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A table of contents for *The Baptist Quarterly* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bq_01.php

BRISTOL COLLEGE AND THE JAMAICAN MISSION A Caribbean Contribution

It is fitting that from Bristol, once the centre of Britain's slaving interests,¹ should come those who were to make a considerable contribution to the ending of both the Slave Trade and Slavery itself in the British Colonies.² Among the abolitionists were those connected with the reformed Bristol Education Society (1770), whose foundation is dated 1679, when a scheme for the training of Baptist ministers was established based on the church at Broadmead. Among its alumni supporting the abolition cause were Caleb Evans, Joseph Hughes, Morgan John Rhys, Robert Hall, John Dore, Thomas Langdon and the essayist, John Foster, to name but a few.

Caleb Evans, the Principal (1781-91), was a prominent member of the Bristol Auxiliary of the newly-formed Anti-Slavery Society, along with Mr Hughes, probably his fellow tutor and later secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society.³ Under Evans' chairmanship, the Western Association met at Portsmouth Common in 1788 to record its

deepest abhorrence of the Slave Trade, and to recommend it earnestly to the ministers and members of all our Churches to unite in promoting to the utmost of their power, every scheme that is or may be proposed, to procure the ABOLITION of a traffic so unjust, inhuman and disgraceful, and the continuance of which tends to counteract and destroy the operation of the benevolent principle and spirit of our common Christianity.⁴

Not surprisingly, Evans' successor, John Ryland, carried on the tradition, seeking opportunity to send a trained missionary to Jamaica, whose economy was slave-based. Inspired by the Baptist 'passion for liberty',⁵ Ryland must have realized that this would eventually lead to confrontation with the beneficiaries of the slave system, both at home and overseas. As early as 1806, Ryland wrote to a leading native Baptist minister in Jamaica, Moses Baker, to ask if such action would be welcome,⁶ but had to wait until 1814 before the opportunity to do something actually presented itself. Meanwhile, he continued to correspond with William Wilberforce and John Newton, leaders of the Anti-Slavery Movement.⁷

The strong Welsh connection with the college established by Hugh and Caleb Evans was reinforced by the arrival of Morgan John Rhys in 1786. After a year at Bristol, Rhys spent four years as minister at Penygarn, during which time he published tracts advocating the abolition of slavery in America and the West Indies. Two of the tracts dealt specifically with the West Indies: *The Sufferings of Thousands of Black Men in Jamaica and other places set forth for the consideration of the kind Welsh in order to try to persuade them to leave 'Sugar, Treacle and Rum'* (written about 1789), and later *The Complaints of Black men in wretched slavery in the Sugar Isles*.⁸

John Dore, a former student of Caleb Evans, and minister of the Maze Pond church in London, at the invitation of the church, preached and published a *Sermon on the African Slave Trade* in 1788, at which a special collection was taken for the funds of the Anti-Slavery Society as 'evidence of our most hearty concurrence with them in their truly laudable undertaking'.⁹

One of Bristol's most famous sons, Robert Hall, in sermon, lecture and newspaper article under the pseudonym 'Britannicus', attacked the whole slave system as theologically untenable and socially counterproductive.¹⁰ Meanwhile in the North of England the Devonian, Thomas Langdon, minister in Leeds who had trained at Bristol 1778-80, spoke in scathing terms of those who called themselves Christians yet supported the Trade.¹¹ Yorkshireman and friend of Robert Hall, John Foster, the essayist, wrote *On Negro Slavery*, outlining the importance of the Christian doctrine of man and its inevitable effect on any thoughtful attitude towards slavery: 'We need not hesitate to assert unconditionally, *that it is wrong, essentially so, for men to arrogate a property in fellow-men: that there can be no such property.*'¹²

Such outspoken views at local Church and Association level indicate something of the growing sense of urgency being felt amongst the people called Baptists on the question of slavery. There were, however, those who were cautious, if not timid, in their support. Andrew Fuller, secretary of the youthful Baptist Missionary Society, writing to William Carey in 1804, suggested that the London brethren were less than enthusiastic over involvement in the Jamaican question, stating that only Hall, Abraham Booth and himself were prepared to sign a petition addressed to the Privy Council, concerning the restrictive practices of the Jamaican Assembly.¹³ Nevertheless, Robert Robinson of Cambridge, who was reputed to have drafted one of the first Anti-Slavery petitions to Parliament (sent in the name of the Cambridge Constitution Society),¹⁴ and the redoubtable Abraham Booth received significant support from both General and Particular wings of the Baptists.¹⁵

It was, however, after the official ending of the Trade in 1807 that the Bristol College's contribution took a more effective and direct course, namely, the sending of their students as missionaries to Jamaica, thus introducing a new and potent ingredient to the already delicate situation.¹⁶ Communications between British Baptist leaders and native Baptist leaders in Jamaica were established quite early. George Liele, the father of Jamaican Baptists,¹⁷ was introduced to the British public through the pages of Dr Rippon's *Baptist Annual Register*. Biographical material had been supplied by Joseph Cook, formerly of Bath, now a resident in South Carolina,¹⁸ who had seen Liele's development as a leader in Savannah before his removal to Jamaica. Liele himself also provided some autobiographical notes and information concerning the development of the growing native cause,¹⁹ adding details of the practical use made of gifts sent out from England.²⁰

Liele and his co-worker, Moses Baker, corresponded not only with Drs Rippon and Ryland but had contacts with other Baptists in England, not least among the

New Connexion General Baptists, who in December 1792 responded to Liele's appeal for aid.²¹ Baker wrote to friends in Leicestershire with information about himself and his church, which was published in the *Evangelical Magazine* for September 1803. Rippon also published letters from Thomas Nicholas Swingle, another native leader.²² Thus Ryland's deep concern for Jamaica was based on first-hand information. Doubtless this interest was heightened by the news of the repressive action taken by the Jamaican Assembly against native Christians, a matter Ryland discussed with Wilberforce, who described it as a 'shocking violation of all religious liberty'.²³ Ryland further raised the question of the likely reaction to the sending out of a white missionary. Wilberforce's reply was naturally cautious and indicated that the question of native preachers and the prejudice against dissenters were being discussed at Parliamentary level and would be a possible source of objection, hence his reluctance to give a direct answer, but

I am inclined to believe that preachers in a white skin would be likely to be treated better and respected more than black ones. This is all I can now say. When the meeting of Parliament shall bring me within reach of West Indians again, I will try in private to soften the prejudices of some leading men connected with that country; but I fear that the prejudices of the resident colonists, and their irreligious habits, are such as to render all attempts to soften them unavailing . . .²⁴

The facts, however, were that 'white-skinned' missionaries, Dissenting or Methodist, could not expect a warm welcome, for they were regarded as agents of the Anti-Slavery Society by the West Indian lobby in Parliament and their supporters in Jamaica.

When the time came to send out John Rowe, Ryland wrote again to Wilberforce, the member for Hull, who promised to recommend Rowe to the Duke of Manchester via an 'influential' member of his Government, 'in reliance on his prudence and sobriety as well as the other requisite qualifications'.²⁵ Unfortunately, it would seem that he was not all that influential, for in a letter to Ryland, from Jamaica, 14 March 1814, Rowe indicated that Baptists were *personae non gratae*.²⁶

At the time of Moses Baker's appeal to Ryland, the native church was in danger of being swallowed up by pseudo-Christian cults, which were taking advantage of the restrictions robbing dissenters of real leadership. Dr E. A. Payne's perceptive comments on Liele's Church Covenant indicate the urgency of the situation:

In view of the sincerity and simplicity here revealed, the danger of fanaticism and heresy, the difficulties and the opportunities among people who covenanted in this fashion, and the special responsibility of the 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.²⁷

Rowe, born at Lopen, Somerset, entered the Bristol Academy in 1811. Together with his wife, a member at Broadmead, Bristol, he arrived in Jamaica in 1814 only

to discover that even those favourably disposed towards them had to show some caution. He reported that Mr J. Vaughan of Montego Bay 'intimated that were he to form any intimacy with me and give me constantly an apartment in his house it would be rather disgusting to his friends and acquaintances'.²⁸ While chafing at these restrictions,²⁹ especially the refusal to grant him a licence to preach, Rowe exercised patience to good effect, winning over many influential people³⁰ and establishing a school in Falmouth. Though officially forbidden to preach, he managed to perform an effective pastoral role, impressing upon the authorities the sterling qualities of his character. A good start had been made, but, before the ban on his licence could be lifted, he died on 27 June 1816. A good start had been made. Ryland also sent another student, Lee Compere, who together with his wife and 'two pious artisans' from Broadmead Church, left Bristol in November 1815.³¹

Compere, a member of the Halstead Church, Essex, first studied under John Sutcliffe at Olney, then at Bristol in 1814. Little is known about him. His short stay in Jamaica indicates that he had imbibed much of the radicalism of the age. Though the Halstead publication suggests he left Jamaica because of illness,³² the evidence points to more ominous reasons. He made a good beginning both at Old Harbour and Kingston. When invited to be the pastor of the Negro Church in Kingston, he encountered the difficulties of weak church discipline, exacerbated by the many restrictions placed upon the leadership of dissenting churches. Success in both church and school at East Queen's Street necessitated an appeal for help to the BMS. Significantly, the Committee's reply indicated a growing tension between missionary and the Society, for it was a sharp reminder to him that he was a 'non-political' agent and should concentrate on preaching the Gospel.³³ When ill-health struck, the resignation of Compere solved a problem for the Committee, for the balance, as they saw it, between the success and failure of the Mission at this stage was delicately poised. Dr Francis Cox, the first BMS historian, was guarded when he wrote of Compere that, 'the Committee were not entirely satisfied with his conduct, and not unwilling that his connection with the Society should be thus terminated.'³⁴ Later, John Clarke of Brown's Town asked the question, 'Was Lee Compere before his time in his hatred of slavery, and was this the real reason for his leaving the work of the BMS?'³⁵ Walter Dendy, in his biographical note on Compere, discreetly makes no mention of the tension between the missionary and the Society.³⁶ Compere left the island to do valuable work among the Crk Indians in America.³⁷

The third missionary to the island was also a Bristol student, James Coultart, a Scot, whose arrival was timely, for Compere and the Society had reached an impasse. The Society was indeed fortunate in its new missionary: not only did he prove to be one of a number of long-serving agents, serving Jamaica for some twenty years, but he was also a pioneer of no mean order. In a relatively short time he had built up the church in Kingston so that larger premises were needed to accommodate the work. A suite of buildings, consisting of a chapel seating 2000,

a manse and a school, was planned. The impecunious state of the BMS, however, dictated that the cost of the project be borne by the local church. Within two months they had raised the amazing sum of £1000.³⁸ Ill health and the death of his wife forced Coultart to return home in 1819, thus providing him with an opportunity to plead in England the cause of the Kingston church. In a letter to someone in Watford, he spelt out the enormous difficulties under which he attempted to pastor an ever-increasing congregation.³⁹ It was reported in the *Baptist Magazine* in 1822 that at its opening the church was full to overflowing.⁴⁰ This inaugurated a period of Baptist expansion in the island. By April 1822 Coultart had baptized seventy-two people and ministered the Lord's Supper to 'sixteen hundred or upwards'. Again in 1823 he baptized 117 people, among whom, he says, 'were nine of the most respectable persons of colour who have yet had to offer themselves to our communion'.⁴¹ We are fortunate in having an eye-witness account of Coultart's work, provided by Thomas Knibb, a missionary teacher, who arrived in Jamaica in 1823 and stayed with Coultart for a short while. His reports to Ryland reveal that Coultart could not be accused of accepting members into the church simply for the sake of numbers,⁴² a recurring accusation levelled at Baptist missionaries during this period. Knibb, in a second letter, outlines the organization of East Queen's Street, and the importance of the 'Class leader'.⁴³ With Knibb's help, Coultart began to develop further work four miles away at Port Royal.

Meanwhile another Bristol student arrived in 1823, Ebenezer Phillips of London. His arrival at Anotto Bay presented the magistrate with a problem, for 'he could not immediately obtain a licence, as no precedent could be found for granting one in the annals of the parish'.⁴⁴ By 1825 Phillips had become a respected and accepted figure in the town⁴⁵ but sadly he died the following year.

Despite financial difficulties, Coultart's work continued to grow. With foresight, he started work at Mount Charles, where later William Knibb recorded a congregation of 1000 plantation slaves.⁴⁶ By 1828 the 2000 seats at East Queen's Street were regularly filled and over 300 children attended the school, while in 1829 a Girls' School was added.⁴⁷

During the first twelve years, between 1814 and 1826, the Society sent a steady stream of missionaries. Not all survived. Four died and four others left on account of health and domestic reasons.⁴⁸ The remainder stayed to contribute not only to the life and growth of the church, but to Jamaican society as a whole. 1822 saw the arrival of another Ryland student, Joshua Tinson. His arrival was uneventful, apart from the frustration of not being granted a licence to preach at Manchioneal, in spite of his friendship with the people and the rector. The reason given was 'Lest the parish should be inundated with Sectarians'.⁴⁹ This refusal resulted in his taking over a Kingston church, probably that of the former Winward Road Church, formed by Liele in 1793.⁵⁰ Quickly the church became a centre of some consequence in the town, working closely with Coultart. Tinson's main contribution was to come later, chiefly through his involvement with Calabar College.

One of the names that can never be eradicated from Jamaican history is that of Thomas Burchell, who entered Bristol in 1819 and arrived in Jamaica in 1824. Born on 25 December 1799 at Tetbury, Gloucestershire, where his paternal grandfather had been Baptist minister, he boasted among his ancestors Sir Isaac Newton. Burchell was to give twenty-one years of eventful service to the island. Not without good reason has he been called the 'Apostle of the West', for he founded and developed the following churches: Montego Bay, Mount Carey, Shortwood, Bethel Town, Gurney's Mount, Fullersfield, Savannah-la-Mar, Lucea, Salter's Hill, Falmouth, Rio Bueno and Stewart Town.⁵¹ Added to this was his involvement in educational work with William Knibb and J. M. Phillippo, as well as a practical interest in medicine and the training of dispensary nurses.⁵²

William Knibb, a Broadmead member, was not college-trained and this caused him some temporary embarrassment with the BMS,⁵³ though he was championed by Tinson in no uncertain terms.⁵⁴ It was, however, Ryland who guided the Committee to send him to Jamaica.⁵⁵ William Knibb, Burchell and J. M. Phillippo, who trained at the Horton Academy in Bradford, made a formidable trio, constituting the spearhead of British Baptist work in Jamaica. Undoubtedly, Knibb was the dominant figure, but without the others his work would have been limited.⁵⁶ Their work overlapped at every point. Knibb and Burchell always posed a threat to the BMS in its hesitant attitude towards slavery. Disappointed at the Committee's attitude to the Jamaican mission as a whole and the slavery question in particular, Burchell made a formal proposal that the Committee give up responsibility for the work and let others take over, presumably intending by this himself and like-minded friends.⁵⁷ Knibb was accused of being an 'officious meddler' when he attacked the idea that missionaries could buy slaves, even if it was argued that it would thus be easier for the slaves to purchase their freedom: Phillippo came under Knibb's condemnation at this point.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, it was Phillippo who pioneered the idea of buying land for re-sale to black people at a price within their capacity. This was important during the so-called Apprenticeship period introduced in 1834 and designed to prepare the former slaves for complete freedom from 1838. The village scheme provided them with some sense of security. Burchell and Knibb, along with many others, joined in the enterprise, thus creating an important social innovation vital to the Jamaican economy for many years, as well as adding a fascinating ingredient to the development of the Jamaican character.⁵⁹

These three men were to play an important role in Britain during the years 1832-34 as they reinforced the abolition cause after the Jamaican insurrection in 1832, for which Burchell, Knibb and many others suffered many indignities. They not only spoke to vast audiences throughout Britain, facing the wrath of the anti-abolitionists, but also appeared before a Select Committee of Parliament. Burchell also joined Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Wilberforce's successor, and together they sought compensation for the destroyed dissenting churches on the island. Later

Knibb and John Dyer, now Secretary of the BMS, went to the Colonial Office, eventually obtaining a substantial sum of money towards the cost of rebuilding.

Education was an important aspect of evangelism, and all three missionaries were anxious to ensure that the freed slave would be educated, hence their phenomenal work in providing schools, which accelerated after emancipation.⁶⁰ Much of this was due to the personal generosity of Burchell⁶¹ and the supporters in England, including many Quakers, who helped to found the Jamaica Baptist Education Society.⁶² By 1840 there were fifty-six day schools, with 6,901 scholars, eleven evening schools with 407 students, while Sunday Schools totalled fifty-four, with 11,875 students. Approximately ninety teachers were connected with the Society.⁶³

Phillippo had a vision of a University College patterned on London, and in 1839 he attempted to create a technical school in Spanish Town. It failed, as did a similar venture by the Government between 1848-52.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, between them they pioneered an important educational institution, Calabar College. Underhill credits Knibb with the idea of Calabar as a preparatory college for sending men back to Africa.⁶⁵ It is perhaps safer to suggest that it was born out of the needs of the Jamaican churches for a trained indigenous ministry. There was a positive response from the BMS Committee in 1839 and Knibb was given the task of seeing the building through its various stages until it was finally completed at Calabar, Rio Bueno, on 3 October 1843. The first president was Joshua Tinson: 'He was', writes a successor in the President's office, 'not robust but he was tireless, and when he was ill, had the classes in his bedroom.'⁶⁶ His was no enviable task, for in spite of the developing educational work, academic standards were modest. Of the early students he wrote: 'They had everything to learn . . . both from the elementary nature of the instruction I have to give and the frequency with which it is necessary to impart it.'⁶⁷ Even in 1860 Underhill describes the deficiencies of the students' pre-college education with typical nineteenth-century loquacity: 'the miserable patois of the slave had to be exchanged for the euphonious and grammatical English'.⁶⁸ This is not to underestimate the educational work done, but rather underlines the social and economic decline of the island during this period, which was a serious obstacle to educational progress. Baptists in Jamaica owe a tremendous debt to the men whose vision and persistence brought the college into being. In 1865 David East, the second Principal, wrote: 'There are now in connection with our Mission upwards of seventy regularly-organized Christian Churches, comprising more than 30,000 members presided over by one and forty Christian pastors, of whom nineteen are men of your own clime'.⁶⁹

Bristol College has down the years contributed a steady stream of men who have served Jamaica well in pastoral and educational roles. The concern that prompted the early Bristol men to fight for freedom, and Ryland to prepare men to serve in such difficult situations, still challenges future generations to ensure the Gospel is proclaimed and lived out, at whatever cost. Burchell, in a painful letter, indicated the thrust of Bristol College's Caribbean contribution when complaining about the

attitude of some men coming out to Jamaica, and in so doing disclosed his own singleness of purpose: 'Souls have been lost sight of too much - I have felt almost disgust at the grasping after the best stations. When I came out, we had no stations - we had to work for them, and I grieve to see these things!'⁷⁰ Such men gave themselves for Christ and his people, making effective the College's motto: 'We are ambassadors for Christ'.

NOTES

- 1 See Marguerite Steen's novels, *The sun is my undoing*, 1941, and *Twilight on the floods*, 1942, for accounts of the slaving community in Bristol; also C. M. MacInnes, *Bristol and the Slave Trade*, Bristol, 1968. For history of the college, see N. S. Moon, *Education for Ministry*, Bristol 1979.
- 2 See R. Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement*, 1963, and E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 1964.
- 3 N. S. Moon, 'Caleb Evans: Founder of the Bristol Education Society', *BQ* 24, 4, 1971. pp.175-90. P. Martin, *Anti-Slavery Movement in Bristol*, Bristol Historical Association, 1968.
- 4 J. Dore, *A Sermon on the African Slave Trade*, 1788, p.38.
- 5 See H. W. Robinson, *The Life and Faith of the Baptists*, 1946.
- 6 F. A. Cox, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society*, 2,, 1842, pp.18-19.
- 7 *Letters of William Wilberforce to Ryland and Letters of Ryland to Newton*, Bristol College Library. Also L. G. Champion, 'Letters of John Ryland to John Newton', *BQ*, 27, 4, 1977.
- 8 J. T. Griffiths, *Rev. Morgan John Rhys: The Welsh Baptist Hero of Civil and Religious Liberty of the Eighteenth Century*, Carmarthen, 1910, pp.80-86.
- 9 S. A. Swain, *Faithful Men or Memorial of Bristol Baptist College*, 1884, p.98.
- 10 O. Gregory, *A Brief Memorial of the Life of Robert Hall MA*, 1883, p.22-3.
- 11 A. C. Underwood, *A History of the English Baptists*, 1947, p.176.
- 12 J. Foster, *Lectures of the Late John Foster*, 1844, pp.303-306.
- 13 Letter of Fuller to Carey, 1804, BMS Archives.
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- 15 See T. Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Acceptance of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament*, 1, 1808, p.11.
- 16 For attitudes against Missionary Societies, see D. Ryall, 'The Organization of the Missionary Societies and Recruitment in Britain and the Role of the Missionary in the Diffusion of British Culture in Jamaica during the period 1834-1865', unpublished London PhD thesis, 1959.
- 17 E. A. Holmes, 'George Liele: Negro Slavery's Prophet of Deliverance', *BQ* 20, 8, 1964, pp.340f. G. A. Catherall, 'The Native Baptist Church', *BQ* 24, 2, 1971, pp.65-73.
- 18 J. Rippon, *Baptist Register*, 1, 1790-93, pp.501-9.
- 19 *ibid.*, pp.332-6.
- 20 *ibid.*, pp.541-2.
- 21 G. W. Rusling, 'A Note on Early Negro Baptist History', *Foundations*, 11, 4, 1968, pp.362-8.
- 22 Rippon, *op.cit.*, 3, 1798, pp.212-5; 4, pp.974-5, 1144.
- 23 Letters of Wilberforce to Ryland.
- 24 Cox, *op.cit.*, p.20.
- 25 Letters of Wilberforce to Ryland.
- 26 Letters of John Rowe, BMS Archives.
- 27 E. A. Payne, 'Baptist Work in Jamaica before the arrival of the missionaries', *BQ* 7, 1935, pp.20-26.
- 28 Letters of John Rowe, BMS Archives.
- 29 See J. Clark, W. Dendy, J. M. Phillippo, *The Voice of Jubilee*, 1865, p.142.
- 30 *Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society*, 1815, pp.677-8.
- 31 *Baptist Magazine*, 1815, p.484. See also *Lee Compere: the original notes on this Christian Missionary*, Halstead Baptist Church, Essex, 1966.
- 32 *Compere*, p.2.
- 33 *Baptist Magazine*, 1817, p.74.
- 34 Cox, *op.cit.*, p.25.
- 35 J. Clarke, *Memorials of the Jamaica Mission*, 1869, p.74.
- 36 *Voice of Jubilee, op.cit.*, pp.146-7.
- 37 *Baptist Magazine*, 1824, p.170.
- 38 *ibid.*, 1819, 410; 1836, p.463. See also S. Duncker, *The Free Coloured and their Fight for*

- Civil Rights in Jamaica 1800-1830*, unpublished London MA thesis, 1960. There is a note on the conveyance of the chapel recorded in the Kingston Register of Freehold.
- 39 Letter of Coultart, 19 May 1819, at Regent's Park College, Oxford.
- 40 *Baptist Magazine*, 1822, p.219.
- 41 *Baptist Magazine*, 1823, p.131.
- 42 *ibid.*, pp.218-9.
- 43 *ibid.*, pp.401-2.
- 44 *ibid.* 1824, p.359.
- 45 *ibid.*, 1825, pp.94-5.
- 46 J. H. Hinton, *Memoir of William Knibb*, 1847, p.46.
- 47 *Baptist Magazine*, 1828, p.290.
- 48 See G. A. Catherall, *British Baptist Involvement in Jamaica 1783-1865*, unpublished Keele PhD thesis, 1971, p.91.
- 49 ed. R. A. L. Knight, *Liberty and Progress*, Kingston, 1938, p.3.
- 50 *Baptist Magazine*, 1823, pp.130-1; *Voice of Jubilee*, *op.cit.*, p.174; and Inez Knibb Sibley, *The Baptists of Jamaica 1793 to 1965*, Kingston, 1965, p.38.
- 51 Knight, *op.cit.*, p.4.
- 52 See W. F. Burchell, *Memoir of Thomas Burchell*, 1849, pp.31-41. Also G. A. Catherall, 'Thomas Burchell, Gentle Rebel', *BQ*, 21, 8, 1966, pp.349-63.
- 53 Hinton, *op.cit.*, p.62.
- 54 *ibid.*, p.61.
- 55 *ibid.*, p.25.
- 56 See Catherall, 'Thomas Burchell', *op.cit.*.
- 57 *Voice of Jubilee*, *op.cit.*, pp.198-206.
- 58 Hinton, *op.cit.*, pp.68-72. E. B. Underhill, *The Life of the Rev. James Mursell Phillipps*, 1881, p.81.
- 59 D. G. Hall, *Free Jamaica 1835-1865: An Economic History*, Yale University Press, 1959; see also his 'The Apprenticeship Period in Jamaica 1834-1838', *Caribbean Quarterly* 3, 1953; H. Paget, 'The Free Village System in Jamaica', *ibid.*, 4, 1950.
- 60 Catherall, *British Baptist Involvement . . .*, pp.217-226. Also G. Eisner, *Jamaica 1830-1930: A Study in Economic Growth*, Manchester, 1961, p.327.
- 61 Burchell, *op.cit.*, pp.310-11.
- 62 *Baptist Magazine*, 1837, pp.546-8.
- 63 Statistical report printed in the *Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa*, 17 March 1841.
- 64 See Collection of Phillippo Papers, BMS Archives; also S. C. Gordon, *A Century of West Indian Education*, 1963, p.35.
- 65 E. B. Underhill, *The West Indies: Their Social and Religious Condition*, 1862, pp.292-3.
- 66 E. Price, *Banana Land: A Missionary Chronicle*, 1930, p.35.
- 67 Cite E. A. Payne, *Free Jamaica*, 1944, p.109.
- 68 Underhill, *West Indies*, *op.cit.*, p.296.
- 69 *Voice of Jubilee*, *op.cit.*, p.9. David East twice gives the high figure. The Theological College is now part of the United Theological Seminary of the West Indies, situated on the University campus, Mona Heights, Kingston.
- 70 Burchell letters, BMS Archives.

GORDON A. CATHERALL Formerly Baptist minister in Alnwick and Liverpool

Dr John Oddy's campaign for the official recognition in King's Lynn of its Georgian radical and historian, the Baptist minister, the Revd William Richards (1749-1818) has led to the mounting of a suitable commemorative plaque on 122 Norfolk Street, Richard's address. Richards would have been quick to note the irony that the campaigner is someone he would think of as High Church and High Tory!