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EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY RIVALRY
IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES
A STUDY IN
RELIGIOUS ALTRUISM AND ECONOMIC REALITY*

One observer of West Indian history commented that after the Act of Emancipation in 1833, British public opinion became "just plainly bored with Jamaica's problems", because it was "characteristic of the period of romantic revolution to release energy rather than direct it".¹ Nowhere is the fervour of romanticism and its subsequent disaffection more apparent than in the support of evangelical missionary endeavour in the West Indies during the decade after freedom had been "won" for slaves.

The four year experiment with indentured labour, known as apprenticeship, proved to be just another "state of vassalage" with vagrant laws, police acts, tenants' bills, trespassing acts as well as restrictions on labour, wages, contracts and emigration all interfering with justice for the apprentices.² The British public which had supported the Abolition campaigns and the London-based missionary societies by voluntary subscription turned their fickle gaze upon more "exotic" and far-flung bastions of the Empire, such as China, Africa, the South Seas, and India. Here, after all, there were *real* "heathen" to convert who were not subject to a civilizing Colonial social structure and Church Establishment, as were the bondsmen of the sugar colonies. The Wesleyan, Baptist, London, and Church Missionary Societies³ had all become involved in the Caribbean somewhat reluctantly from the outset, motivated more by moral indignation at the official Church's neglect of the "benighted" slave population and the infamous tyranny meted out by a class of godless, fornicating, sabbath-breaking planters.⁴ Thus once planter power was officially, even if not actually, broken, enthusiasm for the missionary cause diminished and financial support depleted accordingly. Moreover the sugar colonies were no longer profitable for Empire, whereas India, China and Africa were to prove themselves not only rich in spiritual resources, but also in human and natural ones.

Jamaica offers us an interesting case study of the socio-psychological-enmity which resulted from such economic factors. The main protagonists in the drama were evangelical missionaries from the Baptist Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society who came to see each other, not as cooperators in a common cause, but as contending and acquisitive rivals in what is too often accurately described as "the scramble for souls".

The four years that followed Emancipation, 1834-38, were in some ways an "Indian summer" for missionary activity in the British Caribbean. Financed by grants under the auspices of

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the Negro Education Fund, there was a flurry of educational endeavour which reflected an urge to consolidate and extend a mission's existing sphere of influence.⁵ The parent societies in Britain had always insisted that their agents raise up a "native agency", that is native ministers, teachers, deacons and elders, to take over leadership whenever practicable and for missionaries to encourage their churches to become independent of Society support. During slavery and apprenticeship, this was naturally a difficult task - bondsmen and apprentices could only give minimal financial assistance, and had been frequently prevented by their slave status to attend upon schools and chapels. Native Baptist churches and BMS schools, chapels, and stations, attracted greater membership than all other religious denominations in Jamaica. This had led to resentment on the part of the Church Missionary Society, and the Wesleyans to some degree, but throughout the troubled years of slavery, all evangelical groups united against a common enemy - the planter interest - even to the point of experiencing persecution.

When in 1835 the Negro Education Grant first distributed its funds after emancipation the Colonial Office was suspicious of the eagerness the missionary societies manifested to receive such monetary benefits.⁶ Government assured two-thirds aid if missionary societies guaranteed to raise their one-third portion. A circular in 1835 warned missionaries not "to raise their expectations too high" and overwhelm the Office "with indiscriminate applications" and impractical promises.⁷ Nevertheless the existence of the Grant led to hasty financial commitments which some individual missionaries could neither hope to fulfill nor depend upon their parent Societies in London to redeem.

Debts accrued within a year and all societies found it difficult to obtain land for lease or purchase on which to build schoolhouses and some were even in the untenable position of contesting past titles. A decline in exchange rate accompanied the economic uncertainty which followed Emancipation, a drought in Antigua "retarded progress" in the erection of twenty-four schoolhouses promised, the original estimated costs of £250 per schoolhouse soared, and all four societies could not hope to complete, staff, or maintain the facilities they built in the first flush of their enthusiasm.⁸ As had been feared by the Colonial Office there was "an undue multiplication of schools" in certain areas and a subsequent "collision of different societies" wanting to monopolize converts and scholars.⁹ The two-thirds portion the societies had been asked to raise proved a pipe dream because of growing British disinterest with work in the West Indies and a subsequent tightening of budget allowances. John Wray's confidence that "the people of England will not have the negroes in a state of ignorance for want of the means for their education"¹⁰ was destined to flounder.

The result of such indiscriminate "eagerness to secure a portion"¹¹ of the Grant, as Charles Latrobe, Inspector of Schools, noted, was a rash of "petty play on sectarian feeling".¹² He was dismayed at the "small minded and jealous" conduct of the missionaries he inspected and the strained relationships

between denominations which resulted in confusion as to the objectives, evasion of financial accountability, and mismanagement of the Grant.¹³ The missionaries could not be depended upon to "give the slightest information" concerning each other's proceedings or even to acknowledge the existence of rival schools.¹⁴ James Mursell Phillippo, a Baptist in Jamaica, describes best the urgent sense of sectarian territorialism for the years immediately following Emancipation.

The whole land is before us and when once we take possession of it, which we as a denomination are doing in a most unexampled manner, the warfare to a great degree will be over.¹⁵

Given such sentiments it is scarcely astonishing that the CMS resented, for example, the apparent success of the WMMS in Jamaica. Mr Newman was most irate when the children around him attended his CMS school but worshipped in the nearest Wesleyan chapel every Sunday,¹⁶ whereas the Reverend Mr Betts was more disturbed about the "intrusion" of Wesleyans in his district than the three schools his society erected within close proximity to each other, although one would have serviced the area quite efficiently.¹⁷ In turn the Baptists were indignant about the late entry of the LMS into Jamaica although all other missionaries generally agreed that the Baptists themselves were the worst offenders at monopolizing the sphere of evangelization. A clergyman, the Rev. Mr Panton, wrote in 1838, that "their chief object" was "to gain numerical strength".¹⁸ It seems that Baptists were particularly envied because this after all was the chief object of all the missionary groups but the BMS missionaries were proving themselves singularly successful at realizing it! In 1839 inter-denominational feeling ran high enough for Jamaican Baptists and Methodists to brawl publicly and cause scandal to their common cause, over having "separate burial grounds".¹⁹ Josias Cork of the CMS felt "surrounded",²⁰ as well he might have, because between 1831-45 the Baptists grew from approximately 10,000 to 34,000 in Jamaica and the Wesleyans doubled their numbers in the same period.²¹

However neither was Dissent in accord with Dissent. Indeed one of the most convincing arguments given by the London committee to those LMS missionaries, who were initially reluctant to receive Government aid, had warned them that "other superintendence" would take advantage of the aid and intrude upon their territory. If other denominations received aid and the LMS in British Guiana did not, they would eventually lose their "influence and control".²² John Wray was known to have murmured that the Church of Scotland in Berbice was baptizing the apprentices "wholesale".²³ The LMS correspondence reveals that the missionaries in British Guiana had been "divided among themselves" during slavery and this situation was to worsen during the apprenticeship period. Their suspicion of other denominations increased as they themselves squabbled over divisive theological issues.²⁴ The fear of intruders forced them to present a "front", united enough for a CMS missionary to decline a station on the East Coast because the LMS was buying up land to consolidate their position there.²⁵ In actual fact, the LMS both in British Guiana and in Jamaica was hopelessly divided.

Individual missionaries engaged in perverse and petty back-biting among themselves with the urge to consolidate spheres of influence and gain converts contaminating even those who shared the same denominational perspectives.

A "long protracted dissension" in British Guiana between junior and senior missionaries was scarcely worth the pen, paper, and passion that went into it. It is enough to observe that it resulted in a rather solemn and ridiculous "tribunal" being set up by the LMS missionaries to pass judgment on the whole dispute.²⁶ The final absurdity was reached when the tribunal dismissed from the Society a particularly troublesome young missionary, James Mirams, and then squabbled over the amount of money to be given for his expenses back to England.²⁷ In 1836 Mr Brainsford of Jamaica was engaged in an equally pointless dispute which resulted in a trial by "jury". This scandal however was made public in the West Indian press, the *Jamaica Herald* of 7th March 1836, to the dismay of the LMS Committee at home.²⁸ Without a doubt the pervasive sense of insecurity and financial pressure precipitated an unusual amount of acrimony in these cases although the extraordinary lack of charity cannot nevertheless be justified.

It is self-evident that alongside perceived success there is an accompanying sense of perceived failure and undoubtedly the Society which was running last in the numbers game after Emancipation was the LMS. Theirs was a particularly dismal record in Jamaica where they competed with two well established evangelical groups, the Baptists and the Wesleyans. The LMS had few anxieties regarding the CMS in Jamaica for these missionaries of the Established Church were preoccupied with their survival as the evangelical branch of the Church of England in an ecclesiastical environment fundamentally antagonistic to their presence. The official Church encouraged evangelism on the part of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Conversion Society, but was opposed to the CMS's intrusion into West Indian society, and disapproved of the CMS's claims to any portion of the Negro Education Grant, believing it to be a duplication of funds already claimed by the SPG.

The LMS did not enter the evangelical arena of Jamaica until the apprenticeship period (although it had been in British Guiana during slavery) and then it was motivated by the impetus provided by the Negro Education Grant. Therefore the LMS started its Jamaican mission when the BMS already had approximately 10,838 members, fourteen pastors, and twenty-four churches,²⁹ but more significantly a well deserved reputation of being the "negroes' advocate" during slavery, an advocacy which they continued throughout apprenticeship. It is in this initial disparity that we can see the origins of sectarian "warfare" between the LMS and BMS over what was to be called the question of the "purity of the Baptist Churches".³⁰

An LMS missionary, W. G. Barrett, began the controversy on Christmas Eve, 1835, when he wrote to the parent Society that the Baptists were opposing other missionaries with their "bitter and systematic opposition".³¹ That he perceived a natural resentment to "LMS proceedings" as systematic, that is,

conscious, ill-willed, and conspiratorial, was a view he never relinquished and afterwards managed to convince others of, including residents not only of Jamaica but as far afield as Britain. The LMS, embarrassed at their missionary's lack of discretion concerning the "defects" of the Baptists, feared that his words would be "an affront" to the BMS. Private correspondence on the matter discouraged further comment and suggested that an apology was due to Baptist missionaries, whose reputations were being "traded" by such criticisms.³² According to the Secretary of the LMS, that matters of "such a delicate and serious nature should become the subject of common gossip" was "an injury to the common cause of Christian missions".³³ The Baptist missionary, James Phillippo, had been characterized as "a ravening wolf [who] seeks the fold which he has scented from a distance". Class leaders and ministers had been accused of "fornication" and of "serpentlike guile" and were employing the "wicked tyranny of designing men".³⁴ Native Baptist leaders were reproached with being fornicators, "unconverted" and illiterate, whereas expelled native leaders were reputed to have opened their own churches to persons "living in open whoredom".³⁵

The two parent societies, the BMS and the LMS, entered the confrontation very reluctantly. They hesitated to engage in public debate because they knew the division would bring scandal to the common cause of evangelical religion.³⁶ In addition, the LMS did not want further attention drawn to its management because it was receiving some criticism about one of its Secretaries, Mr Hankey, who apparently owned a considerable estate in Jamaica named "Arcadia" and was refusing Mr Vine, a missionary there, a portion of it for a mission. Moreover, the LMS was fearful of a public controversy because it did not want to expose its own subordinate position in Jamaica in comparison to the Baptists. The issue, however, could neither be hidden nor minimized once the evangelical and colonial press exposed the rupture.³⁷ The views expressed as late as 1842 represented public opinion on the unfortunate nature of the controversy.

... much of the wisdom of the serpent, as well as the harmlessness of the dove, is indispensable on the part of our missionary brethren... do not think that we imagine the purity of the church and the safety of souls as matters for sinful silence or unworthy compromise. We are conscious only that if controversy in such topics must be sustained it may be done with meekness of wisdom and the gentleness of Christ.³⁸

One of the main sources of contention was the "ticket and leader system" utilized by Wesleyans but imitated in the Jamaican situation by Baptists. This system was a practical method of keeping an account of church members and the number of conversions, as well as collecting financial support for the churches and missions.³⁹ Tickets were sold each quarter to those who were communicants. They cost two shillings and sixpence and demonstrated that the owner of the tickets was permitted to receive communion having undergone a satisfactory course of religious instruction which had culminated in conversion. Class leaders and deacons decided who was worthy of baptism, as a public demonstration of such conversion, and chose

who would receive tickets. Obviously such a system could lend itself to abuses with friends or relatives of a leader persuading him that they had experienced conversion thereby obtaining tickets to show at chapel. They may not even have been baptized at a mass baptism for a missionary could not be expected to remember all those whom he had immersed. Finally, the leader, if he were so tempted, might bribe some to purchase tickets as a reflection on his purported prosoletizing talents.

Because the baptisms were often mass ceremonies and Baptist churches frequently overflowing for Sunday services, missionaries from other societies doubted that many of those Baptists who purchased tickets had in fact undergone the necessary strenuous instruction for them to become "saved" and not merely remain nominal Christians.⁴⁰ It was said that the tickets were confused with "gregrees" (African charms)⁴¹ and that the "Bow-down Baptists"⁴² mixed their religious expressions with charismatic revival, obeah, myalism, and other African superstitions. The outcry about tickets was in some ways a microscopic version of the furor over the sale of indulgences some four hundred years before for it was said by sceptics or maligners that some communicants bought a ticket and believing it was a "passport to heaven" clasped it in their hands as they were dying.

With numerous tickets in circulation, admission into the Baptist churches was seen by critics as "too easy and indiscriminate".⁴³ In 1836, Mr Slatyer of the LMS spoke with two young negro women about their attendance at the Baptist chapel which was ten miles away and held service only once a month when they could have attended his weekly services. They explained their behaviour in terms of "taking ticket",⁴⁴ just as others claimed their salvation was guaranteed because they "join class".⁴⁵ Slatyer's complaint was probably motivated by the self-confessed "decline in novelty" of negro attendance upon his own chapel and it must be asked whether he would have murmured less had things been going well for him. Barrett's prime motivation was also due to the discouraging attendance at his school. He noted that the Baptist *class* leaders had "larger congregations" than he and that the "poor deluded creatures" imagined that a ticket purchased was a qualification "for heaven".⁴⁶

Another complaint revolved around the illiteracy and semi-illiteracy of many of the native leaders. At this juncture one sees a confusion between the Native Baptists (but this is not necessarily to attribute illiteracy to this group either) and those who belonged to the various churches of the BMS missionaries. If abuses or laxities did in fact occur among BMS leaders and deacons, without claiming them to be either theologians or academics, being totally "unlettered" was usually not one of them. The Baptists themselves confessed that they had created two to three hundred leaders during apprenticeship - "a class of helpers adapted to the circumstances and wants of the Jamaican population".⁴⁷ Even if pragmatic decisions about creating a new class of native leaders to adapt to the urgent circumstances with recruits being of modest intellectual and literacy achievement, the Baptists had been consistent proponents of minimal literacy as crucial to religious instruction,

and it would have been most surprising had they compromised this to the degree of having chosen totally illiterate class leaders.

Nevertheless, among the reports issued by the Baptists themselves there remain statements which cast aspersions as to the profoundness of the spiritual experiences of the baptized. In 1836, for example, Mr Oughton attended a prayer meeting at Montego Bay of "several thousand" who proceeded "en masse" to be baptized. One hundred and seventy negroes were immersed by two ministers on this rather spectacular occasion.⁴⁸ James Mursell Phillippo admitted early in the apprenticeship period that given the urgency of the need to establish a free church with an indigenous congregation some "compromise" would be requisite. However, he insisted that the critics of such a compromise must take into account

... that most of our converts ... have emerged from a state of semi-heathenism [and] it is scarcely to be expected they should endure a critic's eye or that there should not be found amongst them occasional inconsistencies and sins...⁴⁹

Thomas Burchell also confessed that tickets were given because of the dispersed and numerous membership of his several churches and that sometimes he and his deacons could not recognize the authenticity of members and that tickets were distributed to regularize membership and assist in identification of members. It might be presumed that irregularities could and did occur with ministers having so many to attend. Indeed Burchell says as much when he observed that "the propriety of the plan is evident as I frequently detected by this means improper characters who had obtruded themselves at the table".⁵⁰ Neither were suspicions and accusations dissipated with the defection of Mr Reid of the LMS camp. As one who had been most vociferous in his condemnation of the ticket system, he persuaded several other Baptist malcontents notably Coultart and Whitehorn to criticize it too.⁵¹ Such defections did not improve Baptist credibility.

A close examination of the lively correspondence over the "impurity" question leads to several conclusions. First, there was undoubtedly some infraction of the ideal pre-requisites for church membership, but Phillippo's preceding observation regarding the state from which the converts had emerged makes this understandable, even without some concession to the human weaknesses of men involved in the rather competitive and squalid business for the souls of other men. Unfortunately one does not gain a sense of confidence in the sincerity or righteousness of the accusers, although their complaints were always couched in the language of scripture and religious conviction. Secondly, it cannot be ignored that the LMS, so recently arrived in Jamaica, had to compete with a well established body of missionaries, and one to whom the negroes naturally looked for leadership because Baptists had earned the trust of the negro population, and whatever their talents, were able to attract a majority of the Christian population.

Third, many missionaries and clergymen of other denominations attacked the practices of emotional singing, extempore praying and baptism by immersion which suggests that these heart-felt expressions of religious experience were an important factor to Baptist popularity. That baptism by immersion was a major attraction for apprentices can be seen in the quiet desperation expressed by a Christian negro who was a member of an LMS chapel in Berbice. In a sermon to other apprentices he made a point of passionately discouraging the seductions of baptism by immersion. However, the ceremony had so captured their imaginations that many were sorely disappointed that they must forgo it and some defected from the LMS to the Baptists on this count. Although the preacher concerned attempted a crude sort of theological explanation to justify his position one senses he found it difficult to persuade his listeners.

Some of you say we want baptise; but me look, me no see much fruit. What good den baptise do you? Me not care even if dem tie rope to you foot and dem haul you in dis ribber Berbice dat got so much water. If you no forsake you sin baptise can't help you.⁵²
Water can't wash away we sin.....

Fourth, the evidence suggests that the LMS in Jamaica simply could not compete with the charisma of a William Knibb, the teaching skills of a James Phillippo, and the administrative proficiency of a Thomas Burchell, all Baptists, and three of the ablest missionaries in the West Indies during slavery and apprenticeship. The advice given by the preceding negro preacher could not replace these men's overwhelming preaching nor replace the processions, the white robes, immersion ceremonies in sunbathed streams, the rhythmic responses and vibrant hymns, along with the psychologically liberating rituals of conversion and baptism.

Finally, there had been some mutual suspicion between missionary groups during slavery which had been kept under scrupulous control. The arrival of the chief instigator of controversy, William Garland Barrett, merely raised it to a new level of consciousness. A highly strung man, given to hysterical malice and suffering some personal and nervous strain not assuaged by the lack of success of his mission in Jamaica, Barrett aroused the ire of many of his brethren although it was his wife who finally wrote the letters to Britain which were drawn to the attention of the LMS committee. Barrett also headed the rumour-mongering of his son-in-law, Mr Reid, who being a Baptist missionary apostate cannot be entirely depended upon for the accuracy of his accounts. Barrett's later suggestions that the original warm welcome given by the BMS men to LMS missionaries on their arrival in Jamaica was a pretext must also be taken cautiously, for the evidence suggests otherwise - considerable hospitality had been offered and Barrett himself was William Knibb's guest for some time after his arrival. In 1834 Joshua Tinson had warmly welcomed Barrett, Slatyer, and Hodges of the LMS and given them "afternoon tea".⁵³

Even if there is some basis to the "purity" controversy, particularly with reference to ticketing, one must conclude that the inordinate desire for consolidation was the root of the problem, with Barrett admitting as much when he wrote bitterly that the Baptists were "taking the bread out of our mouths". He protested that the LMS agents were not "permitted to retain undisturbed possessions of such spheres of labour" and had they been thus permitted the "*exposure would have been prevented*".⁵⁴

The exposure he referred to was the perceived abuses of ticketing, the reputed immorality of the Native Baptist leaders, and the rumours circulating of bribery and laxity. Although in an orgy of self-righteousness he claimed that he had rendered his "faulty brethren important service", in the final analysis his actions must be seen as "purely retaliatory".⁵⁵ He and the others were railing against Baptist success, explaining it in terms which would partially justify their own comparative failure in attracting apprentices to LMS schools and chapels.

The later involvement of the CMS in the matter when the Parent Committee officially met with the London BMS in May 1838 can be similarly understood because theirs was also a comparatively weak position, weakened further by the official Church's lack of support for them. Once the meeting took place, the Jamaican antagonisms were brought before the British public. One missionary, Joshua Tinson, shrewdly commented in a reply to the criticisms of Mr Panton, a clergyman and member of the CMS Auxiliary Committee, the following:

I am told the country was to be parcelled out amongst the different denominations and no-one was to open a new station without consulting his neighbour - very fair and friendly in appearance to be sure; but if some proprietor should offer a piece of land within a mile of a Baptist chapel and the Bishop should accept the offer, would his lordship consult the Baptist missionary?⁵⁶

The years which immediately followed Emancipation were troubled ones. With slavery abolished the new situation revealed a supreme irony, that this oppressive system had provided the psychological climate necessary to unite different denominations of missionary interests. Economic limitations set the stage for conflicts and general undermining of missionary credibility in the British West Indies in the years that followed. It seems scarcely coincidental that in the first decade after Emancipation the previous good record regarding racist sentiment accordingly becomes a little less creditable also.⁵⁷ Uncertain of their own futures in the colonies, pressured to replace their own leadership with that of a native agency, and responding with anxiety to the imperative to make mission churches and schools independent of the parent Society, several missionaries hardened in their attitudes towards potential negro leaders. The shift in attitude too clearly manifested itself in what must be understood as racist sentiment. Uncertain of advancement themselves, certain individual missionaries of the LMS, BMS, and CMS attempted to prevent the advancement of the more ambitious apprentices and freedmen. The Wes-

leyns were far less guilty of any dubious conduct regarding this matter.

One missionary's view of promotion of the native agency is not unrepresentative of the shift in attitude. He felt that a use in "outward station" ought to be "very gradual and should proceed through the various stages of subordinate employment".⁵⁸ The LMS brethren once again made a rather poorer showing in their lack of generosity to their coloured assistants, so much so that William Henery, a coloured teacher, wryly observed that he and others were being kept in their catechetical place and not able to receive ordination to the ministry "because they were brown men and not white, for if they were white men their worth and need would have been seen long ago".⁵⁹ Whether the racial aspect was crucial, however, remains obscured by the economic aspect. As history so often demonstrates, it is in the job-market that racist sentiment has often reared its ubiquitous head, and missionaries it seems were not immune from economic compulsion. The missionaries were faced with the scarcely salutary realization that the knowledge and skills they imparted in their schools and chapels would enable their pupils to replace them as teachers and leaders. They were sometimes, as with the CMS for example, faced with the further prospect of not being guaranteed advancement even for themselves: as in the case of Ashby, Faber, Cork and Pollitt, European missionaries who too were refused ordination, presumably because the subsequent mobility from catechist to minister was an expensive matter.⁶⁰

The anxiety of missionaries regarding their native assistants' rising expectations articulated itself in a classical reduction to stereotypes regarding "uppity" negroes. References to "their want of education and talent", their "dignified airs" and their assuming themselves as "superior beings" make for uncomfortable reading indeed.⁶¹ The natives, it seemed, must realize that every man had "his own proper department" in "the various orders of men"⁶² and that the time was "not yet ripe" for the despised children of Ham to take over positions of Christian leadership.⁶³ Moreover, William Knibb, as early as 1831, had sensed how negroes must have felt at the battery of criticism levelled at the ticket and leader system. The self-righteous opposition to this system was logically an attack upon the superstition and ignorance of the negroes who participated in it. Thus, Knibb lamented the plight of the "hapless negro, when the very men sent out to instruct him take part with his persecutors and attribute all his piety to robbery and witchcraft".⁶⁴ The apprentices must have felt resentment at the bitter recriminations which arose out of the "purity" question. To be publicly declared ignorant, superstitious and even dishonest must have outraged many of them and violated their sense of dignity.

In the final analysis the West Indian missionary cause was largely lost after Emancipation although it was given a fresh but false start with funds from the Negro Education Fund. In the decade following slavery the four evangelical missionary societies, responding to economic strictures, either withdrew entirely from the West Indian scene, relinquished financial support, or underwent the processes necessary to become incorporated as permanent churches without Society support.⁶⁵ The

Baptists and Wesleyans were relatively successful at the latter alternative. The case of Jamaica reminds us once again of the truism that neither vice nor virtue is the monopoly of any group of men reacting to economic pressures and financial stringencies.⁶⁶ When the "romantic revolution" expired in the West Indies we see the sad results in the tensions between religious altruism and the fact of material circumstance.

NOTES

- 1 John Pinnington, "The Anglican Struggle for Survival in the Period of Abolition and Emancipation, 1825-50", *Journal of Religious History* 5 (Dec. 1968), 136.
- 2 *A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell From Thomas Forcel Buxton...* (London: 1838); *Punishments Inflicted Under the Apprenticeship System* (London: 1838); James H. Thome and J. Horace Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies* (New York: 1838); Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, *The West Indies in 1837* (London: 1838); *The Permanent Laws of the Emancipated Colonies* (London: 1838); *A Statement of Facts Illustrating the Administration of the Abolition Law...* (London: 1837); *Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Working of the Apprenticeship System in the Colonies*, Parliamentary Papers, 1836 (560) XV.1; and *Report on Negro Apprenticeship 1836* (56) XV.1: 641647.
- 3 Hereafter cited as follows: Baptist Missionary Society (BMS); London Missionary Society (LMS); Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMW); and Church Missionary Society (CMS).
- 4 An LMS man typified the general impression by observing the planters to be a class of "deists, fornicators, tyrants and sabbath breakers". Wray to Directors, Feb.6, 1813, Box 1A, Br. Guiana (1813-22), *LMS*. The planter/missionary antagonisms have been discussed by the author in "The World They Made: The Politics of Evangelical Missionary Education to Slaves, 1800-33", *Caribbean Studies*, 18 (July, 1978). The historical significance of missionary education has been analysed in "Missionaries as Pedagogues: A Reconsideration of the Significance of Education for Slaves and Apprentices in the British West Indies, 1800-38", *History of Education* (U.K.), Vol.9.1 (1980): 65-79. Whereas the missionary pedagogy during the slave period is found in "The Pedagogy of Conversion: Missionary Education to Slaves in the British West Indies 1800-33", *Paedagogica Historica*, 18, 2 (1918): 356-374.
- 5 *Act of Emancipation*, Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series (1835-45) Vol.17, May 14, 1833. "The Negro Education Act" is included under Resolution Five. "Negro Education", *House of Commons Papers* 29 (Apr.27, 1836) p.569. This period has been analysed by the author in "The Scramble For Souls: The Impact of the Negro Education Grant on Evangelical Missionaries in the British West Indies", *History of Education Quarterly*, forthcoming 1981.
- 6 "Heads of Plan for Promoting the Education of Youth in the British West Indies", CO.318.118; CO.318.22; CO.318:126; CO.318:130 and CO.318:131. *Public Records Office*. Hereafter cited as *PRO*
- 7 "Circular to Wesleyan Missionaries", Dec.13, 1835. CO.318:126, *PRO*.
- 8 Ellis to Sir George Gray, Mar.1, 1836, CO.318:126, pp.192-194; Coates to Grey, July 28, 1837 and Grey to Coates, Aug.21, 1837, CO.318:131, p.122; Beecham to Grey, May 12, 1837, CO.318.131, pp.144-148; "Report

- Respecting the Twenty-Four Schoolhouses..." June 7, 1837, CO.318:131, pp.153-154; Ellis to Grey, March 4, 1837, pp.170-174 and "Statement of Applications", Sept.6, 1837, p.255, CO.318:131, *PRO*.
- 9 The CMS had recognized the dangers of this occurring. Coates to Lefevre, Apr.18, 1834, CO.318:118 and to Buxton, Dec.3, 1834, CO.318:122, pp.82-85, *PRO*.
 - 10 Wray to Wilson, Jan.3, 1837, Box 4, British Guiana (1836-39) LMS and Dyer to Lefevre, April 8, 1834, CO.318:118, *PRO*. Dyer observed, "May it not be reasonably anticipated that whenever there exists a sufficient degree of benevolence and public spirit to set a school on foot the interest created by its establishment and proper administration would secure its continued support?".
 - 11 Latrobe to Grey, received Nov.20, 1837, CO.318.130, *PRO*.
 - 12 Latrobe to Glenelg, Aug.14, 1838, CO.318.137, pp.16-37, *PRO*.
 - 13 Latrobe to Grey, Report received Nov.20, 1837, CO.318:130, *PRO*.
 - 14 Latrobe to Glenelg, Feb.7, 1838, CO.318:130, *PRO*.
 - 15 Edward Bean Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo* (London: 1881), p.139. The biography of William Knibb, the most successful of Baptists in Jamaica makes excellent reading. Philip Wright, *Knibb 'The Notorious'-Slaves' Missionary 1803-45* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973).
 - 16 Newman to Jowett, Mar.9, 1838, CW/O62/10, *CMS*.
 - 17 Betts to Chairman of Jamaica District of WMMS, Jan.3, 1838, CW/O20/18, *CMS*.
 - 18 Panton to Coates, May 13, 1838, CW/O65/31 and Oct.25, 1839, CW/O65/38, *CMS*.
 - 19 Panton to Jowett, July 30, 1839, CW/O65/64, *CMS*.
 - 20 Cork's Journal, Sept.18, 1839, CW/O28/18 and Cork to CMS, Mar.29, 1838, CW/O28/20, *CMS*.
 - 21 Philip D. Curtin, *Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony 1830-65* (N.Y.: Atheneun, 1970), p.162.
 - 22 Ellis to Watt, June 28, 1835, Box 1 Outgoing, British-Guiana (Nov.1835-Nov.1837), p.321, *LMS*.
 - 23 Wray to Wilson, May 18, 1837, British-Guiana, Berbice (1837), *LMS*.
 - 24 Berneau, A CMS missionary refers to infighting. To Jowett, Aug.11, 1835, CW/O18/26 and May 30, 1836, CW/O18/17, *CMS*.
 - 25 *Ibid*.
 - 26 "Meeting Held at Lewis Chapel House, Jan.13, 1836", by Mirams, Haywood and Kenyon. (June 1834-36) *LMS*.
 - 27 "Brief Analysis of Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee of Investigation in Berbice, Sept.8-Sept.19, 1836", Box H, BR.G/Berbice (July 1836-39) and Ketley to Howe, June 12, 1836 and Tinson to Ellis, Item 52, Sept.5, 1836, Jamaica, *LMS*.
 - 28 Wooldridge to Ellis, Item 26, Folder 3, April 20, 1836, Barrett to Ellis, Item 46, Folder 4, Aug.23, 1836 and Tinson to Ellis, Item 52, Sept.5, 1836, Jamaica, *LMS*.
 - 29 *A Narrative of Recent Events Connected with the Baptist Mission in This Island... by the Baptist Missionaries* (London: 1833) and John Barry, *A Letter Addressed to the Right Honourable George Murray... Involving the Characters of the Missionaries* (London: 1830).

- 30 The "purity" question is the main content of the following: Samuel Green, *Baptist Mission in Jamaica: A Review of W. G. Barrett's Pamphlet Entitled A Reply to the Circular of the BMS Committee* (London, 1842); *Evangelical Magazine* (March 1835), p.127; *On Conversion: The First Circular Letter of the Baptist Missionaries to the Churches in Jamaica* (Jamaica, 1836); *Letter of the Committee of the BMS to the Churches of Christ in Jamaica* (London, 1843); and Edward Steane, *Statement and Extracts of Correspondence Relating to the Baptist Mission in Jamaica Occasioned by the Misrepresentations of the Reverend Richard Panton* (London, 1840).
- 31 Barrett to Ellis, December 24, 1835, Item 44, Box 1, West Indies Incoming Jamaica (1834-36), *LMS*.
- 32 Ellis to Barrett, March 31, 1837, and to Wooldridge, Hodge, Barrett and Slatyer, April 14, 1837, Box 1, West Indies Outgoing Jamaica (November 1835-July 1837), pp.520 and 529, *LMS*.
- 33 Ellis to Slatyer, April 14, 1837, and to Wooldridge, Vine, Alloway, Slatyer and Barrett, June 29, 1837, pp.532 and 549, *Ibid.*, and to Slatyer, July 9, 1838, Box 2, Outgoing West Indies Jamaica (July 1837-November 1839), p.268, *LMS*.
- 34 Barrett to Ellis, Item 22, March 30, 1836, and Slatyer to Ellis, Item 45, September 1, 1837, Box 1, West Indies Outgoing Jamaica (July 1835-July 1837), *LMS*.
- 35 Taylor to Ellis, Item 8, February 10, 1837, and Item 15, March 22, 1837, Box 2, Outgoing West Indies Jamaica (July 1837-November 1839), *LMS*.
- 36 The following correspondence indicates the initial reluctance and the growing compulsion. Outgoing West Indies Jamaica, Box 2 (July 1837-November 1839) and Box 3 (December 1834-June 1843); Incoming West Indies Jamaica, Boxes 3 and 4 (1839); *Statement of the Committee of the BMS Addressed to the Directors of the LMS, Pen Court, 2nd July, 1841*; *Statement of the LMS to the Committee of the BMS* (n.d.); and "Minutes of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Brethren in Jamaica Held at Chapelton, March, 1843", *LMS*. Also see *Committee Meetings 1835-1842*, BMS and "An Exposition of the System pursued by the Baptist missionaries in Jamaica by missionaries and Catechists of the LMS in that Island", 17th November, 1842, p.204, *BMS*.
- 37 *The Jamaica Herald* (March 7, 1836). Various papers kept track of the affair over the next years including the *Colonial Reformer*, *The Baptist Herald*, *The Christian Examiner* and *The Falmouth Post*.
- 38 Tidman to Vine, June 1, 1842, Box 3, Outgoing West Indies Jamaica, p.414, *LMS*.
- 39 Baptist numbers necessitated some such method. For example, in 1838 there were 30 churches, 23 sub-stations, 16 estate schools, 10,903 students, 200-300 leaders, 42 teachers, 18,720 members and 17,781 enquirers. *Annual Report of the BMS (1838)*, p.16.
- 40 "I see no reason to conclude that the large and rapid increase in baptist churches in Jamaica - unparalleled as far as I know in the history of protestant churches in any other part of the world, has arisen from an extraordinary outpouring of the influence of the Holy Spirit, but rather for admission to the church being too easy and indiscriminate". Wooldridge to Tidman, January 29, 1842, Box 4 (1842-44) *LMS*.

- 41 Panton said the ticket system differed little from the old African superstitions and the recipients were "perishing in their sins and stand in as much need of instruction as the zooloos". Panton to Jowett, July, 1839, CW/O65/34, CMS.
- 42 Panton called them "bow-down baptists" - a satirical description of the questioning of a member who was asked to conversion, "Who bowed you down brother?". Steane, pp.7-9.
- 43 Wooldridge to Tidman, January 29, 1842, Box 4 (1842-44) LMS.
- 44 Slatyer to Ellis, Item 13, February 23, Jamaica (1834-36) LMS.
- 45 Barrett to Ellis, Item 5, February 19, Jamaica (1838) LMS.
- 46 Barrett to Ellis, Item 44, March 30, 1836, Jamaica (1834-36) LMS and Green pp.19-21.
- 47 *Annual Report of the BMS, Thursday, May 3, 1838*, p.16. An excellent account of "the Native Baptist Church" is found in an article of this title by Gordon Catharall, *Baptist Quarterly* 24 (1971): 65-73.
- 48 W. F. Burchell, *Memoir of Thomas Burchell* (London, 1849), p.309.
- 49 Phillippo to Secretary, August 8, 1835, quoted in Underhill, p.143.
- 50 Green, p.29. It must be noted that Burchell himself did not think the system entirely infallible because he was known to "spy out" his own leaders and deacons for improprieties. *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* (August 1837): 398.
- 51 Report of the Jamaica Committee to Ellis, March 8, 1837, Box 2, Item 12, *Incoming West Indies Jamaica* (1837-39). Whitehorne was dismissed by the BMS in 1841 *Jamaica Morning Herald* (October 11, 1842), in Minute Book H, (October 14, 1841-December 29, 1841), p.25, BMS.
- 52 *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* (July 1836), p.32. Jacob Sessing of the CMS claimed the attraction was the assurance by Baptists that immersion was the only way to salvation. Journal entry, May 7, 1838, CW/O75/23c, CMS.
- 53 *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* (1835), p.127 and Green, p.8.
- 54 Green, p.8.
- 55 Green, p.5.
- 56 Tinson to Panton, March 11, 1839, quoted in Steane, pp.11-14. An interview with a BMS sub-committee, 20th October, 1838.
- 57 Discussed by author in "Evangelical Missionaries, Apprentices, and Freedmen: The Psycho-Sociological Shifts of Racial Attitudes in the British West Indies", *Caribbean Quarterly*, 25 (March-June 1979): 1-14.
- 58 Haensel to Coates, Mar.27, 1835. CW/O44/-, CMS.
- 59 Henery to Ellis, Dec.15, 1838, Box 4, Br.G/Berbice (July 1836-39) LMS.
- 60 Coates to Panton, Aug.1, 1839, L2 (1834-39), p.332, CMS.
- 61 Haywood to Ellis, April 5, 1838. *Western Outgoing* (July 1837- Nov.1839) and June 5, 1839, Box 4, Br.G/Berbice (1836-39) LMS; London Committee to Panton, Feb. 27, 1840 and August 1, 1839, CW/O65/42, CMS. Also, *Missionary Herald* (Mar.1838), p.133, Knibb to Rev. Upton, June 13, 1839, W/1/3 BMS: Burchell, p.325.

- 62 Ellis to Henery, Aug.30, 1838, Box 2, Western Outgoing (July 1837-Nov. 1839) *LMS*.
- 63 Haywood to Ellis, April 5, 1838, *op.cit.*
- 64 Knibb to Dyer, Nov.7, 1831; Hinton, p.204.
- 65 The CMS decided to relinquish the Jamaica mission to the general Ecclesiastical establishment in July 1839, and in 1841 the first stages of take over were occurring. Coates to Bishop of Jamaica, April 13, 1841, CW/L3 (1839-58), p.96. *The LMS Minutes of Occasional Committees* (1841-52) record withdrawal of funds after an investigation of financial affairs in 1852. A resolution of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society in 1842 opted for independency although debts and drought in 1844 led to a further grant for chapel debts in 1845. The WMMS included the West Indies Mission under the auspices of the British Conference until the 1883 minutes record that "West Indies Conferences" would be established although the Antigua district expressed unwillingness to go along with the decision a year later. *Methodist Missionary Society Annual Report* (April 1883), p.12.
- 66 The apprenticeship years, and afterwards, reversed a trend which the author has argued elsewhere was quite different during slavery. Missionary socio-psychological motivations changed significantly during this period. See "The 'New Mechanic' in Slave Society: Socio-Psychological Motivations and Evangelical Missionaries in the British West Indies", *The Journal of Religious History* Vol. 11 (June 1980) p.77-94.

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