. — Trade between North America and the West Indies (1784)

id. — The History, Civil and Commerical of the British Colonies in the West Indies 2 vols (1793) Vol. III (1801)

Equiano, O. — The interesting narrative of the Life of Odulah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa - the African 2 vols. (1789)
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Falconbridge, A. — An Account of the Slave Trade on the coast of Africa (1788)

Foster, J. — Two letters on the state of the negroes in the West Indies (1824)

Foulks, T. — Eighteen months in Jamaica; with recollections of the late rebellion (1833)

Gladstone, W.E. — Speech delivered in the House of Commons on the motion of Sir George Strickland for the Abolition of Negro Apprentices with an Appendix (1838)
Angus Lib. 35 d 5(a)
The Appendices are important as they illuminate the attitudes of the members of Parliament behind the scenes

Griffi th, H.T. — Cowper: the Task with Tirocinium (1896)
A very good collection and account of Cowper's work

Grosse, P.H. (assisted by Hill) — Meteorology of Jamaica (Kingston 1847)

Gurney, J.J. — Winter in the West Indies (1840)

Hilman, J. — Travels in Madeira, Sierra Leone, Teneriffe, St. Jago Cape Coast, Fernando Po, Princes Island (1840)

Hoare, P. Memoirs of Granville Sharp (1820)

Hodgson, A. A letter to M. Jean-Baptiste say, on the comparative expense of free and slave labour (Liverpool 1823)

Ivimey, J. A History of the English Baptists 4 vols (1811-30)

Jamaica, Who is to Blame? Reprint from Articles in the 'Ecclectic Review'
Reflects the situations prior to the 1860's

Jamieson, R. An Appeal to the Government of People of Great Britain against the proposed Niger Expedition (1840)

id. Sequel to the Appeal made to Government and people of Great Britain against the proposed Niger Expedition (1843)

id. Scheme for the Extension of Commercial Intercourse with Africa, as a means towards the Extinction of Slavery and the introduction of Civilization and Christianity (Liverpool, 1844)

id. A few remarks addressed to those who desire the Amelioration of Africa - Outline of a plan by which it is believed commercial intercourse with Central Africa may be established (Liverpool 1844)

Knibb, W. Facts and documents connected with the late insurrection in Jamaica and the violations of civil and religious liberty arising out of it. Bapt. Miss. Pamphlets B. (1832)

id. Colonial Slavery, Defence of the Baptist Missionaries from the charge of inciting the late rebellion in Jamaica, in a discussion between Rev. William Knibb and Mr. P. Bothwick, taken in shorthand by T. Oxford. (1832)

The speeches of J. Losh ..... W.K. (On the immediate abolition of British Colonial Slavery) (1833)

Laird, MacGregor Remedies for the Slave Trade; a Reprint from Westminster Review LXVI expanded and published separately (1842)

id. — The Effect of an Alteration in the Sugar Duties on the Condition of the People of England and the Negro Race Considered (1844)

Laird, MacGregor and Oldfield — Narrative of an expedition into the interior of Africa by the River Niger in the steam vessels Quorra and Alburkah, 1832, 1833 and 1834 2 vols. (1837)

Lander, R. (1804-1834) — Records of Captain Clapperton's last expedition into Africa 2 vols (1830)

Lander, R & J. (1807-1839) — Journal of an expedition to explore the course and termination of the Niger 3 vols (1832)

Layman, Captain — Outline of a plan for the better cultivation, security and defence of the British West Indies being the original suggestion for the African Slave Trade and preventing dependance of those colonies on America for supplies (1807)

Leslie, C. — A new and exact account of Jamaica (Edinburgh, 1739)

id. — A new History of Jamaica ,..... to the taking of Porto Bello, etc. (1740)

Lewis, M.G. — Journal of a West Indian Proprietor, etc. (1834)

Long, E. — A History of Jamaica 3 vols. (1774) repr. (1970)

Lunan, J. — Consolidated Slave Laws passed on the 22nd December 1826 with a commentary (1827)

Macaulay, Z. — Reply to Thorpe - a letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester (1815)

id. — Negro Slavery - on a View of some of the more Prominent Features of that State of Society as it Exists in the United States of America and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica (1823)

id. — East and West India Sugar or a refutation of the claims of the West India Colonists to a protecting duty on East India Sugar (with appendices) (1823)

id. Observations on the claims of the West India colonists to a protecting duty on East India Sugar (1823)

Marryatt, J. A reply to the arguments contained in various pamphlets recommending an equalization of the duties (1823)

id. On Protection to West Indian Sugar (1823)

Mathison, G. A Short Review of the African Institution (1816)

Matson, H. Remarks on the Slave Trade and African Squadron (1848)

Merivale, H. Lectures on Colonization and Colonies delivered before the University of Oxford in 1839, 1840 and 1841 (1861)

Metcalfe, Sir C.T. The Speech of Sir C.T. Metcalfe .... on the opening of the Jamaica Legislature on 27th October, 1840 and the Addresses of the Council and Assembly in answer thereto, etc. (1840) Br. Mus. 8154 b.59

Montgomery, J. Montgomery Poetical Works, complete in one volume with a preface written by him (1851)

Moreton, J. The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society with a brief sketch of Methodism, etc. 2 vols. (1840)

Newton, J. Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade (1788)

Nugent, Lady Maria A Journal of a voyage to an residence in, the island of Jamaica (1837)

id. Lady Nugent's Journal ed. Frank Cundall (1907)

id. ibid. ed. Philip Wright (Kingston 1966)

Olliver, J. Free Trade in Negroes (1849)

Owen, J. The History of the First ten years of the British and Foreign Bible Society 2 vols. (1816)

Park, M. Journal of a mission to the interior of Africa in the year 1805 (1815)

Renny, R. A History of Jamaica (1807)

Ross, H. Thoughts of the objectionable system of Labour for wages in the West India colonies on the necessity of a system of tenancy and allotment (1842)
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Senior, B.M. Jamaica as it is, as it was, and as it may be (1835)

Sharpe, G. Free English Territory in Africa (1790)

id. A short sketch of Temporary Regulations ..... for the Intended Settlement of the Grain-Coast of Africa, near Sierra Leone (1786)

Simpson, W. A Private Journal kept during the Niger Expedition from its commencement in May 1841 until the recall of the Expedition in June 1842 (1843)
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Slave Law of Jamaica with proceedings and documents relative thereto (1828)

Smiles, S. Self-Help (1859)

Smith, A. An inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations with a life of the author also, a view of the Doctrine of Smith, etc. (Edinburgh 1776)
It was published also in London 1843 in four volumes with notes by Ricardo, McCulloch, Chalmers, etc. The influence of this book on natural development and thus the Abolition of Slavery and the establishment of Missions can hardly be over-estimated. It was a political and economic restatement of Humanitarian views.

Smith's Agricultural Society for Jamaica: Report of the Board of directors to an extraordinary meeting of the proprietors concerned ..... December 1848 at Liverpool
(Manchester 1848) Br. Mus. 7078 bb5.

Southey, T. Chronological History of the West Indies 3 vols. (1827)

Stephen, Sir George The Niger Trade and the African Blockade (1849)

id. Anti-Slavery Recollections in a series of letters addressed to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe (1854, repr. 1970)

Stephen, J. jnr. The Slavery of the British West India colonies delineated as it exists both in Law and Practice and compared with the Slavery of other countries Ancient and Modern 2 vols. (1824, 1830)

id. England enslaved by her own Colonies (1826)

Steveson, J. An address to Brian Edwards, Esq., containing remarks on his pamphlet (1784)

Stewart, J. A view of the past and present state of the island of Jamaica with remarks on the moral and physical condition of the slaves and the abolition of slavery in the colonies (Edinburgh 1823)

Sturge, J. Report on Free Labour presented to the General Anti-Slavery Convention (1837)

id. A visit to the United States in 1841 (1841)

Sturge & Harvey The West Indies in 1837: Being the Journal of a Visit to Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica Barbados and Jamaica, etc. (1838, repr.1968)

Taylor, T. A biographical sketch of Thomas Clarkson, M.A. with occasional brief strictures on the misrepresentation of him contained in the Life of William Wilberforce and a concise Historical Outline of the Abolition of Slavery (1839)

Thomas, J.J. Froudacity, etc. (1889, repr. 1969)

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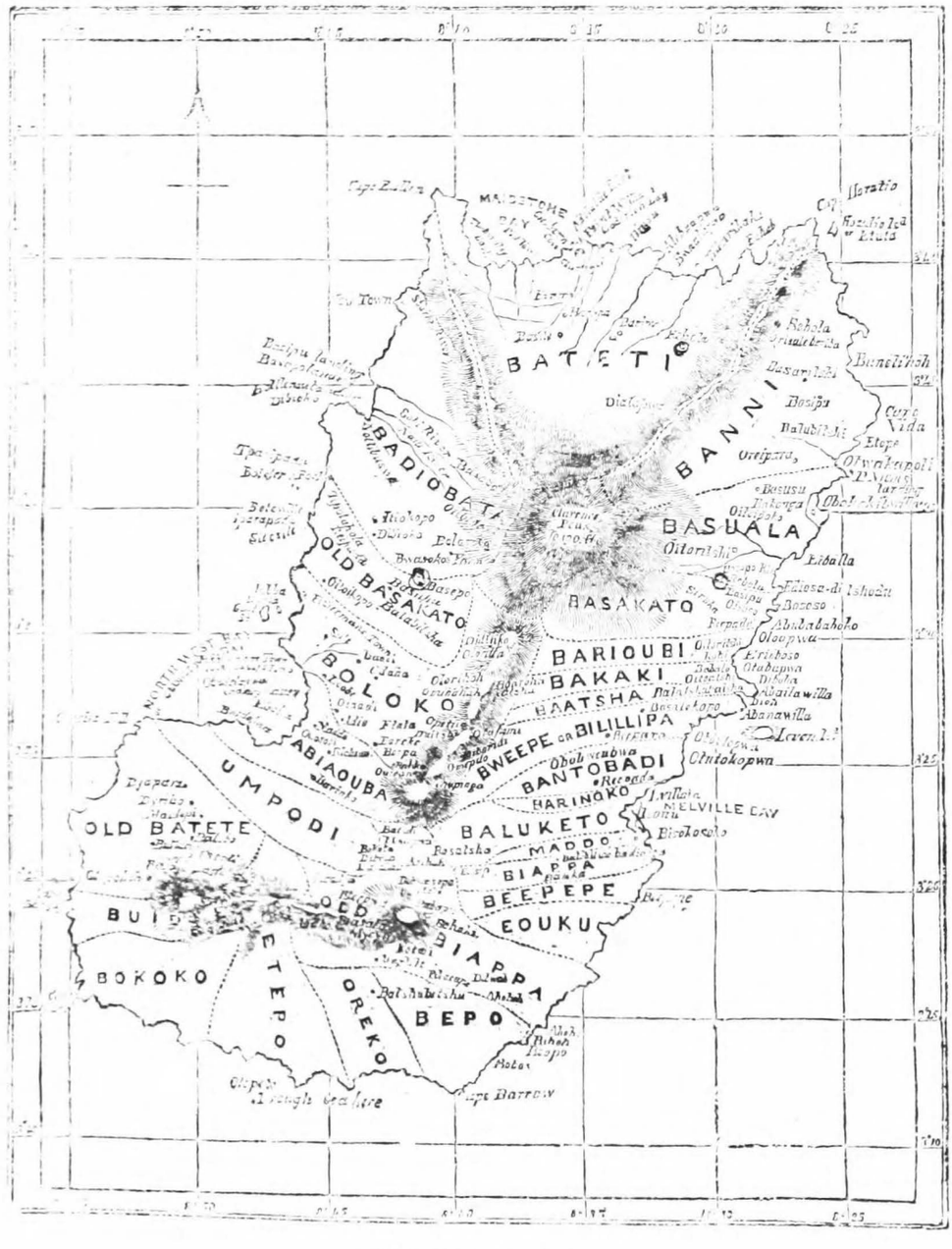
Map 5

Map of Fernando Po in the Nineteenth Century

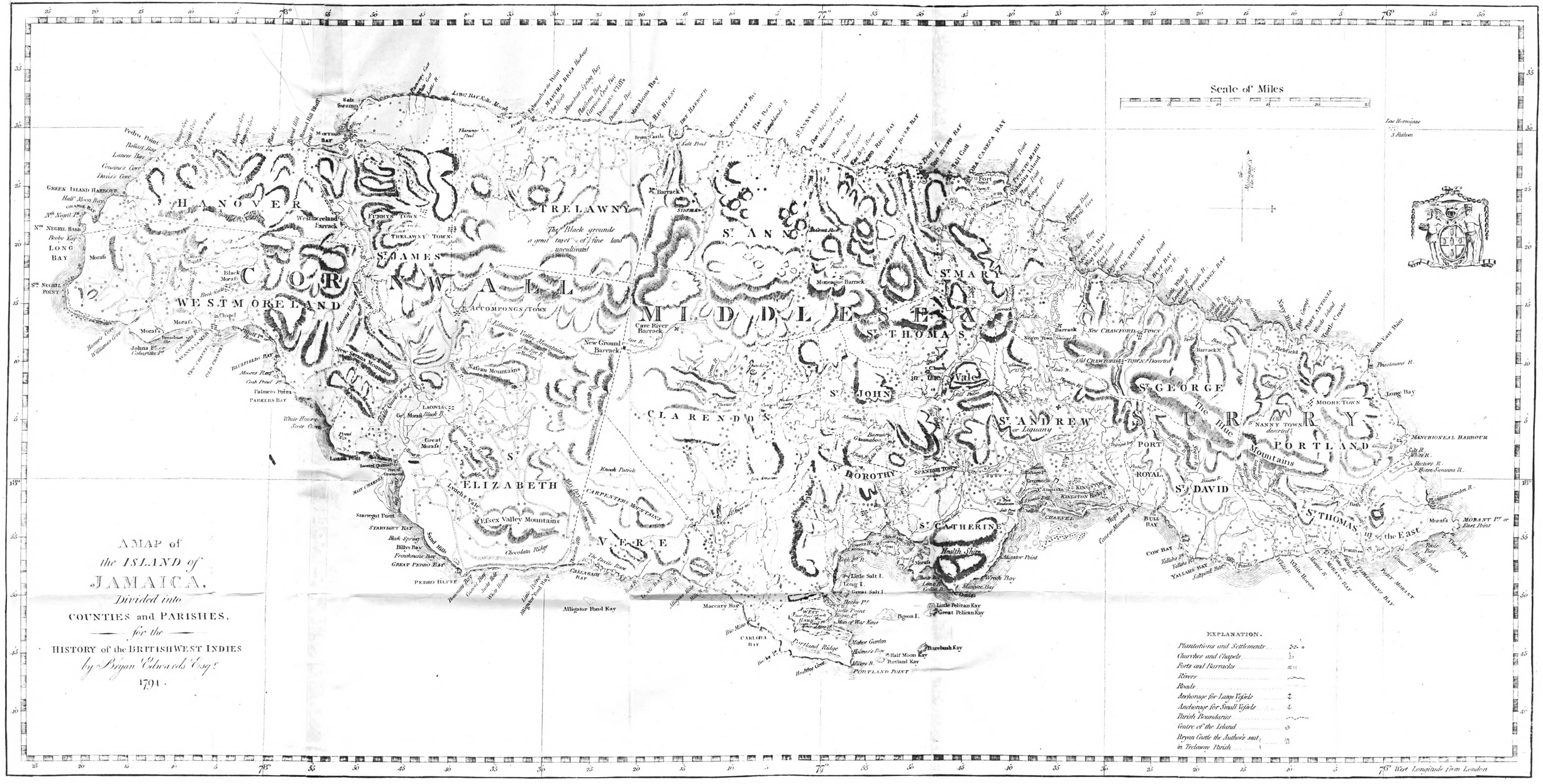
No. CLIX.] [AUGUST, 1852.

THE

MISSIONARY HERALD.



FERNANDO PO.


A MAP of
the ISLAND of
JAMAICA,
Divided into
COUNTIES and PARISHES,
for the
HISTORY of the BRITISH WEST INDIES
by Bryan Edwards Esqr
1794.
Scale of Miles
HANOVER
WESTMORELAND
CORNWALL
TRELAWNY
ST JAMES
ST ANN
ST MARY
MIDDLESEX
ST THOMAS
in the Vale
ST JOHN
ST ANDREW
or Liguany
ST GEORGE
SURREY
PORTLAND
ST DAVID
ST THOMAS in the East
ST DOROTHY
ST CATHERINE
CLARENDON
ST ELIZABETH
VERE
The Black grounde a great tract of fine land uncultivated
The Blue Mountains
Essex Valley Mountains
Nassau Mountains
New Savana Mountains
Cave River Barrack
New Ground Barrack
Montego Barrack
Spanish Town
Port Royal
Kingston
New Crawford Town
Old Crawford Town Deserted
Accompongs Town
Trelawny Town
Falmouth
Montego Bay
Lucea
Savanna la Mar
Black River
Alligator Pond Kay
Pedro Bluff
Portland Point
Manchioneal Harbour
EXPLANATION.
Plantations and Settlements
Churches and Chapels
Forts and Barracks
Rivers
Roads
Anchorage for Large Vessels
Anchorage for Small Vessels
Parish Boundaries
Centre of the Island
Bryan Castle the Author's seat in Trelawny Parish
76° West Longitude from London