

**THE HISTORY OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN JAMAICA:
THE UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF THE WEST INDIES
AND ITS FOUR ANTECEDENT COLLEGES (1841-1966)**

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC	-	Anglican Communion
CADEC	-	Christian Action for Development and Education in the Caribbean
CCC	-	Caribbean Conference of Churches
CMS	-	Church Missionary Society
CO	-	Colonial Office
ECLOF	-	Ecumenical Church Loan Fund
ed.	-	edition/editor
IAMS	-	International Association of Mission Studies
ISCPK	-	Indian Society for Christian Propagation of Knowledge
JA	-	Jamaica
MS/MSS	-	Manuscript/Manuscripts
n.d.	-	no date of publication given or known
n.p.	-	no place of publication, or no publisher, given or known
SPCK	-	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
SPG	-	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USPG	-	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
UTCWI	-	United Theological College of the West Indies
UWI	-	University of the West Indies
vol./vols.	-	volume/volumes
WCC	-	World Council of Churches
WI	-	West Indies
WMMS	-	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
YMCA	-	Young Men's Christian Association

PREFACE

In 1977, I researched the development of theological education in the Anglican Church in Jamaica (1858-1970). Since then there has been a compelling urge to write a dissertation on the history of theological education in Jamaica, with reference to the four denominational colleges which merged into the United Theological College of the West Indies (1841-1966).

In 1996, I met Dr. Jan A. B. Jongeneel at the ninth conference of the International Association of Mission Studies which was held in Buenos Aires, Argentina. In a taxi to the airport after the conference, we discussed and decided to do this study.

The preparation of this manuscript has been facilitated by the support received from many persons and institutions. Special appreciation is due Dr. Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Professor of Missions in the Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Universiteit Utrecht, who was most gracious in consenting to serve as advisor and rendered me invaluable service by his prudent counsel, helpful suggestions and professional guidance. He made it possible for me to make this submission on the history of missions.

A debt of gratitude is owed to the staff of the Jamaica Archives, the National Library of Jamaica, the library of the University of the West Indies, the archives of the Anglican, Baptist, Methodist and United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman as well as the library of the United Theological College of the West Indies for their patience and courtesy in spite of many requests.

Sincere thanks are due the Rt. Rev. the Hon. Dr. Neville de Souza, Bishop of Jamaica for granting me leave from the Diocese to pursue this study. Expressions of gratitude are also due Dr. Howard Gregory, President of the United Theological College of the West Indies and Dr. Ambrose Finlay, Dean of Studies of the college for providing me with useful information and prudent advice.

To the translator of the Summary of the thesis in Dutch and to the foundations which sponsored the publication of my dissertation, I am deeply grateful.

I have to mention the assistance received from Mr. T. O. B. Goldson and Mrs. Carmen Joyce Thomas who made available to me their private collections of books, journals, magazines and newspaper clippings with reference to the theological colleges of the Jamaica District of Methodist Church and the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica respectively.

I am indebted to Mrs. Pansy Benn, Director of the Press, University of the West Indies for her comments and advice.

There are a number of persons who typed the various chapters of this script, but I must single out for special thanks Mrs. Thelma Hartley and my two daughters, Suzanne and Stacy. Finally, allow me to express profound gratitude to my wife, Olive for her patience, understanding and encouragement. Without the support and co-operation of my family this work would never have reached the stage where it may hopefully be used to promote the continuing interaction between the contextual and global theological education process in an effort to provide guidelines for the present and a vision for the future.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATING THE PROBLEM

The content, methods and objectives which informed and facilitated the development of theological education in Jamaica raise questions which need to be examined critically and empirically. The Protestant missionaries in Jamaica (1655-1966) were mainly British in their theological, educational and cultural orientation. Therefore, they transferred their model of theological education from Britain to Jamaica.

It should be borne in mind that the Jamaican society was different in many ways from British society. For instance, Britain and Jamaica differed in respect to climate, geography, social structure, and the cultural background of their peoples. Nevertheless, the British ruling class in Jamaica was united by a common religion, a common education, a common language and by the circulation of individuals who came out of England and after a while returned to their homeland. The history of mission researches and evaluates whether the theological ideas and the educational methodology developed in one kind of environment can be transferred and used in a different kind of society.

Any inquiry and evaluation of the history of theological education in the Caribbean should take into consideration that Jamaica, a British colony, was loosely related to and dependent on the mother country. This contributed largely to the fact that the history of ministerial training in Jamaica did not emerge as a separate model with a history and culture of its own, but rather as an extension of British ministerial education. This approach has been obvious in the historiography and missiology of Caribbean countries, and may be based on the fact that British missionaries regarded these countries as tropical extensions or detached plantations of Great Britain. Is it any wonder that the theological education in Jamaica developed in a haphazard manner, similar to that of Britain? In England, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge Universities who had obtained their Arts degrees were usually, after theological studies, accepted by a Bishop for ordination. In the nineteenth century, theological colleges in England were very few. The earliest of these was St. Bee's College which was founded in 1816 but no longer exists. It should be noted that the period 1720 to 1830 marked the beginning of American theological education with the establishment of seminaries as the ideal for ministerial training. In the Caribbean, Codrington College, Barbados, was founded in 1831 to train young men of African descent for the ordained ministry of the Church of England in the Caribbean and West Africa.

The development of theological education in Jamaica imposes on the researcher a twofold responsibility. The first is to describe systematically the content, methodologies and objectives of the Euro-American model of ministerial education which was transferred to Jamaica between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The second, and even more challenging and exciting, is to examine empirically the system of theological

education which has emerged within a rapidly changing, multi-cultural and technological society. The historical aspect of the dissertation provides a better understanding and appreciation of some of the factors and forces which affected the development of theological education in Jamaica. However, in this study the emphasis is on a sociological perspective.

The ideology of ethnocentricity and class stratification in Jamaica from the fifteenth to twentieth century created a confrontational situation with shocking political, social, cultural and missiological consequences. People of African and Asian descent, especially women, were marginalised by Europeans, including European missionaries and despised even by their own kind. The model of theological education which was derived primarily from Britain did not engage in an on-going process of contextual relevance and spiritual growth through critical interaction and missiological reflection. Consequently, it contributed inadvertently to the tension between acculturation and inculturation which did not facilitate personal actualisation, social transformation and spirituality maturity.

This study is an attempt to outline and explore the models of theological education which evolved in the four Protestant colleges in Jamaica during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and which culminated, in 1966, in the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies. It evaluates the advantages and disadvantages of denominational co-operative and ecumenical theological education in Jamaica. It questions why the various models of ministerial education derived from Europe and North America were not appropriately adapted to the socio-political and ethno-cultural experiences and peculiarities of Jamaica and the wider Caribbean region.

One of the problems which confronted the four Protestant colleges in Jamaica during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was how to maintain consistent and authentic relevance. The model of ministerial education which emerged did not impact sufficiently on the problem because it had not promoted the relevance of the context to the extent that the theological education enterprise could match content with the historical and sociological conditions of a colonial and neo-colonial context. As a consequence, the social, cultural and spiritual dimensions of the environment was not factored into the emergent theological education system.

In this research an effort has been made, so far as limits and space allow, to highlight a model of ministerial education at the United Theological College of the West Indies which has sought to maintain a creative balance between the social and spiritual dimensions and to be related to the experiences of authentic communities, while being cognisant of the global realities. There is a concerted effort to explore the necessary elements of a theological education framework which will strengthen the mission of the churches in the Caribbean to respond effectively to the demands of the third millennium.

In this volume some sacrifice of details has been inevitable. However, any apparent deficiency will, it is hoped, be compensated by recourse to the references provided in the footnotes and the bibliography. These are in the main intended to enable the readers to see where additional information may be accessed most readily.

The history of theological education in Jamaica passed through three distinct phases:

1. Denominational Ministerial Training (1841-1913)

Although seven chaplains of the Church of England accompanied the English expedition under Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables which defeated the Spaniards and established English rule in Jamaica (1655), it were the Presbyterian missionaries from Scotland who started local ministerial training in Jamaica in 1841. The Baptists who arrived earlier (1783) began theological education in 1843; the clergy of the Church of England who already arrived in 1655 started in 1858; and finally the Methodist who arrived in 1789 started in 1875. By 1913 there were four denominational theological institutions in Jamaica: the Presbyterian Academy, Calabar College (Baptist), St. Peter's College (Anglican) and Murcott Lodge Ministerial Training Centre (Methodist).

2. Co-operative Theological Training (1913-1954)

In 1913, the Methodist church established its theological college at Murcott Lodge, Kingston. This institution was in close proximity to the Baptist College. Both colleges were experiencing economic staff problems. Consequently, Dr. W. F. Moulton suggested that the simplest means of obtaining efficient ministerial training was for the Baptist and Methodist colleges to join in co-operative theological education.¹ This involved the sharing of tutorial staff and library facilities. The students attended lectures at both campuses, but lived in their respective colleges. When Murcott Lodge was closed (1928), the Methodist students continued their training at Calabar College, while they lived in the homes of pastors in Kingston. In 1928, the Methodist Church opened Caenwood Theological College and continued its co-operative training with Calabar College.² During this period, Congregationalist and Disciples of Christ students were being trained at St. Colme's Hostel, while Moravian students pursued their training at St. Peter's College. The mutuality of mission fostered a deeper understanding and appreciation of each other's peculiarities. The Rev. W. Eaton, Methodist tutor, attests to this fact:

Although there is no written bond setting out the terms of our relationship to the Baptist, Presbyterian, Moravian and Congregational churches, the gentleman's agreement under which co-operative training has gone on for many years has led us to a valuable mutual understanding of each other's peculiar emphasis and to a deeper appreciation of the main Christian values we all hold dear.³

3. Ecumenical Theological Education (1954-1966)

Paul Crow states that in 1953 representatives of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational and Moravian churches met at St. Andrew Scots Kirk, Kingston, and launched a group committed to ecumenical theological education. Disciples of Christ later joined the group but overtures to the Anglicans and Baptists were unsuccessful.⁴

1 W. F. Moulton, *For Ever Beginning* (1960) 67.

2 Caenwood College, *Coming of Age Souvenir Booklet* (1928-1949) 5.

3 W. Eaton, *Caenwood College Souvenir Booklet* (1946) 8.

4 Paul A. Crow, *Venture into Church Union*, *Lexington Theological Quarterly*, 1/3, (July

In 1954, the Presbyterians relocated St. Colme s Hostel on the same site as Caenwood College. During that year the two institutions merged into the Union Theological Seminary. The united initiative was a partial fulfilment of the dream of a united theological college for all the Protestant churches in the Caribbean. However, the reality of this dream had to be deferred because of denominational differences and traditional practices, primarily on the part of the Baptists and the Anglicans.

Each step in this painful journey may be regarded as a precursory milestone in the adventurous pilgrimage to the birth of the United Theological College of the West Indies. It was, indeed, an incredible journey.

4. The United Theological College of the West Indies (1966)

In 1966, Union Theological Seminary, Calabar College and St. Peter s College, representing 11 participating Protestant churches throughout the Caribbean, merged into the United Theological College of the West Indies (UTCWI). This significant event in ecumenical theological education was described by a former president, the Rev. Dr. William Watty, as follows: UTCWI represents the most significant venture in the Caribbean ecumenism to date. It is most significant in that it touches the very core of the churches life the quality of its future leadership within the Caribbean .⁵

The Protestant churches in the Caribbean had come to realize that denominational theological education and co-operative ministerial training were incapable of providing the churches with the quality of leadership which was required in the Caribbean situation. After 125 years of patient and persistent pilgrimage, the participating churches initiatives and efforts at ecumenical theological education find embodiment in the structure and visible unity of the United Theological College of the West Indies. A new ecclesiastical reality, with richly varied cultures, and institutional forms emerged in Jamaica with a more authentic identity which should facilitate that effective mission of the church in the Caribbean.

1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

This research intends to establish the historical, socio-cultural and mission context in which theological education developed in Jamaica (1494-1966). My involvement in ministerial training at the United Theological College of the West Indies has convinced me of the urgent need to provide an empirical and critical study of the historical and missiological, theological and educational factors and processes which led to the merger of the denominational theological colleges into the one ecumenical college: the United Theological College of the West Indies. Members of staff and students at the United Theological College of the West Indies with whom I have discussed this concern have not only been a source of encouragement, but have also provided useful material for this project. Hence my motivation has been enhanced and the study facilitated in highlighting the significance and contribution of ministerial education to the history of mission and the

1960) 11.

⁵ William Watty, *UTCWI (1976) n.p.*

development of the society and the theological institution.

The United Theological College of the West Indies is located on a campus adjacent to the University of the West Indies (UWI), and is a department of the Faculty of Arts and General Studies of the University of the West Indies. The various theological disciplines have been borrowed from, and have had an impact on other academic disciplines: for instance, the incorporation of historical criticism, sociological and literary analysis, and psychological studies are bridging gaps between faculties and disciplines. These disciplines have challenged and altered the perspective and operation of the theological and missiological disciplines. At the same time, theology has begun to question the positivist, imperialist, Darwinist and traditional methods of extracting meaning from events. If the history of mission and the development of theological education are to serve the common good of the church, the society and the academy, then the empirical inquiry that leads to a reconstruction of traditional attitudes, values and convictions becomes a necessity for the shaping of the secular and ecclesiastical communities in the third millennium.

We need to evaluate in light of contemporary ecumenical theological education and the Caribbean socio-economic and geo-political needs the nature of future ministerial formation and ecumenical training of the clergy and lay leaders, male and female, in the service of our common mission and of the whole people of God. The rapid changes which are taking place in the communication environment, coupled with the current technological revolution and the influence of globalization on contextual missiological and theological inquiries prompted me to explore the underlying forces and factors which have impinged upon the development of ministerial training in Jamaica over the period 1841 to 1966.

We have seen how science and technology have tamed nature and opened up new possibilities in our understanding of various disciplines. The mass media have changed people's attitude of themselves, their community and the world. Communication technology has made the world into a global village.

In order for the mission of the church in Jamaica and the Caribbean to be relevant and authentic we must take a serious look at the context and methodology which have informed the ministry and mission of the church in the region. This is essential if Caribbean theologians, missiologists and educators are to come to terms with what is regarded as the technological and information age as well as with what is so often referred to as the Caribbean Enterprise. We need to consider also whether the tension between the radical modernity of science and technology and the post-modernity in the area of culture provides an opportunity for ministry and mission in the third millennium. Finally, one of our central concerns is whether the church and theology can adequately face the threats of human survival today if it does not address the problems and promises of science and technology for humanity.

The study develops out of the following concerns and experiences:

1. The writer's own concern for what theological education was, is, and ought to be;
2. His experience of studying theology in Jamaica, England, Switzerland and the United States of America; and

3. His service on the Commission for World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, the Executive Committee of the International Association of Mission Studies, the Doctrinal and Ecumenical Commission of the Province of the West Indies, and his task as General Secretary of the Jamaica Council of Churches. These experiences have broadened his horizon and have instilled in him an insatiable interest to explore the effects of different value systems and languages on theology and education in trans-cultural encounters and to reflect on the cultural self-awareness and ethnocentrism in the context of ministerial training in Jamaica.

The intent, therefore, is to encapsulate for the churches and the theological colleges in the Caribbean an interpretative history and systemic record of the factors and forces that contributed to our theological and educational heritage. It is hoped that this study will revitalize and conscientize the mission of the church in the region, and assist in devising, reshaping and evaluating its theological, educational and missiological content and methods in ways which will be pertinent to the peoples of the Caribbean.

1.3 METHODS USED IN THE STUDY

A case study of the development of theological education in Jamaica facilitates our understanding and appreciation of the history of mission and the impact of the educational process on the country. An analysis of the content and process of ministerial training within this historical and cultural context enables critical examination of the various factors and forces involved. A systematic study of the issues which affected and influenced the theological and educational process helps us to assess its impact on the society, the church and the academy.

I have not hesitated to quote extensively from various sources and authors. By allowing them to express a variety of views and to share a mix of ideas, I have avoided imposing too much of my own thinking while making appropriate selection and critical comments. The study as a whole places theological education in the unfolding history of mission methods and practices, but at the same time makes use of systematic approaches.

1.3.1 Historical Approach

The historical method has been used to arrange and evaluate sources. This provides a sequence and critique of the birth and growth of our four denominational theological institutions which merged into the United Theological College of the West Indies (1841-1966).

Part one outlines a brief historical background of Jamaica (1494-1966), the four Protestant churches that were involved in ministerial training, and the four outstanding indigenous church leaders of the twentieth century. We recognized that, at points in the history of Jamaica, some British missionaries sought to use the gospel as a means to impose their culture on the enslaved African peasantry: their involvement in ways which did not affirm the dignity and integrity of the majority of the population.

In part two the historical approach has been applied mainly to trace the history of the

four colleges involved, and their development in theological education: denominational (1841-1913), co-operative (1913-1954), and ecumenical (1954-1966). The alliance between the history of missionary theological education and the colonial educational models is based on the duality of historical and missiological developments within the Caribbean. This has, in no small way, impacted on and influenced the social consciousness, cultural identity and spiritual maturity of Jamaicans.

1.3.2 Systematic Approach

The systematic approach provides an analysis of the context and educators who were involved in the theological and educational development in Jamaica (1841-1966). It is used primarily in part two to examine: for instance, the issues and themes, the perspectives and methodologies, the cross-cultural influences, the curriculum, the spirituality, the staff, the students, the financial support and the relationship with the churches and other theological institutions. Finally, it is employed to evaluate ministerial training as an ecumenical process, to understand contextualisation and globalisation, and to develop a vision of the United Theological College of the West Indies in the third millennium.

1.3.3 Comparative Approach

The comparative method has been used to highlight the similarities and differences among the four Protestant churches, the four indigenous leaders, the four denominational theological colleges, and finally to compare the theological education of the United Theological College of the West Indies with its four antecedent colleges

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The events of the Caribbean history have created a diversified community with plurality of race, religion, and cultural traditions. These factors should not be excluded from the history of mission and the development of theological education in Jamaica, because they radically affect various aspects of our lives. Any philosophical or sociological approach to theological education should be formulated against the background of these influences which have shaped the content and process of ministerial formation within the Caribbean. Any analysis and evaluation of ministerial training in Jamaica must therefore relate to, and be informed by historical, cultural, social, political and missiological considerations.

The research is structured in two parts. Part one provides an overview of Jamaica (1494-1966), an historical sketch of the four Protestant churches that were involved in theological education (1841-1966), and an insightful glimpse into the life, ministry and witness of four outstanding indigenous church leaders of the twentieth century. Chapter two focuses on Jamaica: its passage through colonisation, enslavement, emancipation to independence (1494-1962). This chapter also gives the readers a picture of the social and class structures of the country and of the struggles and challenges toward nationhood.

The history of the mission of the Church of England (Anglicans) (1655-1966), the

Baptists (1783-1966), the Methodists (1789-1966) and the Presbyterians (1823-1966) is reviewed and evaluated in Chapter three. The relationship among these churches ranges from conflict, hostility and competition to tolerance, co-operation and unity in ministerial training.

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards there was a growing demand for indigenous leadership within the Protestant churches in Jamaica. Chapter four provides a bird's eye view of the life, ministry and Christian witness of four distinguished indigenous church leaders in the twentieth century: Aemilius Alexander Barclay (1876-1926), Percival William Gibson (1893-1970), Menzie Edward Williamson Sawyers (1905-1980), and Hugh Braham Sherlock (1905). These four leaders will long be remembered for their outstanding leadership of the Church and their sterling contribution to Jamaica.⁶ Attention will be given to their contribution to theological education as well.

Without part one as an essential background for part two, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to understand and appreciate the content, method and context in which theological education developed in Jamaica. Part two deals with ministerial training of the four Protestant colleges which merged into the United Theological College of the West Indies.

The Scottish missionaries were the first to start ministerial training in Jamaica (1841). Chapter 5 outlines the historical sequence and the impact of their pioneering efforts on the ministry and mission of the Presbyterian church in Jamaica (1841-1966).

Chapter 6 focuses on the development of theological education in the Baptist Church in Jamaica (1843-1966).

Chapter 7 places the floodlight on the history of theological education in the Anglican Church in Jamaica (1858-1966).

Chapter 8 deals with the growth of ministerial education in the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church (1875-1966).

Chapter 9 examines critically the emergence of ecumenical theological education which led to the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

Chapter 10 concludes with a brief reflection on a vision of the United Theological College of the West Indies in the third millennium.

The appendices contain additional information about Jamaica, the four Protestant churches, the four denominational colleges and the United Theological College of the West Indies.

1.5 SOURCES OF THE STUDY

The materials in this study consist of primarily sources, secondary sources and general literature (cf. XII Bibliography).

1.5.1 Primary Sources

Both published and unpublished sources are available for this study. Primary sources are:

⁶ It should be noted that at the time of writing only Hugh Sherlock is still alive.

1. Archival and library manuscripts and records of colleges;
2. Denominational and ecumenical minutes and reports of ministerial training;
3. Reports and diaries of wardens and tutors;
4. Theological education committee minutes and reports to synods and executive committees;
5. Periodicals, journals, magazines, newspapers and correspondence of the colleges; and
6. Anniversary and souvenir booklets of the four Protestant colleges and the general prospectus of the United Theological College of the West Indies

The bibliography (12.1) contains a list of these sources.

Efforts to locate and examine primary sources were hindered for several reasons. First of all, theological education was started in some churches by individual missionary initiatives. Ministerial training was done by the missionaries at their places of residence. Consequently minutes and reports were kept at their homes. These were sometimes damaged or destroyed. Furthermore, when some missionaries returned to Europe, they either discarded the material or took it with them as part of their personal belongings.

Secondly, in the early years of the mission history of Jamaica, some denominations had no central office where minutes, reports and other documents were lodged for safekeeping. In some cases, these materials were kept by the secretary or chairman at their private addresses. When these missionaries retired, returned home or died these documents were not considered of sufficient literary worth or historical value to be preserved.

In the third place, some denominations did not forward all their reports and records to the national archives or libraries where they would be preserved and protected for posterity. Today, some of the earliest minutes and records of the development of theological education and the history of mission in Jamaica cannot be located: they may have been destroyed with the passage of time or because of the inconducive tropical climate.

Fourthly, in 1971 a fire destroyed the building of St. Peter's College and all the minutes and records housed there. A reconstruction of the College's development and activities is, however, possible from extant minutes, records, reports and correspondence at the Jamaica Archives, the National Library of Jamaica, and the Anglican Church Offices. Notwithstanding all these setbacks, the Jamaica Archives, the National Library of Jamaica, the Institute of Jamaica, the Island's Record Office, the denominational archives, and the library at the United Theological College of the West Indies provide a sufficient number of primary sources for this research.

Some pastors, lecturers and journalists have made their private libraries accessible to me. This has been of tremendous assistance in providing information which is not available elsewhere. There exists also a large untapped resource of correspondence between wardens and tutors of the colleges and British Missionary Societies, and other overseas institutions. These include private papers and letters, reports and collections of

missionaries and theological educators⁷ which are located, for instance, in the Angus Library, Regent Park College, Oxford; Durham University Library, Durham; Scottish Missionary Society Headquarters, Edinburgh; British Missionary Society, London; United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society Offices, London; the Council for World Mission, London and the Lambeth Palace Library, London. However, details of lectures, sermons, prayers, songs and the ecclesiastical, pastoral, social and political issues which were dealt with are not available. In the early stages of the development of theological education in Jamaica, the various subjects of the curriculum were taught by one person. Apparently, he did not write down his lectures. When the members of staff were increased, apparently, no publications were conserved.

1.5.2 Secondary Sources

Secondary sources (12.2) include a collection of printed materials and accounts of the churches involved which are available in the libraries and archives of the colleges.

The first half century in the history of theological education (1841-1891) is among one of the most difficult and complicated periods of this study. Information is scanty and reflects largely the ideas of British missionaries who initiated and controlled ministerial training for the churches in Jamaica. No Jamaican was involved in the training of pastors for the ministry and mission of the church at that time. The views and comments of denominational synods are few and unconnected in historical sequence. In these circumstances it is not surprising that there is so much difficulty in reconstructing actual events from the views of church leaders or records of written works.

It is beyond dispute that the church itself has been the greatest determining factor in the formation of spiritual, cultural and sociological patterns of Jamaica after 1891. There is a variety of books and unpublished documents at the archives and libraries of the University of the West Indies, the United Theological College of the West Indies, which illustrate the extent to which the theological and educational content and process of the colleges have shaped the patterns of the society, and conversely, the extent to which the structure of society has shaped the colleges.

1.5.3 General Literature

General literature (12.3) about theology, education, the history of mission, the socio-cultural, economic and political structure of Jamaica and the worldwide and regional ecumenical movement was also consulted.

There are some books, periodicals and journals which provide us with invaluable insights into the dehumanizing system of slavery and the responsibility of emancipation, the cross-cultural and multi-racial society struggling against persistent poverty in the midst of affluence, as well as the influence of positivism, Darwinism and imperialism on

⁷ The missionaries and theological educators were one and same persons during the pioneering years.

the history of mission in Jamaica.

Other books, journals and periodicals written from a Caribbean perspective provide useful and critical information on issues of power, race and class, the influence of European and North American ideas and the impact of foreign missionary societies on the theological process. Books on sociology have been consulted; these provide guidelines in interpreting not only the personal experience of individuals, but also the social conditions of human beings.

The experience of pluralism must be taken into account. Consequently, the struggles, defeats, aspirations and triumphs of the Afro-Jamaican community and its affirmation of human dignity and integrity are dealt with in both published and unpublished scripts and documents of denominations and synods. Biographies and autobiographies, magazines, newspapers, anniversary and souvenir brochures and booklets are an indispensable source of information in this study. They throw light on the life and witness of the early missionary pioneers and provide valuable material regarding the socio-economic and geo-political factors which underpinned the history of mission in Jamaica.

It is believed that the differences on theological and liturgical matters do not constitute a serious obstacle to the participation of the Protestant churches in ecumenical theological education. Although the churches in Jamaica are not united there is sufficient agreement on scripture, sacraments and the traditions of the churches to facilitate and enhance the ecumenical mission and the corporate witness of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

PART I

JAMAICA, ITS CHURCHES AND INDIGENOUS LEADERS

CHAPTER TWO

THE GENERAL HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to understand Jamaica and to appreciate its contribution to the development of theological education and to the history of mission in the region, we should place it in the context of the Caribbean. The Caribbean is not a homogenous political or geographical entity. It is a large and scattered area consisting of small islands divided by wide expanses of the Caribbean Sea. According to Horace Russell, a former President of the United Theological College of the West Indies, geography and history define the Caribbean. He writes:

Geography links together not only the physical island chain, but its inhabitants into a scheme of Caribbean unity; while history attempts to systematize the varied island experiences into a common theme .¹

This definition has its limitations because of the several geographical and historical differences in language, social structure, customs and cultural mix. For instance, there is a difference of languages and colonial influences in Haiti where French is spoken; Cuba, Spanish; Curacao, Dutch; and in Barbados, English. This mix of languages and cultural expressions go to form the Caribbean Archipelago.

2.2 TAINOS SETTLEMENT (1494-1509)

Nestled in the bosom of the Caribbean Sea is Jamaica. It lies about 90 miles north of Cuba and about 100 miles west of Haiti, with an area of 4,244 square miles and surrounded by beautiful beaches, with lush forests in the mountainous interior, broken by tracks of farmland. It appears that the stability of the climate created an environment that facilitated a pleasant lifestyle for its people in the fifteenth century.

The name Jamaica is derived from the Taino word *Xaymaca*, meaning land of wood and water. This is primarily because of the abundance of waterfalls, springs, streams and rivers that flow from the forest-covered mountains to the fertile tropical plains. A central mountain range, towering into the 7,420-foot Blue Mountain Peak in the east, extends the length of the island. This accounts for the rich and varied terrain that sets Jamaica apart from most of the other Caribbean countries.

The persons who lived in this rural environment (1494-1655) were the Tainos who Christopher Columbus and his crew met when they arrived here in 1494. Although the search for gold proved fruitless, Columbus and his crew were followed soon by Spanish settlers and traders who slaughtered the Tainos and brought African slaves to work in

1. Horace Russell, *The Challenge of Theological Reflection*, In: *Out of the Depths* (1977) 27.

Jamaica. The Tainos had found in Jamaica a refuge from the more warlike Caribs of the smaller islands. The Indians were a gentle race of people, medium height, gracefully proportioned, and with long straight hair. Their leaders were known as caciques, whose positions were hereditary and whose lives were ended by strangulation when it was obvious that they were at the end of their usefulness as leaders.²

The Tainos believed in the existence of a Supreme Being. They also practised a sort of ancestor worship, with the departed caciques as the object of worship of the whole tribe. The Supreme Being, variously referred to as Dweller in the Heights, Great our Father, and Our Maker was thought to be so kind and compassionate a being that there was no need to propitiate him. The lesser gods, thought to be responsible for all the evils which befell mankind, were the more immediate objects of worship and propitiation.

2.3 SPANISH POSSESSION (1509-1655)

In 1509, a small population of Spaniards occupied Jamaica and reared cattle in the country. The colonists enslaved the Indians and forced them to work mercilessly in the mines and on the plantations. The Indians died out within half a century and the Spaniards replaced them with slaves from Africa.

The first Roman Catholic missionaries to reach Jamaica (1512-1516) were friars. Jamaica could not, at that time, support a bishop. Therefore, an abbot, Don Sancho de Malienzo was appointed to manage the Church, though he never set foot in Jamaica. The name of one Peter Martyr was found on an inscription at Seville, St. Ann. He was a member of the Roman Catholic Council of the Indies and Abbot at Seville.³ He wrote an account of the West Indies in his *Decade*, but there is no evidence that he ever visited Jamaica. Another Abbot, Don Amando de Samano, who was appointed in 1535, came to Jamaica in 1539. Between 1494 and 1655 only three churches were built: an Abbey Church, a Franciscan Church and a Dominican Church. However, in the fifteenth century Spanish colonial expansion acquired global meaning. The medieval concept of the universal *orbis christianus* was revived once more. This primarily happened to undergird the political and military goal of superseding and finally subjugating Islam. The goal was to unite a restored *orbis christianus*, the former Christian territories of the Orient with the Occident in one global Christian empire. Nevertheless, the Spanish expansion should not be regarded as a crusade. It belongs to a new era which may be defined as the rise of European mercantilism. However, the spread of the Christian faith remained a motive which did not lose its impact, and which eventually survived in its instrumentalized form.

Portugal and Spain did not only initiate modern colonialism, they also laid the

2. William Gardner, *History of Jamaica* (1873) 21; Frank Cundall and John Pieterez, *Jamaica under the Spaniards* (1919) 34.

3. Francis Osbourne and Geoffrey Johnson, *Coastlands and Islands* (1972) 4; Cundall and Pieterez (1919) 6-11; F. Delaney, *A History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica* (1930) 7-9; Letter of Peter Matyr, June 13, 1525; *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1959) III, 922-923; *New Encyclopedia Britannica* (1974) VII, 906-907.

foundations on which the modern alliance of Christian mission and colonial expansion was built. After their political decline in the late sixteenth century, they were succeeded by England, France, the Netherlands and Denmark. Their emergence into colonial history marks the general beginning of Protestant missionary expansion. With a perspective and intent similar to their Catholic predecessors, the Protestants regarded European colonialism and imperialism as agents of divine providence. Consequently, the unsophisticated *encomiendas* of the Tainos vanished with the English conquest of Jamaica in 1655, which brought a new social order and cultural dominance.⁴

2.4 BRITISH RULE (1655-1962)

This period can be divided into the following sub-divisions: conquest and conflict (1655-1760), consolidation and expansion (1760-1838), accommodation and challenges (1838-1903), the transformation from paternalism to autonomy (1903-1962), and the final situation of an independent nation (1962). This division is primarily not a political division; but rather one which reflects the diverse socio-cultural factors and forces which impacted on the history of mission and the growth of ministerial training in Jamaica.

2.4.1 Conquest and Conflict (1655-1760)

The English adventurers who roamed and looted the Caribbean region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attacked Jamaica in 1597 and in 1638. On both occasions the capital Spanish Town was plundered.

In 1653, Oliver Cromwell⁵ wrote to the Dutch Ambassador about his hopes for spreading the Gospel and propagating true religion. He also hoped, by conquering Spain, to relieve the people of England of taxes and to pay the cost of both naval and land forces. Cromwell was also prompted by the desire to avenge the insults and indignities inflicted on England traders and colonists by the Spanish, including wholesale massacres in the West Indies. However, he was uncertain whether to attack France or Spain. The latter, through Prince de Conde, offered him Calais if he attacked the French, and Cardinal Jules Mazarin offered Dunkirk if he attacked Spain. Militarily Dunkirk was more useful to the English. Furthermore, to attack France might bring about an invasion by the French Huguenots under Charles II, then in exile. So, Cromwell chose to attack Spain. He sent General Robert Venables, who was a rival in military glory (won in Ireland); and he hoped to get rid of him. Admiral William Penn was also sent because Cromwell disliked many of his officers who were royalists and hoped to alienate them

4. Fitzroy Augier, Shirley Gordon, Douglas Hall, and Michael Reckord, *The Making of the West Indies* (1960) 13; Bartolome de Las Casas, *History of the Indies* (1971) 96. In his reprinted book, Las Casas has pointed out that the Spaniards forced the Tainos into the *encomiendas*, theoretically for their instructions as well as for forced labour.

5. Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) was member of Parliament, first for Huntingdon and then Cambridge. He was a vehement supporter of Puritanism, which led him to Presbyterianism, then to the Independents or Separatists. It was Cromwell's hatred of Roman Catholicism which led to his harsh and unforgivable treatment of the Irish, which still has its repercussions today.

and other disaffected subjects by sending them to Jamaica.

In 1654, the expedition with Admiral Penn in charge of the fleet, and General Venables in charge of the army sailed from Portsmouth. After stopping at Barbados and Santo Domingo they arrived in Jamaica (1655) and landed near Port Royal. After some contacts with the Abbot and the Town Mayor, Venables moved his forces from the swamps of Port Royal to Spanish Town, which by then was deserted.

The expedition was then placed under the command of a naval officer named William Goodson, with General John Fortescue in charge of the army. Both were competent men and enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell. However, the troops of about 6500 men were dying at a rate of 200 a day. Cromwell sought to replace them by sending from England royalists, suspected roundheads, vagabonds and criminals, male and female. It is instructive to note the quality of British subjects who were sent to Jamaica and who eventually became the oppressive plantocracy of the country. William May observed:

There were not six families of gentle descent. The leading settlers who started as horse-dealers, overseers or seamen, tavern-keepers, tailors carpenters, and joiners called themselves, colonels, majors, captains, honourable, or esquire.⁶

An Order in Council (1655) instructed the Commissioner of the Admiralty to build boats for 1000 Irish girls and as many youth of fourteen years of age to be sent to Jamaica. In later years, the Monmouth Rebellion, the Rye House Plot and Judge Jeffries were responsible for further influxes of white people to Jamaica.⁷ It is perhaps worth noting that in those days the treatment of white people in Britain, especially children, was almost as harsh as the treatment meted out to the slaves from Africa. General John Fortescue before he had been succeeded by General Edward D Oyley (1656) had told Cromwell that Jamaica was a fair land, but greatly in need of honest men and bread. About that time contingents of white settlers arrived in Jamaica from Nevis, Barbados, Bermuda and New England. General William Brayne, who arrived in Jamaica (1656) to succeed D Oyley, was appalled by the mortality among the white labourers. Consequently, he asked Cromwell to allow the importation of slaves from Africa. In 1657, Brayne died and D Oyley defeated the Spanish force which was led by Don Christopher Sasi, the former Governor. By 1660, he was able to drive the remaining Spaniards from the island and they fled to Cuba. Jamaica, which was strategically placed, became the point from which the British could harass the Spanish. It was during this period of upheaval that many of the slaves, formerly owned by the Spaniards, escaped to the hills and woods. The Maroons as they were called, formed themselves into a permanent nucleus of fugitives and developed their own separate culture based on their African roots.⁸ They were increased in numbers to about 5,000 rebels (1660-1730). The

6. William May, Rector of Kingston (1720) n.p.; Osbourne and Johnson (1972) 9; Delaney (1930) 20.

7. George Bridges, *Annals of Jamaica* (1824) 191-195; *The Royal Gazette* (1825) 18; *The Jamaica Journal* (1826) 6.

8. Carl Campbell, *Missionaries and Maroons* (1980) 7-11; Richard Price ed. *Maroon Societies in*

British were never able to recapture or subdue them. In 1739, Governor Edward Trelawny negotiated an agreement with them and granted them autonomy to settle in the Cockpit country of northwestern Jamaica. Their descendents and culture still exist today.

In 1661, Colonel D Oyley who had been commanding the English troops in Jamaica since 1655, returned to England. He was promoted to the post of General and appointed Governor of Jamaica by Charles II, King of England. In order to encourage Englishmen and women to settle in Jamaica, the King issued a Proclamation in 1661 informing them that every male and female over twelve years of age who decided to live in that country during the next two years would be granted thirty acres of land.

In 1670, Henry Morgan,⁹ who had been commissioned by Governor Thomas Modyford of Jamaica, as Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of all warships and troops on sea and land, held a conference with a large force of buccaneers from Haiti and Tortuga. It was decided for the good of Jamaica and the safety of all, to attack the Spanish City of Panama. During that year, the treaty of Madrid, between England and Spain, made Jamaica the undisputed possession of England. This encouraged English, Irish and Scottish subjects of humble birth to settle in Jamaica, either as landowners, merchants, tradesmen or artificers. The British found Jamaica much to their liking and it soon became known as the Pearl of the Caribbean. They continued the importation of indentured labourers from Britain. The old form of mercantilism based on barter and trade was replaced by European suppression and dominance. Might is Right was thus established as the instrument of trade and geo-political control.

In the period under discussion the Caribbean was at the centre of geo-political rivalry: Spain, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, England, Denmark and Sweden competed and fought to hold on to their possessions or to acquire new territories in this region. France and England emerged as the two most formidable rivals, locked in a life and death struggle for control over the Caribbean region. As Eric Williams puts it:

The vital issue was not who should be king of this country, and who of that, but whether Britain or France should dominate the Spanish colonies and be supreme in the Caribbean.¹⁰

During the years 1655 to 1760, the Caribbean was the scene of several battles, and islands changed hands either by conquest or by decisions made around bargaining tables in Europe. By skilful manoeuvring and superior military power, at the end of the day England came out of Anglo-French conflict as the dominant power in the Caribbean. England thus had the responsibility of protecting its vital and valuable commodities of sugar, tobacco, cotton, fish, fur and naval power as well as developing the slave trade.

the Americas (1979) n.p.

9. Captain Henry Morgan who is called by some historians the Bold Buccaneer was knighted by the King of England in 1675. He served three times as Lt. Governor of Jamaica (1675-1688). He died in 1685 and was buried in Port Royal, which was the chief seat of trade and leading port of entry before Kingston was recognized as the capital of Jamaica in 1802.
10. Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro* (1970) 88; Barry Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica* (1976) 69.

By 1731, when bankruptcy forced the Royal African Company to abandon the slave trade, the Company was succeeded by the Company of Merchants whose board of nine directors were from Bristol, London and Liverpool. In 1753, Bristol had 237 slave traders, London 147 and Liverpool 89. Between 1700 and 1760, nearly half-million slaves were brought to Jamaica for work on the sugar cane plantations. The shift which took place in the labour force from poor White indentured labourers to slaves from Africa is of significance to this period. This shift arose as a result of the rising importance of sugar which was replacing cotton and tobacco and the slave trade which was becoming the most important commercial activity of this period. As Eric Williams reminds us, the origin of African slavery was economic, not racial. It had nothing to do with colour, but with the cheapness of the labour.¹¹ It was felt that the Africans had superior endurance, docility and labour capacity. The features of hair, colour and sub-human characteristics were advanced to support the economic fact of the colonial need for African labour because it was the cheapest and the best.

2.4.2 Consolidation and Expansion (1760-1838)

The year 1760 marked the ascension of George III to the throne of England which resulted in significant socio-economic and political changes in Britain with profound implications for the colonies. One of the important features of his reign was the building up, of a disciplined ministerial body in the House of Commons. As J. S. Watson puts it: it was the pride of the Commons that they provide a constitutional balance by their innate suspicion of the executives.¹²

Parliament was regarded as a final umpire in a dispute between established groups, when there was a conflict, and not as the governing authority. The plantocracy ensured that Parliament would not interfere in the socio-economic and political system of the colonies by their predominant numbers in Parliament. The landed gentry in Jamaica bought seats in Parliament in order to protect their vested interests in the colony.¹³

The slaves in Jamaica reacted to the support given by Parliament to the planters by resistance and rebellions. For example, in 1760 a slave rebellion in Jamaica spread to several estates, and 60 Europeans and 400 negroes were killed before order was restored. It would appear that during that year the system of arbitrary discipline, if not brutal suppression, succeeded in quelling the spirit of most slaves, who realized their lack of protection outside the estate, submitted to the inhumane system.¹⁴

The rebellion in Jamaica which culminated in that of 1760 may have contributed to the expansion of a permanent army in Britain, which by that year had a strength of 38,000. Jamaica and other British colonies were taxed to pay for the military force of the Crown. It was also felt that the naval strength of Great Britain should be expanded and consolidated so that the people of New England should use Jamaican molasses and that

11. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) 133-138; Alfred Caldecott, *The Church in the West Indies* (1898) 53.

12. J. S. Watson, *The Reign of George III* (1960) 9.

13. Watson (1960) 55.

14. Augier, Gordon, Hall and Reckford, *The Making of the West Indies* (1960) 88.

the West Indians should use English manufactured goods and American grains. Consequently, by 1760 colonial shipping and trade in general were developed as aspects of the empire's most valuable resources. In that year, Great Britain exported textiles, metal goods, tin, pottery and cured fish. In addition she re-exported tobacco, sugar, tea, coffee, furs and silks. She also imported raw materials such as wool, linen, hemp and naval stores. The Netherlands had the largest trade with Britain, followed in order by the British West Indies, the American colonies, Germany, the East Indies, China and Russia. By 1760, the mystique had developed that Britain's naval power was invincible. It is worth noting that by 1760 nearly every trading and manufacturing town in England was related to the triangular trade or the direct colonial trade. Eric Williams had pointed out that the profits obtained provided one of the main sources of that accumulation of capital in England which financed the Industrial Revolution.¹⁵ The growing demand for African labourers on the sugar plantations in the Caribbean coupled with the enormous economic benefits of the triangular trade of Europe, Africa and the Americas resulted in the consolidation and expansion of the slave trade and slavery in Jamaica. Africa with its material and human resources was exploited by Europe and the Caribbean became an integral part of a repressive and dehumanizing system by which Europe was enriched.¹⁶

In the eighteenth century slavery was characterized by two powerful features. On the one hand, the plantocracy in Jamaica treated the enslaved people of African ancestry as chattel without rights and opportunities. They deliberately endeavoured to destroy the culture of the Africans by teaching them to scorn their previous existence and culture and to emulate the mores and manners of their masters. Anthropologist Melville Herskovits has pointed out that the denial of New World Africans of any culture or history, significant or advanced enough to withstand contact with a superior Western culture, was a clear declaration of the basis for their being an inferior people. Consequently, the Europeans exercised demographic and social control over the enslaved Africans and the Afro-creole population. They engaged in a process of deculturation which prevented black acculturation or interculturalization between African traditional practices and beliefs and European cultural norms and values.¹⁷ This repressive system enforced by whips and shackles as well as by various psychological means had a dehumanizing effect on both slaves and masters. As Michael Manley, a former Prime Minister of Jamaica, puts it:

During this period colonialism planted in the collective consciousness of the Caribbean people the notion that all virtue, all values of worth could be traced back to Europe. It was debilitating to the extent that it implied that nothing indigenous was significant, because anything of worth and value was European. The horror of slavery had planted the notion that to be black was to be involved in an irreversible and historically de-

15. Williams, *Capitalism* (1944) 199; Higman (1976) 212; Augier, Gordon, Hall and Reckford, *Sources of West Indian History* (1962) 90-91.

16. Arnett Francis, *The Black Triangle: The People of the Black Diaspora* (1985) 33.

17. Melville Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1958) 20-32; compare Cheikh Diop, *Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (1974) 57. Contrasting views are expressed by E. Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (1964) 1-16 and M. Smith, *The African Heritage in the Caribbean* (1957) 34-46.

monstrated degradation. From degradation it is a short psychological leap to the suspicion of an inherent inferiority.¹⁸

On the other hand, the slaves had a passion for freedom and the will to fight, suffer and die for it. But the sugar planters in Jamaica, who had become the biggest capitalists of the day, joined with the aristocracy, the commercial bourgeoisie, and the other powerful monopolists in England and exerted tremendous influence in the English Parliament to prevent the abolition of the slave trade, slavery and the abrogation of their monopoly.

During the eighteenth century, much ambiguity and pervasiveness existed in England with regard to slavery. For instance, some leading humanitarians among the slave traders were John Carey, Bryan Blundell and Foster Canliffe, while strong protests came from other English intellectuals, such as William Cowper, Dean Tucker and Adam Smith. However, prior to 1783 few Europeans doubted the morality of the slave trade. The Spanish monarch, the royal court of Portugal and Louis XIV of France all supported and profited from the slave trade. Other European nations rationalized and approved the trade. African slave trade and slaves became a significant feature of European economy and life. Britain, France, Holland and North America participated in the triangular trade. Africa supplied the human merchandise, while the plantations in the Caribbean provided the raw materials. Thus, the triangular trade followed the slave ships which sailed from Europe with manufactured goods which were exchanged for profit in human captives on the African coasts. In turn, slaves were taken on the dreaded and inhumane Middle Passage and sold on the plantations in the Caribbean for yet another handsome profit in exchange for colonial produce which was shipped to Europe.

The triangular trade and the associated trade in sugar with Jamaica proved invaluable to England. Jamaica had been exploited by Britain and had to make its interests subservient to the mother country. Jamaica was obliged to transport its products exclusively to England, using English ships. Furthermore, Jamaica was restricted to buying English goods. In turn, England provided certain concessions in its market to the products from Jamaica. By this system of exploitation English traders and colonists sought to enrich themselves and their country from the human and natural resources of Africa and the slave labour of Jamaica.

In 1776, two significant events occurred: the Declaration of American Independence and the publication of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*.¹⁹ These two events which took place during the early stages of the Industrial Revolution initiated a response of disgust with the colonial system. In many ways the American Independence signalled the steady decline of the sugar colonies, and also set the stage for the destruction of the mercantile system and the old colonial regime.

Adam Smith had maintained that slave labour was less efficient and more expensive than the labour of free persons. This new concept gained further momentum during the free trade era: the maturity of capitalism and the advancement of science and technology

18. Michael Manley, *In Honour of Professor Rex Nettleford*, Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of the West Indies (1996) 10; Higman (1976) 2.

19. Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (1937) 83.

made the labour of freemen more productive, while democracy with its emphasis on individual rights and freedom increasingly made the institution of slavery unacceptable.

The fundamental principle of American trade relations after its independence was interdependence. It was argued that the commerce of the West Indian islands was a part of America's system of commerce. Some Englishmen responded that the Navigation Act (1660) gave England the trade of the world. If they altered the Act by permitting any country to trade with the West Indies, they would be deserting the terms of the Navigation Act and sacrificing the marine of England. In 1782, Admiral Walter Rodney won for the British the crucial Battle of the Saints against the French led by Count Francis DeGrasse. This victory safeguarded British naval communications in the Atlantic and trade with the West Indies.

In the nineteenth century, humanism triumphed. It opened the way of experiencing human existence and individual freedom and rights. The great humanitarian reform in Europe highlighted the inhumanity of slavery and gave birth to genuine concern for the marginalized and down-trodden people of the world. Human conscience was aroused and this was reflected in the phrase 'white man's burden' which epitomized the new outlook.²⁰ Anti-slavery sentiment gained momentum. Joined by the voices of missionaries and other persons of conscience the slave trade was abolished in England (1807). By 1824, the British West Indian monopolists were confronted with the prospects of high industrial expansion. Both James Watt's conversion of steam engine into a source of motive power and Henry Cort's puddling process which revolutionized the iron industry facilitated the massive development of British capitalism. These scientific achievements did not only change the political and social structure of Britain, but also made possible the attacks on monopoly in general, and, in particular, the West Indian monopoly. The attacks were on three significant issues: the slave trade, slavery and preferential sugar duties. By 1829, a mass movement for the abolition of the slave trade in the Caribbean had emerged in England. It was led by men such as Thomas Clarkson, James Ramsay, William Wilberforce and James Stephen. The abolitionists from the outset never pretended that they were working for complete emancipation. Their interest, according to Eric Williams, was solely with regard to the abolition of the slave trade, which they thought would eventually lead, without legislative interference, to freedom of the slaves.²¹ It was left to slaves in Jamaica such as Tacky, Nanny, Sam Sharpe, Paul Bogle, William Gordon and persons of conscience in that country to lead the battle against slavery. The general discontent of the slaves, their revolts supported by political unrest, international and inter-colonial rivalry, humanitarian agitation and the economic decline of the sugar industry led to the abolition of slavery in Jamaica (1833). The Abolition Act which was passed in Jamaica (1833) stipulated that all black children under the age of six years should be free, and there would be a period of apprenticeship after which every slave in the British empire would get full freedom.²²

20. Rupert Davies, *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (1953) 8.

21. Williams, *Capitalism* (1944) 292-295; Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery* (1967) 70.

22. For the slaves' reaction to the denial of what they expected namely 'fulfree', see Hope Waddell, *Twenty-nine years in the West Indies and Central Africa* (1863) 70; Philip Curtin, *Two Jamaicans: The Roles and Ideas in a Tropical Colony* (1970) 186; Mary Turner, *Slaves and*

Although the slave owners in Jamaica were paid nearly six million pounds as compensation for the loss of their human assets, they continued to harass their former slaves. During the apprenticeship period (1834-1838), the black labour force underwent an ordeal. The planters' reaction which was fierce and inhumane was supported by the psychological warfare of the politicians against the apprentices. However, the apprentices were not deterred from their struggle for unqualified freedom. Consequently, the British Parliament satisfied that the apprenticeship system was not achieving its objective, abolished slavery in Jamaica (1838). The victory was shared by white liberals in Britain; but it was the black men and women of Africa who shed their blood and sacrificed their lives in Jamaica to win back their inherent freedom and dignity.²³ The theoretical liberties were not guaranteed by constitutionally entrenched checks and balances so that the Afro-Jamaicans gradually realized that the new struggle was how to protect their individual freedom, with the acquisition of socio-cultural, economic and political rights.

2.4.3 Accommodation and Challenge (1838-1903)

Although Jamaica was under British rule during this period, the abolition of slavery in Jamaica (1838) and consequently the emancipation of the slaves from one of the most dehumanizing designs of the nineteenth century shifted the paradigms of social relationships between the planters and their former slaves. Emancipation gave the workers the right to self-determination and self-management. It also gave them bargaining power, but lack of capital, employment opportunities, professional and technical skills made them vulnerable to the cruelty and rage of the planters who were faced with the possibility of losing such valuable assets. Consequently, both planters and workers became victims of the atrocities associated with plantation economy. Some of the former masters turned the ex-slaves off the plantations, tore down their huts and destroyed the fields they had planted for themselves. There were also vicious and manipulative reactions against the blacks by the politicians and the aristocracy, who were determined to keep them in mental and economic slavery, having failed in denying them their legal and physical freedom. The plantocracy regarded the peasants as a subject people to be systematically civilized in European culture.

Patrick Bryan has pointed out that among the ideological tools used to justify the civilization of the 'black heathen' and to control the society were positivism, social Darwinism and imperialism.²⁴ Positivism with its adherence to the joint principles of order and progress insisted on justification of the social order and the accommodation of change to that social order. The moral order of society, rather than the social order, was what positivists placed on the agenda of change. The moral order has an appearance of

Missionaries (1982) 160. All the available documents have not recorded any Christian names for Tacky and Nanny. Sometimes Nanny is referred to as Nanny of the Maroons .

23. Richard Hart, *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery* (1985) 335.

24. Patrick Bryan, *The Jamaica People 1880-1902* (1991) 33-66; Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (1959) n.p.; Joseph Moore, *Religion and Jamaica Negroes* (1953) 150; Patterson (1967) 210-212; T. Jackson, *Lear Concept of Cultural Hegemony in America* (1985) 583.

neutrality, even though it is mainly a mirror of the economic, political and general order of society. Social Darwinism was used as an apt companion of positivism, since the former could explain white hegemony as a product of biological 'fitness' to survive and dominate, while the latter justified the given social order. The motive and objective of imperialism maintained that the forces and factors which inform the social order should facilitate and further the stability and development of the British empire.

It was the belief of some English persons that the British empire was an instrument of divine providence to make possible the enlightenment of 'heathen' Africa. The racism which had emerged from the slave plantation system as a hegemonic weapon found itself with intellectual legitimacy that was used to justify class domination and white social authority. The plantocracy needed to provide a philosophical foundation for the inequities and oppression of the African labour force, so there evolved a stream of crude and spurious rationalizations about the inferiority of the black man. Skin colour and gradation of skin colour came to be used as part of the whole psychological warfare of an oppressive and brutal plantation system. Differences of lifestyle were interpreted as indications or proofs of biological rather than cultural distinctions. Jamaica's social system was informed by the assumption that social status was contingent with superiority and inferiority of races. The aristocracy was able to entrench their privileges with British support and a local system of government which ensured that power remained in the hands of the whites. This policy met with qualified opposition from the black intelligentsia and violent reaction from the masses. Some ex-slaves withdrew their labour and many sugar planters were forced to abandon their neglected estates. Within this new situation the price of sugar increased in the European markets and since cheaper sugar could be purchased from India and other countries, or produced from beet at home, European nations lost interest in the Caribbean region. England, France, Spain, Sweden, Holland and Germany all considered the West Indian colonies as costly and unessential appendages.

The declining interest in the Caribbean among European nations was matched by increasing interest on the part of North America. Eric Williams observed that the United States of America became the only power interested in the Caribbean in the course of the nineteenth century.²⁵

By 1823, America had become the self-appointed guardian of the western hemisphere through the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine which stated that the United States would regard as an unfriendly act any attempt by any European Powers to interfere with, for the purpose of controlling, or to plant new colonies in, any part of the American continent. It should always be remembered that the central fact of Jamaican life during this period was, first and foremost, an economic arrangement. Between 1823 and 1866, the deteriorating social and economic conditions of Jamaica contributed to the Christmas uprising of 1831 and the Morant Bay explosion of 1865. In a situation of crisis the plantocracy in order to secure its vested interests handed over Jamaica to Crown Colony government in 1866. The Colonial Office decided on the type of constitution that should be followed, and all the members of the Council were nominated by Sir John

25. Williams, *From Columbus* (1970) 409. 1

Peter Grant, the Governor of Jamaica. One of the main functions of Crown Colony government was to ensure social stability and to maintain imperialist interests in the country.

By 1898, Spain was effectively driven out of the Caribbean. Puerto Rico became annexed to the United States of America by the Treaty of Paris (1898), thus placing America in actual possession of the Caribbean territory. The mercantilist system received a blow when the protection of British West Indian sugar was removed and the free trade policies were adopted. Many sugar estates fell into bankruptcy and were either sold or abandoned. It was in this context of extreme social and political upheaval that Edward Underhill wrote his famous letter to the Colonial Secretary in 1865, describing his deep concern for the plight of the lower classes, who being naked, starved, overtaxed and under-employed were forced to steal in order to survive.²⁶ At the same time, the established churches vacillated between being allies of convenience with the Afro-creole population and unwilling collaborators with the plantocracy. The very religious tradition of syncretist African modes of cultural expression and Christian themes which they frequently condemned could have provided them with creativity and flexibility to address some of the social and religious problems of colonial Jamaica. Instead they opted for 'a settled condition in the present with no tension between memory and expectation'.²⁷

It was the need to have a controllable labour force more than the shortage of labour on the plantations which resulted in the planters' recruitment of indentured labourers from Asia. Between 1840 and 1863, immigrants who came to Jamaica numbered 21,872. In the period before 1843, about half the above number of recruits came from Africa and the other half from India, but after that year the Indians represented two-thirds and the Africans one-third. China did not become an important source of labour until 1865.²⁸ Other nationals, such as Jews, Germans, Lebanese, Irish and Syrians also came and settled in Jamaica. The imperial policy of divide and rule was introduced on the plantations. This led to growing tensions between African and East Indian workers. Under the indentureship system the Indians became free labourers after a period of five years. However, before the system ended in 1917, an Indian Diaspora had developed in Jamaica alongside the African Diaspora.

Another important consequence of emancipation (1838) had been the growth of small farming communities throughout Jamaica. In 1840, the Governor of Jamaica, Sir Charles Metcalfe, reported to the Secretary of State for the colonies, Lord John Russell, as follows:

The accompanying statement shows that a large increase has taken place from 1838 to 1840 in the number of properties of small freeholds in several parishes of this island,

26. Edward Underhill, *The Tragedy of Morant Bay* (1865) 12-15; Don Robotham, *The Notorious Riot* (1981) 28.

27. Robert Stewart, *Religion and Society in Jamaica* (1985) 270-271; Shirley Gordon, *A Century of West Indian Education* (1963) 19. It should be noted that the Christmas Rebellion of 1831 and the Morant Bay Explosion of 1865 were explained by the fact that the Afro-Jamaican community had been influenced by teaching of religious sects.

28. Curtin (1970) 255; Verene Shepherd, *Separation and Integration* (1984) n.p.

the increase consisting almost entirely of emancipated negroes. It appears that the number of such freeholds assessed in 1838 were 2,014 and in 1840, 7,848.²⁹

Despite the planters in Jamaica offering higher wages than those obtained in the smaller Caribbean countries, such as Barbados and Antigua, the newly freed black men and women in Jamaica opted to own their own little plot of land, and to move as far away from the plantations as possible - as if to distance themselves from the memory of the horrors and injustice of slavery. The emancipation of the slaves, their exodus from the plantations after the abolition of slavery, and the latter seeming independence of the plantations did appear to have jeopardized and accepted social distinctions between the various groups.³⁰

The economic changes at the end of the nineteenth century did not alter, but rather reinforced the structure of a plantation creole society. Although white hegemony was assured by relative wealth, by the political and constitutional order, and by special authority which was associated with race and colour, there was an extensive growth of free village. Between 1841 and 1860, the number of free holdings under forty acres increased from 7,919 to 50,000. This growing group of small settlers united itself around the production of sugar, bananas, coffee, ginger and logwood for local and export markets. There was increase of peasant export production from 11 percent in 1850 to 23 percent in 1890, while an adequate supply of food was available for local consumption.³¹

There was always a deep fear that the blacks and the coloured majority would crowd out the white minority by achieving the property qualification for the franchise to vote. Therefore, Adult Suffrage was flatly denied them and the racial inferiority argument was advanced with passion if not with conviction. For instance, Eric Williams wrote:

The negroid variety is the lowest and stands at the foot of the ladder. The animal character that appears in the shape of the pelvis is stamped on the negro from birth and foreshadows his destiny.³²

Scholars, such as Jose Marti, insisted that all men, despite their different races and colour, were equal. The negro was neither inferior nor superior to any man. Other scholars, such as Theophilus Scholes, maintained that the early Egyptians who built the pyramids were black men. The progress and advancement of Europe was a reflection of the early development in Egypt and Ethiopia where negroes were no idle spectators of science and art.³³

The black intelligentsia, by 1903, clearly saw that its responsibility was to counter

29. Charles Metcalfe, *Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies* (1840) n.p.; Hugh Paget, *The Free Village System in Jamaica* (1964) 45-48; Douglas Hall, *Free Jamaica* (1959) 117-118, 182-183; Underhill (1865) 183; Vernon Satchell, *Rural Land Transactions in Jamaica* (1986) 73.

30. Franklyn Knight, *The Caribbean: Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism* (1978) 131-132.

31. Woodville Marshall, 'Peasant Development in the West Indies since 1838', In: P. Gomes ed. *Rural Development in the Caribbean* (1985) 7.

32. Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies* (1964) 75.

33. Theophilus Scholes, *The British Empire and Alliance* (1899) 399; Diop (1974) 68.

myths of inferiority. Consequently, it delved into the history of civilization which developed through various phases: starting from Africa to its current phase in Europe. By the end of the nineteenth century, black spokesmen viewed racism as the major obstacle to patriotism and the sense of community which was evolving despite the divisions within the society. In his comment on Negro isolation in 1895, J. Reid noted that isolation had 'practically closed the doors of almost every calling against the negro, except that of manual labour, and even that was being gradually closed through the operations of a system by which he was taxed to supply the funds necessary for the importation of foreign labour and products and to drive him out of the market as a producer into the field of vagrancy and lessen his purchasing capacity'.³⁴ Some negroes and East Indians migrated to Panama and Cuba. Other East Indians became shopkeepers and distillers of spirits in rural townships. A few of them became large landowners, while some moved to urban centres, particularly Kingston. The working class gradually realized the necessity of trade union solidarity, but several obstacles were placed in their way by the colonial masters.

These challenges, by 1903, resulted in a growing nationalism among coloured Jamaicans. Simultaneously there was also emerging a black nationalism which combined its attachment to the soil with an international association of blacks. Philip Curtin has pointed out that slowly the 'native' of Jamaica was being identified with Afro-Jamaicans in whose hands the destiny of the island would rest.³⁵ Black leaders such as Marcus Garvey, Robert Love and Claude McKay questioned white hegemony and were not prepared to accept European norms uncritically.

The myth of the superiority of western civilization seems to have been thoroughly internalized by many educated blacks. The Afro-Jamaican elites aspired to standards and values which were at least artificial, because they were reflections of idealized Victorian civilization which most whites in Jamaica separated from their daily lives. As Curtin has noted, education and religion offered the black intelligentsia a cosmopolitan vision, while creole society of which they were supposedly a part, was but a distorted fragment of that vision. The black intellectuals were alienated from the creole society which gave them birth.³⁶ Their middle class status was measured by European culture, occupation and income.

During this period (1838-1903), Afro-Jamaicans were regarded as subjects of the British empire to be civilized according to the new secular notion of positivism and social Darwinism. Their struggle for social justice, for better land utilization policy, for political representation and ethno-cultural identity reflects an emerging nationalism in an imperialist setting.

2.4.4 The Transformation from Paternalism to Autonomy (1903-1962)

During this period the crucial challenges facing the British oligarchy were how to

34. J. Reid, *Negro Isolation* (1895) n.p.

35. Curtin (1970) 176; Patterson (1967) 70.

36. Curtin (1970) 254; Patterson (1967) 178.

organize production around free labour, and how to maintain the spirit of inequality which had been evident within the plantation system. Since the oligarchy could no longer expect total obedience and subservience from a free labour force, they employed certain paternalistic policies to ensure the consent of the peasants and to reflect their tolerance towards them. The provision of poor relief and charity institutions, health and educational services became implicit means of providing some legitimacy for the privileges the elite enjoyed and the power they exercised within the society. The internalization of hegemonic values, the belief that there were two Jamaicans - the one civilized and the other uncivilized - served to further divide the black middle class and masses of black labourers. The constitutional order in Jamaica was intended to keep leadership and socio-economic and political control in the hands of the British. The Afro-Jamaicans would be allowed a place in civilized Jamaica provided they rejected their 'mental construction' and their African religious and cultural heritage and accepted British respectability and norms.

African cultural expressions were regarded as synonymous with primitive practices to the extent that the educated black class decisively distanced itself from the peasant black population. However, some black intellectuals adopted the theory of evolution to point to the history and evolution of civilization which originated in Africa (Egypt and Ethiopia) and then extended to Europe. Among the black intelligentsia were persons such as Robert Love and Theophilus Scholes who sharply criticized racism at the risk of being labelled agitators and racists.

There were some outstanding features of this period in the development of Jamaica (1903-1962). First of all, the establishment of American dominance in the Caribbean and the Western hemisphere as a whole. In 1904, the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, declared:

No picture of our future is complete which does not contemplate and comprehend the United States of America as the dominant power in the Caribbean.³⁷

America's supremacy in the Caribbean occurred simultaneously with the weakening of British control in Jamaica and the introduction of communism in Cuba in 1959.

In 1906, Aemilius Barclay was elected to the Legislative Council. And in 1918, Bain Alves formed the first federation of labour in Jamaica, marking the genesis of the systematic organization of the working class.³⁸ However, the structure of the black population did not contribute to the speedy realization of nationalism. It was stratified along the lines of occupation, income and status. As Scholes has reminded us the black middle class whose attainment gave them some status were conscious of the distinctions between themselves and the mass of the poor blacks.³⁹ In a society where inequality of citizens was accepted as the basic principle of social organization, the relationships among social groups were determined by class differences and racial distinctions.

The widespread labour disorders of 1938 led to the formation in that year of the first

37. Williams, *From Columbus* (1970) 423.

38. C. Wilson, *Men of Vision* (1929) 39.

39. Theophilus Scholes, *Glimpses of the Age* (1905) 211.

national trade union by Alexander Bustamante (1884-1977) and the first national political party by Norman Manley (1893-1969). The demand for the end of Crown Colony Government was intensified. In 1944 a new constitution came into effect which granted universal adult suffrage and self-government in Jamaica. For the first time in the history of the country all adults had the right to vote. The first general election under adult suffrage was held in 1944 and Jamaica started on the path of self-government.

In 1958, the British West Indian colonies, unlike French, Spanish and Dutch, opted for a West Indian Federation which failed because consensus could not be reached on whether or not real power should be located at the national level or at the centralized regional level.

2.5 INDEPENDENT NATION (1962)

In 1962 Jamaica achieved the status of Independence after being a colony of Britain since 1655. Sir Alexander Bustamante was sworn in as the first Prime Minister of the country by the British Governor, Sir Kenneth Blackburn. Jamaica's constitutional laws and political system have been a copy of the English Westminster model. The political leadership of Jamaica has been dominated by the Jamaica Labour Party and the People's National Party who have formed the Government of the country intermittently.

During the first decade of independence, the nation experienced remarkable growth in the economy and in the establishment of a firm foundation at home and good relations abroad. By 1966 the social structure and the economic development of the country had created for many Jamaicans a vision of a bright future. However, the need for prudent management, adequate financing and co-operative action has resulted in increasing despondency. The national independence which facilitated political autonomy, has also entrenched economic hardships for many Jamaicans.

The political challenge to the population of 1,663,000 Jamaicans on August 6, 1962 was to build a prosperous, democratic nation which guaranteed for its citizens the fundamental rights and freedoms under the rule of the law, after 468 years of colonial rule by two imperial powers. The country's independence was achieved by a comparatively peaceful evolution, rather than by a violent revolution. However, the process of decolonization led to political independence, but not economic viability. Jamaica was beset by economic crises. The vast majority of Afro-Jamaicans were still without land, tools, capital, education and skills for survival and advancement.

The democratic rights and freedoms of independence have allowed the popular cultures to be expressed in mento, pocomania, kumina, story-telling and John Canoe. These have provided safety valves for the releasing of psychological and emotional tensions which might have adversely affected communal integration.

A reggae culture has developed which use popular lyrics and rhythms to reflect the suffering, needs and aspirations of the masses. It is in sharp contrast to the European classical musical taste of the upper class of the society.

Since independence a dancehall culture has become an excellent mirror of the values and aspirations of the masses. The deejahs unfold stories in songs about what makes the masses feel important: sexual gratification, big cars, big houses, and profiling flashy

clothing.

Nanny yard culture challenged the masses to acknowledge, explore and utilize technology while keeping a firm grasp on indigenous customs and African cultural heritage. It developed as a life exhibition of Jamaica's industrial policy, visualized and conceptualized by people who lived and worked in a yard. These Afro-Jamaicans used knowledge and access to information to bring to life products such as furniture, food processing, fashion and textiles, art and craft as well as historical artefacts which are juxtaposed to those of the newest technology. These products have become unique, authentic and a true expression of Jamaican culture which, nevertheless, recognized the need to be competitive in the global community. Nanny yard exemplified the cultural mix of Jamaica's creativity, ingenuity and natural resources. It used technology as a tool for production, packaging and marketing, but it always remained rooted in Jamaica's cultural heritage. It linked together images of the past and visions of the future.

The middle and upper classes of the society looked with patronizing disdain on these cultural expressions and did not regard them as aspects of their cultural heritage. What has emerged since independence might be designated as the two Jamaicas: one characterized by privilege, wealth and Eurocentricity and the other by neglect, poverty and Afrocentricity.

2.6 EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS BEFORE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE (1966)

This section deals with the educational developments during the Spanish occupation (2.6.1), the educational developments during the British rule (2.6.2) and the educational developments after independence (2.6.3).

2.6.1 Educational Development during the Spanish Occupation (1509-1655)

From 1509 to 1655, the Tainos were forced into the *encomienda* system by the Spanish colonists. By this system, the Indian population became an organised and inexpensive labour force for the Spanish settlers. In return, colonists were responsible for teaching the Tainos Christian principles, paying them wages and taking care of them. Instead, the Spanish settlers used the system to enslave and oppress the Indians. The enslaved population was taught patience and obedience in order to keep them in a state of subservience. The civilising mission of the Spanish imperialists demanded that the Tainos should abandon their way of life and should turn to the God of the Spaniards. This process of education, which should have produced a docile labour force, resulted in the practical extermination of the Tainos within half a century.⁴⁰

2.6.2 Educational Development during British Rule (1655-1962)

During the pre-emancipation period (1655-1838) the education of the children of the

40. Fitzroy Augier, Shirley Gordon, Douglas Hall and Michael Reckford, *The Making of the West Indies* (1969) 13-15, 21-25.

plantocracy in Jamaica was conducted by private tutors. The boys were usually sent afterwards to England or North America to finish their education in grammar schools and universities. The girls remained in Jamaica and completed their studies under private tutors. Parents who could not afford private tutors watched their children growing up without formal education because the colonial legislators neglected to make provisions for education. However, initiatives were taken to address the situation. In 1721, Charles Drax left a bequest which led to the establishment of Drax Free School. The institution which was later called the Walton Free School, provided secondary education for Euro-Jamaicans who did not want to study abroad.⁴¹

During this period, very little attention was paid to the formal education, or even the religious instruction of Afro-Jamaicans. The slave-owners were afraid that education might turn the slaves away from the plantations. Consequently, they opposed the efforts of the various missionary societies which sought to teach the people of African descent.

In 1833, when the Abolition of Slavery Act was passed, it was felt that education would have a civilising influence on the Afro-Caribbean community. As a result, in 1834, an assessment of the provision for negro education in the West Indies was done. By 1835, a grant 30,000.00 annually was made to the region for negro education. Jamaica received 7,500.00 annually until the fund was withdrawn in 1845.⁴²

During the post-emancipation period (1838-1962), a more vigorous attempt was made to introduce and maintain an improved system of education through the co-operation of the various religious bodies and the British government. In addition to elementary schools, secondary and normal schools were established. Despite the discontinuation of the Negro Education Grant in 1845, the educational system in Jamaica mirrored indications of expansion. For instance, the adoption of Crown Colony Government (1866) resulted in substantial increase in grants for education. The government paid the salaries of teachers and assisted in the building and maintenance of schools. By 1875, there were 962 schools. In the 1930's, there were four training centres for teachers.

The most significant advancement in the field of tertiary education was taken in 1948, with the establishment of the University College of the West Indies in Jamaica.⁴³ This made higher education available to many more Jamaicans than the few who had previously gone to universities in other countries. In 1953, a Department of Education was established to co-ordinate and guide the educational development of the country. In that year, the literacy level had risen to 77 percent.

With the coming of independence in 1962, more educational opportunities were available to the masses and this contributed to the emergence of a growing middle class in the society. It should be noted that the involvement of the church in education is highlighted in chapter 3.

41. Millicent Whyte, *A Short History of Education in Jamaica* (1983) 4-5. The term free was used to indicate that only free white or free coloured people could attend the school.

42. Whyte (1983) 7-9.

43. The University College of the West Indies became independent as the University of the West Indies in 1962.

2.6.3 Educational Developments After Independence (1962)

After 1962, Jamaica has incorporated some aspects of the American educational model into the British system. To a very large extent, local teachers have gradually replaced British teachers, particularly, in the secondary and tertiary institutions. However, most of the educational materials used in Jamaica were bought and acquired from Britain or North America.

There has been improvement in the literacy level of the country. In 1963, it was 83 percent. During the first decade of independence the number of basic, primary, secondary schools and colleges increased and more students have been attending, particularly, the secondary and tertiary institutions.

In the 1960s there were serious linguistic barriers to overcome. Although English was the official language of the country, less than 1 percent of the population was British. Among the Afro-Jamaicans who represented 79 percent of the population and the mulattos an additional 14.6 percent,⁴⁴ some spoke standard English, but the majority also spoke Patois. Other languages, such as, Hindu, Chinese, Spanish and French were spoken by very small ethnic groups respectively. However, Patois which was a dialect and was spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population was referred to disdainfully as 'bongo talk' or 'quashie talk' by the intelligentsia and black elite of the society. However, Frederic Cassidy has stated that 'it [Patois] will continue for some time to come, co-existing with the Standard [English], each in its own sphere; that educated Jamaicans, like educated Europeans who value their provincial ties, will continue in a sense to be bilingual.'⁴⁵

During the period (1962-1966) it was strongly felt that the key to the development of the human resources of the nation resided in the expansion of the capital which was invested in the educational system. In 1964, a UNESCO mission visited Jamaica, assessed its educational system and identified projects for its improvement. As a result, in 1966, a policy called the New Deal for Education was formulated.⁴⁶ It was proposed that a period should be set aside for the restructuring and expansion of all levels of the educational system. In 1966, an Education Committee was formed to plan and control the system of local examinations and to administer overseas examinations. By this time, education had assumed added significance in the development of the nation.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The pre-independence period (1494-1962) was characterized by discovery, conquest, colonialism, slavery, decolonialism, paternalism and autonomy. In 1494, the Spanish expedition led by Christopher Columbus discovered the peaceful settlement of the Tainos in Jamaica. Between 1509 and 1655, the country was conquered and ruled by the Spanish

44. David Barrett, *World Christian Encyclopedia* (1982) 416-418.

45. Frederic Cassidy, *Jamaican Talk: Three Hundred Years of the English Language in Jamaica* (1961) 406.

46. Whyte (1983) 59.

who enslaved the Indians. When the British defeated the Spanish in 1655, the British continued and expanded the system of slavery. The British oligarchy who ruled Jamaica (1655-1962) felt that what was in the best interest of the British empire should be accepted by the multi-racial and multi-cultural Jamaica society. Consequently, the development of Jamaica was influenced by positivism, imperialism and Darwinism. The slave trade transported negroes forcefully from one part of the triangular trade route to the other. Although slavery was eventually abolished in Jamaica (1834) and the slaves were freed (1838) the process of decolonialism did not begin until 1944 when the British granted the country full internal government, based on universal adult suffrage. By 1953, the ministerial system of government was inaugurated in the country. The West Indies Federation became a reality in 1958. However, in 1961, Jamaica withdrew from the Federation and commenced preparation for its national independence.

By 1962, when Jamaica became an independent nation, the social and economic power was skewed towards a superordinate group of elites with negative stigmatization of the African ethno-cultural heritage. The issues of colour, race and class became features of the social landscape. The plurality of the society and the legacy of a colonial past with its psychological effect of black stereotyping have resulted in a cultural dilemma for many Jamaicans who seemed to be ashamed of their history and African heritage. As Michael Manley has reminded us:

Jamaica is not yet at peace with blackness or comfortable with its African heritage. The fact that people of light complexion enjoy psychological advantage and influence and consciously or unconsciously have assumed an additional 'weight' in society.⁴⁷

With the passage of the years from 1962, there has developed a variety of cultural expressions concurrently with a strong feeling that European norms and values are the only criteria by which a diversified community such as Jamaica, with a plurality of racial, cultural and religious traditions, should be measured. The indigenous culture is therefore considered inferior to that which is European. The plantation system which existed during this period has helped to frustrate the self-concept and cultural identity of the various ethnic groups within the society who should have affirmed their history and heritage in order to interact and participate in the international community. The crucial question for Jamaica by 1966 was whether its socio-historical experience, its cross-fertilization of races and its cultural mix had created irreconcilable paradigms within the nation, or had enriched the society and had contributed to a deeper and more meaningful understanding of its context and responsibilities within the global community.

The state of the Jamaican economy prevented the investment of adequate capital in the development of education. Enough schools were not built, nor were sufficient teachers trained to meet the growing needs of the population. The majority of the people could not afford school fees, nor provide for their children to attend the schools which were available. Consequently, during the period 1841 to 1966, there was never an

47. Michael Manley, *The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament* (1974) 87; Peter Phan, *Cultural Diversity: A Blessing or a Curse for Theology and Spirituality* (1994) 195-211; Rex Nettleford, *Mirror, Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest* (1972) 5.

adequate and consistent supply of qualified Jamaican students for the theological colleges.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF FOUR JAMAICAN PROTESTANT CHURCHES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the birth and growth of the four Protestant churches that participated in the development of theological education in Jamaica. These are the Church of England (1655-1966); the Baptists (1783-1966); the Methodists (1789-1966); and the Presbyterians (1823-1966).

The history of these four churches is similar to the development of colonialism in Jamaica. For instance, in contrast to the missiological, theological and educational model of the church as the prime agent of social transformation, individual freedom and global reconciliation, the Church of England (Anglican) started as a kind of chaplaincy to the plantocracy, and became, before its disestablishment, inextricably connected to the State; while the Baptists, the Methodists and the Presbyterians that were regarded as allies of convenience of the enslaved community, were engaged in a functionally strategic tactic of neutrality.¹ Consequently, the mission of the Church as an intermediary between the enslaved population and the plantocracy vacillated between addressing the oppression and suffering of the Afro-Jamaicans, and redressing the ethnocentric and materialistic policies and practices of the Euro-Jamaicans. The European-led churches reflected a position of ambiguity and compromise with the actual trinity of slavery, plantation and colonialism.

By the third decade of the nineteenth century, some missionaries became uncomfortable with their theologically conservative orthodoxy, their stereotyped cultural bias, and their socio-politically conformist stance. Consequently, they embraced the risks and vulnerability, which were essential elements of the relevant and authentic mission of the Church within the Jamaican context. They were influenced by the missionary societies in Britain, by the humanitarian campaigns for amelioration, and by the intolerance of the imperial government towards slavery. As a result, they gradually extricated themselves from the stranglehold of the plantocracy and eventually identified with the humanitarian movements in Britain, and the relentless struggles of the slaves in Jamaica for their freedom. The Baptist Magazine echoed the sentiments of the other churches when it stated categorically:

It is high time for the British nation to awaken from its slumber The abolition of slavery is not only to be devoutly wished by the friends of humanity, but it is the imperious duty of all persons who have the least claim to benevolence to use every

1. Robert Stewart, *Religion and Society in Jamaica* (1985) 78; Alfred Caldecott, *The Church in the West Indies* (1898) 53; J. D. Anderson, *The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Empire* (1856) 160; *Jamaica Journal and Kingston Chronicle* (1824) 475.

effort to accomplish it.²

Before the abolition of slavery in 1838, Jamaica had become the plantocratic society par excellence. The oligarchy who ruled the country and made the laws were themselves the plantocracy who held in subjugation the Afro-Jamaican community. Orlando Patterson puts it aptly when he wrote: Jamaica is best seen as a collection of autonomous plantations.³ However, the Afro-creole cultural and religious modes of expression, feeling and relating, with its distinct cosmology, theology and liturgy, dictated a creative and consistent set of initiatives and responses to their context and their experience of enslavement. In contrast, the missionaries found it difficult to be consistent. They were more concerned with maintaining their mandated orthodoxies and with preserving the purity of the true religion. Encumbered with the conflicting demands and the vested interests of the plantocracy and the assertive, but repressive, claims of the peasantry the missionaries were trapped in an interplay of initiatives, demands and expectations with significant consequences for the history of mission and the development of theological education in Jamaica.

3.2 THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN JAMAICA (1655-1966)

In this chapter the four above-mentioned churches are dealt with one by one. Each gets its own section. The survey starts with the Church of England which was the first Protestant denomination to begin missionary work in Jamaica.

3.2.1 The Arrival of the first English Chaplains (1655)

The English conquest of Jamaica in 1655 led to the introduction of the Church of England in the country. The transition from the Roman Catholic faith to that of the Anglo-catholic was to have profound and lasting consequences for the history of mission in the island. The seven chaplains who accompanied the British expedition led by Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables, which captured Jamaica, fell speedy victims to tropical fever. The Church of England expeditiously provided new chaplains for the English settlers in the colony, although it was generally lacking in missionary zeal. The people who brought Christianity to Jamaica were not, in the strict sense, missionaries. They were lay Christians who brought their religion, but also their culture, their colonizing zeal, and their hunger for wealth and the expansion of the British empire. Both Oliver Cromwell and John Milton stressed the importance of establishing and developing an orthodox ministry and mission in the British West Indies. John Fortescue who had succeeded Venables as General of the Army in 1656 requested of

2. Essay on Slavery, In: *The Baptist Magazine*, (1823) 27; *Wesley Methodist Magazine* (1823) 464; *Scottish Missionary Society correspondence with George Blyth* (1824) 2; *Synod Journal*, Diocese of Jamaica (1826) 9.

3. Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery* (1967) 70; Barry Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica* (1976) 1-2; George Bridges, *A Voice from Jamaica* (1823) 12-20.

Cromwell that some godly, sober and learned ministers be sent to the island .⁴

Some historians and missiologists maintain that the real history of the mission of the Church of England in Jamaica should be traced to the restoration of Charles II in 1660. General Edmund D Oyley was appointed the Governor of Jamaica in 1661, and was instructed to advise the ministers that Christianity and the Protestant religion, according to the Church of England, ought to have reverence and exercise.⁵ Lord Thomas Windsor, who was the second Governor of Jamaica (1662), was also instructed to encourage an orthodox ministry. The policy of Charles II in Jamaica during the seventeenth century was characterised by tolerance and liberalism which was in contrast to his policy of religious intolerance in England and Scotland. Penal laws for ecclesiastical delinquencies were barred in Jamaica from 1681. Persons with different judgements and unacceptable opinions in matters of religion were encouraged to go, or were transported to Jamaica.

During the seventeenth century, the Church in England was a state church with the King as supreme head of the state and the church. The nature and form of the Church of England, to a great extent, affected the mission of the church in Jamaica. The Church was united globally and contextually: by its uniformity of worship and by its conformity to the Book of Common Prayer. The fact that the church in Jamaica developed as an extension of the Church of England influenced its relationship with the State and resulted in its compromising attitude which adversely affected its mission in Jamaica. The Church of England in Jamaica developed in the seventeenth century as an episcopal church without a bishop and as a professedly diocesan system without a diocese. It was obvious that from a distance of 4,000 miles no effective episcopal authority could be exercised, so the Elizabethan vestry system was the method of local government as well as the ecclesiastical establishment. The vestries fixed the stipends and terms of service of the clergy; the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, ordained and licensed them; and the Governor of Jamaica appointed them to their cures.⁶

The Anglican historian Alfred Caldecott is critical of the role of some Anglican clergy in perpetuating an oppressive social system. In a theological critique he commented:

Surely, never did the Church of Christ suffer more seriously from the heresy of identifying it with the clergy than in the West Indies. Never did the laity more completely shift the burden of their Christian duty upon their pastors; and never were the pastors less able to bear it.⁷

4. Edward Evans, *A History of the Diocese of Jamaica* (1975) 2; Edmund Davis, *Roots and Blossoms* (1977) 5.

5. John Ellis, *The Diocese of Jamaica* (1913) 30; Edward Long, *History of Jamaica* (1774) 28; Evans (1975) 4; Francis Osbourne and Jeffrey Johnson, *Coastlands and Islands* (1976) 9; Caldecott (1898) 53.

6. According to Thomas Modyford, Governor of Jamaica, between 1664 and 1672, the King of England had paid the stipend of the clergy at 100.00 a year until 1671. Between 1671 and 1784 they had been paid by the Vestry and between 1784 and 1870 they had been paid by the Government of Jamaica.

7. Caldecott (1898) 93; Long (1774) 42; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944)135.

The nexus between faith and practice had been missing, and many missionaries collaborated with the plantocracy who had exploited the natural and human resources of the country. Phillip Curtin argues that perhaps the most valuable ally of the planters was the clergy of the Established Church, although the planters took very little interest in religion.⁸ The views which prevailed in Britain at that time helped to inform the behaviour of the clergy in Jamaica. Some leaders of the Church in Britain endeavoured to convince the plantocracy in Jamaica that Christianity actually produced better, more dutiful and reliable enslaved workers. For instance, in 1727, the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson, wrote to ensure the fearful planters in Jamaica:

so far is Christianity from discharging men from the duties of the station and condition in which it found them under stronger obligations to perform those duties with the greatest diligence and fidelity; not only from the fear of men, but from a sense of duty to God, and the belief and expectation of a future account.⁹

This was a commonly held position among Europeans to which many missionaries in Jamaica subscribed. The planters were reassured that Christianity would not undermine the status quo, socially or politically, as far as these missionaries were concerned. The church followed the path of neutrality, avoiding creative conflict which is sometimes a prerequisite of the authentic and relevant mission of the church.

In spite of the wavering stance of the church, the slave owners were aware of the radical nature of the Gospel. It may produce the good slave ; but it may also become a means of subversion within a plantation economy, by giving the slaves a sense of justice, freedom, equality and dignity. Furthermore, with the impact of the humanitarian movement in England, led by William Wilberforce and Thomas Buxton, the planters had reasons to fear insubordination, retaliation and rebellion of the slaves. However, one of the counterbalancing factors was that the vestry members were appointed from among the plantocracy. Since they hired, fired and paid the clergy, they usually got what they wanted. They ensured that members were appointed to the vestries who would not rock the boat, but would maintain the positivist and imperialist interests of the plantocracy.¹⁰

Some priests of the Church of England, such as George Bridges, went so far as to defend the repressive and dehumanizing system of slavery; but others, such as Colin Donaldson, strongly opposed it.¹¹ But on the whole, the prophetic voice of the church and its potential missiological relevance and influence were compromised. By 1824, the

8. Philip Curtin, *Two Jamaicas* (1970) 48; William Matheison, *British Slavery and its Abolition* (1926) 148; *Postscript of the Royal Gazette* (1825) 20.

9. Edward Gibson, *A Letter of the Lord Bishop of London* (1727) 2.

10. Osbourne and Johnson (1976) 34; *The Jamaica Courant* (1823) 5; *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Digest of Records* (1823) 29.

11. Bridges, *Annals of Jamaica* (1828) 198; George McNeil, *Our Mission in the West Indies* (1911) 75; *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (1837) 2 vols; *Church Missionary Society Papers* (1838) 2 vols.

government and the plantocracy seemed to have succeeded in neutralizing the mission of the Church of England in Jamaica and relegating it to the maintenance of an oppressive system within an unstable peace.

3.2.2 The Creation of the Diocese of Jamaica (1824)

In 1638, Archbishop William Laud of Canterbury proposed the sending of a bishop to Virginia. The proposal failed; but from the inception of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701, it had been suggested that bishops be sent overseas. Petitions to the Crown were presented in 1707; in 1713; and finally in 1715, when four bishoprics were proposed: two for North America and the others for the Caribbean islands. In 1732, the Bishop of London expressed concerns about the pastoral care provided by the missionaries of the French and the Spanish Roman Catholic Church for the Indians and Negroes in their colonies, and about how unfavourably that of the English colonies compared with this. The American War of Independence (1776) prevented any appointment of a bishop for the United States.¹² However, in 1784, Samuel Seabury was consecrated by the Scottish bishops as the first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. In 1787, Charles Inglis was consecrated as the first bishop of Nova Scotia.

In 1800, efforts were made to bring the clergy in Jamaica under more ecclesiastical discipline. The Legislative Council in consultation with the Bishop of London passed an act constituting a commissary court in the island. The court consisted of five clergymen and a registrar selected by the Bishop of London. It was given certain powers of discipline over the clergy, including the supervision of their work and the authority to deprive them of their offices without the concurrence of the governor. Twenty years after the commissary court was established in Jamaica, a society was formed in England by the name of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion, Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro slaves in the British West Indies.

In 1824, George Canning showed marked interest in the mission of the church in the colonies. During that year, the authorities of the church and the state became officially engaged in conferring full episcopacy upon the churches in the Caribbean. The British colonies were grouped into two dioceses: that of Jamaica included the Bahamas, Cayman Islands and Honduras; and that of Barbados, St. Vincent, Grenada, Antigua Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and the other Leeward islands. By Letters Patent in 1824, George IV appointed Christopher Lipscomb (1825-1843) as the first bishop of Jamaica.¹³ Lipscomb who was vicar of Sutton Berger in the county of Wiltshire, England was consecrated in the Lambeth Palace Chapel on July 25, 1824, together with W.H. Coleridge, the Bishop of Barbados. He arrived in Jamaica on February 11, 1825. The British exchequer had provided him with 6,500.00 for the stipend of the bishop, an Archdeacon and 6 curates. He was received with military and other honours and was installed four days later in the

12. The authorities could not conceive of the appointment of a bishop for the United States without requiring him to swear allegiance to the Crown and also because King George III was not disposed to do anything for his rebellious subjects.

13. Evans (1975) 16; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 14; See Letters Patent at Appendix which invests in the bishop special rights and privileges.

Cathedral and given a seat in the Legislative Council. A new era had dawned in the life and mission of the Church of England in Jamaica.

The Bishop of Jamaica arrived in the country at a time when there was social unrest, caused by frequent strikes on the plantations, which were increasing the conflicts and fears between the plantocracy and the enslaved community. Some slaves welcomed his presence; but the planters were suspicious of him and regarded him as a spy sent out from England on behalf of the abolitionists. Many of the clergy who were presented to their holdings by the Governor of Jamaica, the Duke of Manchester, resented and opposed his authority. For instance, Bridges wrote:

It would have been well if the power which the country so inconsiderately invested the office of its Bishop had been confined in its operations and consequences within the island; but the clergy have unfortunately found it otherwise. Their prospects, and even those of their children have been sacrificed to an arbitrary feeling and even the privilege of carrying an appeal to the foot of the throne has been denied them.¹⁴

Bridges did not only resent his bishop, he also bitterly opposed the non-conformist missionaries who accused him of draining the slaves of their subsistence and of involving themselves in politics.

In addition to the 6 priests the bishop had brought with him, he had found in the country 19 rectors, 14 island curates, 3 missionary priests and 4 garrison chaplains. In that year, the Colonial Missionary Society began sending missionaries to Jamaica; the bishop ordained 8 deacons, 6 of whom were creoles. He also appointed Edward Pope as the first archdeacon of Jamaica. In 1828, he divided the Diocese of Jamaica into three rural deaneries with L. Bowerbank in Middlesex, A. Campbell in Surrey, and J. McIntyre in Cornwall.

By 1833, 13 churches were built; there were 45 clergymen, 32 catechists and schoolmasters involved in the mission of the church. Religious instructions were given on 280 estates. The baptism and marriage of slaves was encouraged, recognized and registered. Some fees for certain rites of the church were either reduced or abolished; and hospitals, workhouses and gaols were visited by the clergy. With the assistance of the missionary societies, the British government and the planters, the mission of the church was expanded and directed to all classes of the society. After the abolition of slavery, the church took on renewed vigour during the apprenticeship period from 1834 to 1838. Although many parishes were still without church buildings and an adequate supply of clergy, Lipscomb reported that in 1835 there were 61 churches, missions and chapels, providing accommodation for 28,511 worshippers. The Bishop estimated that the total membership of the church was over 38,000, with a total of 3,360 communicants. There were also 142 schools with 8,500 students, 56 clergy and 95 lay teachers.¹⁵ In 1836, Lipscomb wrote:

No one who has witnessed, as I have lately witnessed, the large portion of apprentices,

14. Bridges, *The Annals of Jamaica* (1828) 169.

15. Ellis (1913) 76; Evans (1975) 24; *Synod Journal*, Diocese of Jamaica (1836) 8.

panting, like the hart for the waterbrook, and being athirst for the living God, conducting themselves on this day (Sunday) with strict propriety and decorum, repairing in crowds to God's house, reading or acquiring the power to read the inspired scriptures frequently joining in the impressive liturgy of the church renewing their baptismal vows, in order to allow of them becoming duly qualified partakers of the Lord's Supper.¹⁶

The Colonial Missionary Society began in 1838 to withdraw its missionaries and to curtail its financial assistance to the Diocese of Jamaica. Lipscomb had apparently foreseen this situation and had prepared the church to assume the added responsibilities by ordaining several deacons and priests, and by challenging the laity to commit itself to the financial needs of the church. Notwithstanding his administrative skills, the church was still too disorganized, conservative and influenced by positivism, darwinism, and imperialism to transform its mission from one of maintenance to that of dynamism and relevance in keeping with the needs of the society, especially those arising from the repressive conditions of the emancipated slaves.

3.2.3 Post-Emancipation Mission (1838-1870)

At the end of the apprenticeship system in 1838, the plantocracy expected violence and riots. Instead the freed slaves crowded the churches to give thanks to God for their liberation. The Church of England was challenged to provide additional accommodation for the thousands of peasants who were flocking its places of worship. By 1840, the Negro Instruction Fund had collected and spent over 170,000.00 for the building of chapels and schools. The Church Missionary Society had established 21 mission stations in 9 parishes, with a staff of 9 clergymen and 11 European laymen. It also had 47 schools with an average attendance of 3,000 students. A training school for schoolmasters, catechists and missionaries was also established.¹⁷ During the 19 years of Lipscomb's episcopate, he had ordained 66 priests and 75 deacons, consecrated 31 churches and licensed 41 other buildings to be used for worship. His episcopate was marked by the liberal support of the Church, by the Legislative Assembly, and by the genuine concern of the Established Church for the welfare of the emancipated slaves.¹⁸

Aubrey Spencer who became successor of Lipscomb as Bishop of Jamaica from 1843 to 1873, reported in 1844 that there were 76 churches and chapels. There were 90 clergy of whom 65 were paid by the State and the others by the Church Missionary Society. Under Spencer's episcopate the mission of the church declined for the following

16. Bishop Lipscomb's letter to SPG (1836) n.p.; William Gardner, *History of Jamaica* (1873) 192; Evans 25.

17. Ellis (1913) 77; Evans (1975) 90; *Minutes of Diocesan Financial Board* (1840) 5; *Minutes of Diocesan Council* (1840) 8.

18. Ellis (1913) 81; *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Missionary Register* (1845) n.p.; *The 150th Anniversary of the Diocese of Jamaica* (1974) 13; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 17.

reasons:

1. The dispersal of the peasants into the hill districts which were far away from the church buildings.
2. The decrease of interest in the West Indian mission because of new and exciting mission work in Africa and India.
3. The deterioration of the sugar plantations in Jamaica which reduced the amount of money in circulation from the profits of the industry.

In 1847, Edward Pope resigned as the archdeacon of Jamaica and the opportunity was taken to divide the diocese into three archdeanaries corresponding to the three civil counties of Surrey, Middlesex and Cornwall. The stipends of the three archdeacons (600.00 a year each) were paid by the Consolidated Fund in Britain.

Reginald Courtenay (1856-1879) in his synod charge of 1858 reported that from the information he had obtained the character of the clergy in general was good and their efforts were receiving God's blessing. But he described the state of the nation as follows:

We are in Jamaica, a land partially reclaimed from heathenism, from heathen superstition and licentiousness. Unable to read or write, without books, without instructions, without external control, unintellectual, immoral; the baser impulses of human nature are indulged without restraint either from a sense of shame or religious obligation.¹⁹

The bishop's description of Jamaica reflects the general bias and misunderstanding of Euro-missionaries to Afro-Jamaican culture and religious beliefs and practices. Consequently, when the great myal revival swept Jamaica in 1860, the theology and missiology of the Euro-Christians were too conservative, and inflexible to adjust to the cosmology, theology and unorthodox expressions of this movement.²⁰ Myalism enabled the oppressed and alienated Afro-Jamaican peasants to escape from the social reality of their suffering through trances, dances, drumming, spirit-possession and the celebration of their religious faith and hope in ways that the missionaries would never appreciate. In other words, the peasantry responded to the restorative rituals of myalism as a therapeutic process for their social ills, since myalism was against all forms of anti-social behaviour within the community as well as against economic extortions by the oligarchy. Instead of endeavouring to comprehend and appreciate the socio-religious significance of myalism, European missionaries were determined to eradicate what they regarded as African superstitious and pagan beliefs and practices. They were, apparently, unaware of the resilience and dynamism of what Edward Braithwaite calls the *nam*, which would withstand being legislated against, denounced from pulpits as sacrilegious delusions or even alienated by the force of excommunication.²¹

19. Ellis (1913) 94; Evans (1975) 28; Stewart 32; Curtin (1970) 130; Patterson (1967) 188; Monica Schuler, *Myalism* (1979) 72; *Synod Journal* (1859) 16.

20. Schuler (1979) 75; Edward Underhill, *The West Indies: The Social and Religious Conditions* (1862) 183.

21. Edward Braithwaite, *Caliban* (1977) 54; Hope Waddell, *Twenty-nine years in the West Indies and Central Africa* (1863) 138; George Parrinder, *African Traditional Religion* (1968)

By 1865, the socio-economic crisis of the country had reached alarming proportions. The Morant Bay explosion contributed to the reshaping of the mission and vision of the church. The church realized that there was an urgent need for more dynamic and widespread mission throughout the country, especially among the scattered Afro-Jamaicans living in large and thinly populated communities. It intensified its programme of education towards individual development as well as community integration.

3.2.4 The Disestablishment of the Church (1870-1966)

In 1870, the church of England in Jamaica was disestablished and its properties were located in the Incorporated Lay Body. The laity renewed its commitment to the church and gave generously to further its mission; but some clergymen were unhappy with the disestablishment and disendowment of the church. The following remarks by Caldecott are instructive:

The church was allowed to shake off the appearance of previous callousness due to want of life within herself and her having so long been choked by the Erastian form of her connection with the State during most of the eighteenth century is evident. She was already the leading religious body in these colonies and even among the negroes themselves held an honourable and promising position.²²

The disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Jamaica, laid great financial responsibilities on the membership of the Church. By 1880, the stipends of 44 clergy came from the voluntary contributions of members. They also gave generously of their time and talents in the service of the Church. Although the Church was funded, primarily, by the freewill offerings of its members and a few diocesan investments, under the leadership of Enos Nuttall, it was able to create a permanent endowment of the future voluntary Church.

In 1880, Enos Nuttall became for 36 years the Bishop of Jamaica. In 1893, he was elected the Archbishop of the West Indies. He guided the Diocese of Jamaica through the early and difficult years of its disestablishment and disendowment by moulding its constitution, shaping its policy, directing its development and addressing the medical, educational and other social needs of the nation with prudence and insight.²³ In 1897, the Province of the West Indies was established and the Diocese of Jamaica became a part of it.

The period from 1920 to 1966 was marked by a spirit of ecumenism. In 1921, the Synod agreed that George de Carteret, Bishop of Jamaica (1916-1931) should invite the other denominations to discuss the formation of a national Council of Churches. It was during the episcopate of William Hardie (1931-1949) that the Jamaica Council of

21; Cheikh Diop, *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality* (1974) 140.

22. Caldecott 95; Ellis 79; Evans 30; *Letter of Bishop Courtenay to Governor John Peter Grant* (1866) N.p.

23. Frank Cundell, *The Life of Enos Nuttall* (1922) 185; Evans 43; *Synod Minutes* (1913) 7; *The Nuttall Diary* (1895) n.p.

Churches was established (1941). He served as its first president.

During this period several outstanding Afro-Jamaicans emerged as leaders within the Church. Outstanding among them was Percival Gibson, Bishop of Jamaica (1956-1966) whose life and ministry will be highlighted in the next chapter.

3.2.5 Educational Missions

During the pre-emancipation period many Euro-Jamaicans felt that Afro-Jamaicans were of limited capacity, and therefore, the money spent on their education could be better utilised. Others maintained that the education of the negroes should be functional and related to production. Some planters insisted that they may get elementary, but not secondary education.

Some missionaries of the Church of England regarded religion and education as inseparable. This ideological relationship was reflected in their endeavours to provide education as another aspect of the 'civilising mission' of the Church. Consequently, the Church developed an increasing interest and pivotal involvement in education. It committed itself to an educational mission partly because such had been the practice in the metropolis, and partly because of the particular relationship which had developed between the Church and the black population during slavery.²⁴ It saw the need for education for citizenship, for moral training and for social control.

Before 1838, it played a pioneering role in making education available to many of those persons who were on the periphery of the society. Several Elementary Schools were established and administered by the Church. Some High Schools were founded on the basis of Trust Funds. Such schools included Munroe, Hampton, Rusea's, Manning Jamaica College, Beckford and Smith, Wolmers and Cornwall College. Most of the persons who established these Trusts were Anglicans. Therefore, it was stated in these Trusts that the Church of England should have a major role in the management of those schools. This usually took the form of stipulation that the headmaster should be an Anglican clergyman, and that the local priest should serve as chaplain for the school. Edward Evans reminds us that 'all of our church schools were involved in education as a service to the community. The Church schools were built essentially from the offering of the congregations.'²⁵

By the end of the nineteenth century, the traditional sources of funding from overseas missionary agencies were no longer as abundant. As a result, the responsibility of constructing and maintaining schools fell increasingly upon the local congregations. The State then began to take more responsibility for the education of the nation. Notwithstanding, by 1900, there were 263 Church elementary schools and the clergy functioned as Chairmen of these schools' boards. In addition to founding these high schools, the Anglican Church also established several secondary and preparatory school.

24. Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaica's Slave Society* (1982) 59.

25. Evans (1975) 90; Wiliam Gardner, *A History of Jamaica* (1878) 256; *Minutes of Diocesan School Trust* (1964) 5.

The Church also established high schools. The following must be mentioned: St. Hilda's (1917), DeCarteret College (1920), Kingston College (1925), Queen's (1954), Glenmuir (1958) St. Jago (1959) and Bishop Gibson's (1962). In 1956, the Diocese Education Trust was constituted to manage the property and the financing of diocesan schools. In 1965, the diocese saw the need for more trained teachers; and opened the Church Teachers College in Mandeville. It also provided chaplains for the University of the West Indies since its establishment in 1948. In 1858, the Church established Bishop's College to provide ministerial training for candidates for the ministry of the Diocese of Jamaica. In 1966 it joined with other denominations to form the United Theological College of the West Indies. Education was regarded by the Diocese of Jamaica as a significant aspect of its mission to the society.

3.3 THE BAPTIST CHURCH, 1783-1966

The Baptists were the second to be engaged in missionary work in Jamaica, and so they are dealt with in this section.

3.3.1 The Genesis of the Baptist Missionary Work (1783)

The history of the mission of the Baptist Church in Jamaica began with George Liele (1750-1828). He was a former slave from Virginia who had been converted in 1773, and had been received into the church of the Reverend Matthew Moore of South Carolina.²⁶ After the death of Liele's former owner, who had granted him freedom (1778), an attempt was made to reenslave him and to end his evangelistic work. This was averted when Colonel John Kirkland of the Georgia regiment invited Liele and his wife, Hannah, to accompany him to Jamaica in 1782. Liele arrived in Jamaica and began his evangelistic and missionary work in 1783. He preached at Race Course in Kingston, and soon afterwards started a church in a private house in Kingston where many marginalized and dispossessed persons attended and heard the Gospel. In spite of the persecution and the many obstacles which he had to overcome, within five years he had baptized 500 persons on their profession of faith and their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their Lord and Saviour. He employed a teacher to train the children of freed negroes and slaves. In 1791 he built and dedicated the first Baptist Church in Jamaica.²⁷ It was known as Windward Road Baptist Church and was located at the corner of Victoria Avenue and Elletson Road in Kingston.

Another individual who made an outstanding contribution to the early mission and development of the Baptist Church in Jamaica was Moses Baker. He was an escaped slave from the United States of America who came to Jamaica, and was converted and baptized by Liele. He was originally from the Bahamas, but settled in Jamaica and

26. Beverly Brown, *George Liele* (1975) 60; Joseph Moore, *Religion and Jamaica Negroes* (1953) 150; Curtin (1970) 32; Clement Gayle, *George Liele* (1983) n.p.; *The Baptist Annual Register* (1802) n.p.

27. Randolph Knight, *Liberty and Progress* (1838) 2; *Evangelical Magazines* (1803) 365; *General Baptist Repository* (1803) 14.

became a devoted member of Liele's church. At the invitation of George Winn, a Quaker and the owner of Adelphi estate, he settled and began in 1786 to provide educational and religious instruction for the slaves of that estate. He laboured relentlessly among the slaves of Adelphi estate and exercised a remarkable influence on their lives and morale. In spite of persecution and imprisonment, he was able to establish in 1791 the second Baptist Church at Crooked Spring, in the parish of St. James.²⁸

The dynamic leadership of Liele in Kingston and Baker in St. James contributed to the expansion of the Church to other locations. Consequently, in 1802, Baker wrote to John Ryland, President of the Bristol Baptist College, England, appealing for missionaries to be sent to Jamaica to assist in the work which they had started. During that year some leading Baptist figures in Britain had drawn up a petition and presented it to the Privy Council arguing that the Laws passed by the Jamaica Assembly in 1802 forbidding sectarians to preach in Jamaica were an infringement of the Act of Toleration. The Lords in Council replied that the laws 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, a new law would be recommended. The laws were eventually abolished in 1809. By then the Baptist Church in Jamaica had been in disarray and the organization established by Liele, Swingle and Baker had almost disintegrated.²⁹ The system of Covenanting, which had held together the Baptist community between 1783 and 1814, had been fractured, and irreconcilable divisions were apparent in the Church. It was the Africanization of Christianity along myal lines, which led to a major rift in the Baptist Church in Jamaica and forced Baker and his colleagues to solicit help from Britain in order to control the unorthodox interpretation of the Gospel.³⁰

In 1814, Dr. Charles Ryland sent John Rowe as the first British Baptist missionary to Jamaica. He and his wife arrived in Jamaica in 1814. He visited Baker at Adelphi before going on to Falmouth, Trelawny to begin his work. He had difficulty in obtaining a government licence which was required before he could preach to the slaves; so, he preached in his own rented house. He started a Sunday School for the children of the slaves in a house he had rented from the custos of Trelawny. Before he could obtain a licence to preach in public, he died in 1816. He was, in this regard, a victim of the then prevalent yellow fever.³¹

The missionary work of the church expanded during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. In 1816, Lee Compère arrived in Kingston and established a church on East Queen Street. A succession of missionaries came from Britain, and although many of them died shortly after their arrival in Jamaica from malaria and other tropical

28. Knight (1838) 10; *Evangelical Magazines* (1803) 371; Horace Russell, *The Baptist Witness* (1983) 21.

29. Nicholas Swingle was a deacon of the Windward Road Church who was later made overseer of the Kingston Church and head of the Free School. He was the first creole to enter the leadership of the Baptist Church in Jamaica.

30. James Phillippo, *The Voice of Jubilee* (1865) 269. He decries the state of such religious unorthodoxy with terms, such as: depravity, pernicious follies, superstitious practices and reckless dissipation led by ignorant shepherds.

31. Joseph Ivimey, *History of the Baptist* (1820) 85.

diseases, they laid a lasting foundation for the Baptist Church in Jamaica. By 1824, the potentially strong leader, Thomas Burchell, had joined the missionaries. Although the mission of the church had been strengthened, by then many Afro-Jamaicans had abandoned the Baptist orthodoxy and became members of the Native Baptist Church that had affirmed the historic and cultural norms and values of Africa. The Native Baptist Church, with its Afro-creole beliefs and practices focused on ways of redressing the concerns and suffering of the dehumanized and demoralized Afro-Jamaican community. Whether these problems were caused by manifestations of natural evil, or by the moral expressions of self-centred human aspirations, myalism endeavoured to reverse their destructive impact on the community.³²

The Euro-Jamaican missionaries were locked in their orthodox cosmology and theology during this period. While they endeavoured to maintain a neutralist policy, they became suspects of both the slaves and the plantocracy. However, by 1831 a change of strategy on the part of some Baptist missionaries was evident. John Hinton refers to this shift of focus when he writes:

Hitherto, they had gone, as their instructions from home prescribed, on the principle of saying nothing about slavery, and of doing all they could consistently to conciliate the planters; but when they found that the planters could not be reconciled at all to the efficient institution of the slaves, but that, for the sake of maintaining the system of slavery intact, they would expel Christianity, they declared hostility against slavery itself.³³

The Christmas Rebellion of 1831 which was led by Sam Sharpe was the most organized challenge to slavery throughout the British colonies. Some 20,000 slaves were involved in what is sometimes called the Baptist War.³⁴ The slaves felt that Emancipation had been granted in the British Parliament and signed by King William IV and that it was the local planters through the Jamaica Assembly who were keeping the law a secret. Sharpe believed that all men were equal and free and that the enslaved people were prepared to struggle and, if necessary, to die for their freedom and dignity. Behind the psychological tactics and political strategies to gain adequate support of his followers was a deliberate and appealing set of theological arguments. Coupled with the emphasis on the natural equality of all human beings as children of God was the Afro-creole world-affirming theology which would counter the sky-escapism of Euro-missionary theology. The adherents and proponents of this new perspective had realized that the neutralist approach had compromised the missionaries in the eyes of both Afro-Jamaicans and Euro-

32. Henry Bleby, *Death Struggles* (1868) 129; John Mbiti, *African Religious and Philosophy* (1967) 187; Higman (1976) 69; Patterson (1962) 73; *The Baptist Magazine*, Essay on Slavery (1823) 27; Peter Phan, *Cultural Diversity* (1994) 87; Patterson (1962) 70; Edward Underhill, *The West Indies* (1862) 191-192.

33. John Hinton, *Memoirs of William Knibb* (1838) 274; *Royal Gazette* (1827) 2; *Public Records Office Colonial Office Dispatches* (1831) CO 137/178; Swithin Wilmot, *Baptist Missionaries and Jamaica Politics* (1854) 83; Gardner 392.

34. The demographic data of 1831 records only 15,000 Euro-Jamaicans and over 300,000 Afro-Jamaicans.

Jamaicans.³⁵

The oligarchy responded to the socio-religious explosion of 1831 by creating more obstacles for the Baptist missionaries. The Colonial Church Union was formed in 1832 with the express intent of preventing sectarians from preaching and teaching anywhere in Jamaica. It became increasingly difficult for Baptist preachers to carry out their ministry and the mission of the church. Some pastors were persecuted, others were imprisoned; while some churches were burnt down. But these church leaders continued to witness and work for the church undauntedly. Their missionary commitment and their evangelistic and educational endeavours contributed significantly to the emancipation of the slaves in 1838.

The majority of the slave owners felt no responsibility for the advancement of their former slaves who had gained their freedom. They were primarily concerned with maximizing their gains and keeping the peasants on the plantation in as close a relationship to their former state as could be achieved in a free society. It was left largely to the missionaries to help the peasants to buy land, to settle themselves in towns and villages, and to set up schools and churches. By 1841, the Baptist Missionary Society had twenty missionaries in Jamaica: occupying seventy-four preaching stations, and having under their care 24,777 members, 21,111 inquirers, 9,159 Sabbath-scholars and some 15,000 children.³⁶ The Native Baptist Church had twenty-five stations and 8,264 members and inquirers. They had no school.³⁷

In 1835, James Phillippo purchased land at Sligoville and started a village settlement. William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and John Clarke continued this development. By 1842, there were nearly 200 such settlements with a total acreage of 100,000 acres which became the backbone of communal life in the new Jamaica. After Emancipation, the Baptists were the main champions of the peasants and helped to lay the foundation of modern Jamaica. They assisted in achieving a peaceful transition from a slave society to a free community.

After Emancipation, the planters viewed with hostility the attempts made by the Baptist missionaries such as William Knibb and Thomas Burchell to provide schooling for the blacks. Educating the former slaves was considered a dangerous undertaking, which could turn them away from honest labour on the plantations. But the work of the Baptist church was greatly enhanced by the Baptist Missionary Society in London, which provided the local church with loans for the erection of schools, churches, and the salaries of teachers. According to Inez Sibley, The Baptists in Jamaica have been

35. Augier, Fitzroy, Shirley Gordon, Douglas Hall and Michael Reckford, *The Making of the West Indies*; (1969) 146; Gardner (1873) 343; Waddell (1863) 25-27; Curtin (1970) 32; Beverly Brown (1975) 58; Moore 150; Schuler 76. James Phillippo, the British missionary, bemoans the fact that there was scarcely an estate which did not contain a priest or priestess of this deadly art, nor did there appear to be a single negro whose mind was not more or less under the influence of myalism by 1860.

36. *The Missionary Herald* (1843) 41.

37. The Native Baptist Church was made up of preachers who were coloured and black men who were once class-leaders and had broken off from the main body of the Baptist Church, and formed congregations of their own.

pioneers in education for the masses, ever since they sought to teach the slaves on the plantations.³⁸

The Baptist missionaries were largely instrumental in establishing the Free Village System in Jamaica. The membership of the Baptist churches in these communities were made up of various African tribes. For instance a letter from Mr. Walter Dendy to Mr. John Clark, dated September 16, 1842 reported the following classifications of Africans in the Baptist Church at Salters Hill:

TRIBES	MEMBERS	INQUIRERS
Koramantees	19	7
Eboes	119	15
Popaws	17	2
Mandinjoes	5	1
Bandas	3	2
Warnee	1	1
Kongoes	29	25
Guineas	40	11
Clambos	6	1
Nangos	5	1
Housa	1	4
Moko	5	1

Most of them spoke their native African language, except for the creoles.³⁹

In 1842, the Baptist Church under the leadership of Knibb and Burchell declared the independence of the Jamaica Church from the British Missionary Society. The Baptist Church in Jamaica also initiated missionary work in West Africa from where most of the slaves had come. The Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society was formed to assist those brothers whose churches could not adequately support them as well as to extend the missionary work of the Church to Haiti, Cuba, Cayman Brac, Central America and Costa Rica.⁴⁰ However, by 1845 the Baptist Church in Jamaica was faced with heavy debts and had to appeal to the British Missionary Society for a grant. At the general meeting of the subscribers to the British Missionary Society which was held in England April 1845 it was unanimously resolved:

That a grant of 6,000.00 should be made to the brethren in Jamaica, with the earnest recommendation of this meeting that the Churches themselves should make an extra effort to pay off a further part of these debts, and with the expectation that thus aided, they will be able to provide for the support of the institution at Calabar, and for the

38. Inez Sibley Francis, *The Baptist in Jamaica* (1965) 16; *The Baptist Missionary Society Annual Reports* (1842) 7.

39. *The Missionary Herald* (1843) 302; J. Phillippo (1865) 74.

40. Knight (1838) 2; *The British Missionary Society Letterbook* (1849) 86; *Jamaica Baptist Reporter* (1847) 5; Augier, Gordon, Hall and Reckford, *The Making of the West Indies* (1969) 218; Curtin (1970) 165.

extension of the Gospel in destitute parts of the island That the acceptance of this grant be regarded as a full and final discharge of all claims whatever, on the part of the brethren in Jamaica, on the British Baptist Society, except as hereafter provided, namely, that the salary of the present theological tutor at Calabar College be not affected by these resolutions.⁴¹

In July, 1845 Knibb sailed from Southampton, England with a grant of 6,000.00 for the Baptist churches in Jamaica. It was clearly understood that after this financial assistance the Baptist Church in Jamaica would have to go it alone.

3.3.2 The Formation of the Jamaica Baptist Union (1849)

In 1849, three groups of Baptists working in Jamaica, namely the Western, the Central and the Eastern Unions, formally merged into one central body. Inez Sibley-Francis defines the objective of this initiative as intended to provide unity of exertion in whatever way may best serve the cause of the church in general, and the interest of the Baptist denomination in particular.⁴² The Native Baptist Church was not involved in the union and functioned independently of it.

In 1855, the association was designated the Jamaica Baptist Union. Its constitution states:

This central authority seeks to preserve the congregational nature of the Church, to increase the effectiveness in ministry, and to deepen the fellowship among its members. The Union represents a shift in authority and control from the British Missionary Society to authority of the Baptist Church in Jamaica. Since 1849 the President of the Theological College, the Headmasters of the High Schools, and the pastors in the various circuits are accountable to the executive of the Jamaica Baptist Union. The executive of the Union consists of the churches, ministers, and members elected at its annual general assemblies. The Union provides the opportunity for the church to adjust its organizational structure and to broaden and deepen its fraternal relations with other denominations and Christians both at the global and the national levels.⁴³

It was the expression of the Baptist missionary work in Jamaica which made it essential for the church to organize itself into this central authority. The authority exercised by the Union was a moral and spiritual one. Its advice and recommendations, while not obligatory on any minister or church, nevertheless heeded. By this means, the Baptist churches were brought together in a vital union and fellowship. In 1928, the Union adopted a new constitution which states:

1. That the Union be the parent body with the missionary society and the theological college as subsidiary organizations.

41. *The Missionary Herald* (1845) 82; *The Baptist Missionary Society Papers* (1845) 10.

42. Sibley-Francis (1965) 32; *Minutes of Jamaica Baptist Union Executive Meeting* (1856) 5.

43. *The Constitution, Jamaica Baptist Union* (1856) 12; E. E. Allen, *An Hundredfold* (1949) n.p.

2. That there be one Executive Committee of sixteen persons to administer the affairs of all the departments of the church.
3. That there be a General Secretary, free from circuit work in charge of the departments.
4. The Union, consisting of the churches of the Baptist persuasion which are evangelical in their teaching and congregational in their government, fully recognizes that every separate church has within itself the power and authority to exercise all ecclesiastical discipline, rule and government; also asserts the importance of co-operation, of mutual helpfulness and edification. But whenever the Union recognizes that a church or a minister is acting injuriously to its interests, the Union shall have power to take action, and its decision shall be final.⁴⁴

The Jamaica Baptist Union has maintained that the denomination must remain the church of the people. However, there has been consensus on the need for a central authority to which the ministers and congregations should be accountable. The Union insisted that the ministry of the church should be of a high standard, and should demonstrate spiritual fervour and absolute commitment to the mission of the church.

3.3.3 Post Emancipation Mission (1849-1966)

Between 1849 and 1966, the emancipated slaves recognized their inherent rights, rather than perceiving themselves as the assets of the plantocracy. They had achieved the rights to exercise the powers of self-determination and to experience the responsibilities of freedom. They turned to the church for guidance and assistance in their struggles to become integrated into society. The Baptist Church recognized the profound importance of ownership of property by the peasantry and facilitated the former slaves in establishing free villages. Ownership of land was a major determinant of life changes which was sometimes reflected in self-determination, survival or social mobility. It also enabled the peasants to influence the choice of leaders to represent them in their national affairs and placed them in more appropriate positions to negotiate better working conditions. The new experience of living in community made education available to their children and moral and spiritual guidance of the church accessible to the residents of the community.

Some Baptist missionaries encouraged the ex-slaves to work relentlessly to make themselves independent of the plantations. For instance, Knibb advised the members of the church as follows:

... and you must be entirely independent. If you continue to receive allowances which have been given you during slavery and apprenticeship, it will go abroad that you are not able to take care of yourselves and that your employers are obliged to provide you with allowances to keep you from starvation. In such a case you will be nothing more than slaves. To be free you must be independent.⁴⁵

44 *The Constitution, Jamaica Baptist Union* (1928) 25.

45. Russell, *The Emergence of the Christian Black Concept* (1979) 1-17; John Hinton, *Memoir of William Knibb* (1847) 397; Waddell (1863) 661-663; *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary*

Evidence of the Baptist mission still remains in the place names of certain communities areas in Jamaica. For instance, Kettering was named after the birthplace of William Knibb and in appreciation of his outstanding missionary endeavours;; Hoby Town is named after William Hoby of the British Missionary Society; Clarksonville and Buxton are named after John Clarkson and Thomas Buxton, leaders of the anti-slavery movement in England. Within these communities the church worked to establish stable family structures. It would appear that between 1890 and 1913 negroes preferred faithful concubinage to Victorian formal marriage. The view was that marriage reduces a woman s independence and could bind her for life to an unsavoury character.

As social mobility increased, persons were willing to be married as a sign of respectability and social status. Middle class blacks, as they assumed the patterns of life of the Euro-centric community, also adopted marriage as a seal of respectability. However, faithful concubinage was the norm among the black masses. Concubinage as practised by the elite was functionally and qualitatively different from the faithful concubinage of the lower classes. It did not rest on the assumptions of equal partnership, but rather on the ability to use their social position to sexually exploit women of lower social, economic and racial status. What developed in Jamaica was the extended family structure with the woman as the central and cohesive figure of the family.⁴⁶

The 1920s saw more and more women becoming involved in the mission of the church. In 1922, the Jamaica Baptist Women Federation was formed. It represents a powerful and influential group within the Jamaica Baptist Union and was affiliated to the Baptist Women s League of England. Its motto was: Co-operation in all Christian work .⁴⁷

In 1941, the Jamaica Baptist Union was one of the founding members of the Jamaica Council of Churches. Between 1940 and 1966 it has participated in several ecumenical projects and programmes.

3.3.4 Educational Missions

During the pre-emancipation period, the Baptist Church in Jamaica regarded access to education as a means of social mobility for, particularly, the Jamaicans of the African descent. The educational mission of the Church was largely reflected in the various institutions which it established.

The first school which the Baptists founded in 1817 was located on the premises of the East Queen Street Baptist Church and was named Calabar Elementary School. The Metropolitan School was opened in Spanish Town in 1824. Its purpose was to provide education for the free people of colour. In 1834, the imperial government provided a grant to promote the education of negroes; but the Baptists did not accept the grant until

Chronicle (1842) 112-116.

46. The Jamaica Census of 1943 reveals that there were 85,528 single mothers in Jamaica with 280,896 children born to them. Of these 55,231 are common-law mothers (unmarried mothers) with 213,004 children.

47. Sibley-Francis (1965) 35; *The Baptist Reporter* (1909) n.p.

after 1870 when the State Church was disestablished. Voluntarism was a fundamental principle among Baptist missionaries who stipulated that State funding of a Church was wrong.⁴⁸

As a consequence, education in the Baptist churches had to be funded from the freewill offering of the members and grants from the British Missionary Society. This became a heavy burden on the financial resources of the Jamaica Baptist Union. In 1852, the Calabar Normal School was founded for the training of native day school teachers. In 1892, the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society began a programme of Sunday School Teacher training. The lessons for the examinations were chosen by the President of the Calabar Theological College and sent to the churches for their comments and approval. In 1909 the programme became national. This was a strategic move, because by 1911 the Jamaica Baptist Union had established 97 elementary schools which represented 15 percent of the total of 663 elementary schools in the country.

Another urgent need at this time was for additional high schools: in 1912 the Baptist opened Calabar High School which provided secondary education for boys, and Westwood High School for girls. The Baptist further contributed to the provision of secondary education in Jamaica by establishing the William Knibb Memorial High School in 1961.

The Baptist missionaries were pioneers in the cause of education among the Afro-creole community. They struggled against ignorance and illiteracy in the society and contributed significantly to the integration of the masses within the community. In 1843, Calabar Theological College was established to prepare Afro-Jamaicans for the ministry of the Baptist Church in Jamaica. With the passage of time the Jamaica Baptist Union shifted its emphasis from denominational concerns to ecumenical understanding and co-operation. In 1913 it joined with the Presbyterian and Methodist theological colleges in co-operative theological education. In 1948, when the University of the West Indies began its operation on the Mona campus in Jamaica, it supplied some of its chaplains. It was one of the antecedent colleges of the United Theological College which was established in 1966.

3.4 THE METHODIST CHURCH, 1789-1966

The Methodists arrived in Jamaica after the Baptists, consequently, their contributions are evaluated in this section.

3.4.1 The Arrival of Thomas Coke (1789)

The Methodist Church in the Caribbean was established by divine providence. The ship in which Thomas Coke (1741-1814) sailed was driven to the West Indies by

48. Inez Sibley-Francis, *The Baptist of Jamaica* (1965) 15; Joseph Angus, *The Voluntary System* (1939) n.p.; Carl Campbell, *Towards An Imperial Policy for the Education of Negroes in the West Indies after Emancipation* (1967) n.p.

unfavourable weather conditions. It landed at St. John s, Antigua in 1785 and in 1789 Coke arrived in Jamaica. Two days after his arrival in Kingston, he was preaching to a crowd of about six hundred persons when some drunken Euro-Jamaican ruffians entered the gathering shouting: Down with him, down with him . They rushed forward to seize the preacher and for a while there was an uproar. Calm was restored when Mrs. Mary Smith grabbed a pair of scissors and threatened them with these words: you may do as you please, but the first man who lays a violent hand upon him shall have these scissors thrust into his heart .⁴⁹ The man soon departed and the service resumed and went on without any further disturbance. This incident highlights the opposition which Coke faced and the obstacles which became characteristic of the reaction of the aristocracy to the mission of the Methodist church for many years.

Coke arrived in Jamaica when the society reflected a plantation system. The plantation formed the vortex of the entire social structure. It dominated the social landscape as well as the economic and political realities. The planters showed tolerance for the Established Churches and displayed gross intolerance towards the dissenting churches and anyone who appeared to threaten their privileged position within the society. The Established Church was recognized for years by the plantocracy as having the right to exist legally in the country. The State Church was perceived as protecting the interests and welfare of the colonial authorities; but missionaries such as Coke were regarded as people who came to disturb the social balance of the plantation society. It should also be borne in mind that the nexus between religion and politics was cemented. As a consequence, the persecution of missionaries was not related necessarily to theological orthodoxy, but rather to anything which threatened the rights and privileges of the aristocracy.⁵⁰

Coke began the mission of the Methodist Church in Jamaica in a plantation society which was rigidly stratified into three major categories: white, free coloured and slaves. These categories corresponded largely to colour differences, social status and ethnic groupings. These distinctions were also characterised by the subordination of the free coloureds and the slaves to the whites who had become the dominant class in the society. The Euro-ruling class lived in constant fear of slave uprisings and retaliation. They were overwhelmed and awed by the ratio of the slaves to the white dominant class in the society. For instance, in 1787, two years before Coke arrived in Jamaica there were 237,000 slaves and only 23,000 whites; in 1807, 18 years after his arrival, there were 260,000 slaves and 20,000 whites. In an intermediate position in society was the small group of free coloureds, who did not relate to the slaves and were socially unacceptable to the whites.⁵¹ The size of the slave population posed a serious threat to the Euro-Jamaican community, especially since the successful and large scale revolt in Haiti lingered in their memories. Furthermore, the missionary work of the dissenting churches

49. Terrence Rose, *History of Coke Church* (1975) 7; Thomas Coke, *A History of the West Indies* (1812) 159.

50. Claude Cousins, *The Jamaica Methodist District* (1966) 27; E. A. Jones, *The Methodist Church* (1948) n.p.

51. Brathwaite, *Creole Society in Jamaica* (1971) 152; Peter Duncan, *Narrative of the Wesleyan Mission in Jamaica* (1849) 59.

was not regarded as in the best interest of the oligarchy. Some members of the ruling class perceived Christianity as a subversive religion which had disintegrated the society by preaching to the slaves and others on the periphery of the society about equality, freedom and human dignity. It is not surprising, that when Coke departed from Jamaica in 1789 he left behind only seven persons who formed the first Methodist class and became the nucleus of the mission of the Methodist Church in Jamaica.

3.4.2 The Establishment of Societies (1789-1838)

William Hammett was the first Methodist missionary to be appointed to Jamaica by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society of Britain. He arrived in the country in 1789 and organized a society in a house which he had rented from Daniel Coe, who became a foundation member of the first Society in Jamaica. Hammett lived in the house but he also used it as a meeting and preaching venue. The gatherings began with seven persons: three white Europeans and four free Africans. The congregation grew steadily and by the following year the Society bought a large house from a planter by the name of George Milburn. After considerable refurbishing, the building became known as the Parade Chapel. The new chapel was attended with mixed fortune. The measure of support which it had attracted had been exceeded by increasing hostility. Church services had often been interrupted and attempts had been made to destroy the church. Guards had to be posted around the building at nights for its protection.

In 1791, Coke visited Jamaica for the second time, accompanied by Thomas Worrell. He landed in Montego Bay, visited Kingston and started a mission in Spanish Town with Reverend George Brazier as pastor. In 1793, he made his third and final visit to Jamaica. On this occasion, he travelled from Kingston to Montego Bay and returned to Kingston. A society was established in Montego Bay and in 1794, the Rev. William Fish was appointed minister of that mission. Every effort was made to prevent the Methodist missionaries from preaching to the slaves. In 1802, the House of Assembly passed a Bill which banned preaching to negroes, persons of colour and slaves. In 1803, Daniel Campbell and John Willidus were arrested in Morant Bay. In 1806, Mary Wilkinson fled from Manchioneal to Kingston to escape arrest for her evangelistic work among the slaves. In 1807, another Act was passed by the House of Assembly which consolidated many of the earlier laws. It stated that religious instructions of slaves should only be given by their masters, mistresses, owners and overseers; and that the instructions of such slaves should be confined to the doctrines of the Established Church of the island. The Act further stipulated that no Methodist missionary or protestant dissenters should presume to instruct the slaves or receive them into their houses, chapels or meeting places. Two years later this Act was disallowed by the King of England.⁵² However, in 1810 another Act was passed by the House of Assembly which was intended to restrict the preaching and teaching activities of the missionaries. By this Act, the Judges of the

52. George Findlay and Mary Findlay, *Wesley's World Parish* (1964) 60; *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (1818) 107; Claude Cadogan, *Jamaica Methodist 200 Brochure* (1990) 4; Peter Duncan and William Knibb, *Religious Persecution in Jamaica* (1832) 123.

Supreme Court of Jamaica were granted authority to approve or disapprove any person applying under oath for permission to preach to the slaves or the people of colour.⁵³

In 1807, a chapel was opened in Morant Bay by John Shipman. The persecution of the church continued during that year. William Gilgrass and John Knowland were arrested at the Parade Chapel for keeping a singing practice until 6:15 p.m. The Parade Chapel was closed from 1807 to 1814. It was reopened in 1815 and developed into the Coke Methodist Church. Other societies were established at May Pen, Mandeville, Ebenezer, Bull Bay, Sav-la-Mar, Gratefull Hill, Unity and Halse Hall, between 1815 and 1817. In spite of opposition, the mission of the church expanded and the first District synod was held in Jamaica in 1817.⁵⁴ Another chapel was also opened in Kingston in 1818.

In 1824, John Shipman, Chairman of the Jamaica District summoned his colleagues after he had received the report of the Methodist Missionary Society in which slavery was unequivocally condemned, and the Methodist Church in Britain was committed to its abolition. Shipman and his colleagues along with some slave owners published the 1824 Resolutions which stated explicitly how they felt about the humanitarian movements and the missionary societies in England that had declared slavery incompatible with Christianity. They stated:

their decided belief that Christianity does not interfere with the civil condition of the slaves, as slavery is established and regulated by the laws of the British West Indies.⁵⁵

This statement reflected the conformist theology and elitist social affiliations of some missionaries, particularly Shipman and James Horne. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine in Britain responded as follows:

... The duty of every Christian government is to bring the practice of slavery to an end and that the degradation of men merely on account of their colour and holding of human beings in interminable bondage, are wholly inconsistent with Christianity.⁵⁶

The Methodist Missionary Society in England immediately recalled Shipman, tried him and expelled him from the ministry. His colleagues were also disciplined. Notwithstanding, the Resolutions were an embarrassment to the British Conference for many years. Yet some of the British missionaries in Jamaica continued to stress the faithfulness, obedience and submission of the slaves to their masters. They maintained

53. Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries* (1982) 103; *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Minutes* (1825) 228.

54. Duncan (1849) 161; *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Minutes* (1828) 6; *Jamaica Journal* (1824) 758; *Postscript Royal Gazette* (1825) 18.

55. *Jamaica Journal* (1824) 3; *Kingston Chronicle* (1824) 2; *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (1825) 116; *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Letters* (1825) 116; Turner (1982) 113.

56. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (1825) 117; Duncan (1849) 394; *Postscript Royal Gazette* (1828) 48; G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *A History of Wesleyan Methodist Society* (1924) 329-355.

that it would be wrong for an enslaved person to run away, or to rebel against a cruel and oppressive master. In fact, additional advocacy for permission to teach the slaves was based on the proposition that religious instructions would be so transforming as to diminish, if not eliminate the necessity of severe punishment and compulsion to work, by making them more industrious, willing and compliant.⁵⁷ Some planters shared this perspective, but others would take no chances and make no changes. They felt that there was an explosive potential and a conceivable incompatibility inherent in the demands of the Gospel and the system of slavery. Others felt that some expectations of the missionaries, such as the observance of the Sabbath, were unwelcome intrusions into the master-slave relationship, which had devastating economic repercussions for the planters.⁵⁸

In 1831, the Colonial Church Union was formed with the intent of persecuting the protestant dissenters and destroying their chapels. Between 1831 and 1833, Methodist missionaries and property owners were the target of persecution by the oligarchy and sometimes by the slaves themselves who were suspicious of the missionaries. In England there was an open attack on slavery; and in Jamaica some missionaries began to behave in ways which were subversive of the system but were beneficial to the slaves. In fulfilling their missionary obligation of supportive subversion, some missionaries suffered as martyrs.⁵⁹ In 1833, the Governor of Jamaica proclaimed the Union an illegal association and dissolved it. Paradoxically, the shortcomings and persecution of the Methodist church and the persecution it suffered did not prevent it from growing from 7 members in 1789 to 13,000 in 1838 within fifteen circuits.⁶⁰

3.4.3 Post-Emancipation Mission (1838-1966)

After the ending of apprenticeship system in 1838, the Methodist church sought to enable the former slaves to deal with the challenges and opportunities of their freedom within a plantation economy. The missionaries assisted peasants in obtaining land and shelter, education and health-care, employment and independence and the sense of self-worth and responsibility which were prerequisites of an integrated community.

Simultaneously, the increasing membership and attendance at church services necessitated additional accommodation for worship. For instance, in 1838, the Parade Chapel had to be demolished and a new and bigger Coke Chapel was built, which was completed and opened in 1841. Furthermore, the Revival in the Church from 1860 to 1861 resulted in hundreds of persons applying for membership: 994 persons applied from

57. Carl Campbell, *Missionaries and Maroons* (1980) 7.

58. Higman (1976) 27; Richard Watson, *A Defense of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in the West Indies* (1817) 10; *British Parliament Papers Relating to Religious Instructions of Slaves in the West Indies* (1826) n.p.

59. Findlay and Findlay (1964) 60; Curtin (1970) 87; David King, *The State and Prospects of Jamaica* (1850) 132, 212-213.

60. A number of Societies with close geographical proximity to each other is grouped as a Circuit. The circuits, collectively, are known as a District. All the districts in a region comprise a Conference.

Kingston, 300 from Falmouth, 180 from St. Ann s Bay, and 250 from Yallahs. By 1870, the Methodist mission in Jamaica had spread to all parishes.⁶¹ It should be noted that the disestablishment of the State Church in 1870 had led to a proliferation of dissenting religious sects. The constant distinguishing characteristics were their syncretism of the best feature of Afro-religion and Euro-Christianity with the objective of meeting their spiritual, psychological, social and political needs within the plantation system. The missionaries did not want to associate with Afro-creole beliefs and practices, which were regarded as irregular, meaning unlicensed preachers holding illegal meetings at night. This they felt would bring them into disrepute with the Churches and the civil authorities. The synthesis of Afro-religion and Euro-Christianity was treated by the missionaries with disdain. Becker s denunciation of their barbaric behaviour is an appropriate example:

... but scarcely was our worship closed before the heathen negroes on the estate began to beat their drums, to dance and to sing in the most outrageous manner I represented to them that this was not the way to celebrate the birth of our Saviour, and expressed my surprise that having heard the Word of God for so many years, they still continued their heathen customs; but all I could say was in vain.⁶²

Music and dancing with the drum at the centre, which had been always significant parts of African social and religious life were explicitly prohibited to Christian converts. They intensified their efforts to eradicate them and replace them with Euro-Christianity and western culture. The significance of the African cultural affirmation in festive style obviously eluded the Methodist missionaries. They did not comprehend or appreciate the psychological, spiritual, social and political purposes served by African ritual dancing, singing and drumming. Furthermore, they were not willing to incorporate these African liturgical practices in their western cosmology, theology and worship in ways comparable to the Afro-Jamaicans efforts to syncretize Euro-Christianity and their traditional beliefs and practices.

In 1884, conference status was granted to the Methodist districts in the West Indies. George Sergeant became the first president and Thomas Geddes, the first secretary in 1885.

In 1889, the Methodist church celebrated the centenary of its mission in Jamaica. The four universals which informed the missionary thrust for a century were:

1. All men are sinners.
2. All men can be saved.
3. All men can know they are saved.
4. All men can be saved to the uttermost.

Still, there was a contradiction: on the one hand, the Methodist church was supportive of the plantocracy and, on the other hand, it was subversive of the status quo in keeping

61. Cadogan (1990) 3; Peter Samuel, *The Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Jamaica* (1850) 27.

62. Becker s Diary (1823) 82; Gardner (1873) 263; Duncan (1849) 116; *Wesley Methodist Missionary Society Letters* (1825) 116.

with its perception of the demands of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Geddes succeeded Sergeant as President of the West Indian Conference in 1899. The conference was faced with financial difficulties and inadequate commitment to provincial leadership. As a result, in 1903 the West Indian Conference was dissolved and all the districts within the conference were returned to the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London.

The earthquake of 1907 and the hurricane of 1912 did severe damage to many churches, such as the Coke and Wesley chapels. In addition the outbreak of World War I in 1914 adversely affected the mission of the Methodist church in Jamaica. However, in 1925, the Methodist church in collaboration with the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica established St. Andrew High School for Girls.⁶³

In 1928, deaconess work began in the Methodist Church in Jamaica by Jessie Kerridge who had arrived from England to establish and extend women's work within the Church.

The District of Honduras was made a sub-District of Jamaica in 1932. During that year, the three branches of the Methodist church: the United, the Wesleyan and the Primitive Churches merged into the British Methodist Church.

As the mission of the Jamaica District of the Methodist diversified, so its membership increased. By 1960, it had a membership of 18,000. In that year the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the British Conference ascribed Conference status to the western area.⁶⁴ Between 1941 and 1966, the Church actively participated in the projects and programmes of the Jamaica Council of Churches.

3.4.4 Educational Missions

The Methodist Church's contribution to education in Jamaica included some positive achievements, although not in keeping with its overall expectations. Between 1789 and 1826, instruction of the slaves and free people of colour, both adults and children, was carried out in various informal settings throughout the country. In 1826, a Sunday School was formally established at the Coke Church; and in 1829, the Kingston Wesleyan Day School was opened for the purpose of affording education to children of both free persons and slaves. Week-day schools were also started in St. Ann's Bay in 1829, Ramble in 1831, and Kingston in 1833.⁶⁵

From 1834 to 1838, the British government provided the Methodist Missionary Society in England with a grant of 5,000.00 for the establishment of schools throughout the West Indies, on condition that the Society added 2,500.00 to the sum given by the British Parliament. The Society appointed Thomas Bewley, who was experienced in managing schools in Scotland and Ireland as Superintendent of the Methodist schools in Jamaica. Accompanied by his wife and children, he arrived in Jamaica in 1837. Howe-

63. *Synod Journal*, Methodist Jamaica District (1926) 8.

64. *Synod Journal* (1961) 6; *Provincial Conference Report* (1961) 15; *Wesley Missionary Society Minutes* (1961) 21.

65. *Jamaica Methodist 200 Anniversary Brochure* (1989) 21.

ver, within eighteen months of his arrival he died. In spite of the vicissitudes the Methodist missionaries, during the pre-emancipation period, did not concede defeat. The Wesleyan Plan of 1835 illustrated how the various groups endeavoured to make education available to the masses by offering tuition in reading, writing, arithmetic and other catechetical instructions.⁶⁶

By the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, the Methodist Church realised the need to prepare and equip youngsters with skills which would provide them with sources of livelihood and enable them to contribute to the development of the society. In 1840, Boys' Town was established in Kingston to provide skills training, career guidance, continued education and to facilitate community development. This did not reduce the involvement of the Church in secondary education. In 1875, York Castle High School and Theological Hall were established; but financial pressures forced the High School to be closed in 1906. The Barbican High School for girls also had to be closed that year because of financial difficulties.

The earthquake of 1907 and the hurricane of 1912 did severe damage to many churches and schools. In addition the outbreak of World War I in 1914 adversely affected the educational mission of the Methodist Church in Jamaica. However, in 1925, the Methodist Church in collaboration with the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica established St. Andrew High School for Girls. In 1951, Excelsior High School began the training of boys and girls and in 1958 York Castle High School was reopened and Operation Friendship was launched. In spite of financial constraints, in 1961, the Church established the Morant Bay High School.

The Methodists who had begun theological education in Jamaica in 1875, actively participated in the chaplaincy at the University of the West Indies and in 1966, its theological college (Caenwood) merged with other denominational colleges to form the United Theological College of the West Indies. The Methodist had played an integral part in the development of education in Jamaica.

3.5 THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (1823-1966)

The Presbyterians who were the last of the four Protestant churches to arrive in Jamaica are considered in this section.

3.5.1 The Advent of the Scottish Missionaries (1823)

The Presbyterian Church in Jamaica is connected with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Its history dates to 1823 when the Scottish Missionary Society received a request from several proprietors of estates in Jamaica to send a minister to Jamaica to instruct their slaves.⁶⁷ It should be noted that already in 1800 the Society had sent to

66. *Wesleyan Missionary Society Circular Letter* (December 1835) 24.

67. George Robson, *The Story of our West Indian Mission* (1824) 25; *Handbook of Jamaica, The Presbyterian Church in Jamaica* (1824) 374; George McNeill, *The Story of our Mission in the West Indies* (1911) 22.

Jamaica, Joseph Bethune, a minister of the Church of Scotland, and two catechists. Three weeks after their arrival in Kingston, Bethune and one of the catechists died of a malignant fever. The other catechists who had survived the fever gathered a group of people in Kingston for worship, provided them with religious instructions and opened a Day School. However, the mission initiatives of the catechist encountered relentless opposition and he eventually accepted the position of a teacher at Wolmers School.

The first three decades of the nineteenth century were characterized by hostility and persecution of the Scottish missionaries in Jamaica. Even after the legislative obstacles of the Jamaica Assembly were removed, there were still some awesome hurdles in the way of their mission endeavours. The Presbyterian missionaries had no freedom of access to the slaves without the consent of their owners. The plantocracy generally regarded the missionaries as unwelcome agitators. The situation was further aggravated by the absenteeism of many of the proprietors. Many estates were managed by attorneys and overseers, who sought only to please their landlords by handsome annual profits. The system of absenteeism was generally disadvantageous to the slaves, since the attorneys and overseers did not share the obligation and compassion of some proprietors towards their slaves.

Paradoxically, it was this state of affairs within the plantation system which indirectly gave rise to the Presbyterian mission in Jamaica. In 1823, some estate owners who were resident in Scotland approached the Scottish Missionary Society with a proposal that the Society should send missionaries to instruct the slaves on their plantations in Jamaica. They also proposed that they, the planters, would be responsible for half the expenses of this mission to Jamaica. The Society accepted the proposals and George Blyth was appointed a missionary to these slaves in Jamaica.⁶⁸

In 1824, Blyth arrived in Jamaica in an atmosphere of hostility. For instance, the Jamaica colonial newspaper advised the magistrates to send him back to Scotland by the ship he had come, if they wished to preserve the country from assassination and bloodshed.⁶⁹ However, Blyth was eventually received courteously and exercised his ministry on the estate at Hampden and Dundee, in the parish of Trelawny. In 1828, the first Presbyterian church was established on the estate of Hampden. The church was built largely through the generosity of some of the residents of Dundee and Hampden, together with the financial assistance of the Scottish Missionary Society. Blyth organized the various prayer meetings into a congregation and on that first Sabbath 70 persons, the majority of them slaves, worshipped together and participated at the Lord's Table. The foundation of the Presbyterian church was thus established in Jamaica.⁷⁰

In the previous year, two other missionaries had been recruited to Jamaica: James

68. Robson (1824) 26; John Stewart, *A View of the Past and Present State of the Island of Jamaica* (1823) 241-242; William Wilberforce, *An Appeal to the Religious Justice and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire on behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies* (1823) 1-2.

69. Robson (1824) 27; *The Jamaica Courant* (1823) 1; *Scottish Missionary Society Correspondence with Blyth* (1824-1839) n.p.

70. Robson (1824) 28; *The Cornwall Gazette* (1828) 2; *Scottish Missionary Society Letters* (1825-1832) n.p.; *Scottish Missionary Society Book* (1828-1848) n.p.

Watson who began work at Lucea and John Chamberlain who settled in Port Maria. In 1829, Hope Waddell started missionary work in Cornwall; William Scott began work in Ebenezer; Mr. John Aird at Mt. Olivet; and William Anderson at Rosehill and Cedar Valley. In 1844, Hugh Goldie settled at Negril and Wiliam Brown and his son John Brown at Brownsville.

After the Christmas Insurrection of 1831, some planters accused the missionaries of instigating the explosion. Some missionaries were persecuted, others arrested or forced to do military duty. Two attempts to burn down the Presbyterian church on the Hampden estate were frustrated. The Colonial Church Union led a fierce and prolonged persecution against the missionaries until Governor Earl Mulgrave proclaimed it illegal in 1833.

In 1832, three additional missionaries came to Jamaica to strengthen the mission of the Presbyterian church. John Simpson went to Green Island; John Cowan to Carron Hall; and Warrant Carlisle to Brownsville.

The United Presbyterian Synod, whose contribution had been the main source of income of the Scottish Missionary Society decided in 1835 to engage in mission in Jamaica through its own church organization. In that year, it sent two missionaries to the country: James Patterson settled in the parish of Manchester and William Niven in Westmoreland. By 1845 the Scottish Missionary Society had 9 congregations in Jamaica with their own places of worship; while the United Presbyterian Synod by 1847 had organized 8 congregations.⁷¹ In 1845, a mission station was started in Grand Cayman by Wiliam Niven and afterwards continued by Wiliam Elmslie.

When one looks behind the numerical expansion of the church it becomes immediately apparent that the Presbyterians, like the other protestant missionaries, were determined to impose on the Afro-Jamaican community their metropolitan religious thought and organization. They were unable, and unwilling to deal with the slaves' unchanging and uncompromising attitude to their enslavement. They were, no doubt, paralyzed by their cultural prejudice against anything African and thus stymied in their efforts to carry out their mission by their incapacity to accommodate themselves to the unfamiliar cosmology, theology and liturgy of the Africans. Instead of encouraging and participating in a process of Euro-Afro acculturation or inter-culturation, they displayed an attitude of cultural superiority and theological pre-eminence which alienated the Afro-Jamaican community.⁷² Consequently, both the missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society and those of the United Presbyterian Synod of Scotland became victims of the untenable and inflexible cosmological, theological and liturgical positions they represented. In addition to the prevailing bias against Afro-religious expressions and practices, the Presbyterian missionaries were further trapped between the Afro-Jamaican s openness to the inter-culturative process and the pressures of the plantocracy to conform to the positivist and imperialist norm and system of values.

Their vacillation between neutrality and advocacy for social change affected

71. Robson (1824) 32; *Handbook of Jamaica* 377; *Synod Journal*, United Presbyterian Church (1835) n.p.

72. Mervyn Alleyne, *The History of African Religion in Jamaica* (1983) 16-17; Curtin (1970) 30; *Scottish Missionary Society Minutes* (1847) 4; *Scottish Missionary Register* (1848)n.p.

adversely the authenticity and effectiveness of the mission of the Presbyterian church between 1823 and 1849.

3.5.2 The Uniting of Two Missions (1849)

Between 1835 and 1849, two Presbyterian missions operated in Jamaica. The Scottish Missionary Society mission had begun in 1824 and the United Presbyterian Synod mission in 1835. All the missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society were, in fact, ordained ministers of the United Presbyterian Synod. Consequently, there was deep friendship and cooperation between the missionaries of the Society and the Synod.

In 1836, the missions of the Jamaica presbytery were reconstituted on a basis which united the ordained members of both missions in the work of organizing and building up the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica.

After the emancipation of the slaves in 1838, the Presbyterian missionaries were committed to preparing the peasants for the privileges, rights and the responsibilities of their freedom. The jubilee which had celebrated the abolition of slavery for the 311,071 Afro-Jamaicans had been transformed by the reality of freedom with all its challenges and responsibilities.

In spite of the efforts of the church, its cosmology, theology and organizational structure were not effective and embracing enough to prevent an outbreak of myalism in 1842. This became a real challenge to the two Presbyterian missions in Jamaica, who tried to avert or to overcome this Afro-syncretic expression of Euro-Christianity, which the abolition of slavery gave freedom of action.⁷³ Large gatherings of negroes assembled at one place after another to participate in the frenzied ritual dancing, singing and drumming of this African oriented expression of their faith. Afro-Jamaican expressions of the Christian faith played a crucial role in the formation of an Afro-creole identity. Afro-creole religious beliefs and practices as well as social and personal norms constituted an adaptation of Euro-Christianity on the basis of African derived customs, values and modes of perception. This religious phenomenon proved consistently to be a fortress of resistance against the cultural hegemony of Euro-Jamaicans. The enslaved community constantly rejected Western ethics and demonstrated their disregard for the missionaries who were advising patience with their suffering in their temporal experience in the interest of the greater good in their eschatological existence. On some occasions their actions were diametrically opposed to the missionary ethic, as they demonstrated in the Christmas Revolt in 1831. They made it abundantly clear that resistance and the struggle for freedom, not passive resignation, was in keeping with God's will.⁷⁴

Faced with the rapid expansion of myalism, the Presbyterian church needed to unify and strengthen its organizational structure in a pluralistic society. In 1847 the Scottish Missionary Society handed over all its church buildings and congregations in Jamaica to

73. Robson (1824) 51; R.W. Weir, *Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland* (1900) 176; *Scottish Missionary Register* (1843) 10; *Scottish Missionary Society Minute Book* (1842-1848) n.p.

74. Schuler, Alas (1980) 82; Sidney Mintz, *Colonialism and Racism* (1974) 13.

the care of Synod of the United Presbyterian Church. The 47 churches of the two missions formed themselves into the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. In addition to the 47 churches which were scattered over 10 parishes of the country, there were also 27 out-stations where meetings were conducted for worship and religious instructions.⁷⁵ This union of the Secession Churches and the Relief Churches constituted a significant milestone in the mission of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. Its constitution states:

Each congregation is under the governance of a Session of Elders chosen by the communicants at whose meetings the minister presides. From any decision of the Session there is an appeal to the Presbytery of the district, which consists of the ministers and an elder from each of the congregations; and from their decision there is an appeal to the Synod, which meets once a year and consists of all the ministers and elders of each congregation, presided over by a moderator who is elected annually. There are four Presbyteries: the eastern, northern, western and southern, and in these the ministers and elders all vote as one order. The same is the rule of voting in the Synod.⁷⁶

The first Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica which represented the union of the missions of the Scottish Missionary Society and the United Presbyterian Synod of Scotland met at Falmouth in 1849. The union of these two missions strengthened the witness of the church in Jamaica and laid the foundation for its development within a pluralistic society.

3.5.3 Post-Emancipation Mission (1849-1966)

By 1848, the mission of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica had been defined and integrated in the mainstream of the society. The real challenge had been to make the mission of the Church relevant and effective in the life and culture of the Afro-Jamaican community.

In 1851, George Blyth, the pioneer of the Presbyterian mission in Jamaica, after twenty years of service in the country resigned and returned to Scotland, where he died in 1866. In 1854, John Cowan, after two years service at Carron Hall, became incapacitated for further service, and also returned to Scotland. In 1857, Alexander Robb, after four years service at Goshen, left Jamaica for missionary work in Old Calabar, West Africa. These vacant places were filled by new missionaries who arrived in 1857. It should also be noted that four of the famous Cambridge seven of 1857 were located in Jamaica and Grand Cayman.⁷⁷ The mission of several of the stations was

75. *Handbook of Jamaica* (1891) 377; Robson (1824) 56, *Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, Synod Papers and Minutes* (1849-1856) n.p.

76. *Handbook of Jamaica* (1891) 379; *Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, Synod Papers and Minutes* (1849) 10.

77. McNeill (1911) 40; Robson (1824) 59; *Synod Papers and Minutes* (1858) 12. Considerable enthusiasm was awakened in Scotland in 1857 by the appointment of seven new missionaries who appeared together on public platforms at meetings in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

facilitated by the ordination of catechists who had acquired the appropriate academic qualifications for the ministry.⁷⁸

With the disestablishment of the State Church in 1870, the cause of education received special attention from the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. During the 1880s, the aid from the Scottish Missionary Society was designated for the support of the ordained missionaries, the training of theological students, or the erection of Churches, chapels, manses and the opening of new stations. There was also an increase in zeal and effort towards overseas missions. In 1884, the Jamaica Synod resolved to support one missionary in Old Calabar, West Africa and another in Rapputana, India. At the same time, it undertook the whole responsibility for the training and support of its native catechists. The catechists occupied the out-stations in which services were held on the Sabbath, and sometimes they were in charge of congregations. It was through the leadership of the catechists that the mission of the church was sustained in many parishes where there were no ordained ministers.⁷⁹

Between 1893 and 1950, the church's mission was focussed on helping to reshape the Jamaican society. It joined the struggle for national identity, racial integration, social mobility, better land utilization policy, for political representation and employment opportunities. During that stage of development of the country some commercial institutions employed only Euro-Jamaicans and people of colour. Afro-Jamaican employees were excluded from these institutions, although they had the required qualifications. Nearly every door of opportunity was closed to the descendants of African ancestry. This had a devastating and negative effect on the process of integration within the community. It did not only frustrate the cultural identity and self-actualization but it also reinforced ethnocentrism and social divisions which militated against patriotism and communal cohesion. C.A. Wilson argues that racial prejudice hampered the integration and growth of the Jamaican society. He writes:

The mix-up of colours does not make for patriotism. Colour is an asset too highly esteemed in Jamaica. Clear skin and straight hair are amongst the best recommendations. To a nauseating extent does the idea prevail that whatever pertains to the white man is good, and what is connected with the black man is evil, or of little consequence.⁸⁰

The Church joined the trade union struggles of 1938 to open the doors of opportunity which were closed to the African and the Asian communities. At that time, it had become obvious that unless the masses, were organised and united, they would not be able to change and improve their social conditions. The combined voice and effort of the

78. Some of the ablest and most successful missionaries, such as William Anderson, Hugh Goldie and James Ballantine were recruited from Scotland as Catechists, but were later ordained to the ministry.

79. C.A. Wilson, *Men of Vision* (1929) 33; *Synod Journal Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Synod Journal* (1886) 11; *Scottish Missionary Register* (1886) 12; *Lady Nugent's Journal* (1907) n.p.

80. Wilson, *Men with Backbone* (1913) 84; McNeil (1911) 59; J.H. Morrison, *Scottish Church Work Abroad* (1927) 87; *Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Centenary Brochure* (1924) 10.

trade unions and the Church assisted some of them in obtaining employment in the public and private sectors.

In 1941, the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica was one of the constituent members that inaugurated the Jamaica Council of Churches. Since then, it has prayed and worked in collaboration with other denominations for the *oikoumene* for which Jesus prayed.⁸¹

In 1965, the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of Jamaica merged and formed the United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman.

3.5.4 Educational Missions

The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica regarded education as the decisive path to social mobility for those persons who were on the periphery of society. During the pre-emancipation period, it played a significant role in the educational system of the country. It used its Sunday schools to provide literary education for the children of slaves and of free persons. Evening schools were also provided for them, but the idea was soon abandoned because the children of the slaves were usually too tired to benefit from the classes. By 1834, the Presbyterians who had arrived in Jamaica in 1823, had established 6 schools to facilitate its educational mission. The church also undertook the management of the schools connected with its mission. Before any systematic effort was made by the Government to promote education, the church provided invaluable service to the cause of education by assisting in making available elementary education and by training teachers for the schools. It was the conviction of the Church that education was the right of all human beings. Furthermore, the Church maintained that an intelligent membership would strengthen and sustain its mission.⁸²

After emancipation the planters in the Jamaica Assembly refused to pass any legislation to provide appropriate educational facilities for the ex-slaves. They viewed with hostility the attempts made by the Scottish missionaries to provide education for the Afro-Jamaican community. The education of the liberated slaves was considered a dangerous undertaking which would turn them away from the honest labour of the plantations. But the missionaries and lay-leaders of the Church were assiduous in their efforts to provide elementary and secondary education for the marginalised ethnic groups of the society. At the same time, they insisted that moral and religious instructions should be included in the training of the peasants.⁸³

By 1924, there were 113,000 children registered in the infant and elementary schools provided by the Church. Simultaneously, catechists were trained as teachers at its Theological Academy while several missionaries performed the functions of teachers and managers of schools.

In 1925, St. Andrew High School was established as a joint effort with the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church. Clarendon College was built in 1942; Knox College in

81. John 17: 21.

82. Campbell, *Social and Economic Obstacles to the Development of Popular Education in Post-Emancipation Jamaica* (1970) n.p.

83. George Blyth, *Reminiscences of Missionary Life* (1851) 100; Millicent White, *A Short History of Education in Jamaica* (1983) n.p.

1947; Camperdon High School in 1958; and Meadowbrook High School in 1958. The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica invested years of the struggle and dedication in the educational system of the country.

Although the Presbyterians arrived in Jamaica after the Anglicans, Baptists and Methodists, yet, by 1875, they became involved in theological education. In 1966, their theological institution was one of the four denominational colleges which merged into the United Theological of the West Indies.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter reviews and evaluates the history of mission and the educational processes of the four protestant denominations that participated in the development of Jamaica from 1655 to 1966. It provides a purview of the interplay between the socio-cultural factors and forces and the missionary assumptions and educational processes which helped to shape the model of theological education which emerged in Jamaica from 1841 to 1966.

The relationship among these four denominations was not always harmonious. Between 1655 and 1913, they acted denominationally and were never united in corporate witness in an ethno-cultural divided society. The Church of England that accompanied the British expedition to Jamaica in 1655 became the State Church. The Baptists who arrived in 1783, the Methodists in 1789, and the Presbyterians in 1823 were regarded as dissenters who were infringing on the rights of the Established Church. Consequently, the increasing conflict and hostility between the State Church and the Dissenting Churches weakened their mission as intermediaries between the enslaved population and the plantocracy.

The British missionaries could hardly have been expected to welcome the syncretism of Euro-Christianity and Afro-Creole traditions into religious symbols, expressions and styles that they could not understand or appreciate. The reality and diversity of a pluralistic society, such as Jamaica, challenged the missionaries to be responsive and responsible in their missionary endeavours. In the pre-emancipation period, the mission of the Church of England was regarded as chaplaincy of the white plantocracy, while the Methodist church ministered to the poor whites and free coloureds. The Baptists and Presbyterian churches were primarily concerned with the people of African descent. However, during the post-emancipation era, all four Protestant churches ministered to the Euro-Jamaican as well as Afro-Jamaican communities.

In spite of the apparent irreconcilable paradigms between the conflicting cultures, Afro-Jamaicans adapted with characteristic openness significant features of Western Christianity, such as hymns and prayers. This syncretised form of religion was celebrated often secretly with drums, dance and spirit-possession and, in some cases, it was institutionalised into the Native Baptist Church which reflected a creolised form of worship with African cultural expressions.

The educational mission of all four churches was significant. They laid the foundation of the educational system in Jamaica on which the government was able to build and expand after independence. Whatever other effects the educational mission of these four churches may have had on the society, it produced leaders for the state and

students for the theological colleges.

CHAPTER FOUR

FOUR INDIGENOUS LEADERS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the myths which gained momentum after the emancipation of the slaves in 1838 was that the Afro-Jamaicans were members of a permanent underclass of the society. They were portrayed by images which depicted them as lacking in human dignity, moral integrity, intellectual capacity and administrative ability. However, by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century some of the descendents of Africa began to break out of this mould and to demonstrate their liberated self-assertion. They had to struggle against endemic cultural and racial prejudice in order to carve out their professional and entrepreneurial niche and at the same time to overcome the Darwinistic myth that people of African descent were biologically inferior to Europeans.

Before the twentieth century, the leadership of the church was primarily non-African and non-Indian, which was reflective of the historical vestiges of British imperialism. Afro-Jamaicans were relegated to assistant missionaries, lay-preachers and those who filled the pews of churches that were administered by European clergymen. It was within this environment of dehumanizing and conflicting myths and images that four outstanding indigenous church leaders emerged: Aemilius Alexander Barclay (Presbyterian); Percival William Gibson (Anglican); Menzie Edward Williamson Sawyers (Baptist) and Hugh Braham Sherlock (Methodist). These four Afro-Jamaicans provided pride of place to their African heritage. They made it clear that their ministry and the mission of the Church should facilitate the advancement and self-actualization of other Afro-Jamaicans who were marginalized and dispossessed. They struggled to overcome the subtle attempts to create ethno-cultural dichotomies and social disharmony in the society which would frustrate individual self-fulfilment and communal integration and development.

The integrity, commitment and achievements of these four leaders cannot be fully grasped apart from the socio-political context and the missiological impact of their ministry in the Church. Most of the sugar plantations were owned by a handful of wealthy absentee landlords. Their properties were managed by a small number of European overseers.¹ There was a chronic shortage of qualified and capable persons to provide leadership in all areas of life. This had serious consequences for the socio-political as well as the religious development of the country. In 1850, David King had pointed out that the quality of leadership in the Church had declined. He lamented that Holy Orders were readily given to men who were imperfectly educated and of indifferent moral character.²

This chapter places the floodlight on four outstanding church leaders who refused to allow other peoples' myths and images to control them. They have demonstrated that the

1. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) 85; Orland Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery* (1967) 33; Douglas Hall, *Absentee Proprietorship in the British West Indies* (1964) 49; *Jamaica Historical Review* (1964) 15.

2. David King, *The State and Prospects of Jamaica* (1850) 79.

European perspective and attitude to the negro problem had not been shared by Afro-Jamaicans who had been given the opportunity to improve themselves. If the doors of opportunity were opened to Afro-Jamaicans they could achieve academic excellence and professional competence. The impact of their lives and ministries within the context of religious, cultural and ethnic crises and confrontations should be appreciated in order to understand the significance of the inter-culturative processes which contributed to the evolution of the society and the development of theological education in Jamaica.

4.2 AEMILIUS A. BARCLAY (1876-1926)

4.2.1 Biographical Sketch

Aemilius Alexander Barclay was born at Mt. Olivet, Manchester on April 10, 1876. His parents, John Thomas Barclay and his wife Elizabeth, were proud of their African ancestry.

His early education and religious influences were mainly guided by Edward Burton, Elijah and Egbert Elliott of the Scottish Missionary Society. At the age of seven years he attended Mt. Olivet Elementary School where he at once attracted the attention of his teacher, W.F. Bailey, and became his favourite pupil. He developed an insatiable urge for reading and mastered the English language at an early age. The nineteenth century was a period when few Afro-Jamaicans showed any significant interest in literature. Wilson, for instance, writes:

Love of literature is not a marked feature of the life of the average Jamaican. School is more or less drudgery, unpleasantly connected with the rod, and cannot be said on a whole to create a love of knowledge for its own sake. The majority of teachers read little apart from the newspapers. Facilities for reading are few, and lack of means prevents many from purchasing books.³

The young man Aemilius was encouraged and assisted by a Scottish missionary named Parson Baillie. At the critical age of fourteen, he came under the tutelage of George McNeil, a Scottish pastor who was inducted as Principal of Mt. Olivet Elementary School. He took a deep personal interest in the young man who had become a Pupil Teacher and had formed a Christian Endeavour Society. His sterling ability as a religious worker began to appear on the horizon. In 1891, he accepted Jesus Christ as his Saviour and was received into membership of the Mt. Olivet Presbyterian Church.

In 1894, Barclay left Mt. Olivet for Kingston to be trained as a teacher. He took second place in the Entrance Examination, and was placed first in the Midsummer College Examination, a position which he kept for the three years of the course. He won a scholarship which allowed him to attend the University College which was on the site where Jamaica College is currently located. At the time, this college prepared students for London matriculation. In 1898, Barclay was successful in the Bachelor of Arts degree

3. C. A. Wilson, *Men with Backbone* (1913) 89.

offered by the University of London.⁴ The following year he joined the staff of Ebenezer School, Manchester and served for five successful years.

Barclay was an educator, a social worker and manager par excellence. For several years, he managed the Loan Bank which handled about 50,000.00 annually, and ministered to his congregation which had grown numerically over the years. The Sunday School at Goshen was one of the largest in the island. He was assisted by a network of faithful and committed Christian workers. He was regarded as a friend to all, and a father to the youth of the community.

Between 1906 and 1926, Barclay functioned as a pastor and a leader of social and political thought through his involvement in electoral politics: first, as a nominated member of the Legislative Council for a term and, afterwards, as the elected representative of the Council for St. Mary.⁵ For six years, he served as the chairman of the General Board of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, while still serving on several commissions and boards.⁶ In 1926, he was one of Jamaica's representatives at the West Indian Conference in London which resulted in a better understanding and structured development of the communities in the Caribbean. The deputation received notable imperial attention, and was feted by the nobility and graciously received by His Majesty George V, at Buckingham Palace. Barclay's plans to visit Scotland, the mother country of the Presbyterian mission in Jamaica, was averted by his illness. He returned to Jamaica and died November 3, 1926. The Legislative Council, which was in session, did not sit on November 4, 1926. The Council Members and the Colonial Secretary and several members of the House of Representatives attended his funeral at Goshen Presbyterian Church.

Barclay, an Afro-Jamaican made an indelible mark on the political, social and religious history of Jamaica. He used his Presbyterian perspective, his African sensitivity and his Christian commitment to social evangelism to accomplish in fifty years what few could have done in a hundred. He challenged Afro-Jamaicans to use their initiatives, creativity, and intelligence for their self-actualization and for their community's integration and advancement. He created the motivating circumstances for Afro-Jamaicans to strive after educational opportunities, social mobility, moral integrity and spiritual fulfilment. He taught the poor people of western St. Mary how to develop political, civic and religious maturity and strengthen their resolve to improve their living conditions and to sustain their communal integration and stability. In other words, he redefined the mission of the Church in terms which were authentic, dynamic and relevant to the demands of the Gospel and the needs and the experience of the poor and underprivileged masses of Jamaica. He was a pioneer and a colossus in the history of mission and a trailblazer in indigenous leadership within the nation, and a pioneer in the educational mission of the Church.

4. Wilson, *Men of Vision* (1929) 27; *Synod Minutes, Presbyterian Church of Jamaica* (1897) n.p.

5. *Handbook of Jamaica* (1908) 457.

6. *Synod Journal* (1906-1912) n.p.; *Centenary Pamphlet of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica* (1924) 12; *Synod Minutes* (1966) n.p.

4.2.2 Ecclesiastical Involvement

In 1904, Barclay responded to the call to the ministry, and entered the Presbyterian Theological Academy at Woodlands where for four years he pursued his studies under the Scottish missionary, James Robert Johnson.⁷

On leaving the Theological Academy, Barclay was ordained and appointed assistant pastor to the Scottish missionary Henry Scott. He was later called to be the minister of Mt. Carmel and Light-of-the Valley Churches in Clarendon, where he gave faithful and distinguished service.

The lack of opportunities for advancement in Jamaica at the beginning of the twentieth century led him to establish a branch of the Agricultural Society at Colonel s Ridge. He foresaw the importance of organizing the people of the community for their integration and advancement. He was elected a member of the Parochial Board in Clarendon and he took part in a popular demonstration which led to the extension of the railway to Frankfield.

Soon afterwards he was appointed the minister of the Church at Goshen in western St. Mary. At one of the half-yearly meetings of the Jamaica Agricultural Society presided over by Sir William Henry Manning, he faced the question of providing more land for the masses, and he had to cope with the Governor who silenced the would-be advocates of land settlement by saying in effect, that people should be satisfied with what they had, and not covet other people s land. At that time, adverse circumstances were forcing many peasants to mortgage their small holdings for much less than they were worth, to rapacious entrepreneurs. More often than not, the unfortunate borrower failed to meet his financial obligation and lost his property for which he had toiled and sacrificed to acquire.

In Jamaica, the agrarian question had become not only an economic problem, but also one of practical politics. The residents of western St. Mary found a champion in their struggle for agrarian reform in their competent pastor, Barclay. With his capable leadership he organized the people and formed the Western St. Mary Citizens Association and developed a progressive programme of land reform. Several properties were purchased, sub-divided and sold to the residents. Hundreds of poor but industrious persons bought their own holdings, produced various crops and enjoyed comparative prosperity. Barclay had led the way on a remarkable effort of co-operation and display of management skills. The efficiency of his religious leadership had resulted in the integration and advancement of the community.⁸

The plight of the peasantry after the devastating hurricane of 1912 provided Barclay with his strongest challenge. The banana plantations were destroyed resulting in a precarious financial condition. In response to local representations, the Government of Jamaica decided to establish loan banks in several centres, and to provide the money to be loaned to the small farmers. The banks were managed by local committees elected

7. *Warden Report, Presbyterian Theological Hall* (1905) 8; *Synod Minutes* (1906) n.p.

8. Wilson, *Men with Backbone* 35; *Synod Journal, Presbyterian Church of Jamaica* (1912) 6; *Jamaica Historical Review* (1964) 35.

from the shareholders. The Western St. Mary Co-operative Loan bank was managed by Barclay, while he simultaneously administered the Presbyterian church in Goshen. The bank became the largest borrower with the most efficient management. Six properties aggregating 4,417 acres were purchased at a cost of 59,000.00. These properties were subdivided into lots of five to fifty acres, and sold to 450 purchasers who needed additional land for farming.

In the annual report of 1922, the Managing Committee stated that the lands were being readily sold, and purchasers were meeting their obligations in a satisfactory manner. The assessment for purposes of taxation on the first two properties increased from 9,000.00 to 30,000.00 and the area under cultivation was ten times what it was before the properties were purchased. A waste of bush and ruinate was converted into an extensive cultivation. Several houses were erected and a thriving township with a beautiful church was established. The output of bananas was greatly increased, and the opportunity was given to hundreds of persons to earn a livelihood and to own their own holdings.⁹ Under the leadership of Barclay, the social conditions of western St. Mary were transformed and the conditions of life for the people were improved. The success in western St. Mary became the topic of discussion at dinner parties. Governors in succession, legislators, representatives of all the professions visited the miracle wrought by Barclay in St. Mary. When E.L. Wood, Viceroy of India and Under Secretary of State for the colonies, visited Jamaica in 1925, he went to see the land settlement and development in western St. Mary which had become a model of community creativity, participation and achievement.

Through his relentless effort, spiritual guidance, insightful leadership and competent management skills, Barclay was able to inspire and organize the masses and integrate the community, and to solicit generous assistance from both private and public sectors for the development and stability of western St. Mary. His altruistic attitude to service was demonstrated when the community expressed its appreciation to him with a large financial gift. Instead of accepting the gift for his personal use, he used it to purchase an organ for the Presbyterian Church in Goshen.

4.2.3 Educational Endeavours

Barclay utilized his educational opportunities and achievements to affirm and facilitate the advancement of those who shared his ethnic and cultural heritage, as well as to enhance the development and integration of the various communities in which he lived and served. During 1897, he taught at the New Broughton School in Manchester. C. A. Wilson has made the following comment with regard to the quality of his tenure at the school:

He quickly gathered around him many promising scholars, and set their feet on the ladder of advanced education. He won the good will and respect of the entire

9 *Annual Report, Western St. Mary Loan Bank (1922) 7; Synod Journal (1923) 12.*

community.¹⁰

Between 1899 and 1905, Barclay taught at Ebenezer School in Manchester. He used the opportunity to challenge the students and their parents to appreciate the importance of education as an essential aspect of the creative process towards self-actualization and social mobility. During this period he served as a member of the council of the Jamaica Union of Teachers. He laboured to improve the working conditions of the teachers and to instill self-confidence in them to overcome some of the tremendous challenges, of, particularly rural communities.

In 1906, Barclay was appointed the pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Goshen in western St. Mary. He expeditiously organized a public education programme to transform the thinking and system of values of the residents, as well as to communicate to the members of the citizens association, the agricultural society, the land reform programme, and the co-operative loan bank sound scriptural teaching, competent management practices, positive values and attitudes, self-reliance and self-determination. Under his leadership the spirit of the residents was mobilized and western St. Mary was transformed into an educational model of rural development and integration.¹¹

Between 1920 and 1926, Barclay served on the ministerial training committee of the Presbyterian Theological Academy at New Broughton, Manchester. He contributed significantly to the establishment of the relationship of the Academy with the church and the society. He maintained and demonstrated by his ministry that theological education should not be pursued only as an academic discipline, but also as a means of producing public intellectuals who would serve as agents of reconciliation and social transformation.

4.3 PERCIVAL W. GIBSON (1893-1970)

4.3.1 Biographical Sketch

Percival William Gibson was another fascinating character in the history of mission and the development of Jamaica. The end of the nineteenth century witnessed the dawning of a new era in the country. On the August 26, 1893, Percival William Gibson was born.

Percy, as he was called by his family, was the second to last child of seven children of William George Gibson and his wife, Esther, who lived at Cavaliers, St. Andrew. His father was employed as a supervisor at the Water Commission. Therefore, his parents moved and lived on the premises at Marescaux Road, Cross Roads. Consequently, Percy was baptized and attended Sunday school at St. Luke's Anglican Church, Cross Roads.

He attended Mico Practising School, which was located a few metres from his home. In 1906, he won a scholarship to St. George's College which was administered by the Roman Catholic Church. There he received his secondary education and was successful in the Senior Cambridge examinations.

10. Wilson, *Men of Vision* (1929) 28.

11. Wilson, *Men of Vision* (1937) 37.

After a short period of employment in an office, he began to work at Bishop s Lodge.¹² Archbishop Enos Nuttall (1842-1916) developed a close relationship with young Percival and gave him full access to the library at Bishop s Lodge. While working at Bishop s Lodge in 1910, he received the call to the ministry. The person who seemed to have had the most profound influence on the life and vocational choice of Percival, was Archbishop Enos Nuttall.¹³

In 1954, Gibson was appointed to the Legislative Council. Sir Phillip Sherlock who served on the Council at the same time as Gibson described him as, 'the conscience of the Council and of Jamaica'. There was no Jamaican leader in the Church and State so feared and respected as Gibson.

In 1967, Gibson retired as Bishop of Jamaica, and died three years after he had passed the baton to John Cyril Emerson Swaby.¹⁴ Several tributes were paid to him by leaders of the State and the Church. He was awarded, posthumously, the Order of Jamaica.

4.3.2 Ecclesiastical Involvement

In 1911, he entered the St. Peter's College which was located adjacent to Bishop s Lodge at Caledonia Avenue, Cross Roads.¹⁵ In 1913, Percival was successful at the Licentiate of Theology, which was offered by the University of Durham, England. He was too young to be ordained as deacon, so he continued his studies at the college. In 1917, he gained the Bachelor of Divinity which was offered by London University.¹⁶ By then, he was twenty-three years old and was made a deacon in 1917 at St. Luke s Church, Cross Roads. He served as Curate at Bath and Golden Grove, St. Thomas from 1917 to 1919, and at St. George s Church, East Street from 1919 to 1947. During his curacy at St. George s, he organized and presented a series of six lectures on Churchmanship, which were eventually published. He was a great preacher and crowds flocked the Church to listen to his eloquent, forthright and passionate sermons. Gibson founded the St. George s Men s Debating Society which brought together a number of lay persons for brilliant debates on social, moral, intellectual and spiritual concerns of the nation and of the Church. He also arranged dramatic performances and published the St. George s Herald from 1922 to 1923 and another magazine, called the Anglican, from 1927 to 1929. He was editor of the Diocesan Gazette from 1923 to 1947 and produced a pageant entitled *The Church* which was staged at the Ward Theatre in 1921. Its performance was of such an excellent standard that in 1922 he was awarded the Musgrave Gold Medal, which was Jamaica s highest cultural honour. Gibson was appointed Headmaster of Kingston College in 1925 by Bishop George de

12. It is not clear whether he was formally employed at Bishop s Lodge or he worked there on a voluntary basis.

13. *The Nuttall s Diary* (1912) n.p.

14. Janet Gentles, *Percival Jamaica* (1993) 18; E. L. Evans, *A History of the Diocese of Jamaica* (1975) 71.

15. *The Jamaica Churchman* (1911) 5.

16. *Synod Journal* (1918) 12; Evans (1975) 70; Gentles (1993) 7.

Carteret (1889-1932). He was only thirty-two years of age when he was appointed to this post and he held it until 1956 when he was enthroned as the Diocesan Bishop of Jamaica. His new appointment gave him the opportunity to help others, especially the poorer boys who needed an education to prepare them as leaders and developers of the nation.

In 1936, Kingston College produced its first Rhodes Scholar, L.L. Murad. In that year, Gibson was awarded the King George and Queen Mary Silver Jubilee Medal for his outstanding leadership at Kingston College. Between 1936 and 1949 the School excelled in athletics, tennis and cricket. And between 1949 and 1957, Kingston College students won the Jamaica Scholarship on several occasions.¹⁷

Gibson was elected and consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Kingston in 1947 at the St. James Cathedral, Spanish Town. He became the first Afro-Jamaican and locally trained priest to be elected a Bishop. In spite of his additional responsibilities, he continued as headmaster of Kingston College. It is not surprising that the first Afro-Jamaican Bishop in Jamaica was consecrated 109 years after emancipation. It should be remembered that up to that time, and even thereafter, an unwritten law was that the chief credential for episcopal elevation was a birthplace in the British Isles.

History was created in 1956 when Percival Gibson was enthroned as Bishop of Jamaica at the St. James Cathedral, Spanish Town. It took 300 years for the first Afro-Jamaican to be elected to the highest office in the Anglican Church in Jamaica.¹⁸ At that time, leadership in the Church and State was controlled by Europeans or Euro-creole Jamaicans. Consequently, diverse reactions to this significant event would have been expected. On the one hand, many Jamaicans rejoiced and gave thanks to God. The bell of St. James Cathedral was rung in jubilation and many accolades were expressed. On the other hand, the social structure of Jamaica shook and trembled with righteous anger. For it was unbelievable then that an Afro-Jamaican could dare to be elected and enthroned as Bishop of Jamaica at a time when the leadership of all the other main line churches, with the exception of the Baptist, was British, and the majority of the clergy of the Anglican Church were English or very fair in complexion.¹⁹ Whatever might have been the reasons for the reactions, the fact was, a new era had dawned and a new level of maturity had been achieved in the Anglican Church in Jamaica.

Bishop Gibson was awarded the Honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1956 by McGill University, Montreal, Canada. It was also during that year that he nominated the senior Archdeacon E.L. Evans as Suffragan Bishop of Kingston, and presided over his first synod as the Diocesan Bishop. During the next decade of his episcopate, he re-established the Deaconess Order in Jamaica and created a Deaconess House Endowment Fund; revived the Church Army in the Diocese; provided suitable literature for Instruction in the Faith; and increased the number of the clergy from 67 to 100. At the same time, he built new churches and rectories and rebuilt and refurbished others.²⁰ It was during his episcopate that Farquharson House, Elizabeth House and the Amy

17. *Synod Journal* (1936-1957) n.p.; *Kingston College Magazines* (1936-1957) n.p.

18. Gentles (1993) 65; *The Jamaica Churchman* (1956) 1; Clinton Black, *A New History of Jamaica* (1973) 109.

19. Hartley Neita, *Colour and the Church* (1997) 5; Gentles 68.

20. Evans 74; *Synod Journal* (1960) 5.

Muschett House were established and the Church Teachers College was built. Gibson loved his church and his country deeply and he challenged and criticized them courageously. After he returned from the second Lambeth Conference in 1958, he launched a twenty-month campaign of evangelism. This was conducted throughout the Diocese by the Church Army, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the Jamaica Church Missionary Society, and some invited foreign evangelists. This was another attempt by the Bishop to win Jamaica for Christ. The Negril Youth Camp was also established as a permanent site for youth evangelism.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the Church, John Cyril Emerson Swaby was elected Bishop Suffragan of Kingston in 1960 to replace E.L. Evans who had been elected Bishop of Barbados, and Benjamin Noel Young Vaughn was elected Bishop Suffragan of Mandeville in 1961.²¹ During that year Gibson was made a Commander of the British Empire in the Imperial New Year's Honours.

The Bishop's vision for Jamaica did not change with its political independence in 1962. At the Synod of 1963, he commented that the Church in an independent Jamaica was challenged to proclaim Christ as the guiding hand both in the Church and in national life. He stated that the Church had a message for both the rich and the poor, for the educated and the uneducated, for the self-righteous and for the sinner. It is a message concerned with a change of life and a change of heart.²²

Some nationalists have concluded that Gibson's episcopate was influenced by positivism and imperialism. This can be doubted because he understood and appreciated the significance of contextualizing for the image and mission of the Church. In 1964, its name was changed from the Church of England in Jamaica to The Church in Jamaica in the Province of the West Indies.²³

One significant and often overlooked dimension of Gibson's ministry was his ecumenical involvement. During the 1960s, he shifted his attention to the ecumenical nature and witness of the Church. He fostered a close relationship with the leaders of various denominations and with the spiritual leader of the Jewish community. At the 1966 Synod, he welcomed the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kingston, John McEleney, who had been the first Roman Catholic Bishop to attend an Anglican Synod in Jamaica. In that year, he attended the consecration of Samuel Carter, who had been the first Jamaican to become a Roman Catholic Bishop.

One of the major concerns of his episcopate was the mission of the Church. In 1966, he appointed 12 priests and 5 Church Army captains to organize and conduct a mission throughout the Diocese. It was another attempt by the Bishop to challenge and shape the moral and spiritual life of the nation.

21. Swaby was a Jamaican, son of an Anglican Priest and was trained in Jamaica; but Vaughn was a Welshman, who graduated from Oxford University, served on the staff of Codrington College, Barbados and St. David's College, Wales and was then serving as Dean of the Cathedral of Port of Spain, Trinidad.

22. Evans 76; *Synod Journal* (1963) 5; *The Jamaica Churchman* (1963) 1.

23. Since 1880, the Diocese of Jamaica had been a part of the independent Province of the West Indies.

4.3.3 Educational Endeavours

The whole professional life of Gibson was committed to the educational mission of the Church. In 1925, Cecil de Cartaret, Bishop of Jamaica, appointed Gibson the headmaster of Kingston College, and he led and guided the institution until 1956, when he was enthroned as the Bishop of Jamaica. He built up a competent staff and devoted his life and resources to the well being of the students. He worked tirelessly to create equal educational opportunities for all the students. He moulded their lives, nurtured their moral and spiritual growth, and inspired them to great feats in sports, and in the academics. He built Kingston College into one of the most outstanding high schools for boys in Jamaica, and created an academic community which has produced distinguished leaders in every aspect of the life of the nation.²⁴ During his episcopate (1956-1967), he continued to display deep commitment to education. He established several secondary schools, expanded others, and built new preparatory and kindergarten schools. In 1956, he established a Diocesan Schools Trust Limited with the responsibility for the properties of all diocesan schools.²⁵

He maintained a close relationship with, and involvement in the life of the Theological College. He interviewed candidates who had applied for admission to the College, and lectured, on a part time basis, at St. Peter's College. He participated in the discussions which resulted in the transition from denominational and co-operative ministerial training to ecumenical theological education. In 1961, at the synod of the Diocese of Jamaica, he and the synod approved the recommendations of the Theological Education Committee to relocate the denominational colleges on the premises adjoining the University of the West Indies. He stated:

We are members of a church which has a historic devotion to sound learning, the future on Mona campus, even apart from the Faculty question, is of outstanding importance. Furthermore, St. Peter's College is not a monastery, but a college. We need the fellowship of the non-Anglicans of Caenwood College; and all of us need together the challenge of, and association with, the non-theologians of the University of the West Indies.²⁶

In 1966, he participated in the meeting of the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies and lectured to the Anglican students who were in residence at the ecumenical institution.

4.4 Menzie E. W. Sawyers (1905-1980)

4.4.1 Biographical Sketch

Menzie Edward Williamson Sawyers was born in St. Ann s Bay on July 18, 1905. He was the second child of Reverend T.B. Sawyers and his wife, Catherine. After

24. Gentles (1993) 18; Evans (1975) 71.

25. Gentles (1993) 67; Evans (1975) 104.

26. *Synod Journal* (1962) 52.

receiving the best possible Elementary School education, Sawyers attended Titchfield High School from 1916 to 1923. At school he displayed the talents of impressive academic ability, prudent leadership and persuasive oratory. His Christian principles, sterling character and parental guidance enabled him to defy the bigotry and racism within the school community and the wider society. At the age of 19, he committed his life to the ministry and mission of the church and served faithfully for more than 50 years.

Sawyers retired in 1979 and died in 1980. Things have never been the same in the community since he left. Ivorall Davis' tribute to him is a fitting conclusion:

The greatest testimony of him (Sawyers) is that during most of the fifty years of his ministry he lived at Pouyatt Street, Jones Town, about two blocks or so from the Church. And people date the deterioration of Jones Town from the time he left the community.²⁷

4.4.2 Ecclesiastical Involvement

In 1924, Sawyers entered Calabar Theological College to prepare for the ministry. He pursued his studies with diligence and devotion. During his final year, he was appointed Senior Student. The President of the college, Ernest Price, invited him to serve as Student Pastor at Jones Town Baptist Church. He served so well, and endeared himself to the congregation and the community that after his graduation he was unanimously invited by the congregation to be their full time pastor. The sentiments of the congregation towards their student pastor was expressed in the following statement by Deacon George Lalor:

We agree to this, probably thinking of Mr. Sawyer s ministry (as Student Pastor) as a temporary arrangement. But as time went on, the blessing of God was so marked, and the love that sprang up between the young minister and the people, and the ready welcome he had from the community; that the first year has been the best in the church s history.²⁸

In 1929, Sawyers was ordained to the ministry and continued to serve in the pastorate of the Jones Town Baptist Church until his retirement in 1979. During that time, he also served as the pastor of the Tarrant, Constitution Hill and Canaan Mount Churches. Like Barclay and Gibson before him, Sawyers was a very eloquent cleric, widely read, deeply spiritual and unwaveringly committed to the advancement of particularly Afro-Jamaicans who were living on the periphery of the society. His commitment to the mission of the church and the upliftment of the poor and the down-trodden was indelibly influenced by his experience as the son of an Afro-Jamaican Baptist pastor and by the Christian values

27. Ivorall Davis, *A Brave Christian* (1980) n.p.

28. Hopeton Scott, *The Rev. M.E.W. Sawyers Anniversary Brochure* (1974) 7-9; Horace Russell, *A Question of Indigenous Mission* (1974) 86-93.

which he imbibed during those formative years in the manse. Consequently, he utilized his presence and service in Jones Town to galvanize the residents of the community, to help them to improve their lot in life and to point them to Christ. In 1933, he was elected the President of the Christian Endeavour Union of Jamaica. His vision, ability and dedication to the mission of the Church went a far way in bringing out the potential of the residents of the community. Ivorall Davis gives the following report about some of the other achievements of Sawyers:

Reaching out further and serving God's flock, the Rev. Mr. Sawyers held the following positions: Chairman of the Jamaica Baptist Union in 1948 and again in 1965; Manager of Calabar Theological College and High School; member and later Secretary of the Kingston School Board; Chairman of the Mico Teachers College; Manager of the Jones Town Primary, Chetolah Park Primary, Greenwich Town Junior and Primary, and Trench Town Primary Schools. In 1948 the Rev. Mr. Sawyers on the invitation of the Baptist Missionary Society of London, delivered the annual sermon of the society at a service held in Westminster Chapel. He became the first negro to preach from that pulpit and the first minister from an overseas country to deliver the Society's annual sermon. He represented Jamaica and the West Indian Baptist at the World Youth Movement Conference in Japan in 1958, following which he was asked by that organization to undertake the responsibility of preparing the Churches in Trinidad for an assembly of the World Youth Movement Conference to be held in Jamaica in 1962.²⁹

Although the report of Davis has provided us with a bird's eye-view of the overseas ministry of this stalwart of the Jamaica Baptist Union, yet it has omitted some significant events. In 1948, for instance, Sawyers represented Jamaica at an international Boys Brigade Council meeting in Belfast, Ireland. In 1954, he was again invited to England to assist in the integration of West Indian immigrants into the Baptist Churches in England. He used this opportunity to preach in several of the leading churches there. His final overseas official trip was as a delegate to the World Conference on Migration which was held in Leysen, Switzerland in 1961. Under the distinguished leadership of Sawyers, Jones Town Baptist Church became the rally point of the community during the 1960s. The development of the community was integrally linked to the mission of the Church. Its effective source of Christian witness, its social outreach programmes and its educational activities were recognized by everyone. In 1961, Sir Kenneth Blackbourne, Governor of Jamaica, commented:

A Church should always be the centre of the life of the people of its community, and Christ Church, Jones Town has filled this role with distinction for the past fifty years.³⁰

His service to the Church was not confined to Jones Town Baptist Church. He was Chairman of the Jamaica Baptist Union on two occasions, and served on its executive

29. Ivorall Davis, *M.E.W. Sawyers Fifty Faithful Years Brochure* (1929-1979) 8.

30. *Golden Jubilee of Christ Church, Jones Town* (1961) n.p. Although the official name of the church was Christ Church, it was generally referred to as Jones Town Baptist Church. It would appear that for most persons the Church was synonymous with the community between 1929 and 1979.

committee for several years.³¹ He was a founding member of Boys' Town. On the request of Hugh Sherlock, he rented the Methodists the church hall for the use of what became known as the Kingston Boys' Club. The name later was changed to Boys' Town and the project was re-located at Trench Town, Western Kingston.

He associated with the other church leaders and assisted in the establishment of the Jamaica Council of Churches in 1941, and served as its President from 1957 to 1959, and again from 1966 to 1967.³² His ecumenical involvement was also seen in his leadership of several movements: the Jamaica Christian Endeavour Movement of which he was President on many occasions; the Student Christian Movement of which he was also President; and the Kingston Men's Fraternal which he guided for several years.

When one looks behind the religious veneer of this indigenous leader, one of the things which immediately becomes apparent is that the type of community that Jones Town became between 1929 and 1979 was primarily shaped by the ministry of Sawyers and the mission of Jones Town Baptist Church. His dynamic ministry and the effective and relevant mission of the Jones Town Baptist Church produced outstanding leaders for both the Church and the State. Among these leaders were the Reverend Dennis Milwood, who became a President of the Jamaica Baptist Union, Allan Byfield who entered the field of politics, and Professor Leslie Robinson who works at the University of the West Indies.

4.4.3 Educational Endeavours

Education constituted an area where Sawyers made a significant contribution. He passionately felt that if the residents of the Jones Town community were to advance they must embrace all educational opportunities. In 1930, he co-founded the School Children's Lunch Fund in order to provide subsidized or free lunches for the students who attended the schools in the inner-city of Kingston. He served as its secretary for several years, during which time he contended that Christian values and positive attitudes should be integral aspects of the educational process which is facilitated by the mission of the Church.³³

Between 1948 and 1965, he served as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Education, Secretary of the Kingston School Board, Chairman of Mico Teachers' College, Manager of Jones Town Primary, Chetolah Park Primary, Greenwich Town Junior and Primary, Trench Town Primary and Calabar High School.³⁴

From 1957 to 1959, Sawyers was President of the Jamaica Council of Churches and led the Council in its consultations with the University of the West Indies with regard to the establishment of a Faculty of Theology on the Mona campus of the university. He also served as manager of Calabar College, being a member of its Theological Education Committee from 1957 to 1966. He also participated in the discussions and activities

31. Minutes of the Executive Meeting of the Jamaica Baptist Union (1964) n.p.; Russell, *A Question of Indigenous Mission* (1974) 96.

32. Edmund Davis, *Men of Vision* (1982) 21-23.

33. Davis, *Sawyers* (1929-1979) 10.

34. *Golden Jubilee of Christ's Church* (1961) n.p.

which resulted in the merger of Protestant colleges into the United Theological College of the West Indies. In 1966, the year when the united college was established as the ecumenical institution of the region, he was again President of the Jamaica Council of Churches. During that year, he served on the Board of Governors of the college and helped to shape its vision and direction.

4.5 HUGH B. SHERLOCK (1905-)

4.5.1 Biographical Sketch

Hugh Braham Sherlock, like Sawyers, was the son of a pastor and grew up in a manse. He was born in 1905, the third child of a Methodist minister, the Reverend Terence Sherlock and his wife, Thelma.³⁵

Sherlock began his early education at the Grateful Hill Elementary School in St. Catherine at the age of seven years. When his father was transferred to the Spanish Town Methodist Church in 1912, he attended the Beckford and Smith School for three years before going on to Calabar High School in 1915. Sherlock was regarded as the Jehu of the family. As the Minister of Transport he was responsible for getting the family to church in good time. This meant two trips in a buggy which was drawn by two of the fastest trotters in Spanish Town. His father always went in the first trip in order to have a word with the stewards and the organist of the church. In 1920, he was confirmed in the Methodist church in Spanish Town and received his first communion there.

He graduated from Calabar High School in 1921 and worked with the Jamaica Civil Service until 1927. In that year, he received a call to the ministry and entered Caenwood Theological College. He pursued his studies with much devotion and was regarded as a young man with outstanding academic potential.

Although there was an urgent need for more indigenous leaders with an open theological and cultural perspective in the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church, Sherlock was assigned to serve as a probation minister³⁶ of a circuit in the Turks and Caicos Islands from 1932 to 1937. It should be borne in mind that the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church had insisted from the mid-nineteenth century on exclusively European leadership of the Church in Jamaica and had allied itself to the Euro-creoles and their social aspirations. This had resulted in the loss of many of its members who were nationalists as well as several socially ambitious Afro-Jamaicans who resented the Euro-hegemonic control of the Church and the factionalism and furor within its ranks.

Whether intended or not, Sherlock's overseas assignment led to the recognition of his outstanding administrative ability and his compassionate and profound concern for people, particularly for the youth. When his tour of duties overseas had ended, he

35. He is the only one of these four indigenous leaders who is alive in 1997.

36. At that time each graduate of the Methodist Theological College had to serve a probationary period of five years before he was ordained into the full ministry of the Church.

returned to Jamaica and was ordained in the full ministry of the Methodist Church in 1937. The young, energetic and brilliant young man was then seconded as the Founder and Director of Boys' Town, which was an outreach programme of the Young Men's Christian Association. He pioneered and served Boys' Town with such zeal and competence that in 1942 he was awarded a fellowship by the Montreal Y.M.C.A. to study social work in Canada and the United States of America. He returned to Jamaica towards the end of 1942 and continued his service at Boys' Town until 1956. It was during his leadership of Boys' Town that his management skills and application to duty emerged. He spearheaded the institution in becoming a nationally recognized model of social development in marginalized communities.

It is not surprising that he was awarded in 1949 the Turks Island Medal for his outstanding contribution to education, sports and social work among young people and with the library service. He had proven himself a colossus not only in the field of social work, but also in the arena of administration. Consequently, in 1954 he was awarded a United Nations Fellowship; in 1955 he was made an officer of the most Excellent Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.) and was presented with the key of the city of Kingston. During that year, he was appointed the Chairman of the Jamaica Youth Corps. He was the first Jamaican to serve in that capacity which he held for ten years.

This stalwart of the Methodist Church in Jamaica will long be remembered as the person who wrote the words of the Jamaica National Anthem: Jamaica, Land We Love. That was the anthem sung on August 6, 1962 when Jamaica celebrated its political independence after more than three centuries of colonial rule. His outstanding service to the nation was recognised in 1966, when he was awarded the Order of Jamaica.

4.5.2 Ecclesiastical Involvement

Sherlock was appointed and served as the pastor of the Ocho Rios circuit from 1937 and 1940. During that time-frame he served the circuit and the community with devotion and distinction. In 1956, the Reverend Doctor Hugh Braham Sherlock was elected as Chairman of the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church.³⁷ At that time, the District included Haiti, Panama and Costa Rico. As the first Jamaican to be elected Chairman of the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church, he deeply felt that the lay people of the Church had been in the deep freeze for too long, and so he insisted that they should be involved in greater and more active participation in the witness and mission of the Church. He worked relentlessly to create and maintain a warm fellowship among the believers of the various congregations, and to integrate and strengthen the Church in addressing the class structure, the social consciousness and the cultural diversity of the day. Operation Friendship was established as one of his initiatives in Western Kingston. It was intended to extend the mission of the Church at Boys' Town to another area of the

37. *Bicentenary Souvenir, The Methodist Church in the West Indies* (1960) n.p.; Claude Cadogan, *Jamaica Methodist 200 Brochure* (1990) 5; Cyril Davey, *Two Hundred Years of Methodism* (1960) 7.

inner-city of Kingston where the poor and needy resided. He was so dedicated to his brothers and sisters who were existing on the periphery of society, that his social peers felt he had abandoned them for those who had been marginalized and dispossessed. But he had realized that the future of Afro-Jamaicans had been inextricably linked with their social advancement and economic independence. Sherlock maintained that the ministry and mission of the church should reach out to youth through various sporting activities. As a result, he captained Calabar High School cricket team, played cricket for the County of Cornwall, and won St. Catherine's Singles Tennis Championship Cup on several occasions. At the 1964 Provincial Synod of the Methodist Conference of the Caribbean and the Americas, which was held in Guyana, Sherlock was elected President-designate of the Conference.³⁸ He was the first Jamaican to be elected as President of the Conference. When he began his term of office, he worked assiduously for the autonomy of the Caribbean Conference which had developed as a mission of the British Conference of the Methodist Churches. He also laboured diligently to facilitate the integration of the Caribbean Conference into a dynamic and relevant mission of the region.

Between 1965 and 1966, he served as a Vice President of the World Methodist Council and as President of the Jamaica Council of Churches.³⁹

4.5.3 Educational Endeavours

It was during Sherlock's leadership of Boys' Town (1940-1956) that his commitment to the educational mission of the Church was recognized. While he served as the founder and director of Boys' Town, he initiated educational opportunities and skills training, sporting activities and competitions, career counselling and spiritual guidance as essential aspects of the development of the Trench Town community.⁴⁰ He utilized his administrative skills, his social worker knowledge, and his Christian sensitivity to enable the residents to work for the transformation and reconciliation of their community. With the passage of time, Boys' Town became an educational model of urban development and integration.

Between 1956 and 1966, he served as Chairman of the Board of Management of Morant Bay High School, York Castle High School, Excelsior College.⁴¹

In 1956, Sherlock who was Chairman of the Jamaica District of Methodist churches served on the Ministerial Training Committee of Union Theological Seminary. From 1965 to 1966, while he was President of the Jamaica Council of Churches, he participated in the joint meeting of the Council, the University of the West Indies and the Theological Education Consultation in 1965, which finalised and approved the constitution and plans for the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies, on lands adjacent to the University of the West Indies. From 1965 to 1966, while he simultaneously served as President of the Provincial Synod of the Methodist

38. Cadogan 7; Claude Cousins, *The Jamaica Methodist District* (1966) 59; *Minutes of the Methodist Provincial Synod* (1966) n.p.

39. Davis, *Men of Vision* (1982) 22.

40. Cousins, *The Jamaica Methodist* (1966) 43.

41. *Minutes of the Methodist Provincial Synod* (1966) n.p.

PART II

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN JAMAICA

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION (1841-1966)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Between 1494 and 1841, the ministry and mission of the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches depended on missionaries from Europe and North America. In 1655, the British conquered Jamaica, drove out the Spanish colonists and the Roman Catholic Church, and established the Church of England as the State Church. By 1789, other Protestant churches, such as the Presbyterian, the Baptist and the Methodist were actively engaged in mission in Jamaica.

With the abolition of slavery in 1838, the mission of the Protestant churches in Jamaica expanded, particularly, among the newly freed Afro-Jamaican population. This required additional pastoral care, but it had become increasingly difficult for the churches in Jamaica to recruit an adequate supply of clergy from abroad. At the same time, more and more European missionaries were responding to the challenge of missionary work in Africa and Asia. Consequently, the Colonial Missionary Society gradually reduced the number of British missionaries to Jamaica. By 1840, a few Jamaicans were accepted as assistants to the missionaries. The Presbyterian elders and lay preachers in particular made a significant contribution to the mission of the church in Jamaica. This did not adequately resolve the problem of the shortage of clergy, because the assistants were laymen who were available on a part-time basis to conduct worship services on Sundays and to assist as Sunday school teachers. By 1841, efforts were made by a Scottish missionary, William Jameson (1807-1847) to initiate and develop ministerial training in Jamaica.

The post-emancipation period of the nineteenth century was characterised by an increasing feeling of independence among the churches. They had become aware that the creation of a native ministry was the first step towards the establishment of an indigenous church. This feeling was stated clearly in the following excerpt from the *Church Missionary Intelligence News*:

It appears an obvious truth that no church can aspire to be called the church of a country, in the fullest sense, until it has begun to furnish from itself a large portion of the material of its own ministry.¹

By 1896, many Jamaican churchmen held to the view that any church which received pastors and teachers from foreign sources bore the characteristics of an exoteric. Such a church could not obtain a complete hold on the sympathies and confidence of the people until it had made the transition beyond that stage. Others were convinced that the welfare and very existence of the church in the future Jamaica depended upon the efforts that

1 *The Church Missionary Intelligence News* (August 1896), n.p.

might be made to train indigenous pastors for leadership within the church.

The attempts by the British missionaries (1841-1966) to initiate and develop denominational ministerial training in Jamaica were, at different times, met with failures, delays, frustration and inadequate financial support by the local church. However, during the pioneering years the missionaries were resolute and resilient in their efforts. They sought and received financial assistance for their theological training initiatives from overseas missionary societies. At the same time, they obtained the support and commitment of their respective denominations in Jamaica.

It should be remembered that the Presbyterian institution began as an extension of European models. Consequently, metropolitan interests, values, perspectives and culture were transmitted. They were the underpinning factors and forces of the derivative theological education model which emerged within the denominational college. The tragedy was that these factors hindered the process of decolonisation in the development and impact of theological education on the church and the wider society. The denominational emphasis on ministerial training contributed to an disintegrated society and a maintenance church lacking in vision, dynamism and contextual identity. The increasing racial consciousness of a pluralistic society, the financial strain on denominational ministerial training initiatives, the lack of educational opportunities for most of the colonised peoples and the inadequate commitment of the Afro-Jamaican elites to local theological education institutions resulted in an inadequate support for the colleges. Furthermore, the over-dependency on aid from foreign missionary societies, the manipulation and determination of some European missionaries to fashion and control the ministry and mission of the church and the failure to adopt the derivative model of the theological education to the needs of the society and the Presbyterian church contributed to the inability of the college to develop an indigenous ministry between 1841 and 1936. Even the change from Theological Hall (1841-1876) to Academy (1876-1936) did not bring serious advance.

In 1937, the Theological Academy of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica was relocated in Kingston. In 1938, the Academy became a full partner in a co-operative venture. Its participation was welcomed by Calabar and Caenwood Colleges.

It is instructive to note that at the academic and administrative levels there was no written bond setting out the terms of the relationship of the participating colleges. However, the gentleman's agreement which prevailed facilitated an uninterrupted co-operative ministerial training programme for several decades. It contributed to a deep understanding and appreciation of each other's peculiar emphases and traditional heritage. The fact that these denominational colleges were able to pray and work together and to lay the foundation for ecumenical theological education in Jamaica was, indeed, a significant achievement.

In 1954, the Presbyterian college, named St. Colme's Hostel, and the Methodist institution, named Caenwood College, merged into what was designated the Union Theological Seminary.² This resulted in a structural unity and a deeper ecumenical

2. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report*, Jamaica District Synod (1956-59) n.p.; *Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Theological Education Annual Report* (1955)

relationship among the Protestant churches, preparing the final step in 1966.

In 1966, Union Theological Seminary (Presbyterian and Methodists), Calabar College and St. Peter's College united and formed the United Theological College of the West Indies.³

5.2 HISTORY OF THE LOCATION

The Presbyterian missionaries from Scotland were the first to begin ministerial training in Jamaica. J. W. Kilpatrick state:

The Presbyterian church in Jamaica, probably because of its Scottish traditions and ties, was the first society to demand a native ministry. They were convinced that ministerial influence and efficiency were hindered where an educated ministry was lacking. They, therefore, sought not only an indigenous ministry, but also an educated one.⁴

In 1841, the owner of a mission house near Goshen, St. Mary, offered the building to William Jameson for the use of ministerial training. In that year George Millar was sent from Scotland and started a Theological Hall at Bonham Springs in St. Mary.⁵

The Presbyterian Theological Hall was removed in 1844 to Montego Bay in St. James. Alexander Renton, the tutor, thought that Montego Bay would be a more suitable location. However, in 1858 when he was transferred to the Mount Olivet's Charge in Manchester.⁶ It remained there until 1876.

The year 1876 seemed to have been a particular difficult period for the Protestant churches in Jamaica, because the Presbyterian Academy at Ebenezer had to be closed. However, later that year the Academy was relocated at Montego Bay in St. James. It remained there until the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica bought premises at Duke Street in Kingston where its theological institution was located from 1877 to 1888.

When Alexander Robb resigned as tutor of the Presbyterian Academy in 1888, the responsibility for theological education was assigned to both George Alexander at Ebenezer in Manchester, and Robert Johnson at New Broughton. This arrangement proved so beneficial to the students that it was continued at two locations: at Ebenezer until 1895 and at New Broughton until 1936.

In 1937, when James Wood was appointed the pastor of St. Paul's Church in Kingston he relocated the Academy in the city. He felt that it was an opportunity for the institution to participate in the co-operative scheme of the Baptists and the Methodists.

n.p.

3. *Handbook of General Information UTCWI* (1966-1991) 6; W. Collins, *The Church in Jamaica* (1990) n.p.

4. J. W. Kilpatrick, *Protestant Mission in Jamaica* (1966) 54; *Scottish Missionary Society Minute Book* (1841) n.p.

5. George Robson, *The Story of our West Indian Mission* (1949) 42; *Tutor's Report to Synod, Theological Hall* (1841) 10.

6. George McNeill, *Our Mission in the West Indies* (1911) 68; *Tutor's Report to Synod, Theological Hall* (1858) 16 n.p.; *Scottish Missionary Register* (1858) n.p.

Consequently, in 1937, he removed the Academy to Half-Way-Tree in Kingston, and changed its name to St. Colme's Hostel.⁷

In 1945, the building became inadequate to accommodate the staff and students of the Academy. The situation became so critical that two students had to be housed at the Methodist theological college in Kingston. In 1946, St. Colme's Hostel was established with more spacious accommodation at Lockett Avenue, adjacent to St. Paul's Church.⁸ It operated at that venue until 1951, when the increasing number of students again raised the need for the extension of the college.

In 1951, the Methodist Church offered the Presbyterian Church the use of its land which was available at Caenwood for the construction of a new college. In 1952, the new St. Colme's Hostel was established. It operated until 1954 as an annex of Caenwood College at Arnold Road in Kingston.⁹

In 1962, the Presbyterian, Baptist, Anglican and Methodist colleges were of the opinion that if a suitable site near to the University of the West Indies could be obtained, it would be desirable to relocate the colleges on such premises. It was strongly felt that this would reduce the inconveniences which were occasioned by the distance between the college, afford opportunities for closer fellowship, reduce certain expenditures which were bourne denominationally and allow for even a limited degree of participation in the life of the academic community. Consequently, in 1966 the Union Theological Seminary merged with the other Protestant colleges and established the United Theological College of the West Indies at Golding Road, St. Andrew, adjacent to the University of the West Indies.¹⁰

5.3 THE STAFF

Between 1841 and 1846 some young men read and studied for a week each year under the supervision of the Scottish missionary, William Jameson, who was in charge of the Presbyterian station at Goshen in St. Mary. The additional training of these teachers and catechists was provided by other Scottish missionaries in the various communities in which these young men lived and served. The Scottish Missionary Society realised the need for the establishment of a theological institution in Jamaica and sent George Millar from Scotland in 1841 to organise a Theological Hall at Bonham Springs in St. Mary. He pioneered and served the institution for twenty-four years.¹¹

The first official provision and appointment of a tutor of the Presbyterian Theological Institution in Jamaica was that of Alexander Renton. This Scottish missionary was a biblical scholar and was well versed in the biblical languages, as well as an expert in financial management and agriculture. He was sent out by the Scottish Missionary Society to establish a native ministry. He arrived in Jamaica in 1851 and settled in Montego Bay, St. James. He taught the senior classes at the Theological Hall in

7. *Theological Education Committee Report to Synod St. Colme's Hostel* (1938) 47.

8. *Resident Tutor's Report to Synod, St. Colme's Hostel* (1947) 15.

9. *Resident Tutor's Report to Synod* (1954) 21.

10. *Handbook* (1996-1999) 4.

11. McNeill (1911) 68, Robson (1949) 67; *Tutor's Report to Synod Theological Hall* (1842) 15.

Montego Bay while serving as the pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Hampden, St. James. In 1858, he undertook the pastoral charge of the Mount Olivet Church and the Theological Academy was removed to that station. Owing to failing health Renton relinquished the mission in 1862, returned to Scotland and died at Kelso in 1863, at the comparatively early age of forty-three.¹²

The death of Alexander Renton in 1863 interrupted the regular administration of the Presbyterian Academy. This happened in spite of the efforts of the two Scottish missionaries, Warrant Carlisle and Adam Thompson, who taught a few students until the appointment of Alexander Robb as tutor of the academy in 1877. After a brilliant career at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, Robb had served as a missionary at Goshen in Jamaica (1864) but after four years had been transferred to Calabar, West Africa and entrusted with the responsibility of the training of African missionaries. He will long be remembered in West Africa for an admirable translation of the Old Testament into the Efik language. In 1877, he returned to Jamaica and resumed his position at the academy with more zeal and commitment. He obtained scholarships to assist the students and engaged them in mission in Denham Town, one of the most depressed areas of Kingston. As result, St. John's Presbyterian Church was founded in Denham Town. In 1888, he resigned and joined his family in Australia.¹³

After the resignation of the Alexander Robb in 1888, the Scottish Missionary Board revised the system of administration and training at the Theological Academy. It introduced new features which made the scheme less a burden on the resources of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. Two Scottish missionaries were appointed to act as tutors in 1889, while at the same time carrying on the duties of their pastoral work. The course of studies occupied a period of four years: the supervision of the first two was taken by George Alexander in Ebenezer, and the final two by Robert Johnson in New Broughton. When Alexander died in 1895, his successor at the Ebenezer Presbyterian Church was W. F. Martin who took over his tutorial duties but relinquished them on accepting the position of superintendent of the East Indian Mission. The entire responsibility of the students was assumed by Johnson at New Broughton, along with his charge for the New Broughton and Gove churches. Johnson developed the academy into an outstanding theological institution and served it for forty-five years.¹⁴

Between 1913 and 1936, Johnson was the tutor of the Presbyterian Theological Academy which was located at New Broughton in Manchester. Geographical problems prevented the Academy from participating in the co-operative ministerial training programme which was taking place in Kingston.

In 1937, James Wood was appointed by the Scottish Missionary Society as tutor of the Academy. He immediately removed it to Kingston and named it St. Colme's Hostel.

12. McNeill (1911) 69; Robson (1949) 71; Sibley-Francis (1965) 19; *Tutor's Report to Synod Theological Academy* (1862) 5.

13. Alexander Robb, *The Gospel to the Africans* (1867) 59; Robson (1944) 72; *Handbook of Jamaica*, The Presbyterian Church (1889) 354; McNeill (1911) 70; *Tutor's Report to Synod, Theological Academy* (1877-1890) n.p.

14. Francis Osbourne and Jeffrey Johnson, *Coastlands and Islands* (1976) 75; *Caenwood College Coming of Age Souvenir Booklet* (1949) 12.

In 1938, it became the third partner in the united training scheme, the two others being Calabar and Caenwood colleges. By 1938, the three colleges had a combined staff of 9 tutors. Each tutor lectured in one or two subjects only, and was able to research and teach his subject in depth. Wood served the Academy for seven years, during which period he was assisted by John Kilpatrick and W. Easton. In 1944, Wood retired and returned to Scotland.¹⁵

In 1944, R. C. Young succeeded James Wood as Tutor of St. Colme's Hostel. He was faithfully assisted by John Kilpatrick and W. Easton. He served the institution for four years, and then returned to Scotland.¹⁶

In 1948, John Perry was appointed Warden of the Presbyterian Hostel. He was born in Scotland and arrived in Jamaica in 1947. The following year he was appointed Pastor of the St. Paul's Church and Warden of the St. Colme's Hostel. During his administration the Hostel became an annex of Caenwood College. He served the institution until 1963, during which time he had the assistance of J. A. Crabb, W. Easton, H. B. McBean, E. S. Heanor and Mungo Garrick.¹⁷

Perry resigned in 1963 and left for Scotland. A few months later, the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland appointed Alexander Taylor to succeed him. Taylor had worked as pastor and tutor in Nigeria prior to his arrival in Jamaica. During that year, John Atkinson, a Scottish Presbyterian missionary, joined the staff of Union Theological Seminary.¹⁸

The period 1965 to 1966 was one of transition at the various Protestant colleges. At Union Theological Seminary, in 1965, James Farris resigned and returned to his homeland; but Atkinson continued to serve at the United Theological College of the West Indies which was established in 1966.

5.4 THE STUDENTS

Between 1841 and 1913, the theological institution of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica trained teachers, catechists and pastors. The teachers were prepared by the college to staff the schools which were established and administered by the church. Some teachers were licensed as catechists, while others carried out the functions of catechists in the communities in which they resided and taught. The catechists conducted worship services on Sundays, taught at Sunday schools and facilitated the administration of stations and the mission of the church where pastors were unavailable. Some students who graduated from the college and were, at first, licensed as catechists, were later ordained as pastors. Among the first batch of 8 Presbyterian students who studied under the supervision of William Jameson at Goshen, St. Mary, in 1841 were Hugh Goldie, William Anderson

15. *Handbook of Jamaica*, Presbyterian Church of Jamaica (1944) 27; George Robson, *The Story of our West Indian Mission* (1849) 71.

16. *Handbook of Jamaica* (1946) 32; *Resident Tutor's Report to Synod*, St. Colme's Hostel (1946) 13; John Kilpatrick, *Protestant Mission in Jamaica* (1754-1966) n.p.

17. *Resident Tutor's Report to Synod* St. Colme's Hostel (1954) 19.

18. *Tutor's Report to Synod* Union Theological Seminary (1963) 7; *Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church* (1966) n.p.

and James Elmslie. Goldie was licensed as a catechist in 1843 and ordained a pastor in 1846, while Anderson and Elmslie were licensed as catechists in 1843 and ordained as pastors in 1849. These three young men who were sent by the Scottish Missionary Society to Jamaica in 1841 became the first fruits of regular ministerial training of the church of Jamaica. Three of the other five students were licensed as catechists and the other two were certified as teachers.¹⁹

From 1843 to 1858, the Theological Academy of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica was faced with an inadequate supply of students. One of the factors which contributed to this situation was the high cost for the training of students. Although the denomination received financial assistance from overseas missionary societies, it had difficulty raising the additional funds to maintain the college. However, in 1858, when the Scottish missionary, Alexander Renton moved the Theological Academy to Mount Olivet, Manchester, twelve students continued their studies with him. It should be noted that seven of them were eventually ordained as pastors. These included George Stricker (1859) and James Robertson (1860) who were creole Jamaicans, and H. B. Newhall (1861), an American. The others were of Scottish descent.²⁰

The Presbyterian Church, unlike the Baptist Church, placed its emphasis on a high academic standard for admission to its college. Candidates seeking admission to the college were required to have obtained secondary or even tertiary education. At that time, only a few Jamaicans could afford the escalating cost of that standard of education. Furthermore, Shirley Gordon has pointed out that the poor secondary education available in Jamaica during this period and the inability of most Afro-Jamaicans to pay for tertiary education, coupled with the view that tertiary education should be provided abroad, excluded most of the candidates of African and Asian descent from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica.²¹

The Theological Academy of the Presbyterian Church was closed from 1875 to 1876, and again from 1888 to 1889 because there were no students in residence.²² However, between 1841 and 1913 a total of 127 pastors were trained, some of whom distinguished themselves in the ministry and the mission of the church. These included Samuel Edgerly and Ezekiel Jarrett who served in West Africa (1890); H. B. Newell in Grand Cayman (1893); James Dickson in Trinidad (1911); and Aemilius Barclay in Jamaica (1913).²³

From 1913 to 1937, St. Colme's Hostel was located at New Broughton in Manchester. During that period it trained 29 students for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. These students included 10 from Scotland, 4 from Grand Cayman, 3 from Barbados, 1 from Honduras and 12 from Jamaica. In 1931, Horace Cuthbert (Moravian) and M. L. Willis (Congregationalist) were among the students who were

19. *Tutor's Report to Synod*, Theological Academy (1849) 7; Church of Scotland, *Handbook of Foreign Fields* (1850) n.p.; *Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Synod Papers* (1843) n.p.

20. Robson (1949) 47; McNeill (1911) 67; *Handbook of Jamaica* (1858) 258; Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, *Centenary Brochure* (1924) 21.

21. Shirley Gordon, *A Century of Education in the West Indies* (1963) 223-271.

22. *Handbook of Jamaica* (1889) 352.

23. *Handbook of Jamaica* (1889) 352.

trained at the college, and in 1932, Lester Davy (Disciples of Christ) was in residence.²⁴

In 1937, St. Colme's Hostel was removed to Kingston and it joined Calabar College and Caenwood College as the third partner of the collaborative programme in ministerial education. From 1938 to 1954, the co-operation among the three colleges brought together 92 students for fellowship and ministerial preparation. These students included 29 Presbyterians. St. Colme's Hostel also trained 5 Moravians, 3 Congregationalists, and 2 Disciples of Christ. Among the students were 2 female students.

The following graduates left an indelible mark on the church and college: Ashley Smith (1953) who was President of the Jamaica Council of Churches (1969-1972) and President of the United Theological College of the West Indies (1985-1990); Selvin Hastings (1941) who served as President of the Jamaica Council of Churches (1960-1964), Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies (1966-1969) and Bishop of the Moravian Church in Jamaica (1962-1983); and Neville Neil (1944) who succeeded him as Bishop (1983-1993).

During this period there was an irregular supply of students to the college. In 1941, for example, there were 5 students at St. Colme's Hostel. In 1947, the number of students increased to 9. However, in 1954, it was reduced to 8 students. It should be borne in mind that some of these students were trained as deaconesses, catechists and schoolmasters.²⁵

Between 1913 and 1954, the 29 Presbyterian ministerial students at St. Colme's Hostel came from the following countries: 3 from Scotland, 4 from Barbados, 4 from the Leeward Islands, 3 from Trinidad and Tobago, 2 from Guyana, 2 from St. Lucia, 2 from Grand Cayman and 9 from Jamaica.²⁶

The period 1954 to 1966 was characterised by an ecumenical spirit among the Protestant colleges in Jamaica. This led, in 1954, to the confluence of Caenwood College (Methodist) and St. Colme's Hostel (Presbyterian) into Union Theological Seminary.²⁷

In 1955, the Presbyterians had 9 students in residence at Union Theological

24. *Theological Education Committee Report to Synod St. Colme's Hostel* (1937) 21. The Moravians had been in Jamaica since 1754. Between 1876 and 1889 they attempted to establish a theological seminary at Fairfield in Manchester, but its efforts were unsuccessful. From 1890, candidates for ministry in the Moravian Church in Jamaica were sent to the Moravian theological college in Antigua. From 1913 to 1939 a few Moravian students were trained at St. Peter's College, but after that period they were sent to the Presbyterian Hostel. By 1954 the Moravian Church had become a partner in the co-operative enterprise. The Congregationalists came to Jamaica in 1832. In 1855 they opened a theological seminary at Ridgemont in Manchester, but it was closed by 1859. After that period, men who wished to be trained for the ministry of the Congregational Church in Jamaica were tutored by individual British missionaries. Between 1913 and 1939, some candidates for ministry were trained at Calabar College. In 1939, the Congregational Church in Jamaica became involved in the co-operative training programme. The Disciples of Christ arrived in Jamaica in 1858. Prior to 1940, their candidates for ministry were trained in the United States of America. In 1940 the Church demonstrated its commitment to co-operative theological education by sending its first student to St. Colme's College.

25. *Synod Journal Presbyterian Church of Jamaica* (1952) 19.

26. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report to Synod* (1954) 14.

27. *Ministerial Training Committee Report to Union Theological Seminary* (1955) 20.

Seminary and in 1964 they had 8. In 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies commenced its operation on lands adjacent to the University of the West Indies, 5 Presbyterian students were admitted to the ecumenical institution. One of the significant features of this period was that the students were not recruited from Britain but from the various territories of the Caribbean.²⁸

Between 1954 and 1966, the Presbyterian college had produced some distinguished alumni who have given outstanding service to the college, the church and the society. These include Lewin Williams who has been served as Deputy President of the United Theological College of the West Indies since 1991, and Robert Foster who has been serving as Bishop of the Moravian Church in Jamaica since 1994. Since 1995, he has also served on the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

5.5 THE CURRICULUM

The curriculum during this period (1841-1966) was not static; it evolved during the years with the various revisions and extensions. The models which were used in Jamaica by the Presbyterian college were derived from Britain and reflected the culture and educational system of this metropolitan centre. In 1841, William Jameson, the Scottish Presbyterian missionary developed a curriculum at Goshen, St. Mary, based on the model used at the University of London, England.

During the pioneering years (1841-1877), the denominational college had only one person who was responsible for lecturing in the various subjects. His efforts were complemented by the students who assisted each other, and who did a great deal of reading for themselves. As a consequence of the limited staff, the content of each subject was not communicated to the students with adequate focus, empathy and depth. The information and instructions from the warden were often sketchy and fragmented. The students were left on their own to read text books which were eventually discussed with their tutor.

Another index of challenge was inadequate library facilities and the limited number of books which was available. Essential text books were often provided by the tutor from his private collection. Since students were seldom able to purchase all the books which were required for the various courses, they depended, to a large extent, on books which were borrowed. Gradually a collection of books was built up and systematically lodged by the denominational college in a building which was accessible to its students. However, inadequate staff and insufficient financial support were also obstacles to the efficiency and effectiveness of the denominational college during the embryonic stage of its development in Jamaica. There was no clear conceptualisation and articulation of the objectives being pursued, of the main issues to be confronted and the context in which

28. Union Theological Seminary *Theological Education Committee Report to Synod* (1955) 21; *List of students at UTCWI* (1966-1967) n.p.

social transformation should be effected. There was undoubtedly knowledge of the social issues, but it was not emphatically articulated. There was also a seeming reluctance to confront the students with the harsh realities of the society. The philosophical approach pursued by the tutors seemed to have been intricately linked with the dynamics behind colonialism and imperialism with its Euro-centric identity and culture.

Any evaluation of the method of teaching during this rudimentary stage of the development of ministerial education in Jamaica should also take into serious consideration the content and purpose of the curriculum. There is little doubt that a great deal of what was taught had little to offer to the church members who were in need of spiritual and practical guidance as well as personal affirmation and communal integration. Nor could it facilitate the students in becoming public intellectuals, since they were not trained to be agents of social transformation. The inherited curriculum did not develop in the students a critical awareness of the community, the church and the college. Furthermore, their ethno-cultural heritage was compounded by heterogeneity in ethnicity and inequity in class.

During the period 1877 to 1913, theological education in Jamaica moved beyond the preliminary stage and its curriculum was reformulated and expanded. By 1877, all candidates seeking admission to the Presbyterian Academy were required to pass an entrance examination in the following subjects: Old Testament and New Testament Studies, English Language, History, Arithmetic, Geography, Dictation, Composition and Elocution.

In 1893, the two-fold division of courses at the college was revised and extended. The curriculum was redesigned for a duration of three years, with each academic year extending over a period of nine months. In the first year the students were provided with a general education which included the following subjects: Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, English History, Geography, Writing, Map-drawing, English Language, English Literature, Biblical Instructions and Logic.²⁹

After the students had satisfied their tutors and had proved their church that they had an educational background comparable to British standard, they were allowed to begin their theological course offered by the college. The additional two-year course encompassed the following wide range of subjects:

Old Testament and New Testament exegesis of selected books of the Bible
 Hebrew grammar and reading of set books of the Old Testament
 Greek syntax and accidence as well as the reading of selected books of the New Testament
 Latin grammar and reading of selected books, such as Cicero, Virgil, Aenid and Caesar's de Bello Gallico
 Systematic Theology which included elements of Christian doctrine, the Being and Attributes of God: with emphasis on the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity and worship of Christ and the Holy Spirit
 Pastoral Theology of selected books

29. *Tutor's Report to Synod Theological Academy* (1913) 12.

Biblical Theology of selected books
 Old Testament Introduction
 New Testament Introduction
 English Bible: The study of selected books
 Textural Criticism of selected books
 Church History: From the Early Church to the Reformation period
 Psychology: The study of selected books.
 English Grammar
 English Literature
 Ethics
 Homiletics with special attention to the sources of arguments in sermons, the introduction, the general characteristics, and the conclusion of a sermon
 Logic
 Discussion and debate.³⁰

One of the purposes of the curriculum was to provide learned men who would offer faithful and competent service to the church and the wider society. However, in certain situations, it would appear that intellectual advancement, based on the transfer of learned culture, served to create distance between the clergy and the laity and to alienate the clergy from the struggles, needs and aspirations of the community.

On Sundays and during holidays the students worked in various churches under the supervision of the pastors. Sometimes they also assisted in vacant churches.

In 1954, the co-operative scheme had not resolved the issue of what components should constitute preparedness and certification for ministry. However, the curriculum was standardised and brought in line with the needs of the participating colleges. It was designed for a four-year course of training:

First Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Pastoral Theology
 Logic
 Elementary Theology
 Old Testament Introduction (History of Israel)
 New Testament Introduction (Gospels)
 Church History (Early Period)
 English Bible
 Homiletics
 Latin
 Philosophy

Second Year:

30. *Handbook of Jamaica*, Presbyterian Church of Jamaica (1877) 378; *Synod Papers of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica* (1909) 6.

English (Language and Literature)
 Elocution
 Practical Theology
 English Bible
 Old Testament Introduction (The Prophets)
 New Testament Introduction (Teaching of Jesus)
 New Testament Exegesis (Matthew and Romans)
 Ethics
 Church History (Reformation Period)
 Systematic Theology (Being of God, Doctrine of the Spirit)
 Hebrew (Grammar and Syntax)
 Church Building (especially for missionaries to Africa)
 Medicine (especially for missionaries to Africa)

Third Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Elocution
 Practical Theology
 Comparative Religion
 English Bible
 Old Testament Studies (Religious Ideas in the Old Testament)
 New Testament Studies (Teaching of St. Paul)
 New Testament Exegesis (Mark and Acts)
 Systematic Theology (Man, Sin and Grace)
 History of Missions
 Church Music

Fourth Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Elocution
 Practical Theology
 Psychology
 Old Testament Studies (Psalms and Wisdom Books)
 New Testament Studies (Epistles)
 English Bible
 Systematic Theology (Person of Christ)
 Church History (West Indian Church History)
 Religious Education
 Church Administration.³¹

There were very few changes in the curriculum which was used at the Protestant college

31. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report to Provincial Synod* (1955) 18.

in the years 1954 to 1965 from that which was pursued from 1913 to 1954. Although considerable revision was needed in order to meet the changing needs of the churches in the Caribbean and the Americas, too much effort was still being made to link the curriculum of the college in Jamaica with those of the seminaries in Britain, Canada and North America. Consequently, the model which was extended into the 1960's reflected the classics, liberal arts and western philosophical mode of thought. This, in the main, was unrelated to the environment of Jamaica and to the cultural experience of the wider Caribbean. At the same time, it contributed to the rigid stratification of the society, by excluding candidates from the mass of the people to be admitted to the college. It was difficult for the foreign missionaries, try as hard as some of them might, to get away from classical thought pattern and philosophical categories in which they were educated. It was obvious that as late as the 1960's the colonial mentality and orientation played a significant part in influencing and shaping ministerial training in Jamaica.³²

The curriculum used between 1954 and 1965, with varying modifications by the Presbyterian college, covered the following wide range of courses over a period of four academic years:

First year:

English Language and Literature
Biblical Introduction
Biblical Interpretation
Psychology
English Church History
Homiletics
Preliminary Ethics
Biblical Theology

Second year:

Biblical Studies
Church History
Systematic Theology
Christian Education
Homiletics
Greek
Psychology

Third year:

Hebrews
Biblical Studies

32. Herbert Read, *To Hell With Culture* (1963) n.p.; Reuben Alves, *Theological Education for Liberation* (1970) n.p.; Michael Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979) n.p.; Apple, *Education and Power* (1983) n.p.; Olive Banks, *The Sociology of Education* (1970) n.p.; John Brubacher, *Modern Philosophies of Education* (1969) n.p.

Practical Theology
 Homiletics
 Comparative Religion
 Christian Education
 Modern Church History
 Psychology of Religion
 Practical Theology

Fourth year:
 Biblical Studies
 Comparative Religion
 Homiletics
 Christian Ethics
 Philosophy of Religion
 Systematic Theology
 Greek.³³

It would appear that the aim of the British tutorial staff was to provide a curriculum in which Patrician values were firmly entrenched, so that Afro-Jamaican graduates of the colleges would not expect preferment to the upper echelons of the administration more readily than the policies of the foreign missionaries would allow. Instead they would demonstrate in humbler positions and rural communities the necessary qualities of integrity, adaptability, patience and administrative skills which would recommend their gradual promotion.

Paradoxically, this system of education had a powerful impact on the attitude of many Jamaicans and West Indians towards conservatism, liberalism and radicalism. In the 1960's, the contagious spirit of socialist thought had softened the capitalist structure by substantial measures of social welfare. The harsh and frustrating social, cultural, economic and political realities gave rise to the Black Power Movement and Liberation Theology. These social changes produced a completely new situation in which candidates for ministry should be trained if they were to be relevant and dynamic within a changed and changing situation. A reformulated curriculum was required which would allow the students of the college the freedom and confidence to face the existential concerns, the unintended ambiguities and the unpredictability of the world. What was needed were models of theological education which would exemplify the academic excellence essential for the dynamic mission of the church in the contemporary and contextual situation, as well as patterns of ministerial training which would help to widen the roles and provide alternatives to the prevailing traditional forms and approaches. The students needed to be conscientised as channels of God's forgiving love in a society plagued with an unfortunate history of colonialism, enslavement and other negative socio-cultural legacies. The curriculum did not reflect the distinctive and peculiar historical and cultural experience of the local environment. While it was necessary to maintain the timeless,

33. Union Theological Seminary, *The Seminarian* (1965) 2.

universal and unchanging nature of the Gospel, it was also essential to de-Europeanise the curriculum and relate it to its particular context.

It was only with the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies in 1966 that serious efforts were made to include practical disciplines and supervised field work in the curriculum. There was a deliberate intent to focus on and to facilitate the relationship between the college, the church and the society.

5.6 THE SPIRITUALITY

During the period 1841 to 1966, the spirituality of the Presbyterian theological institutions had traits of European, African and Asian religious experience which were derived from their Judeo-Christian heritage. Dale Bisnouth has pointed out that 'there is evidence to indicate that Europeans, Africans and Asians had encountered through various means, some of the Judeo-Christian religious orientation prior to arriving in Jamaica'.³⁴ However, Patrick Bryan has maintained that 'the British oriented religious experience was the dominant one. It was regarded as the official and only legitimate one, since it was connected with the notion of British "civilising mission"'.³⁵ As a consequence, candidates for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica were led to believe that non-British religio-culturo-spiritual experiences were not authentic nor acceptable to God.

Students entered the Presbyterian college with different levels of spirituality. Some brought with them an experiential spirituality which was preoccupied with their own sense of call to the ministry and their struggle to keep it alive. For these students spirituality referred almost exclusively to their individual and personal redemption from personal sin, and conversion, forgiveness and reconciliation referred to what happened to the individual. This privatised and individualised experience of spirituality did not reflect any consideration of the liberating theology of the Old Testament and the incarnation theology of the New Testament. They did not see that the Gospel was addressed to both individuals and their communities. God was involved in the experience of individuals, but he was also present in the collective struggles of human existence, whether religious, cultural or institutional. They did not realise that Christianity implies reconciliation of both the individual from the sin of self-centredness, and societies from the evil in the world. Consequently, the college maintained that spirituality should focus not only on the individual soul; but, moreso, on the coming of the Kingdom of God.

Other students started their ministerial training at the college with a conceptual spirituality, which was overlaid with traditional piety and was preserved and celebrated according to their denominational tradition. However, the spirituality of the students who were being prepared for ministry at the Presbyterian college was nurtured by the devotional life of the theological community. Every effort was made to guide and facilitate their spiritual empowerment in keeping with British requirements and standards.

34. Dale Bisnouth, *A History of the Religions of the Caribbean* (1989) 89.

35. Patrick Bryan, *The Jamaican People* (1991) 33-66; W. Wink, *Engaging The Powers* (1992) n.p.

In fact, the spiritual life of the college revolved around the discipline of the following devotional exercises:

1. Prayer. A discipline life of prayer was regarded by the British wardens or tutors as the totality of a life lived in union with the triune God. The prayer life of the students reflected the particular expressions of their relationship to God and their concern for all of God's creation. Students were encouraged and facilitated in developing a disciplined life of prayer by private prayers and corporate devotions. The private prayers were informed and formed by corporate devotions which in turn informed and formed the private prayers. This process resulted in a conscious relationship with God and a commitment to a life of prayer through the divine indwelling of the Spirit. 'In Him we live, and move and have our being' (Acts 17:28). This level of spirituality which was developed at the college sensitised and challenged the students to racial obedience and commitment to Christ, assisted them in interpreting their call to the ministry and expanded their vision of the mission of the church.
2. Worship. The spiritual life of the colleges was sustained by worship. This involved the coming together of the entire college community as a demonstration of its life and growth into the mystical body of Christ. The staff and students of the Presbyterian college attended morning and evening worship each day. The encounter of persons in corporate worship was crucial to the spiritual wellbeing of the community. Whether the liturgy was formal or informal, it reflected and reinforced the commitment of the community to God and to one another. It was at corporate worship that issues common to all members of the community were articulated and presented before God. These concerns were sometimes expressed in singing, reading, preaching and teaching as well as in the attitudes and manners inferred from all these acts of worship. They assisted in the maturation of the students into a deeper relationship with God and contributed to the moulding and maintenance of the community.³⁶
3. Holy Communion. The Lord's Supper was celebrated at least once per month at the Presbyterian college. The students were drawn into a deeper fellowship with God and with one another through this sacrament. Every time they prepared to partake of the body and blood of Christ they examined themselves, were reminded that they were united to Christ and that he dwelt in them. This sacrament strengthened their relationship with Christ and their fellowship with one another.
4. Bible Study and Reflection. These devotional exercises played a significant role in building up the spiritual life of the students. They contributed to their spirit of discernment, which was regarded as a gift to those persons who were led by the Spirit of God. The gift was not for private and individual use only. A distortion occurred when the Scripture was used by students to illumine only their individual spiritual experience. In this privatised and individualised approach the struggles, needs, and aspirations of the community were abandoned in favour of the private

36. Wolfhard Pannenberg, *Christian Spirituality* (1983) n.p.; Ashley Smith, *The Theologian Spirituality* (1984) n.p.; Bevis Byfield, *Christian Education and Spirituality* (1984) n.p.

realms of life.

The Presbyterian college attempted to prepare the students for life and ministry after their ordination by a gradual process of shifting their focus from pre-occupation with themselves to commitment to the church and responsibility for the community. The ideal was to achieve a synthesis of personal spirituality and communal responsibility. Every effort was made by the college authorities to deepen the spirituality of the students to perceive the church as a diaconal community. Yet in their life and ministry they did not always endeavour to hold together the creative balance between individual spirituality and communal responsibility. It would appear that the emphasis on communal responsibility had a certain vagueness about the specifics of solutions and even greater confusion in respect to the mechanics of implementation.

In 1966, when the Presbyterian theological institution became a part of the United Theological College of the West Indies the students were provided with a new understanding of the reconciling power of the triune God. This provided them, for instance, with the dynamism to become agents of reconciliation in the world. They shared in the spirituality of participation that rejected and opposed any attempt to abuse or destroy the ecology for human gains. Instead they cooperated with God in the protection and care of the environment and in the welfare and development of humanity.

5.7 THE RELATIONSHIPS

5.7.1 The Relationship with the Churches

From 1841 to 1913, theological education in Jamaica assumed a distinct denominational identity. The Presbyterian Academy developed as a theological institution of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. It was a British missionary who started the Presbyterian theological education at the church where he served as pastor and in the community where he lived. In the early years ministerial training depended on, and was controlled by the missionaries. Wherever he was appointed as a pastor, he took the theological institution with him. He taught the students, shaped the institution and laid the foundation of theological education in the country.

Once the denomination became associated with the initiative of the missionary, the church became responsible for the appointment and dismissal of staff, the admission of students, the duration of their study, their suitability for ordination and their placement within the denomination. Through its theological education committee, or its board of management, the church determined the policy and influenced the curriculum and general direction of the college.

During the nineteenth century, the sugar industry which provided stability for the economy of Jamaica received a series of setbacks. The abolition of slavery, the developments of free trade, the growth of the beet sugar industry, and the bounty system in Europe contributed to a serious economic crisis in Jamaica. The Presbyterian church was faced with devastating financial problems. As a result, the financial upkeep of the theological institution became a real challenge to the church. In 1841, the Scottish

Missionary Society contributed 550.00 to the Presbyterian Theological Academy at Bonham Springs, St. Mary. This grant was donated towards the salary of the staff and the assistance of students. The additional funding for the maintenance of the institution was provided by the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica.³⁷

By 1913, the Presbyterian college was closely associated and accountable to its denomination. However, because the denomination was unable to fully finance the operation of its institution, a special relationship developed with its British conferences and missionary societies. These overseas institutions contributed generously to the maintenance of the college. In some cases they appointed the wardens or tutors, paid their salaries and gave an annual amount to the support of the students. This relationship with the college, to a large extent, facilitated the hegemonic control of the British missionary over the development of theological education in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica during this period.

Between 1913 and 1954, the Presbyterian churches became more involved in the life of the college. In 1943, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica advised the Warden of St. Colme's Hostel, that requests for students to be engaged in summer work should go through the Presbytery to the Secretary of the College Committee, who would prepare recommendations to be dealt with in Synod under the report of the General Board. The Synod also recommended that probationers should pursue a course of prescribed reading for two years after which they be ordained. In 1943, the Synod decided to invite representatives of five denominations to form a committee to discuss the possibility of united theological training. An information sheet was prepared and sent to the various foreign missionary societies. In 1953, the Synod endorsed the steps which were taken towards the merger of St. Colme's Hostel and Caenwood College. In that year the Synod appointed a Ministerial Training Committee to review applications for admission to the college, to oversee the discipline of students, and to recommend the continuation or withdrawal of students from the college.

During this period (1913-1954), the candidates for ministry of other churches were also trained at St. Colme's Hostel. In 1931, the Moravians and the Congregationalists began their training there; and in 1932, the Disciples of Christ.³⁸ St. Colme's Hostel also trained other Moravian students between 1941 and 1954. The Scottish Missionary Society was responsible for the appointment and salary of the warden of the college.³⁹

In 1940, the synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica provided a grant of 1,250.00 towards the refurbishing of St. Colme's Hostel; and in 1950, the Scottish Missionary Society contributed 1,000.00 towards the construction of additional buildings at the college.

Between 1954 and 1966, students of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica were admitted to Union Theological Seminary and to the United Theological College of the

37. *The Freeman* (July 1890) n.p.; *The Missionary Herald* (November 1846) 360; *Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Theological Education Annual Reports* (1898-1913) n.p.; *The Century of the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica* (1924) n.p.

38. *Theological Academy's Report to Synod* (1931) n.p.

39. *Union Theological Seminary Dedication Souvenir Booklet* (1955) 10; Iris Hamid, *In Search of New Perspectives* (1973) n.p.

West Indies on the recommendation and by the sponsorship of the denomination.

5.7.2 The Relationship with other Colleges

The model of theological education which developed in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica between 1841 and 1966, was derived from various colleges in Britain, Canada and North America. In 1841, William Jameson mirrored his ministerial training initiatives at Goshen, St. Mary, on the model of theological education which was pursued at the faculty of Divinity of the University of London. In 1851, when Alexander Renton, another Scottish missionary was appointed the tutor of the Theological Academy, he continued the process by adopting the content and methodology of the college to the British system. Although geography prevented the integration of the Academy into the academic community of the University, the students in Jamaica were allowed to sit examinations externally for degrees and post-graduate diplomas. For instance, in 1898, Aemilius Barclay was successful in the Bachelor of Arts degree offered by the University of London.⁴⁰

In 1954, ecumenical theological education started in Jamaica, when St. Colme's Hostel (Presbyterian) and Caenwood College (Methodist) united into Union Theological Seminary. Calabar College did not share in this ecumenical initiative. In 1966, the United Theological College of the West Indies was established. It was affiliated with the University of the West Indies and functioned as the Department of Theology in the Faculty of Arts and General Studies.⁴¹

Between 1898 and 1966, the Presbyterian college prepared some of its students for the Diploma in Theology, the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Divinity degrees. Some of the Presbyterian students after successfully completing the intermediate examinations in Jamaica spent two years in residence at various institutions abroad, such as the University of London, England, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, and Union Theological Seminary, New York.

5.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter provides an empirical, systematic and critical study of the birth and growth of theological education in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica from 1841 to 1966. It deals with the model of ministerial training which was pursued by the denominational college.

During this period, the focus of responsibility and authority in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, was located primarily, in the British missionaries and the British Missionary Societies. The British missionaries initiated, shaped and controlled theological

40. *Theological Education Committee Report*, Theological Academy (1899) 12.

41. *Tutor's Report to Synod*, St. Colme's Hostel (1949) 11; J. H. Morrison, *Scottish Church Work Abroad* (1927) n.p.; *The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Theological Education Annual Report* (1898-1966) n.p.; *Synod Journal*, Presbyterian Church of Jamaica (1886-1966) n.p.; *United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman Ministry and Mission Annual Reports* (1965-1966) n.p.

education in Jamaica, and British Missionary Societies largely paid for it. Therefore, the model of ministerial education which was introduced in the country by the Presbyterian college was merely an uncritical transfer of the philosophy, content, methodology and structure of the metropolis. The missionaries were determined to establish in Jamaica a replica of the British system by copying its model without regard for its suitability to the needs of the country. Little effort was made to develop a model which was closely related to the life of the community, or which would become an instrument of social transformation.

Another striking feature of this period was the frequent moving from place to place of the Presbyterian college. No official reason has been given for these movements; but it would seem reasonable to assume that the college moved to the locations where the tutors reside, rather than the tutors to the sites of the students and colleges. This may partly explain how the missionaries perceived their responsibilities and exercised their authority in ensuring that the theological institution was under their control and accountable to them.

The evaluation and critique of the development of theological education in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica during this period should not be allowed to detract from the contribution of the British missionaries. Without invoking any moral perspective on socio-cultural, and religious phenomena, it should be remembered that their imperfection mirrored the fundamental weaknesses of the British system that domesticated the Gospel to colonialism and identified Christianity with British culture. Notwithstanding, the relentless effort of the missionaries during the pioneering years laid the foundation for the development of theological education in Jamaica. They helped to prepare Christian leaders who served the country as schoolmasters, catechists, lay-preachers, Sunday school teachers, social workers and pastors.

Another important indication was that, in 1913, the missionaries recognised some of the disadvantages of denominational ministerial training and took appropriate steps to correct, or at least, to reduce them, by initiating and participating in cooperative theological education. Whether intended or not, the co-operative venture had created a new vision which assisted in meeting some of the persistent challenges of denominational theological education. The new reality was that the Presbyterian college had come to realise that the things which had united the Protestant colleges in Jamaica were more significant than the things which had kept them apart over the years. This realisation contributed to the ecumenical initiatives of Union Theological Seminary in 1954 and the United Theological College of the West Indies in 1966.

Conference of the Caribbean and the Americas, he encouraged the various Districts within the Conference to send their candidates for ministerial training to the United Theological College of the West Indies.

4.6 CONCLUSION

In spite of their different backgrounds and stories, Barclay, Gibson, Sawyers and Sherlock contributed significantly to the redefinition and direction of the mission of the church in Jamaica. They inspired their fellow Jamaicans to use their intellect to chart new ways of thinking, communicating and appropriating Christian values and positive attitudes. By their dedication and sense of responsibility they gave strong advocacy and commitment to the capacity of Afro-Jamaicans to learn and to achieve.

Although they were not strangers to significant accomplishments, yet they were not pre-occupied with their own professional advancement and hierarchical status. Their ministry and witness were informed and guided by the ministry and mission of Christ. As a consequence, they became agents of social emancipation, human dignity, spiritual nurture and intellectual enlightenment. Their lives impacted on the lives of thousands of Jamaicans, and they left an indelible mark on the educational mission of the Church in the country.

Barclay was involved in educational endeavours in the rural community of western St. Mary; but the trio of Gibson, Sawyers, and Sherlock facilitated the educational mission of the church in the city of Kingston.

Barclay and Sherlock distinguished themselves as administrators and community leaders, Gibson as an outstanding educator and Bishop, and Sawyers as an ideal pastor and ecumenical leader. What was of paramount significance was the fact that these four indigenous leaders made a profound difference to the educational institutions and communities in which they served. Jamaica has produced many great sons and daughters, but these four denominational stalwarts will long be remembered for their outstanding contribution to the history of mission and to the advancement of education. They used their intellectual achievements to teach Jamaicans who were marginalised that education was the key to social mobility and communal integration. They destroyed the myths and images that Afro-Jamaicans did not have the potential to achieve excellence nor the capacity to assume responsibility for their own leadership.

During the period 1954 to 1966, these four indigenous leaders made outstanding contributions to the development of theological education in Jamaica. Their ministry extended over the various stages of denominational, co-operative and ecumenical ministerial training in the country. Unlike Barclay, Gibson, Sawyers and Sherlock participated in the discussions which led, in 1966, to the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies. The legacy of the four ecclesiastical icons to the history of mission and to the educational mission of the church in Jamaica is irreversible.

PART II

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN JAMAICA

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION (1841-1966)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Between 1494 and 1841, the ministry and mission of the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches depended on missionaries from Europe and North America. In 1655, the British conquered Jamaica, drove out the Spanish colonists and the Roman Catholic Church, and established the Church of England as the State Church. By 1789, other Protestant churches, such as the Presbyterian, the Baptist and the Methodist were actively engaged in mission in Jamaica.

With the abolition of slavery in 1838, the mission of the Protestant churches in Jamaica expanded, particularly, among the newly freed Afro-Jamaican population. This required additional pastoral care, but it had become increasingly difficult for the churches in Jamaica to recruit an adequate supply of clergy from abroad. At the same time, more and more European missionaries were responding to the challenge of missionary work in Africa and Asia. Consequently, the Colonial Missionary Society gradually reduced the number of British missionaries to Jamaica. By 1840, a few Jamaicans were accepted as assistants to the missionaries. The Presbyterian elders and lay preachers in particular made a significant contribution to the mission of the church in Jamaica. This did not adequately resolve the problem of the shortage of clergy, because the assistants were laymen who were available on a part-time basis to conduct worship services on Sundays and to assist as Sunday school teachers. By 1841, efforts were made by a Scottish missionary, William Jameson (1807-1847) to initiate and develop ministerial training in Jamaica.

The post-emancipation period of the nineteenth century was characterised by an increasing feeling of independence among the churches. They had become aware that the creation of a native ministry was the first step towards the establishment of an indigenous church. This feeling was stated clearly in the following excerpt from the *Church Missionary Intelligence News*:

It appears an obvious truth that no church can aspire to be called the church of a country, in the fullest sense, until it has begun to furnish from itself a large portion of the material of its own ministry.¹

By 1896, many Jamaican churchmen held to the view that any church which received pastors and teachers from foreign sources bore the characteristics of an exoteric. Such a church could not obtain a complete hold on the sympathies and confidence of the people until it had made the transition beyond that stage. Others were convinced that the welfare and very existence of the church in the future Jamaica depended upon the efforts that

1 *The Church Missionary Intelligence News* (August 1896), n.p.

might be made to train indigenous pastors for leadership within the church.

The attempts by the British missionaries (1841-1966) to initiate and develop denominational ministerial training in Jamaica were, at different times, met with failures, delays, frustration and inadequate financial support by the local church. However, during the pioneering years the missionaries were resolute and resilient in their efforts. They sought and received financial assistance for their theological training initiatives from overseas missionary societies. At the same time, they obtained the support and commitment of their respective denominations in Jamaica.

It should be remembered that the Presbyterian institution began as an extension of European models. Consequently, metropolitan interests, values, perspectives and culture were transmitted. They were the underpinning factors and forces of the derivative theological education model which emerged within the denominational college. The tragedy was that these factors hindered the process of decolonisation in the development and impact of theological education on the church and the wider society. The denominational emphasis on ministerial training contributed to an disintegrated society and a maintenance church lacking in vision, dynamism and contextual identity. The increasing racial consciousness of a pluralistic society, the financial strain on denominational ministerial training initiatives, the lack of educational opportunities for most of the colonised peoples and the inadequate commitment of the Afro-Jamaican elites to local theological education institutions resulted in an inadequate support for the colleges. Furthermore, the over-dependency on aid from foreign missionary societies, the manipulation and determination of some European missionaries to fashion and control the ministry and mission of the church and the failure to adopt the derivative model of the theological education to the needs of the society and the Presbyterian church contributed to the inability of the college to develop an indigenous ministry between 1841 and 1936. Even the change from Theological Hall (1841-1876) to Academy (1876-1936) did not bring serious advance.

In 1937, the Theological Academy of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica was relocated in Kingston. In 1938, the Academy became a full partner in a co-operative venture. Its participation was welcomed by Calabar and Caenwood Colleges.

It is instructive to note that at the academic and administrative levels there was no written bond setting out the terms of the relationship of the participating colleges. However, the gentleman's agreement which prevailed facilitated an uninterrupted co-operative ministerial training programme for several decades. It contributed to a deep understanding and appreciation of each other's peculiar emphases and traditional heritage. The fact that these denominational colleges were able to pray and work together and to lay the foundation for ecumenical theological education in Jamaica was, indeed, a significant achievement.

In 1954, the Presbyterian college, named St. Colme's Hostel, and the Methodist institution, named Caenwood College, merged into what was designated the Union Theological Seminary.² This resulted in a structural unity and a deeper ecumenical

2. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report*, Jamaica District Synod (1956-59) n.p.; *Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Theological Education Annual Report* (1955)

relationship among the Protestant churches, preparing the final step in 1966.

In 1966, Union Theological Seminary (Presbyterian and Methodists), Calabar College and St. Peter's College united and formed the United Theological College of the West Indies.³

5.2 HISTORY OF THE LOCATION

The Presbyterian missionaries from Scotland were the first to begin ministerial training in Jamaica. J. W. Kilpatrick state:

The Presbyterian church in Jamaica, probably because of its Scottish traditions and ties, was the first society to demand a native ministry. They were convinced that ministerial influence and efficiency were hindered where an educated ministry was lacking. They, therefore, sought not only an indigenous ministry, but also an educated one.⁴

In 1841, the owner of a mission house near Goshen, St. Mary, offered the building to William Jameson for the use of ministerial training. In that year George Millar was sent from Scotland and started a Theological Hall at Bonham Springs in St. Mary.⁵

The Presbyterian Theological Hall was removed in 1844 to Montego Bay in St. James. Alexander Renton, the tutor, thought that Montego Bay would be a more suitable location. However, in 1858 when he was transferred to the Mount Olivet's Charge in Manchester.⁶ It remained there until 1876.

The year 1876 seemed to have been a particular difficult period for the Protestant churches in Jamaica, because the Presbyterian Academy at Ebenezer had to be closed. However, later that year the Academy was relocated at Montego Bay in St. James. It remained there until the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica bought premises at Duke Street in Kingston where its theological institution was located from 1877 to 1888.

When Alexander Robb resigned as tutor of the Presbyterian Academy in 1888, the responsibility for theological education was assigned to both George Alexander at Ebenezer in Manchester, and Robert Johnson at New Broughton. This arrangement proved so beneficial to the students that it was continued at two locations: at Ebenezer until 1895 and at New Broughton until 1936.

In 1937, when James Wood was appointed the pastor of St. Paul's Church in Kingston he relocated the Academy in the city. He felt that it was an opportunity for the institution to participate in the co-operative scheme of the Baptists and the Methodists.

n.p.

3. *Handbook of General Information UTCWI* (1966-1991) 6; W. Collins, *The Church in Jamaica* (1990) n.p.

4. J. W. Kilpatrick, *Protestant Mission in Jamaica* (1966) 54; *Scottish Missionary Society Minute Book* (1841) n.p.

5. George Robson, *The Story of our West Indian Mission* (1949) 42; *Tutor's Report to Synod, Theological Hall* (1841) 10.

6. George McNeill, *Our Mission in the West Indies* (1911) 68; *Tutor's Report to Synod, Theological Hall* (1858) 16 n.p.; *Scottish Missionary Register* (1858) n.p.

Consequently, in 1937, he removed the Academy to Half-Way-Tree in Kingston, and changed its name to St. Colme's Hostel.⁷

In 1945, the building became inadequate to accommodate the staff and students of the Academy. The situation became so critical that two students had to be housed at the Methodist theological college in Kingston. In 1946, St. Colme's Hostel was established with more spacious accommodation at Lockett Avenue, adjacent to St. Paul's Church.⁸ It operated at that venue until 1951, when the increasing number of students again raised the need for the extension of the college.

In 1951, the Methodist Church offered the Presbyterian Church the use of its land which was available at Caenwood for the construction of a new college. In 1952, the new St. Colme's Hostel was established. It operated until 1954 as an annex of Caenwood College at Arnold Road in Kingston.⁹

In 1962, the Presbyterian, Baptist, Anglican and Methodist colleges were of the opinion that if a suitable site near to the University of the West Indies could be obtained, it would be desirable to relocate the colleges on such premises. It was strongly felt that this would reduce the inconveniences which were occasioned by the distance between the college, afford opportunities for closer fellowship, reduce certain expenditures which were bourne denominationally and allow for even a limited degree of participation in the life of the academic community. Consequently, in 1966 the Union Theological Seminary merged with the other Protestant colleges and established the United Theological College of the West Indies at Golding Road, St. Andrew, adjacent to the University of the West Indies.¹⁰

5.3 THE STAFF

Between 1841 and 1846 some young men read and studied for a week each year under the supervision of the Scottish missionary, William Jameson, who was in charge of the Presbyterian station at Goshen in St. Mary. The additional training of these teachers and catechists was provided by other Scottish missionaries in the various communities in which these young men lived and served. The Scottish Missionary Society realised the need for the establishment of a theological institution in Jamaica and sent George Millar from Scotland in 1841 to organise a Theological Hall at Bonham Springs in St. Mary. He pioneered and served the institution for twenty-four years.¹¹

The first official provision and appointment of a tutor of the Presbyterian Theological Institution in Jamaica was that of Alexander Renton. This Scottish missionary was a biblical scholar and was well versed in the biblical languages, as well as an expert in financial management and agriculture. He was sent out by the Scottish Missionary Society to establish a native ministry. He arrived in Jamaica in 1851 and settled in Montego Bay, St. James. He taught the senior classes at the Theological Hall in

7. *Theological Education Committee Report to Synod St. Colme's Hostel* (1938) 47.

8. *Resident Tutor's Report to Synod, St. Colme's Hostel* (1947) 15.

9. *Resident Tutor's Report to Synod* (1954) 21.

10. *Handbook* (1996-1999) 4.

11. McNeill (1911) 68, Robson (1949) 67; *Tutor's Report to Synod Theological Hall* (1842) 15.

Montego Bay while serving as the pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Hampden, St. James. In 1858, he undertook the pastoral charge of the Mount Olivet Church and the Theological Academy was removed to that station. Owing to failing health Renton relinquished the mission in 1862, returned to Scotland and died at Kelso in 1863, at the comparatively early age of forty-three.¹²

The death of Alexander Renton in 1863 interrupted the regular administration of the Presbyterian Academy. This happened in spite of the efforts of the two Scottish missionaries, Warrant Carlisle and Adam Thompson, who taught a few students until the appointment of Alexander Robb as tutor of the academy in 1877. After a brilliant career at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, Robb had served as a missionary at Goshen in Jamaica (1864) but after four years had been transferred to Calabar, West Africa and entrusted with the responsibility of the training of African missionaries. He will long be remembered in West Africa for an admirable translation of the Old Testament into the Efik language. In 1877, he returned to Jamaica and resumed his position at the academy with more zeal and commitment. He obtained scholarships to assist the students and engaged them in mission in Denham Town, one of the most depressed areas of Kingston. As result, St. John's Presbyterian Church was founded in Denham Town. In 1888, he resigned and joined his family in Australia.¹³

After the resignation of the Alexander Robb in 1888, the Scottish Missionary Board revised the system of administration and training at the Theological Academy. It introduced new features which made the scheme less a burden on the resources of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. Two Scottish missionaries were appointed to act as tutors in 1889, while at the same time carrying on the duties of their pastoral work. The course of studies occupied a period of four years: the supervision of the first two was taken by George Alexander in Ebenezer, and the final two by Robert Johnson in New Broughton. When Alexander died in 1895, his successor at the Ebenezer Presbyterian Church was W. F. Martin who took over his tutorial duties but relinquished them on accepting the position of superintendent of the East Indian Mission. The entire responsibility of the students was assumed by Johnson at New Broughton, along with his charge for the New Broughton and Gove churches. Johnson developed the academy into an outstanding theological institution and served it for forty-five years.¹⁴

Between 1913 and 1936, Johnson was the tutor of the Presbyterian Theological Academy which was located at New Broughton in Manchester. Geographical problems prevented the Academy from participating in the co-operative ministerial training programme which was taking place in Kingston.

In 1937, James Wood was appointed by the Scottish Missionary Society as tutor of the Academy. He immediately removed it to Kingston and named it St. Colme's Hostel.

12. McNeill (1911) 69; Robson (1949) 71; Sibley-Francis (1965) 19; *Tutor's Report to Synod Theological Academy* (1862) 5.

13. Alexander Robb, *The Gospel to the Africans* (1867) 59; Robson (1944) 72; *Handbook of Jamaica*, The Presbyterian Church (1889) 354; McNeill (1911) 70; *Tutor's Report to Synod, Theological Academy* (1877-1890) n.p.

14. Francis Osbourne and Jeffrey Johnson, *Coastlands and Islands* (1976) 75; *Caenwood College Coming of Age Souvenir Booklet* (1949) 12.

In 1938, it became the third partner in the united training scheme, the two others being Calabar and Caenwood colleges. By 1938, the three colleges had a combined staff of 9 tutors. Each tutor lectured in one or two subjects only, and was able to research and teach his subject in depth. Wood served the Academy for seven years, during which period he was assisted by John Kilpatrick and W. Easton. In 1944, Wood retired and returned to Scotland.¹⁵

In 1944, R. C. Young succeeded James Wood as Tutor of St. Colme's Hostel. He was faithfully assisted by John Kilpatrick and W. Easton. He served the institution for four years, and then returned to Scotland.¹⁶

In 1948, John Perry was appointed Warden of the Presbyterian Hostel. He was born in Scotland and arrived in Jamaica in 1947. The following year he was appointed Pastor of the St. Paul's Church and Warden of the St. Colme's Hostel. During his administration the Hostel became an annex of Caenwood College. He served the institution until 1963, during which time he had the assistance of J. A. Crabb, W. Easton, H. B. McBean, E. S. Heanor and Mungo Garrick.¹⁷

Perry resigned in 1963 and left for Scotland. A few months later, the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland appointed Alexander Taylor to succeed him. Taylor had worked as pastor and tutor in Nigeria prior to his arrival in Jamaica. During that year, John Atkinson, a Scottish Presbyterian missionary, joined the staff of Union Theological Seminary.¹⁸

The period 1965 to 1966 was one of transition at the various Protestant colleges. At Union Theological Seminary, in 1965, James Farris resigned and returned to his homeland; but Atkinson continued to serve at the United Theological College of the West Indies which was established in 1966.

5.4 THE STUDENTS

Between 1841 and 1913, the theological institution of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica trained teachers, catechists and pastors. The teachers were prepared by the college to staff the schools which were established and administered by the church. Some teachers were licensed as catechists, while others carried out the functions of catechists in the communities in which they resided and taught. The catechists conducted worship services on Sundays, taught at Sunday schools and facilitated the administration of stations and the mission of the church where pastors were unavailable. Some students who graduated from the college and were, at first, licensed as catechists, were later ordained as pastors. Among the first batch of 8 Presbyterian students who studied under the supervision of William Jameson at Goshen, St. Mary, in 1841 were Hugh Goldie, William Anderson

15. *Handbook of Jamaica*, Presbyterian Church of Jamaica (1944) 27; George Robson, *The Story of our West Indian Mission* (1849) 71.

16. *Handbook of Jamaica* (1946) 32; *Resident Tutor's Report to Synod*, St. Colme's Hostel (1946) 13; John Kilpatrick, *Protestant Mission in Jamaica* (1754-1966) n.p.

17. *Resident Tutor's Report to Synod* St. Colme's Hostel (1954) 19.

18. *Tutor's Report to Synod* Union Theological Seminary (1963) 7; *Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church* (1966) n.p.

and James Elmslie. Goldie was licensed as a catechist in 1843 and ordained a pastor in 1846, while Anderson and Elmslie were licensed as catechists in 1843 and ordained as pastors in 1849. These three young men who were sent by the Scottish Missionary Society to Jamaica in 1841 became the first fruits of regular ministerial training of the church of Jamaica. Three of the other five students were licensed as catechists and the other two were certified as teachers.¹⁹

From 1843 to 1858, the Theological Academy of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica was faced with an inadequate supply of students. One of the factors which contributed to this situation was the high cost for the training of students. Although the denomination received financial assistance from overseas missionary societies, it had difficulty raising the additional funds to maintain the college. However, in 1858, when the Scottish missionary, Alexander Renton moved the Theological Academy to Mount Olivet, Manchester, twelve students continued their studies with him. It should be noted that seven of them were eventually ordained as pastors. These included George Stricker (1859) and James Robertson (1860) who were creole Jamaicans, and H. B. Newhall (1861), an American. The others were of Scottish descent.²⁰

The Presbyterian Church, unlike the Baptist Church, placed its emphasis on a high academic standard for admission to its college. Candidates seeking admission to the college were required to have obtained secondary or even tertiary education. At that time, only a few Jamaicans could afford the escalating cost of that standard of education. Furthermore, Shirley Gordon has pointed out that the poor secondary education available in Jamaica during this period and the inability of most Afro-Jamaicans to pay for tertiary education, coupled with the view that tertiary education should be provided abroad, excluded most of the candidates of African and Asian descent from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica.²¹

The Theological Academy of the Presbyterian Church was closed from 1875 to 1876, and again from 1888 to 1889 because there were no students in residence.²² However, between 1841 and 1913 a total of 127 pastors were trained, some of whom distinguished themselves in the ministry and the mission of the church. These included Samuel Edgerly and Ezekiel Jarrett who served in West Africa (1890); H. B. Newell in Grand Cayman (1893); James Dickson in Trinidad (1911); and Aemilius Barclay in Jamaica (1913).²³

From 1913 to 1937, St. Colme's Hostel was located at New Broughton in Manchester. During that period it trained 29 students for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. These students included 10 from Scotland, 4 from Grand Cayman, 3 from Barbados, 1 from Honduras and 12 from Jamaica. In 1931, Horace Cuthbert (Moravian) and M. L. Willis (Congregationalist) were among the students who were

19. *Tutor's Report to Synod*, Theological Academy (1849) 7; Church of Scotland, *Handbook of Foreign Fields* (1850) n.p.; *Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Synod Papers* (1843) n.p.

20. Robson (1949) 47; McNeill (1911) 67; *Handbook of Jamaica* (1858) 258; Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, *Centenary Brochure* (1924) 21.

21. Shirley Gordon, *A Century of Education in the West Indies* (1963) 223-271.

22. *Handbook of Jamaica* (1889) 352.

23. *Handbook of Jamaica* (1889) 352.

trained at the college, and in 1932, Lester Davy (Disciples of Christ) was in residence.²⁴

In 1937, St. Colme's Hostel was removed to Kingston and it joined Calabar College and Caenwood College as the third partner of the collaborative programme in ministerial education. From 1938 to 1954, the co-operation among the three colleges brought together 92 students for fellowship and ministerial preparation. These students included 29 Presbyterians. St. Colme's Hostel also trained 5 Moravians, 3 Congregationalists, and 2 Disciples of Christ. Among the students were 2 female students.

The following graduates left an indelible mark on the church and college: Ashley Smith (1953) who was President of the Jamaica Council of Churches (1969-1972) and President of the United Theological College of the West Indies (1985-1990); Selvin Hastings (1941) who served as President of the Jamaica Council of Churches (1960-1964), Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies (1966-1969) and Bishop of the Moravian Church in Jamaica (1962-1983); and Neville Neil (1944) who succeeded him as Bishop (1983-1993).

During this period there was an irregular supply of students to the college. In 1941, for example, there were 5 students at St. Colme's Hostel. In 1947, the number of students increased to 9. However, in 1954, it was reduced to 8 students. It should be borne in mind that some of these students were trained as deaconesses, catechists and schoolmasters.²⁵

Between 1913 and 1954, the 29 Presbyterian ministerial students at St. Colme's Hostel came from the following countries: 3 from Scotland, 4 from Barbados, 4 from the Leeward Islands, 3 from Trinidad and Tobago, 2 from Guyana, 2 from St. Lucia, 2 from Grand Cayman and 9 from Jamaica.²⁶

The period 1954 to 1966 was characterised by an ecumenical spirit among the Protestant colleges in Jamaica. This led, in 1954, to the confluence of Caenwood College (Methodist) and St. Colme's Hostel (Presbyterian) into Union Theological Seminary.²⁷

In 1955, the Presbyterians had 9 students in residence at Union Theological

24. *Theological Education Committee Report to Synod St. Colme's Hostel* (1937) 21. The Moravians had been in Jamaica since 1754. Between 1876 and 1889 they attempted to establish a theological seminary at Fairfield in Manchester, but its efforts were unsuccessful. From 1890, candidates for ministry in the Moravian Church in Jamaica were sent to the Moravian theological college in Antigua. From 1913 to 1939 a few Moravian students were trained at St. Peter's College, but after that period they were sent to the Presbyterian Hostel. By 1954 the Moravian Church had become a partner in the co-operative enterprise. The Congregationalists came to Jamaica in 1832. In 1855 they opened a theological seminary at Ridgemont in Manchester, but it was closed by 1859. After that period, men who wished to be trained for the ministry of the Congregational Church in Jamaica were tutored by individual British missionaries. Between 1913 and 1939, some candidates for ministry were trained at Calabar College. In 1939, the Congregational Church in Jamaica became involved in the co-operative training programme. The Disciples of Christ arrived in Jamaica in 1858. Prior to 1940, their candidates for ministry were trained in the United States of America. In 1940 the Church demonstrated its commitment to co-operative theological education by sending its first student to St. Colme's College.

25. *Synod Journal Presbyterian Church of Jamaica* (1952) 19.

26. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report to Synod* (1954) 14.

27. *Ministerial Training Committee Report to Union Theological Seminary* (1955) 20.

Seminary and in 1964 they had 8. In 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies commenced its operation on lands adjacent to the University of the West Indies, 5 Presbyterian students were admitted to the ecumenical institution. One of the significant features of this period was that the students were not recruited from Britain but from the various territories of the Caribbean.²⁸

Between 1954 and 1966, the Presbyterian college had produced some distinguished alumni who have given outstanding service to the college, the church and the society. These include Lewin Williams who has been served as Deputy President of the United Theological College of the West Indies since 1991, and Robert Foster who has been serving as Bishop of the Moravian Church in Jamaica since 1994. Since 1995, he has also served on the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

5.5 THE CURRICULUM

The curriculum during this period (1841-1966) was not static; it evolved during the years with the various revisions and extensions. The models which were used in Jamaica by the Presbyterian college were derived from Britain and reflected the culture and educational system of this metropolitan centre. In 1841, William Jameson, the Scottish Presbyterian missionary developed a curriculum at Goshen, St. Mary, based on the model used at the University of London, England.

During the pioneering years (1841-1877), the denominational college had only one person who was responsible for lecturing in the various subjects. His efforts were complemented by the students who assisted each other, and who did a great deal of reading for themselves. As a consequence of the limited staff, the content of each subject was not communicated to the students with adequate focus, empathy and depth. The information and instructions from the warden were often sketchy and fragmented. The students were left on their own to read text books which were eventually discussed with their tutor.

Another index of challenge was inadequate library facilities and the limited number of books which was available. Essential text books were often provided by the tutor from his private collection. Since students were seldom able to purchase all the books which were required for the various courses, they depended, to a large extent, on books which were borrowed. Gradually a collection of books was built up and systematically lodged by the denominational college in a building which was accessible to its students. However, inadequate staff and insufficient financial support were also obstacles to the efficiency and effectiveness of the denominational college during the embryonic stage of its development in Jamaica. There was no clear conceptualisation and articulation of the objectives being pursued, of the main issues to be confronted and the context in which

28. Union Theological Seminary *Theological Education Committee Report to Synod* (1955) 21; *List of students at UTCWI* (1966-1967) n.p.

social transformation should be effected. There was undoubtedly knowledge of the social issues, but it was not emphatically articulated. There was also a seeming reluctance to confront the students with the harsh realities of the society. The philosophical approach pursued by the tutors seemed to have been intricately linked with the dynamics behind colonialism and imperialism with its Euro-centric identity and culture.

Any evaluation of the method of teaching during this rudimentary stage of the development of ministerial education in Jamaica should also take into serious consideration the content and purpose of the curriculum. There is little doubt that a great deal of what was taught had little to offer to the church members who were in need of spiritual and practical guidance as well as personal affirmation and communal integration. Nor could it facilitate the students in becoming public intellectuals, since they were not trained to be agents of social transformation. The inherited curriculum did not develop in the students a critical awareness of the community, the church and the college. Furthermore, their ethno-cultural heritage was compounded by heterogeneity in ethnicity and inequity in class.

During the period 1877 to 1913, theological education in Jamaica moved beyond the preliminary stage and its curriculum was reformulated and expanded. By 1877, all candidates seeking admission to the Presbyterian Academy were required to pass an entrance examination in the following subjects: Old Testament and New Testament Studies, English Language, History, Arithmetic, Geography, Dictation, Composition and Elocution.

In 1893, the two-fold division of courses at the college was revised and extended. The curriculum was redesigned for a duration of three years, with each academic year extending over a period of nine months. In the first year the students were provided with a general education which included the following subjects: Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, English History, Geography, Writing, Map-drawing, English Language, English Literature, Biblical Instructions and Logic.²⁹

After the students had satisfied their tutors and had proved their church that they had an educational background comparable to British standard, they were allowed to begin their theological course offered by the college. The additional two-year course encompassed the following wide range of subjects:

Old Testament and New Testament exegesis of selected books of the Bible
 Hebrew grammar and reading of set books of the Old Testament
 Greek syntax and accidence as well as the reading of selected books of the New Testament
 Latin grammar and reading of selected books, such as Cicero, Virgil, Aenid and Caesar's de Bello Gallico
 Systematic Theology which included elements of Christian doctrine, the Being and Attributes of God: with emphasis on the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity and worship of Christ and the Holy Spirit
 Pastoral Theology of selected books

29. *Tutor's Report to Synod Theological Academy* (1913) 12.

Biblical Theology of selected books
 Old Testament Introduction
 New Testament Introduction
 English Bible: The study of selected books
 Textural Criticism of selected books
 Church History: From the Early Church to the Reformation period
 Psychology: The study of selected books.
 English Grammar
 English Literature
 Ethics
 Homiletics with special attention to the sources of arguments in sermons, the introduction, the general characteristics, and the conclusion of a sermon
 Logic
 Discussion and debate.³⁰

One of the purposes of the curriculum was to provide learned men who would offer faithful and competent service to the church and the wider society. However, in certain situations, it would appear that intellectual advancement, based on the transfer of learned culture, served to create distance between the clergy and the laity and to alienate the clergy from the struggles, needs and aspirations of the community.

On Sundays and during holidays the students worked in various churches under the supervision of the pastors. Sometimes they also assisted in vacant churches.

In 1954, the co-operative scheme had not resolved the issue of what components should constitute preparedness and certification for ministry. However, the curriculum was standardised and brought in line with the needs of the participating colleges. It was designed for a four-year course of training:

First Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Pastoral Theology
 Logic
 Elementary Theology
 Old Testament Introduction (History of Israel)
 New Testament Introduction (Gospels)
 Church History (Early Period)
 English Bible
 Homiletics
 Latin
 Philosophy

Second Year:

30. *Handbook of Jamaica*, Presbyterian Church of Jamaica (1877) 378; *Synod Papers of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica* (1909) 6.

English (Language and Literature)
 Elocution
 Practical Theology
 English Bible
 Old Testament Introduction (The Prophets)
 New Testament Introduction (Teaching of Jesus)
 New Testament Exegesis (Matthew and Romans)
 Ethics
 Church History (Reformation Period)
 Systematic Theology (Being of God, Doctrine of the Spirit)
 Hebrew (Grammar and Syntax)
 Church Building (especially for missionaries to Africa)
 Medicine (especially for missionaries to Africa)

Third Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Elocution
 Practical Theology
 Comparative Religion
 English Bible
 Old Testament Studies (Religious Ideas in the Old Testament)
 New Testament Studies (Teaching of St. Paul)
 New Testament Exegesis (Mark and Acts)
 Systematic Theology (Man, Sin and Grace)
 History of Missions
 Church Music

Fourth Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Elocution
 Practical Theology
 Psychology
 Old Testament Studies (Psalms and Wisdom Books)
 New Testament Studies (Epistles)
 English Bible
 Systematic Theology (Person of Christ)
 Church History (West Indian Church History)
 Religious Education
 Church Administration.³¹

There were very few changes in the curriculum which was used at the Protestant college

31. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report to Provincial Synod* (1955) 18.

in the years 1954 to 1965 from that which was pursued from 1913 to 1954. Although considerable revision was needed in order to meet the changing needs of the churches in the Caribbean and the Americas, too much effort was still being made to link the curriculum of the college in Jamaica with those of the seminaries in Britain, Canada and North America. Consequently, the model which was extended into the 1960's reflected the classics, liberal arts and western philosophical mode of thought. This, in the main, was unrelated to the environment of Jamaica and to the cultural experience of the wider Caribbean. At the same time, it contributed to the rigid stratification of the society, by excluding candidates from the mass of the people to be admitted to the college. It was difficult for the foreign missionaries, try as hard as some of them might, to get away from classical thought pattern and philosophical categories in which they were educated. It was obvious that as late as the 1960's the colonial mentality and orientation played a significant part in influencing and shaping ministerial training in Jamaica.³²

The curriculum used between 1954 and 1965, with varying modifications by the Presbyterian college, covered the following wide range of courses over a period of four academic years:

First year:

English Language and Literature
Biblical Introduction
Biblical Interpretation
Psychology
English Church History
Homiletics
Preliminary Ethics
Biblical Theology

Second year:

Biblical Studies
Church History
Systematic Theology
Christian Education
Homiletics
Greek
Psychology

Third year:

Hebrews
Biblical Studies

32. Herbert Read, *To Hell With Culture* (1963) n.p.; Reuben Alves, *Theological Education for Liberation* (1970) n.p.; Michael Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979) n.p.; Apple, *Education and Power* (1983) n.p.; Olive Banks, *The Sociology of Education* (1970) n.p.; John Brubacher, *Modern Philosophies of Education* (1969) n.p.

Practical Theology
 Homiletics
 Comparative Religion
 Christian Education
 Modern Church History
 Psychology of Religion
 Practical Theology

Fourth year:
 Biblical Studies
 Comparative Religion
 Homiletics
 Christian Ethics
 Philosophy of Religion
 Systematic Theology
 Greek.³³

It would appear that the aim of the British tutorial staff was to provide a curriculum in which Patrician values were firmly entrenched, so that Afro-Jamaican graduates of the colleges would not expect preferment to the upper echelons of the administration more readily than the policies of the foreign missionaries would allow. Instead they would demonstrate in humbler positions and rural communities the necessary qualities of integrity, adaptability, patience and administrative skills which would recommend their gradual promotion.

Paradoxically, this system of education had a powerful impact on the attitude of many Jamaicans and West Indians towards conservatism, liberalism and radicalism. In the 1960's, the contagious spirit of socialist thought had softened the capitalist structure by substantial measures of social welfare. The harsh and frustrating social, cultural, economic and political realities gave rise to the Black Power Movement and Liberation Theology. These social changes produced a completely new situation in which candidates for ministry should be trained if they were to be relevant and dynamic within a changed and changing situation. A reformulated curriculum was required which would allow the students of the college the freedom and confidence to face the existential concerns, the unintended ambiguities and the unpredictability of the world. What was needed were models of theological education which would exemplify the academic excellence essential for the dynamic mission of the church in the contemporary and contextual situation, as well as patterns of ministerial training which would help to widen the roles and provide alternatives to the prevailing traditional forms and approaches. The students needed to be conscientised as channels of God's forgiving love in a society plagued with an unfortunate history of colonialism, enslavement and other negative socio-cultural legacies. The curriculum did not reflect the distinctive and peculiar historical and cultural experience of the local environment. While it was necessary to maintain the timeless,

33. Union Theological Seminary, *The Seminarian* (1965) 2.

universal and unchanging nature of the Gospel, it was also essential to de-Europeanise the curriculum and relate it to its particular context.

It was only with the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies in 1966 that serious efforts were made to include practical disciplines and supervised field work in the curriculum. There was a deliberate intent to focus on and to facilitate the relationship between the college, the church and the society.

5.6 THE SPIRITUALITY

During the period 1841 to 1966, the spirituality of the Presbyterian theological institutions had traits of European, African and Asian religious experience which were derived from their Judeo-Christian heritage. Dale Bisnouth has pointed out that 'there is evidence to indicate that Europeans, Africans and Asians had encountered through various means, some of the Judeo-Christian religious orientation prior to arriving in Jamaica'.³⁴ However, Patrick Bryan has maintained that 'the British oriented religious experience was the dominant one. It was regarded as the official and only legitimate one, since it was connected with the notion of British "civilising mission"'.³⁵ As a consequence, candidates for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica were led to believe that non-British religio-culturo-spiritual experiences were not authentic nor acceptable to God.

Students entered the Presbyterian college with different levels of spirituality. Some brought with them an experiential spirituality which was preoccupied with their own sense of call to the ministry and their struggle to keep it alive. For these students spirituality referred almost exclusively to their individual and personal redemption from personal sin, and conversion, forgiveness and reconciliation referred to what happened to the individual. This privatised and individualised experience of spirituality did not reflect any consideration of the liberating theology of the Old Testament and the incarnation theology of the New Testament. They did not see that the Gospel was addressed to both individuals and their communities. God was involved in the experience of individuals, but he was also present in the collective struggles of human existence, whether religious, cultural or institutional. They did not realise that Christianity implies reconciliation of both the individual from the sin of self-centredness, and societies from the evil in the world. Consequently, the college maintained that spirituality should focus not only on the individual soul; but, moreso, on the coming of the Kingdom of God.

Other students started their ministerial training at the college with a conceptual spirituality, which was overlaid with traditional piety and was preserved and celebrated according to their denominational tradition. However, the spirituality of the students who were being prepared for ministry at the Presbyterian college was nurtured by the devotional life of the theological community. Every effort was made to guide and facilitate their spiritual empowerment in keeping with British requirements and standards.

34. Dale Bisnouth, *A History of the Religions of the Caribbean* (1989) 89.

35. Patrick Bryan, *The Jamaican People* (1991) 33-66; W. Wink, *Engaging The Powers* (1992) n.p.

In fact, the spiritual life of the college revolved around the discipline of the following devotional exercises:

1. Prayer. A discipline life of prayer was regarded by the British wardens or tutors as the totality of a life lived in union with the triune God. The prayer life of the students reflected the particular expressions of their relationship to God and their concern for all of God's creation. Students were encouraged and facilitated in developing a disciplined life of prayer by private prayers and corporate devotions. The private prayers were informed and formed by corporate devotions which in turn informed and formed the private prayers. This process resulted in a conscious relationship with God and a commitment to a life of prayer through the divine indwelling of the Spirit. 'In Him we live, and move and have our being' (Acts 17:28). This level of spirituality which was developed at the college sensitised and challenged the students to racial obedience and commitment to Christ, assisted them in interpreting their call to the ministry and expanded their vision of the mission of the church.
2. Worship. The spiritual life of the colleges was sustained by worship. This involved the coming together of the entire college community as a demonstration of its life and growth into the mystical body of Christ. The staff and students of the Presbyterian college attended morning and evening worship each day. The encounter of persons in corporate worship was crucial to the spiritual wellbeing of the community. Whether the liturgy was formal or informal, it reflected and reinforced the commitment of the community to God and to one another. It was at corporate worship that issues common to all members of the community were articulated and presented before God. These concerns were sometimes expressed in singing, reading, preaching and teaching as well as in the attitudes and manners inferred from all these acts of worship. They assisted in the maturation of the students into a deeper relationship with God and contributed to the moulding and maintenance of the community.³⁶
3. Holy Communion. The Lord's Supper was celebrated at least once per month at the Presbyterian college. The students were drawn into a deeper fellowship with God and with one another through this sacrament. Every time they prepared to partake of the body and blood of Christ they examined themselves, were reminded that they were united to Christ and that he dwelt in them. This sacrament strengthened their relationship with Christ and their fellowship with one another.
4. Bible Study and Reflection. These devotional exercises played a significant role in building up the spiritual life of the students. They contributed to their spirit of discernment, which was regarded as a gift to those persons who were led by the Spirit of God. The gift was not for private and individual use only. A distortion occurred when the Scripture was used by students to illumine only their individual spiritual experience. In this privatised and individualised approach the struggles, needs, and aspirations of the community were abandoned in favour of the private

36. Wolfhard Pannenberg, *Christian Spirituality* (1983) n.p.; Ashley Smith, *The Theologian Spirituality* (1984) n.p.; Bevis Byfield, *Christian Education and Spirituality* (1984) n.p.

realms of life.

The Presbyterian college attempted to prepare the students for life and ministry after their ordination by a gradual process of shifting their focus from pre-occupation with themselves to commitment to the church and responsibility for the community. The ideal was to achieve a synthesis of personal spirituality and communal responsibility. Every effort was made by the college authorities to deepen the spirituality of the students to perceive the church as a diaconal community. Yet in their life and ministry they did not always endeavour to hold together the creative balance between individual spirituality and communal responsibility. It would appear that the emphasis on communal responsibility had a certain vagueness about the specifics of solutions and even greater confusion in respect to the mechanics of implementation.

In 1966, when the Presbyterian theological institution became a part of the United Theological College of the West Indies the students were provided with a new understanding of the reconciling power of the triune God. This provided them, for instance, with the dynamism to become agents of reconciliation in the world. They shared in the spirituality of participation that rejected and opposed any attempt to abuse or destroy the ecology for human gains. Instead they cooperated with God in the protection and care of the environment and in the welfare and development of humanity.

5.7 THE RELATIONSHIPS

5.7.1 The Relationship with the Churches

From 1841 to 1913, theological education in Jamaica assumed a distinct denominational identity. The Presbyterian Academy developed as a theological institution of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. It was a British missionary who started the Presbyterian theological education at the church where he served as pastor and in the community where he lived. In the early years ministerial training depended on, and was controlled by the missionaries. Wherever he was appointed as a pastor, he took the theological institution with him. He taught the students, shaped the institution and laid the foundation of theological education in the country.

Once the denomination became associated with the initiative of the missionary, the church became responsible for the appointment and dismissal of staff, the admission of students, the duration of their study, their suitability for ordination and their placement within the denomination. Through its theological education committee, or its board of management, the church determined the policy and influenced the curriculum and general direction of the college.

During the nineteenth century, the sugar industry which provided stability for the economy of Jamaica received a series of setbacks. The abolition of slavery, the developments of free trade, the growth of the beet sugar industry, and the bounty system in Europe contributed to a serious economic crisis in Jamaica. The Presbyterian church was faced with devastating financial problems. As a result, the financial upkeep of the theological institution became a real challenge to the church. In 1841, the Scottish

Missionary Society contributed 550.00 to the Presbyterian Theological Academy at Bonham Springs, St. Mary. This grant was donated towards the salary of the staff and the assistance of students. The additional funding for the maintenance of the institution was provided by the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica.³⁷

By 1913, the Presbyterian college was closely associated and accountable to its denomination. However, because the denomination was unable to fully finance the operation of its institution, a special relationship developed with its British conferences and missionary societies. These overseas institutions contributed generously to the maintenance of the college. In some cases they appointed the wardens or tutors, paid their salaries and gave an annual amount to the support of the students. This relationship with the college, to a large extent, facilitated the hegemonic control of the British missionary over the development of theological education in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica during this period.

Between 1913 and 1954, the Presbyterian churches became more involved in the life of the college. In 1943, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica advised the Warden of St. Colme's Hostel, that requests for students to be engaged in summer work should go through the Presbytery to the Secretary of the College Committee, who would prepare recommendations to be dealt with in Synod under the report of the General Board. The Synod also recommended that probationers should pursue a course of prescribed reading for two years after which they be ordained. In 1943, the Synod decided to invite representatives of five denominations to form a committee to discuss the possibility of united theological training. An information sheet was prepared and sent to the various foreign missionary societies. In 1953, the Synod endorsed the steps which were taken towards the merger of St. Colme's Hostel and Caenwood College. In that year the Synod appointed a Ministerial Training Committee to review applications for admission to the college, to oversee the discipline of students, and to recommend the continuation or withdrawal of students from the college.

During this period (1913-1954), the candidates for ministry of other churches were also trained at St. Colme's Hostel. In 1931, the Moravians and the Congregationalists began their training there; and in 1932, the Disciples of Christ.³⁸ St. Colme's Hostel also trained other Moravian students between 1941 and 1954. The Scottish Missionary Society was responsible for the appointment and salary of the warden of the college.³⁹

In 1940, the synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica provided a grant of 1,250.00 towards the refurbishing of St. Colme's Hostel; and in 1950, the Scottish Missionary Society contributed 1,000.00 towards the construction of additional buildings at the college.

Between 1954 and 1966, students of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica were admitted to Union Theological Seminary and to the United Theological College of the

37. *The Freeman* (July 1890) n.p.; *The Missionary Herald* (November 1846) 360; *Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Theological Education Annual Reports* (1898-1913) n.p.; *The Century of the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica* (1924) n.p.

38. *Theological Academy's Report to Synod* (1931) n.p.

39. *Union Theological Seminary Dedication Souvenir Booklet* (1955) 10; Iris Hamid, *In Search of New Perspectives* (1973) n.p.

West Indies on the recommendation and by the sponsorship of the denomination.

5.7.2 The Relationship with other Colleges

The model of theological education which developed in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica between 1841 and 1966, was derived from various colleges in Britain, Canada and North America. In 1841, William Jameson mirrored his ministerial training initiatives at Goshen, St. Mary, on the model of theological education which was pursued at the faculty of Divinity of the University of London. In 1851, when Alexander Renton, another Scottish missionary was appointed the tutor of the Theological Academy, he continued the process by adopting the content and methodology of the college to the British system. Although geography prevented the integration of the Academy into the academic community of the University, the students in Jamaica were allowed to sit examinations externally for degrees and post-graduate diplomas. For instance, in 1898, Aemilius Barclay was successful in the Bachelor of Arts degree offered by the University of London.⁴⁰

In 1954, ecumenical theological education started in Jamaica, when St. Colme's Hostel (Presbyterian) and Caenwood College (Methodist) united into Union Theological Seminary. Calabar College did not share in this ecumenical initiative. In 1966, the United Theological College of the West Indies was established. It was affiliated with the University of the West Indies and functioned as the Department of Theology in the Faculty of Arts and General Studies.⁴¹

Between 1898 and 1966, the Presbyterian college prepared some of its students for the Diploma in Theology, the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Divinity degrees. Some of the Presbyterian students after successfully completing the intermediate examinations in Jamaica spent two years in residence at various institutions abroad, such as the University of London, England, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, and Union Theological Seminary, New York.

5.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter provides an empirical, systematic and critical study of the birth and growth of theological education in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica from 1841 to 1966. It deals with the model of ministerial training which was pursued by the denominational college.

During this period, the focus of responsibility and authority in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, was located primarily, in the British missionaries and the British Missionary Societies. The British missionaries initiated, shaped and controlled theological

40. *Theological Education Committee Report*, Theological Academy (1899) 12.

41. *Tutor's Report to Synod*, St. Colme's Hostel (1949) 11; J. H. Morrison, *Scottish Church Work Abroad* (1927) n.p.; *The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica Theological Education Annual Report* (1898-1966) n.p.; *Synod Journal*, Presbyterian Church of Jamaica (1886-1966) n.p.; *United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman Ministry and Mission Annual Reports* (1965-1966) n.p.

education in Jamaica, and British Missionary Societies largely paid for it. Therefore, the model of ministerial education which was introduced in the country by the Presbyterian college was merely an uncritical transfer of the philosophy, content, methodology and structure of the metropolis. The missionaries were determined to establish in Jamaica a replica of the British system by copying its model without regard for its suitability to the needs of the country. Little effort was made to develop a model which was closely related to the life of the community, or which would become an instrument of social transformation.

Another striking feature of this period was the frequent moving from place to place of the Presbyterian college. No official reason has been given for these movements; but it would seem reasonable to assume that the college moved to the locations where the tutors reside, rather than the tutors to the sites of the students and colleges. This may partly explain how the missionaries perceived their responsibilities and exercised their authority in ensuring that the theological institution was under their control and accountable to them.

The evaluation and critique of the development of theological education in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica during this period should not be allowed to detract from the contribution of the British missionaries. Without invoking any moral perspective on socio-cultural, and religious phenomena, it should be remembered that their imperfection mirrored the fundamental weaknesses of the British system that domesticated the Gospel to colonialism and identified Christianity with British culture. Notwithstanding, the relentless effort of the missionaries during the pioneering years laid the foundation for the development of theological education in Jamaica. They helped to prepare Christian leaders who served the country as schoolmasters, catechists, lay-preachers, Sunday school teachers, social workers and pastors.

Another important indication was that, in 1913, the missionaries recognised some of the disadvantages of denominational ministerial training and took appropriate steps to correct, or at least, to reduce them, by initiating and participating in cooperative theological education. Whether intended or not, the co-operative venture had created a new vision which assisted in meeting some of the persistent challenges of denominational theological education. The new reality was that the Presbyterian college had come to realise that the things which had united the Protestant colleges in Jamaica were more significant than the things which had kept them apart over the years. This realisation contributed to the ecumenical initiatives of Union Theological Seminary in 1954 and the United Theological College of the West Indies in 1966.

CHAPTER SIX

BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION (1843 - 1966)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The Presbyterians were the first to begin theological education in Jamaica; but the Baptist were the pioneers of theological education among Afro - Jamaicans. The Baptist missionaries were the trail blazers in recognising the need for indigenous leadership of the church in Jamaica, and with determination and prudence they were able to provide the appropriate ministerial training.

As early as 1839, the English missionaries William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and James Phillippo, at a meeting of Baptist pastors in Jamaica, move a resolution to establish a college for the training of native men for the Ministry. In 1842, Knibb went to England to solicit assistance from the Baptist Missionary Society for the establishment of a theological institution. After prolonged discussion, the society agreed to purchase land at the property of Calabar, near Rio Bueno in Trelawny, on which the mission house of the Rio Bueno Baptist Church already stood. The amount of 1,000 was voted from the Jubilee Fund of 1842, and the society assumed the responsibility for appointing, and paying the salary of the first president.

When the Jubilee of the Baptist Missionary Society was celebrated by the churches of Jamaica Western Union in 1842 the following resolution was moved by Knibb and seconded by Edward Hewitt:

We hail with delight the proposal in connection with the Jubilee, of the Jamaica Baptist Theological Institution for the training of young men for the Christian ministry, and, believing that it will, under God, prove the means of raising up a class of education native agents, who shall in this island and on the continent of Africa, proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ, we cordially recommend it to the sympathies, the support and the prayers of our churches.¹

By 1844, Joshua Tinson, president of the Baptist theological college at Rio Bueno, wrote to the Theological Education Committee of the Baptist Church in Jamaica as follows:

I am happy to say that hitherto we have cause to be very thankful. Everything has gone on well. The conduct of the students has been very consistent, and has given me great satisfaction ...

We have ten students here, all well, and all pursuing their studies diligently. I have a young Englishman, our schoolmaster at Rio Bueno, who comes once a week and teach some of the students arithmetic, as a enumeration for which I am teaching him to read

1 *Theological Education Committee Report, Proposed Baptist Theological Institute (1842) In: General Baptist Repository, 15-27; Baptist Education Society Reports (1848-1850) n.p.; Baptist Missionary Society Annual Report (1819-1860) n.p.*

his Greek Testament. Then I have another pupil, a young lad of Colour, who comes several times a week for Latin.²

By 1913, Calabar College was experiencing staff problems and financial difficulties. The inadequate staff at the denominational college was unable to provide acceptable levels of ministerial training for the candidates of the Jamaica Baptist Union. Furthermore, there was a reduction in local bequests to the college as well as a decrease in overseas financial support. Consequently, in 1913, Calabar College took the first and crucial step in the adventure of co-operative theological education. It was a journey of faith, which proved timely and prudent.

In 1931, Ernest Price, the President of Calabar College sent the following report to the General Assembly of the Jamaica Baptist Union:

David Davis and I are glad to say, that all the men are working well. Their effort and interest in all the classes are eager and intelligent, and they show themselves, in every respect, worthy young men.³

During the second half of the twentieth century, the co-operative ministerial training scheme had developed into an ecumenical vision, which, in 1966, resulted in the formation of the United Theological College of the West Indies in 1966.

6.2 HISTORY OF THE LOCATION

In October 1843, Calabar Theological College was opened at Rio Bueno in Trelawny. It continued its operation at that venue for 25 years. The realisation of this vision opened a new chapter in the annals of the mission of the Baptist Church in Jamaica.⁴

When David East, the British tutor was called to the pastorate of the East Queen Street Baptist Church in 1868, he removed the theological institution from Rio Bueno to East Queen Street in Kingston. This decision proved to be a strategic move as Kingston had become the centre of commercial, political and religious activities. During that year East raised 1,420 in England which he used to refurbish the existing buildings on the site, built a house for the tutor, a library and provided ancillary staff facilities.⁵

It should be noted that the Protestant theological institutions were initially located in

2 *Baptist Missionary Society Annual Letter Book (1849)n.p.; Extracts of Letter from Rev. Joshua Tinson, President of Calabar Theological Institution to Executive Committee(November)n.p.; Baptist Missionary Society Letter Book of copies of Letters received from Jamaica (1843-1846) n.p.*

3 *President's Report to Assembly, Calabar Theological Institution (1931) 17.*

4 Rudolph Knight (ed) *Liberty and Progress (1936) 61*; Lincoln Robinson, *The Green and the Black Review (1972) n.p.*; *Tutor's Report to Executive Meeting, Calabar Theological Institution (1843) n.p.*; *Missionary Herald, 10*; *The Baptist Education Society Reports (1850) n.p.*; Clinton Black, *A New History of Jamaica (1973) n.p.*

5 Horace Russell, *Foundations and Anticipations (1993) 95*; David East, *Private and Confidential Papers (1880) n.p.*; *The Baptist Reporter (1909)n.p.*; *Church Missionary Intelligence News (1896) n.p.*

rural parishes of Jamaica. After the emancipation of the slaves in 1838, free villages were established, primarily in the rural parishes and it was there that most of the Protestant churches first established themselves. However, by 1872, Kingston was declared the capital of the island and became the headquarters of both civil and ecclesiastic activities. By 1913, the theological institutions of the Protestant churches were all located in Kingston. Each competing and protecting its own denominational identity, while sincerely convinced that its denominational zeal would further the mission of the church and the advancement of the society.

From 1913 to 1952, Calabar College was located at Slipe Pen Road in Kingston. This was done to facilitate the participation of the college in the co-operative theological enterprise. However, by the second half of the twentieth century, the facilities of the college had been inadequate to the increasing number of students at the college.

In 1952, the Jamaica Baptist Union purchased an extensive property at Red Hills Road in St. Andrew, and sited its college there. The new venue removed it from its close proximity to Caenwood College and made it difficult for the students to travel between them. However, Calabar College participated fully in the co-operative theological education Scheme of 1913 to 1954 and, in 1966, united with the other Protestant colleges to form the United Theological College of the West Indies.

6.3 The Staff

During the passage of the years from 1843 to 1966, the British missionaries were in charge of the development of the Baptist and the Presbyterian theological education in Jamaica. They felt that as long as most of the funding of the theological education in Jamaica was provided by British missionary societies this gave them the right of leadership and legitimised their prolonged control over the system. They were not prepared to share with the citizens of Jamaica who were of African and Asian descent the empowerment and leadership which they regarded as instruments of their civilising mission.

In 1843, the Baptist Missionary Society in London, appointed an English missionary, Joshua Tinson, as the first president of Calabar Theological College which was located at Rio Bueno in Trelawny. He was also appointed the pastor of the church in that community. In 1822, Tinson was sent from England to Jamaica as a missionary. He served with distinction for twenty-eight years, seven of which he spent in laying the foundation of the work of Calabar Theological College. He died in 1850, at the age of 56 years and was buried at Rio Bueno.⁶

The Baptist Missionary Society appointed the English missionary David East as the

6 Knight (1936) 62; *Annual Report of the Baptist Western Union* (1848) 10-12; *The missionary Herald* (August 1844) 332-333; Henry Bleby, *The Results of West Indian Emancipation* (1860) 35-55; Inez Sibley-Francis, *The Baptist of Jamaica* (1965) 18; John Clarke, *The Voice of Jubilee: The Baptist Mission in Jamaica* (1865) n.p.; Robinson (1972) n.p.; *Memorandum from Rev. Joshua Tinson, President of Calabar Theological Institution to the Baptist Executive* (August 1944) 2; 'Calabar Theological Institution Report to General Assembly' (1846) *In: Missionary Herald* 359-360.

second president of Calabar Theological College in 1863. He had been trained at Regent s Park College, Oxford and had been considered most qualified and suitable for the responsibility of shaping and guiding the fledgling institution. In 1868, East removed Calabar College from Rio Bueno to the Baptist Church premises at East Queen Street, Kingston, where he also established a normal school for the training of teachers and a high school for the education of boys. At the same time, he served as the pastor of East Queen Street Baptist Church. He was assisted by three English missionaries who were appointed tutors: J.S. Roberts in 1890; and James Balfour and Leonard Tucker in 1891. East retired in 1892 and returned to England after forty years of fruitful and devoted service to the Baptist Church in Jamaica.⁷

In 1904, the Baptist Missionary Society appointed another English missionary, Arthur James, president of Calabar College, and two of his colleagues, James Balfour and Leonard Tucker continued to serve as tutors. However, James resigned in 1910 and returned to England. He was succeeded by Ernest Price of Bristol College, England. During that year another English missionary, David Davis joined the staff as tutor of the college. Price continued to serve as president of Calabar Theological College during the period. He was a graduate of Bristol College in London and was appointed by the Baptist Missionary Society in Britain. During his 24 years as President of the college, he helped to lay the foundation on which co-operative ministerial training was established in Jamaica. He served simultaneously as president of the college and headmaster of Calabar high school. The latter was established during his presidency in 1912. He was assisted by David Davis at both the college and the High School. Davis lectured at the college from 1911 to 1942 when the highschool demanded all his time and terminated his service at the college. Both men had made a significant contribution to the beginning of co-operative theological education in Jamaica. Unfortunately, in 1934 a misunderstanding developed between Price and the General Committee of the college. By 1937, the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that Price resigned as president of the college and left Jamaica. The conflict between Price and the General Board of the college was a personal one, and in no way had to do with the subject of my dissertation.⁸

In 1937, Guros King was appointed president of Calabar College. He was assisted by David Davis and E. A. Annette of India. In 1939, the president s career was cut short by untimely death.⁹

Between 1941 and 1944, three presidents were appointed in quick succession for Calabar College. In 1944, A.S. Herbert served for a few months, resigned and went back to England. In 1942, Ernest Askew also served for months, demitted office and returned to England. However, Thomas Powell served as president from 1944 to 1948.

7 Russell, *Foundations* (1993) 96; *Calabar Theological College Jubilee Celebrations Brochure* (1993) 19.

8 Inez Sibey-Francis, *The Baptist* (1965) 26; Carl Campbell, *Social and Economic Obstacles to the Development of Popular Education in Post Emancipation Jamaica* (1965) 1; Knight (1938) n.p.; Ernest Price, *Bananaland: A Missionary Chronicle* (1930) 108.

9 *Tutor s Report to Jamaica Baptist Union* (1939) 10; *Minutes of Meeting of Theological Education Committee Caenwood Theological College* (1944) 27.

During his tenure Walter Foster joined the staff of the college as lecturer.¹⁰

From 1948 to 1954, Keith Tucker was the president of Calabar College. He was born in England, a graduate of Bristol College and Regent Park College, Oxford. He arrived in Jamaica in 1948 and endeavoured to improve the academic standard of the college. He instituted a programme leading to the matriculation examination and eventually to the Bachelor of Divinity examinations of the University of London. During his leadership at the college nearly 80 percent of the students obtained degrees. In 1948, he established a Central Fund from which all pastors were paid. He served as its secretary and treasurer until 1954. When it became evident that the college had outgrown its premises at Slipe Pen Road, in 1952, he relocated it at Red Hills Road in St. Andrew. He had the able assistance of David Jelleyman.¹¹

In 1958, Horace Russell was appointed tutor of his alma mater, Calabar College. He served the institution until 1966. He continued on the staff of the United Theological College of the West Indies (1966-1976) and was its President (1972-1976). In 1972 he obtained the Doctor of Philosophy from Oxford University, and was the first Jamaican of African descent to be appointed to the tutorial staff of Calabar College. Until then, British missionaries made up the staff of Calabar College and St. Colme's Hostel. In 1958, Keith Tucker retired and returned to England.¹²

In 1959, Donald Monkcom and his family arrived in Jamaica. The Baptist Missionary Society of England had appointed him president of Calabar College. During the tenure of this British missionary the Ivan Parson's Memorial Hall was built: in memory of the late Ivan Parson, a Baptist pastor who had done much valuable work for the Jamaica Baptist Union. Monkcom worked in close association with Union Theological Seminary for several years. In 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies was established, he continued to serve at the ecumenical institution.¹³

6.4 The Students

In 1843 The Baptist Church in Jamaica responded positively and creatively to the nationalistic spirit of the nineteenth century by establishing Calabar Theological College for the development of an indigenous ministry. When the news disseminated throughout the country that Calabar College had been established as an institution to prepare Afro-Jamaicans for the ministry of the Baptist Church in Jamaica, the Euro-plantocracy reacted with laughter and ridicule. Even the leaders of some of the other Protestant churches in Jamaica regarded the Baptist's initiative with great suspicion, and discouraged the founders of the college in the execution of their vision. The proposed scheme was

10 *Calabar Theological College Curriculum and Staff Report to Jamaica Baptist Union Executive* (1945) 12; Sibley-Francis, *The Baptist* (1965) 20.

11 Sibley-Francis, *The Baptists* (1965) 21; *Calabar College Jubilee Celebrations Brochure* (1993) 11; *Diary of Rev. Keith Tucker* (1951) n.p.

12 *Minutes of Calabar Theological College Staff Committee Appointment of Horace Russell* (1963) n.p.; *Minutes of Calabar Theological College Report of Baptist Missionary Society* (1948-1959) n.p.

13 *Handbook of General information, U.T.C.W.I.* (1996-199) 3.

considered an impossible task.¹⁴

As Patterson reminds us, it was felt that Quashie as the stereotype of the blackman could not be educated, since he was incapacitated by inherent defects of moral constitution bestowed upon all rational creatures.¹⁵ Emancipation in 1838, although moving some of the obstacles to education, did not solve all the problems of the ex-slaves who had formed the nucleus of a peasant society. The plantocracy felt that the Baptists enterprise to train Afro-Jamaicans as church leaders was a dangerous undertaking for the social balance of an imperialist system.

The positivists, imperialists and Darwinists may have had reasonable grounds for their reactions, in light of the fact that many of the candidates who entered Calabar College when it was opened at Rio Bueno in 1843 were freed slaves who were illiterate, according to European educational standards and cultural perspectives. Other candidates had not received the rudiments of education. Also there had been candidates as old as their tutors. At that time, the students of Calabar College were in sharp contrast to those at the Presbyterian Theological Academy, who were predominately of Scottish descent.

In 1843, Thomas Burchell in appealing for financial assistance for the college from the Baptist Missionary Society in London, had said that many of the ex-slaves did not know a letter in the alphabet.¹⁶ Furthermore, R.A.L. Knight had stated:

Many of the first batch of students who attended the college at Rio Bueno in 1843 found it difficult to distinguish between the capital letters E and F. On one occasion a student reading the line, 'Eat O my friends', took the capital E for F and read out most complacently 'Fat O my friends'.¹⁷

It is instructive to note that the European culture was imposed upon the Asian and African self-understanding, system of communication, ethical values and culture heritage. The following statement by Kenneth Ramchand should enable us to grasp the profound significance of this point:

The writing system taught to the ex-slaves after emancipation was laden with other cultural experiences, and directives to the colonized person and did not intend to make concessions to the creole speech with its African base, African phonology and the long period of orality in which it had been simmering. So the transition from speech to writing which in most countries is regarded as an inevitable element in the growth of

14 Fitzroy Augier, Shirley Gordon, Douglas Hall and Michael Reckord, *The Making of the West Indies* (1969) 219; W.P. Livingston, *Black Jamaica* (1900) n.p.; *Calabar Theological Institution Report to General Assembly* (1845) In: *Missionary Herald* 302-315; *The Baptist Missionary Society Annual Reports* (1843) 12; Knight(1938) 59.

15 Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery* (1969) 174; William Armistead, *A Jubilee to the Slaves* (1848) 9.

16 William Burchell, *Memories of Thomas Burchell* (1947) 302; *Baptist Missionary Society papers* (1844) n.p.; *Jamaica Baptist Reporter* (1860) n.p.; Willis Jervier, *Educational Charge in the Post Colonial Jamaica* (1977) n.p.; Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society* (1942) n.p.; Millicent White, *A Short History of Education in Jamaica* (1992) n.p.

17 Knight (1936) 65.

society has been accompanied in the ex-imperial Caribbean by more than the usual sense of nostalgia for what is being lost with each passage.¹⁸

Glyne Griffith has argued that the language which was taught to the ex-slaves after Emancipation, defined him, as a result of its empirical and transcendental elements always as, other . The transcendental component of this language system denied the ex-slave the knowledge of himself as knowing subject; he was always, already within this configuration, object and other than knowing subject.¹⁹

Henry Gates has identified the crux of the problem for the black or non-white person:

How can the black subject posit a full and sufficient self in a language in which blackness is a sign of absence? Can writing with the very difference it makes and marks, mask the blackness of the black face that addresses the text of western letters, in a voice that speaks English through an idiom which contains the Irreducible element of cultural difference that will always separate the white voice from the black?²⁰

As Gates demonstrated, the transition from oral history to writing for the black ex-slave did not significantly change the black person's status as object. The En-lightenment premise which associated writing with reason, and by extension, huma-nity, did not guarantee, the black person the status of homo sapiens, even when the obstacles of writing and reading had been overcome.

The leaders of the Baptist Church in Jamaica who founded the Calabar Theological College were men of vision, courage and commitment. In the immediate post-emancipation period these increasingly creolized denominational leaders identified themselves with the issues and concerns of the Afro-Jamaica community. Whatever may have been, their efforts to indigenise the leadership of the Baptist Church in Jamaica, and to contextualise its ministry must be regarded as expressions of confidence in the capability and integrity of the newly emancipated slaves. The Baptists were the trail blazers of indigenous leadership of the church in Jamaica. They refused to be trapped in British identity and culture.

It was unbelievable how these humble peasants realized their deficiencies, applied themselves to their studies and acquired the knowledge and competence which were prerequisites of great preachers. Only three of the first batch of ten students who were admitted to the college became pastors, five of the others became teachers, while two dropped out of the course.

18 Kenneth Ramchand, *The Fate of Writing*, *Caribbean Quarterly* 28 No. 2 (March-June 1982) 76; Revber Alves, *Theological Education for Liberation* (1970) n.p.

19 Glyne Griffith, *Deconstruction, Imperialism and the West Indian Novel* (1955) 22-23.

20 Henry Gates (ed), *Writing and Difference* (1986) 120; Olive Banks, *The Sociology of Education* (1970) n.p; B.S. Barth, *Open Education* (1996) n.p; Joseph Greenburg, *The Languages of Africa* (1966) n.p; C.J. Hamelink, *Trends in World Communication, Dis-empowerment and Self-empowerment* (1995) n.p; Benjamin Whorf, *Language, Thought and Reality* (1970) n.p; M. Young (ed), *Knowledge and Control* (1971) n.p.

Emphasis was not placed on academic achievement for entrance to Calabar College. Students with a sound education background were welcomed; but what really counted was whether a candidate had received a Call to preach; what was his religious experience as far as being Born Again; and what was his moral life prior to offering himself for the ministry.

Another criterion for entrance was the ability of the candidate to preach. This would have been detected and assessed while he served part-time as a deacon or a lay preacher.

The candidate's application for admission to the college had to be certified by two pastors who stated how long they knew him, his parents and family. The pastor also had to provide a record of his Christian service, his potential as a preacher, his gift of leadership, and his potential and capability to benefit from a four year course at the college. It is obvious that the emphasis was placed on religious conversion and morality rather than on academic achievement.²¹

From 1858 until 1875, Calabar College was faced with an inadequate supply of students. One of the factors which contributed to this situation was the high cost for the training of the students. Although the Baptist and Presbyterian colleges received financial assistance from overseas missionary societies, they had difficulty raising the additional funds to maintain the college.

During this period, the supply of Baptist students was not in keeping with the expectations which prompted the establishment of Calabar College. Notwithstanding, the college did produce some pastors who were highly prized and greatly respected within the charges and the communities they lived and served. These included Ellis Fray who was ordained as a pastor in 1847; Edwin Palmer in 1853; and William Webb in 1858.²²

By 1875 the college had begun training students for missionary work in Haiti and in Calabar, West Africa and in the Congo now renamed Zaire. Between 1843 and 1913, the college also had trained 152 pastors for the Jamaica Baptist Union. Some of the graduates, such as Charles Brown (1880) who came from Scotland, George House (1881) from England; David Kitchen, P.F. Schobargh, J.H. Gayle, B.R. Tomlinson (1880), J.C. Duhaney (1883) Joshua Rowe 1884 and Isaac Tate (1884) who were Jamaicans, gave faithful and outstanding service to the church and the society.²³

In an attempt to upgrade the academic achievements of the candidates for the ministry, in 1912, the Jamaica Baptist Union established Calabar High School on the same premises as the college. Its main purpose was to educate boys of Afro-Jamaican parents. By 1913 the provision was in place for the high school to supply to the college qualified students to be trained as pastors of the Jamaica Baptist Union.²⁴

21 Knight (1936) 68; *Calabar Theological College. Jubilee Celebrations Brochure* (1939) 9.

22 Russell, *Foundations* (1993) 98; *Minutes of Staff and Curriculum Committee*, Calabar Theological Institution (1959) 13; *Minutes of the Jamaica Baptist Union* (1847-1858) n.p.; *Dendy Papers* (1847-1853) n.p.

23 *Handbook of Jamaica* (1889) 352; *Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa* (1877) n.p.

24 *Handbook of Jamaica* (1889) 352; *Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa* (1877) n.p.; *Calabar Theological College Jubilee Celebrations Brochure* (1993) 10; Majorie Kirlew (ed), *For Ever Beginning* (1960) 67; Francis Osbourne and Geoffrey Johnson, *Coastlands and Island* (1972) 121.

In 1913, co-operative theological education was started in Jamaica with 4 students at Calabar College and 2 students at Murcott Lodge Ministerial Training Centre (Methodist). In spite of challenges and set-backs between 1913 and 1937, a total of 37 Baptist students participated in the co-operative training scheme. Pastors, such as Sydney Sandiford and Menzie Sawyers who made sterling and lasting contributions to the denomination, were products of this period of joint training.²⁵

There was never a system to ensure a consistent supply of students to Calabar College each year. Consequently, in 1929, Calabar College supplied 5 students to the co-operative training programme; in 1931 there were 8 students in the scheme. However, in 1935 the number of students had decreased to crisis proportion where only 1 student in residence. The main reason for this crisis in the supply of students was internal conflict among the president, the General Committee and the students of the college.

During the period 1938 to 1954, Calabar College had a Disciples of Christ student among the candidates in training for ministry. The following graduates left an indelible mark on the church and the college: Richmond Nelson (1953) who became president of the Jamaica Council of Churches (1972-1975) and chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies (1996-); and Clarence Reid (1953) who served as chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies (1977-1979) and president of the Jamaica Council of Churches (1977-1979).²⁶

From 1938 to 1954, Calabar College supplied 33 students to the co-operative training programme. Among these students, 3 came from Haiti, 3 from Panama, 2 from Costa Rico, 1 from Boco del Toro and 24 from Jamaica.²⁷

During the period 1954 to 1966, Calabar College trained 57 male students for the Baptist Churches of the Caribbean, region and the Disciples of Christ in Jamaica. The graph of the enrolment of students at the College during this time frame reflected an upward movement. For example, in 1955, Calabar College had a student body of 12; but in 1964 it increased to 14. Among the 60 students who were admitted in 1966 to the United Theological College of the West Indies 14 were Baptists.²⁸

Between 1954 and 1966, Calabar College had produced some distinguished alumni who have given outstanding service to the college, the church and the society. Among these graduates were Ambrose Findlay (1956) who has been a lecturer at the United Theological College of the West Indies since 1984 and Dean of Studies since 1991; and Cawley Bolt (1966) who was also a graduate of the United Theological of the West Indies (1969). He has served as lecturer and warder of the Baptist students at the United Theological College of the West Indies since 1991.²⁹

6.5 The Curriculum

25 *Calabar Theological Committee Examination Report* (1914) 45; *Minutes of Meeting Theological Education Committee*; Caenwood Theological College (1940) 27.

26 Edmund Davis, *Men of Vision* (1981) 23-24.

27 *Tutor s Report to Jamaica Baptist Union* (1938-1956) n.p.

28 *Tutor s Report to Jamaica Baptist Union* (1955-1966) n.p.

29 *Calabar Theological College Anniversary Jubilee Booklet* (1948-1993) n.p.

In the period 1843 to 1966 the aim of Calabar College was to prepare ministers for service in the Baptist Church in Jamaica, yet the curriculum which was developed in the country during this period reflected the British culture and mirrored its educational system. During the pioneering years of its development it embraced training in the classics and theology, typical of European theological institutions. However, there was little connection between the reality of the Jamaican context and the educational process. It was not informed by the historical and cultural circumstances of its context, nor was it organized to enhance the continuity of individual growth and communal development. The British theological educational process which developed at Calabar College and St Colme's Hostel, in many instances, reduced the students personalities to the requirements of the dominant class values and located them subjectively into a situational context of ethno-class differences and otherness.

From 1843 to 1966, theological education at Calabar College moved beyond the embryonic stage and its curriculum was revised and expanded. For instance, in 1877, Baptist Church History was included in the curriculum, and in 1902 Mental and Moral Philosophy was added. Furthermore, the two-fold division of general education and ministerial training at the college was reformulated and extended to a four year period of training. The curriculum of Calabar College was similar to that of the Presbyterian, because they were both derivatives of European models.

Some British missionaries argued that the emphasis should be placed on producing an educated ministry. Therefore, the curriculum should be reformulated to provide courses for qualified students to prepare for the Diploma of Theology, the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Divinity degrees. Others insisted that Calabar College should provide, primarily, ministerial training for the students. They maintained that the training for ministry may include all the works necessary for a theological degree, whereas the preparation for a degree may not include all that is necessary for the training for ministry. Therefore, the curriculum should reflect concern for the students personal faith, their spiritual and moral discipline, their use of leisure, their development of management skills, their personality and professional growth and a host of devotional and intellectual exercises by which ministerial formation is nurtured. The college should be equipped for ministerial training, while provisions should be made for some students to pursue theological degrees. Consequently, in the 1920's the aim of Calabar College was to provide a system of theological education leading to the Diploma of Theology and the Bachelor of Divinity degree. The curriculum was established on this basis, thus binding the students in the co-operative programme. By 1934, the college revised its curriculum to provide ministerial training for all its students. At the same time, provisions were made for advanced students to prepare for external degrees.³⁰

During the 1940's, it was felt that the curriculum did not pay sufficient attention to the evolution of new models. The students who were participating in joint Protestant

30 *President's Report to Assembly, Calabar Theological College* (1948) 9; Herbert Reid, *The Education of Jamaicans* (1944) n.p.; Paul Sorum, *Intellectuals and Decolonization in Jamaica* (1977) n.p.

training programmes were not introduced to contemporary models which would enable them to appreciate alternative methodologies, such as apprenticeship, self-directed learning process, contextual reflective process or student exchange programmes which were utilised by other colleges. This would have helped the students to bridge the gap between the content of the curriculum and the needs and aspirations of the community. Instead, the model of a four year intra-mural programme was presented to them as the only viable option.

Consequently, in 1948, the curriculum, while still reflecting a European model was revised and standardise to reflect the following four year period of training:

First Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Pastoral Theology
 Logic
 Elementary Theology
 Old Testament Introduction (History of Israel)
 New Testament Introduction (Gospels)
 Church History (Early Period)
 English Bible
 Homiletics
 Latin
 Philosophy

Second Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Elocution
 Practical Theology
 Apologetics
 English Bible
 Old Testament Introduction (The Prophets)
 New Testament Introduction (Teaching of Jesus)
 New Testament Exegesis (Matthew and Romans)
 Ethics
 Church History (Reformation Period)
 Systematic Theology (Being of God, Doctrine of the Spirit)
 Hebrew (Grammar and Syntax)

Third Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Mental and Moral Philosophy
 Practical Theology
 Comparative Religion
 English Bible
 Old Testament Studies (Religious Ideas in the Old Testament)

New Testament Studies (Teaching of St Paul)
 New Testament Exegesis (Mark and Acts)
 Systematic Theology (Man, Sin and Grace)
 Baptist Church History

Fourth Year:

English (Language and Literature)
 Elocution
 Practical Theology
 Psychology
 Old Testament Studies (Psalms and Wisdom Books)
 New Testament Studies (Epistles)
 English Bible
 Systematic Theology (Person of Christ)
 Church History (West Indian Church History)
 Religious Education
 Church Administration.³¹

The students were also engaged in practical and catechetical work during holidays and on Sundays under the supervision of experienced and competent pastors and the guidance of the college. In addition, they were engaged in field education. Some students often served as Student Pastors of churches, without providing residential pastoral oversight.

Between 1954 and 1966 the curriculum of the ministerial training scheme of either Calabar College or St. Colme's Hostel was on par with the best to be found elsewhere. In fact, it was an extension of British models which depended largely on text books published and acquired from Britain, as well as, on financial support and leadership provided by overseas missionary societies. The Euro-hegemonic control over the curriculum should be readily understood since the presidents and most of the tutors were either British missionaries or persons who were trained in Britain. As products of the British system they endeavored to develop a curriculum which was a replica of the British modules. Examination systems, teaching methodologies, text books, and syllabuses were taken over somewhat uncritically in Jamaica. The content of the curriculum was oriented to a middle and upper class value structure which was alien to the experience of the students who were of African and Asian descent. It reflected neither a deep understanding of, nor a creative sensitivity to the needs of the community with its disruptive family patterns, economic stresses, social maladjustments, inappropriate value-systems, crime and violence. The curriculum did not place enough emphasis on disciplines, such as sociology, political science, and a study of the history, ethics and the religious heritage of the Jamaican people. It was not reflective of the multi-racial and

31 *Calabar Theological College Curriculum and Staff Report to Jamaica Baptist Union Executive* (1955) 9; David Tanner and Laurel Tanner, *Curriculum Development* (1975) 94; Joseph Moore, *Religion and Jamaica Negroes* (1953) n.p.; David Purpel and Maurice Belanger (eds), *Curriculum and Cultural Revolution* (1974) n.p.; D.M. Schreuder, *The Cultural Factor in Victorian Imperialism* (1976) n.p.

cultural structure of the society. By 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies was established, a curriculum had developed, which emphasized quality education in keeping with British model and standards, without the appropriate relevance and commitment either to the particular context or to the individual growth to wholeness within an environment of freedom, justice, independence, security and self-actualisation.

6.6 The Spirituality

Between 1843 and 1966, Calabar College was engaged in a process of struggle and celebration as well as spiritual growth and renewal. There was a hunger, an on-going search, and there were discernment and discoveries. Every time the community assembled for corporate worship, they had the feeling that they were led and guided by the Holy Spirit into a fellowship of confession. This was demonstrated by their mutual acceptance, recognition, penitence and openness in confessing their traditional biases and in affirming their faith and hope in the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church. Both staff and students prayed and worked that through God's Spirit they might be renewed by constant conversion and an on-going formation and discipleship which would facilitate the building up of the Body of Christ. They emphasised that the Spirit of God inspired them to search, to obey, to take risks and to make sacrifices in the service of Christ and of humanity. Although their spiritual experience made them aware of their vulnerability, they were strengthened by their personal growth, their spiritual maturity and their freedom in Christ. They knew that they were following in the footsteps of Jesus Christ who came into the world, not to be served, but to serve and to give his life for the redemption of the world. God's Spirit within them was experienced as enabling them to face the present with confidence and the future with faith and hope as they searched and struggled for a deeper and more integrated way of living in Christ and in the service of others.

Another emphasis of the college was an understanding of spirituality as a fellowship of learning. This perspective was nurtured by the Quiet Days which were held each term at the college and the weekly Preaching Services which were conducted in the presence of its staff and students. This type of learning was regarded as an intimate experience of the goodness of God, and an insight of what God had done for humanity and the whole created order in Christ.

The students of Calabar College, like those at St. Colme's Hostel gradually developed a keenness of perception in this type of learning which did not simply mean acquiring knowledge or skills, or being intellectually equipped, or merely memorizing a catechism of faith. Rather, it meant the willingness and perseverance to struggle, to search, to grow, to renew, and to discover an integrated and incarnational dimension of their incorporation in Christ which was grounded and reflected in their love and service of humanity. This spiritual fellowship was initiated by God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ and became the rallying point of their openness to each other, and their transition beyond individual ways of thinking and acting. Such a fellowship of learning became a precondition of an effective growth to spiritual maturity which expressed itself in truth,

righteousness and peace.³²

The synthesis of personal devotion and corporate responsibility placed the floodlight on the search for holiness and on the dual importance and sensitivity of living the Gospel and proclaiming the Gospel. The students felt the need to be empowered by the Holy Spirit in order to provide dynamic witness in the society. Consequently, the college community gave particular attention to prayers, Eucharist, Bible reading, retreats, Saturday morning intercessions, preaching assignments and teaching in Sunday Schools in various churches.

These acts of worship represented vital and integral elements in the spiritual search and formation of the community, which made the staff and students increasingly sensitive to the needs and challenges of the society and prepared them for participation and commitment to the United Theological College of the West Indies.³³

6.7 The Relationships

6.7.1 The Relationship with the Churches

During the period 1843 to 1966, Calabar College was confronted with financial problems. The high cost of theological education in a developing country, such as Jamaica, placed a heavy financial burden on the Baptist Church in Jamaica. The instability of the national economy had adverse effect on the income of the church. For instance, between 1843 and 1860 the average annual contribution of a member of the Baptist Church had fallen from 11 shillings to 3 shillings.³⁴ Consequently, there was a growing dependence on the foreign missionary societies for financial support.

In 1843, the Baptist Missionary Society contributed 1,000 towards the establishment of Calabar College at Rio Buena, Trelawny. In 1845, it agreed to pay the salary of the warden and to give 25 annually towards the financial support of each student at the college. In 1868, the society donated 1,420 towards the refurbishing of the new site of the college at East Queen Street, Kingston. By 1886, the Liverpool Missionary Conference recommended that the Jamaica Baptist Union should take full responsibility for the financial support of the college. However, the deductions from the stipend of the pastors to repay the cost of their training at college, and the contribution of the local denomination were never enough to meet the financial needs of the college. As a result, the financial responsibility of the college became a real challenge to the Baptist Church in Jamaica.³⁵

32 *Calabar Theological Institution Report to General Assembly* (1846.) In: *Missionary Herald*, No. XC, n.p.; Clement Gayle, *Variety of Spirituality in the Churches* (1984) n.p.; Stephen Jennings, *Sorting out Spirituality in Jamaica* (1994) n.p.

33 *President's Report to Jamaica Baptist Union* (1931-45) n.p.; *President's Report to Assembly Calabar Theological College* (1948-1965) n.p.; Michael Reilly, *Spirituality for Mission* (1978) n.p.

34 *The Missionary Herald* (August 1845) 122-124; *The Baptist Education Society Reports* (1850) 12.

35 *The Missionary Herald* (November 1846) 360; *The Freeman* (July 1890) n.p.

Between 1913 and 1966, the Jamaica Baptist Union became more involved in the operation of Calabar College. By 1920, the president of the college reported directly to the monthly executive meeting of the Jamaica Baptist Union, and annually to its general assembly. The church had the responsibility and authority to approve or disapprove policies which were recommended by the college in connection with the administration of the institution, the discipline, ordination and placement of students, and the tenure of staff. However, the Baptist Missionary Society in London continued to appoint the presidents of the college and to pay their salaries.³⁶

In 1945, the Jamaica Baptist Union had raised 1,250 for the college, and in 1948, the Baptist Missionary Society in London provided the funds for the purchase of the property at Red Hills Road, St Andrew which became the new location of the college.

From the 1950's, Calabar College had extended its relationship beyond the Jamaica Baptist Union. By 1875, it prepared missionaries for work at home and in Africa, and by 1950, it trained candidates for the Ministry of the Disciples of Christ in Jamaica.³⁷

By the emergence of ecumenical theological education in 1954, the Jamaica Baptist Union had taken full responsibility for the direction and financial support of its ministerial education. However, unlike the Presbyterians who were involved in the ecumenical venture from 1954, the participation of the Baptists began in 1966, with the formation of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

6.7.2 The Relationship with other colleges

Within the time frame 1843 to 1966, the relationship of Calabar College with those in Britain and North America had both advantages and disadvantages. It kept the local institutions in touch with developments which were taking place in other theological institutions in advanced societies. Furthermore, it provided a model which could have been adapted sensitively and critically to meet the needs of Jamaica. It also provided some of the clergy who were trained locally with the opportunity of furthering their studies abroad. Unfortunately, too much effort was made for Calabar College to mirror the models of overseas seminaries which were addressing concerns which were mostly different from those in Jamaica. The attempt to utilize uncritically the module of highly-developed societies to meet the needs and solve the problems of a developing society handicapped the efficient ministry and the effective mission of the church in Jamaica. Too much emphasis was laid on a philosophical perspective and on the Classics and Arts, as well as on maintaining a standard for the local institutions comparable to the best abroad. While it was essential to maintain the global nature of theological education, there was an urgent need to de-Europeanise theological education and relate it to the needs and aspiration of the people of Jamaica.

In 1843, when Joshua Tinson was appointed president of Calabar College, he

³⁶ *Tutor's Report to Jamaica Baptist Union* (1956) 27.

³⁷ *Handbook of Jamaica* (1889) 352; *Theological Education Committee Report*, Calabar College (1953) n.p; John Biersdorf ed., *Creating International Ministry* (1976) n.p; David Bosch, *Witness to the World* (1980) n.p.

followed the theological education model used in Stepney College which was related to the University of London and eventually moved to Oxford University as Regent Park College.³⁸ In 1877 Calabar College sought entry for some of its students into the state funded universities of London and Oxford. By 1913, it started to prepare some of its students for the Diploma in Theology, and the Bachelor of Arts degree which were offered by those universities, as well as by Wesley College, University of Leeds, and Bristol College, University of Bristol. In 1931, an English examiner commented on the performance of the Jamaican students as follows, these answers are of a high standard. The men show that good work has been done and a creditable knowledge gained.³⁹ Between 1935 and 1966 some outstanding students of Calabar College pursued post-graduate studies at the University of London, the University of Bristol, the University of Leeds, Oxford University, Union Theological Seminary and Columbia Theological Seminary, as well as other academic institutions abroad.

Between 1913 and 1954, Calabar College shared with Caenwood College of the Jamaica District of Methodist churches and St Colme's Hostel of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica in the co-operative ministerial training scheme. In 1966, it joined with the other Protestant churches in establishing the United Theological College of the West Indies which was affiliated to the University of the West Indies.

6.8 Conclusion

During the period 1843 to 1966, Calabar College trained Afro-Jamaicans for the ministry of the Baptist Church in Jamaica and other Baptist churches abroad. Whether intended or not, the initiative and prudence of the college had created a paradigm-shift and a new vision of ministerial education. It facilitated the removal of some of the negative stereotypes which were associated with the people of African and Asian descent. The bottom line was that Calabar College unlike St. Colme's Hostel had become the trail blazer in the training of indigenous ministerial leadership in Jamaica.

Paradoxically, the model of theological education which was imposed on Jamaica during the nineteenth century did not challenge or seek to correct the psychological dependence which had developed during centuries of colonial rule. As late as the 1960's, Calabar College and St. Colme's Hostel was still controlled by British missionaries and dependent on overseas financial assistance and expatriate leadership. A fundamental reason for British prolonged control of theological education in the Baptist Church in Jamaica was explained by its mystique. The mystique concentrated the responsibility of ministerial training in the hands of the British missionaries as a ruling class or race that was set apart from those they control. The missionaries supposedly possessed special qualities, either inherent in their genes or implanted by their history, which gave them a genius for ruling and managing the affairs of congenitally less organised peoples.

38 Calabar Theological Institution Report, In: *Church Missionary Intelligence News* (1870) 8.

39 *Calabar Theological Institution External Examination Reports* (1912-1948) 45-74; Lloyd Braithwaite, *The Role of the University in the Developing Society of the West Indies* (1965) n.p.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION (1858-1966)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Although the Church of England arrived in Jamaica in 1655, its earliest attempt to provide theological education for candidates who desired to serve in its ministry was made in 1858, with the establishment of Bishop's College in Kingston. Between 1655 and 1858, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge Universities who had obtained their Bachelor of Arts degrees were usually, after their theological studies, accepted by their Bishops for ordination, and some of them sent to Jamaica as missionaries.

The emancipation of the slaves in 1838 resulted in an increasing number of Afro-Jamaicans seeking the pastoral care and spiritual guidance of the Anglican Church in Jamaica. Between 1838 and 1858, some Rectors reported that the attendance of ex-slaves at corporate worship had rapidly improved and that churches had been crowded with them. At the same time, additional grants were provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Religion, the Vestries and the Imperial Government for the building of chapels and schools.

With the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Jamaica (1870) its income from the State was reduced. At the same time, many members of the church and elites of the society were unwilling to contribute financially to a theological institution of purely local derivation. These factors combined with the inadequate supply of students led to the closure of Bishop's College in 1870. In 1871, a special committee was appointed to consider the establishment of another training college for the clergy of the Church of England in Jamaica. Consequently, in 1877, the Jamaica Church Theological College was established.

The attempts by the British missionaries (1877-1966) to initiate and develop ministerial training in the Anglican Church in Jamaica were, at different times, met with challenges and setbacks as well as inadequate financial support by the local church. However, during the embryonic stages, the missionaries were determined and focussed in their efforts. They sought and received financial assistance for their theological training initiatives from overseas missionary societies. At the same time, they obtained the support and commitment of the Diocese of Jamaica. Consequently, in 1893, a denominational college was established and continued until 1966 to provide theological education for ministry of the Diocese.

During the development of theological education in the Church of England in Jamaica, the staff was comprised of British missionaries who were appointed in Britain and were paid by British Missionary Societies. They controlled and shaped the model of ministerial education which was pursued in Jamaica. It is not unreasonable to assume that this might have been a deliberate strategy by the missionary societies to keep theological education in the hands of the British missionaries as another means of civilising the African and Asian community by the transfer of learned culture. Notwithstanding these observations the British missionaries should be recognised for their tenacity in

overcoming the various obstacles in their path and for the integral role they played in the mission of the church and the development of theological education in the Anglican Church in Jamaica. The British missionary hegemonic control and the foreign missionary societies remote control of the theological education system in Jamaica were not relaxed until 1966, with the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

7.2 HISTORY OF THE LOCATION

During the episcopate of Reginald Courtney (1858-1879), Bishop's College was established in 1858 at the Old Bishop's Lodge which is currently King's House, the residence of the Governor General of Jamaica. The College was adversely affected with financial difficulties and an inadequate supply of students during its operation at this site.¹

In 1877, Courtney relocated the theological institution at Spanish Town in St. Catherine and renamed it the Jamaica Church Theological College.²

In 1882, the Church of England removed its theological college to Hanover Street in Kingston. Its accommodation was inadequate and unsatisfactory but the college continued its operation there for 11 years.³

In 1893, when the increasing number of students highlighted the need for additional accommodation, the Anglicans located their theological college at Caledonia Avenue in Kingston.⁴ Its centrality, adequate accommodation and close proximity to the headquarters of the Diocese of Jamaica apparently contributed to its operation at this location until 1966, when it united with the other Protestant colleges to form the United Theological College of the West Indies.

7.3 THE STAFF

During the period 1858 to 1966, the Anglican theological institutions did not experience the problems of shortage of staff comparable with the other Protestant colleges. The wardens and tutors were assisted by the Bishop of Jamaica as well as a cadre of experienced, qualified and competent clergy and lay persons.

The practice of recruiting the tutorial staff of the theological colleges primarily from the United Kingdom continued during this period (1977-1966). Very little information is available about most of these missionaries. However, their contribution to the development of theological education in the Anglican Church in Jamaica should not be

1. John Ellis, *The Diocese of Jamaica* (1913) 152; Edward Evans, *A History of the Diocese of Jamaica* (1975) 28; Edmund Davis, *Roots and Blossoms* (1977) 12; *Warden's Report to Synod*, Bishop's College, In: *Synod Journal* (1858) 7.

2. Evans (1975) 94; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 30; The Diocese of Jamaica, *150th Anniversary Booklet* (1974) 15; *Minutes of Meeting of Theological Training Institution in Jamaica*, Bishop's College (1874) 39-43.

3. *Bishop's Letterbook*, Jamaica Church Theological College (1883) n.p.; *General Prospectus*, Jamaica Church Theological College (1887) n.p.; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 34.

4. Davis, *Roots* (1977) 39; Evans (1975) 97.

underestimated. They responded at a time when they were needed. A pertinent question is why was the British hegemonic control of the theological education process prolonged into the 1960's? It was never clear whether the few Jamaicans who were appointed as tutors during this period were merely expressions of tokenism or genuine signals of a transitional era. It was a period when there was much agitation and many campaigns by the Afro-Jamaican intelligentsia to persuade some private sector companies to employ qualified Jamaicans of African descent. The leadership of the church was dominated by foreign missionaries, and dare anyone of black pigmentation to challenge their ethno-cultural perspective and lifestyle.

Between 1858 and 1871, the Bishop of Jamaica, Reginald Courtenary, assumed the responsibilities for the training of the Anglican students who attended Bishop's College which was located at his official residence. In 1871, the Colonial Church Society appointed James Thelwell as Warden of the College, but he withdrew his acceptance a few months later. Consequently, the Theological Education Committee of the Diocese of Jamaica decided that the lecturers of the St. George's Church Commercial and Middle School would provide the literary training, while the members of the St. George's Church vestry would give lecturers in the theological subjects. This arrangement, under the supervision of the Bishop of Jamaica continued for six years.⁵

In 1877, Charles Douet, an English missionary, was appointed warden of the Jamaica Church Theological College which was sited at Spanish Town in St. Catherine. He was assisted by H. Scotland, another English missionary, who was a curate at the cathedral, Spanish Town. However, Scotland, resigned in 1878 because of ill-health. When Douet resigned in 1879, William Tozer, another English missionary, took over the administration of the college.⁶

During 1882, John Ellis was appointed warden of the college when it reopened at Hanover Street in Kingston. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge University. He served the college faithfully for twelve years.

In 1894, C. H. Coles, an English missionary was appointed warden of the Jamaica Church Theological College and served the institution until 1904, when he resigned because of a dispute with the students concerning discipline.⁷ By 1904, another English missionary, William Farrar, became warden of the college. He reorganised and expanded it to include the following members of staff:

1. The bursar, in charge of the financial aspects of the affairs of the college.
2. The matron, in charge of the domestic staff.
3. The tutor, who provided assistance in the academic sphere of the institution.
4. The warden, responsible for the academic and spiritual life of the college.

5. Evans (1975) 94; *Warden's Report to Synod* Bishop's College, Synod Journal (1858-1871) n.p.

6. Davis, *Roots* (1977) 57; Evans (1975) 95; *Warden's Report to Synod*. Jamaica Church Theological College Synod Journal (1877-1979) n.p.

7. Davis, *Roots* (1977) 58; Evans (1975) 7; *Bishop's Letters Book* (1892) 18; *Anglican Warden's Report to Synod* Jamaica Church Theological College, Synod Journal (1904) 128-132.

The warden was also assisted by lectures given by Enos Nuttall, Archbishop of the West Indies (1893-1916) and Albert Joselyn, Coadjutor Bishop of Jamaica (1905-1913) as well as a number of committed and competent clergy and lay persons. In 1905, William Farrar resigned as warden of the Jamaica Church Theological College when he was elected the Bishop of Antigua. Consequently, the Church Missionary Society appointed J. J. Waterhouse, another English missionary, as warden of the college. He served until 1913 when he resigned and returned to England.⁸

From 1913 to 1914, H. MacDermont, Rector of Craighton, St. Andrew acted as warden of the college. Although he was ably assisted by J. R. Hetherington and G. B. Verity and the following honorary lecturers - Enos Nuttall, Archbishop of the West Indies, Albert Joselyn, Coadjutor Bishop of Jamaica, W. Simms, Archdeacon of Kingston, William Wortley, W. D. Nash, and Lt. Col. C. Gruchy - yet the pressure of administering a church and a college simultaneously, forced him to give up the position at the college. Another English missionary, W. Clarke, succeeded him in 1914. His tenure lasted for a few months, and in 1915 he was replaced by another missionary, W. Simms, who was the Archdeacon of Kingston, and one of the most outstanding Headmasters of Jamaica College.⁹

In 1916, Enos Nuttall interviewed David Bentley, the rector of St. Mary's Church, Plaistow in East London, while in England. Bentley had done his postgraduate degree at Durham University and was highly recommended by Arthur Ingram, Bishop of London (1901-1939). Bentley was appointed warden of the Jamaica Church Theological College and arrived in Jamaica in 1917. In 1918, he changed the name of the institution of St. Peter's College, with Peter as its patron Saint. In 1919, he was elected Assistant Bishop of Jamaica; but he continued to serve as warden of the college. During these years, he had the assistance of G. B. Verity and Gordon Parr as tutors and C. M. Turnell as a lecturer. In 1927, Bentley was elected the Bishop of Barbados and resigned as warden of the college.¹⁰

Lionel Erith, a British missionary, succeeded Bentley in 1927. He was a distinguished Hebrew scholar, who had contributed 5 articles on the Old Testament to Gore's new Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge Commentary. He was also the author of a book on 'The British-Israel Fallacy'. Two years after Erith's appointment, Gordon Parr became ill and returned to England and D. S. Curry took his place as tutor. Curry resigned in 1935 because of ill-health and his responsibilities were assumed by William Cowper, a former Headmaster of Jamaica College.

In 1939, Erith died in England after emergency surgery, and the work of the college was carried on for some months by two Jamaicans: Percival Gibson and John Swaby. They were assisted by Kenneth Carnegie, headmaster of Beckford and Smith School.¹¹

8. *Report of Ministerial Training Committee to Synod* In: Synod Journal (1914) 18.

9. *Synod Journal Diocese of Jamaica* (1914) 26; *Minutes of Meeting of Theological Education Committee* (1914) 152.

10. *Anglican Warden's Report to Synod* St. Peter's College (1926) 189; *Synod Journal* (1927) 31; Enos Nuttall, *The Nuttall Papers* (1916) n.p.

11. *Warden's Report to Synod* St. Peter's Theological College In: Synod Journal (1939) 33; *Report of Ministerial Training Committee to Synod* In: Synod Journal (1940) 29.

Towards the end of 1939, Edward Evans was appointed warden of St. Peter's College. He was born in England, educated at Tornbridge School and Chestnut Theological College, London. He was described as a 'Central Churchman', and a real all-round man, scholar, athlete, and a man of prayer. He arrived in Jamaica in 1940, and guided the institution with prudence and professionalism.

Between 1939 and 1949, the warden received valuable assistance from the following Jamaican lecturers: Kenneth Carnegie, W. L. Brown, J. L. Ramson, L. A. Prescod as well as Rendolph King who was resident tutor. John Wippell and D. S. Curry, English missionaries, also gave valuable tutorial service at the college.

In 1949, Evans resigned on his appointment as Rector of Kingston Parish Church, and was succeeded by D. S. Curry, the former tutor. He was assisted by the following honorary lecturers: H. G. Carrington, A. B. Phillips and J. A. Crick. In 1950, H. Hughes, a retired Deputy Director of Education, was appointed tutor.¹²

Four years after his appointment as warden of the college, Curry resigned and returned to England. He was succeeded in 1953 by E. M. Hughes, a British missionary from the Diocese of Canterbury. During that year the staff at St. Peter's College comprised the warden, E. M. Hughes, the former vicar of Woodnesborough in the Diocese of Canterbury, two tutors, John Wippell and H. Hughes who were also British missionaries, and the Suffragan Bishop of Kingston, Percival Gibson, who was an honorary lecturer on a part-time basis.¹³

A significant development occurred in the year 1958: E. M. Hughes and John Wippell both lectured at Union Theological Seminary. The students of St. Peter's College attended Hughes lectures which were held twice a week.¹⁴ It should be noted that during the year 1959, the Diocese of Jamaica recruited Herbert Clegg from England as tutor of St. Peter's College.

The years 1961 and 1962 saw many changes at St. Peter's College. In 1961, E. M. Hughes resigned and was appointed to the Old Harbour care in St. Catherine. Later that year, Herbert Hughes resigned and returned to England. The Bishop of Jamaica, Percival Gibson, assisted by John Wippell and John Clark administered the college. By the end of the year, Wippell was appointed acting warden and George Brown, a British missionary was appointed senior tutor. In 1962, Derek Sears, another English missionary joined the staff as chaplain.¹⁵

By 1963 the members of staff were George Brown, Herbert Clegg, Derek Sears, John Wippell, John McNab and Percival Gibson. However, by the end of the academic year, George Brown joined the staff of the University of the West Indies as academic advisor.¹⁶

12. *Warden's Report to Synod* In: Synod Journal (1951) 34.

13. *Warden's Report to Synod* In: Synod Journal (1954) 44; Evans (1975) 100; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 60.

14. *Warden's Report to Synod St. Peter's Theological College*, In: Synod Journal (1894-1966) n.p.; Diocese of Jamaica, *Synod Handbook* (1890-1966) n.p.

15. Evans (1975) 101; *Journal of the Church in Jamaica in the Province of the West Indies* (1966) n.p.

16. *The Seminarian* (1964) n.p.; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 61; *Minutes of Meeting of Ministerial*

The period 1965 to 1966 was one of transition at St Peter's College. During that period, John Wippell resigned but remained in Jamaica. And in 1966 Derek Sears also resigned and returned to England. As a consequence, in 1966, John McNab, became the first Jamaican to be appointed warden of St. Peter's College.¹⁷ In 1966, he continued to serve at the United Theological College of the West Indies.

It should be noted that neither the Presbyterian nor the Baptists experienced so many changes in leadership during the period before the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies. It is not clear what were the factors which contributed to this lack of continuity.

7.4 THE STUDENTS

From 1856 to 1966, the Anglican theological institution in Jamaica became engaged in the preparation of candidates for ministry of the Diocese of Jamaica and missionary work in West Africa.

In 1858, one of the problems which confronted Bishop's College was an inadequate supply of suitable students. The numerical inadequacy of candidates for the ministry of the Church of England in Jamaica was due not so much to any lack of capable men who were available but, moreso, to the criteria which were used in determining whether or not a candidate should be admitted to the college. Between 1858 and 1904, students who had obtained secondary or tertiary education from overseas institutions were recruited from Britain or from the upper strata of the Euro-Jamaican society. This resulted in the closure of Bishop's College in 1871 because of an inadequate supply of students. In 1872, four applications were received by the Diocese for ministerial training, but it would appear that no provision was made before 1877. When the Jamaica Church Theological Institution was opened in 1877, four candidates were admitted: John Graham, Robert Petrie, Edward Thomas were Englishmen, while F. A. Stuart was a Barbadian of English ancestry. Later that year, two Euro-Jamaican candidates were admitted: J. D. McPherson and J. Purcell.¹⁸ However, it should be remembered that the Euro-Jamaicans formed a small minority of the total population. The overwhelming mass of Afro-Jamaicans were debarred from entry to the College for academic, financial of ethno-cultural reasons.

Between 1858 and 1904, no black candidate was admitted to the college. A few applied for admission but were all rejected on grounds which may be interpreted primarily as ethno-cultural. For instance, the Afro-Jamaican, Robert Gordon applied for entry to the college in 1858, but Reginald Courtney, Bishop of Jamaica (1856-1979), offered him a place at Codrington College, Barbados, to be prepared as a missionary to West Africa. Gordon declined the offer which meant that if he were to be a priest it

Training Committee Union Theological Seminary (1964) 23.

17. *Warden's Report to Synod St. Peter's Theological College*, In: *Synod Journal* (1894-1966) n.p.; *Minutes of Faculty Committee* (1966) n.p.; *Minutes of Ministry and Mission Division*, Diocese of Jamaica (1960-1966) n.p.

18. Evans (1975) 95; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 67; *Bishop's College Report*. Recruitment of Students (1873) 6; *Minutes of Meeting of Jamaica Church Theological College* (1882) 12.

would not be in Jamaica, but somewhere else. He regarded his going to Africa, under those circumstances, not as repatriation, but as expatriation. He, therefore, charged the Church of England in Jamaica with racial prejudices. He stated:

It is a pity, my Lord, that the Jamaica Church, not having deemed it its duty to show to the Church of England one solitary black clergyman as the fruit of its fostering care, should have insulted the whole body of the black population of the island by insolently ostracising, in these offensive terms, all negro candidates for Holy Orders.¹⁹

In 1860, Gordon was ordained to the priesthood by the Bishop of Huron, Canada. When he returned to Jamaica in 1861, his application to serve in the Diocese of Jamaica was not accepted by the Bishop of Jamaica, on the grounds that 'Gordon had behaved unwisely'.²⁰ In 1862, Gordon was appointed headmaster of Wolmers Grammar School, to which, prior to Gordon's appointment no Afro-Jamaican had been admitted as a student and, certainly, not as a headmaster.

It is informative to note that while the church rejected Afro-Jamaican candidates of the calibre of Gordon, the supply of students to the college had been inconsistent and had reached alarming proportions by 1870's.

Between 1879 and 1883 the Jamaica Church Theological College was closed, because there were no students in residence. During this period, candidates for ministry were trained at various overseas institutions. For example, G. Thomas went to Codrington College, Barbados (1879); J. A. Bowen and A. P. Kennedy to Wycliffe College, Toronto (1880); H. H. Isaacs to Trinity College, Cambridge University, England (1881); and W. E. Evelyn and H. H. Kilburn to Codrington College (1882).²¹

By 1882, Enos Nuttall, Bishop of Jamaica (1880-1916), had been convinced of the necessity of building an indigenous ministry in Jamaica. However, there were powerful forces within church and society that strongly opposed any move which would include Afro-Jamaicans within the ministry of the church. The most readily available form of ecclesiastical function for emancipated slaves and their descendants was service in the ranks of catechists, which was in strict subordination to the clergy.

It was not until 1902 that the College Committee with the approval of the Diocesan Council agreed to the admission of Afro-Jamaicans to the Jamaica Church Theological College. The Committee discussed the application of S. T. A. Jones (1902) who was of African descent and after careful and prolonged deliberations came to the following conclusions:

1. That it would be wrong in principle and equity and contrary to the witness and opinions of the Committee if any steps were taken, which might justly be interpreted as meaning the exclusion from admission to the college of a black man because of his colour, and that it was especially desirable that facilities should be given for admitting black men from the rank of catechists to the college.

19. Robert Gordon, *The Jamaica Church, Why it has Failed* (1867) 18; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 70.

20. Gordon (1867) 19; *Warden's Report to Synod Bishop's College Synod Journal* (1862) 27.

21. Evans (1975) 97; *Bishop's Letterbook Jamaica Church Theological College* (1893) 18.

2. That owing to local circumstances and local prejudices reported on good authority to the Committee, the number of cures in which the services of black men would be welcomed, appreciated and supported is at present very limited.
3. That having regard for the foregoing statements, and also to the fact that there has not been any black student at the college for the preceding years, the Committee recommends that the Archbishop (Enos Nuttall) makes enquires with a view of finding out who are the best men of this type in question now available to become candidates for admission to the college, with a view to training for ordination to the ministry of the church in this Diocese.²²

A new era had dawned in 1904 when S. T. A. Jones, an Afro-Jamaican had been admitted to be a student of the Jamaica Church Theological College. He was followed by two other Afro-Jamaicans, Percival Gibson in 1911, and Theodore Tucker in 1912.²³

From 1893 to 1913, students were trained at the college as missionaries to West Africa. By way of illustration: A. F. March and W. A. Burriss went to Rio Pongos (1896); Walter Brown, Reuben Llewellyn and Jacob Stewart to Nigeria (1905); W. A. Thompson to Lokoja (1906); S. M. Binger to Nigeria (1908); H. H. Sampson to Bassa (1912); and T. E. Douglas to Zaria (1912). Other students were trained as missionaries for Central America. For instance, E. D. Tingling and S. P. Hendrick went to Panama (1894); F. E. Smith and H. B. Verity to British Honduras (1895).²⁴

During the period 1904 to 1913, the students at the Jamaica Church Theological College were divided into two categories:

1. Students of various levels of attainment, who were preparing for Holy Orders without sitting the Licentiate in Theology Examinations offered by Durham University, England.
2. Students who were pursuing the Licentiate in Theology course and/or a degree course leading to the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Divinity degrees from the University of London or from the University of Windsor, England. Some of the students were Englishmen with a good general education, but no theological training; the others were creole Jamaicans who after their education in the arts and classics, entered the theological college in Jamaica to complete their preparation for the ministry.²⁵ The inclusion of Afro-Jamaican students in the college community during the first decade of the twentieth century, was a mature and strategic decision by the

22. *Minutes of College Committee Meeting* (1902) 5; *Synod Handbook*, Diocese of Jamaica (1996) n.p.; *Anglican Warden's Report to Synod* Jamaica Church Theological College, *Synod Journal* (1904) 128.

23. *Report of Jamaica Church Theological College Candidates Committee to Church Missionary Society* (1908-1912) n.p.; Evans (1975) 98; *Synod Journal* (1904-1913) 9; Frank Cundall, *History of the Diocese of Jamaica*, The 150th Anniversary Booklet (1976) 26.

24. Evans (1975) 109; The 150th Anniversary Booklet (1976) 28; *Synod Journal* (1913) 16.

25. *Minutes of College Committee Meeting* (1913) 6; *Synod Journal* (1910-1913) n.p.; *Report of Jamaica Church Theological College, Candidates Committee to Church Missionary Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Reports* (1858-1913) n.p.

Church of England in Jamaica.

Between 1858 and 1913, the Anglican theological institution had trained 83 students for the priesthood. Among them were 65 Englishmen, 1 Welshman, 1 Irishman, 1 American, 1 East Indian, 1 Antiguan, 1 Honduran, 1 Afro-Jamaican and the others were white creole Jamaicans. These numbers were woefully inadequate to meet the needs of the church. However, the practice was to recruit English clergymen for service in the Diocese of Jamaica, in order to complement the few candidates for ordination who graduated annually from the college.

In 1936, the Moravian Provincial Bishop, Augustus Westphal (1903-1939) applied to the Anglican Bishop of Jamaica, William Hardie (1931-1949) for the training of Moravian students at St. Peter's College. The Diocesan Council decided in the affirmative, and the relationship between the college and the Moravian Church in Jamaica continued until 1939, after which the Moravian students were trained at St. Colme's Hostel. However, among the 78 students trained at St. Peter's College during those years were 3 Moravians: Walter O'Meally (1935), P. A. McFarlane (1936) and S. A. Harriott (1937). These Moravian students resided at St. Peter's College while they prepared for the Licentiate of Theology which was offered by Durham University. In 1939, the Moravian Church in Jamaica discontinued the ministerial training of its men at the Anglican institution, after Walter O'Meally requested and was accepted into the ministry of the Diocese of Jamaica. In that year, it withdrew S. A. Harriott from St. Peter's College because it apparently feared that he too might become an Anglican.²⁶

In an attempt to foster a spirit of co-operation among the Protestant colleges, in 1913, St. Peter's College joined with St. Colme's Hostel, Calabar College and Caenwood College and together they formed a Student Cricket team. During that year, students at the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist colleges began to play table-tennis at St. Peter's College. In 1937, the spirit of co-operation was further cemented when the students of the four colleges organised themselves into a Fraternal of which E. R. de Pass-Haughton, an Anglican student, was elected the President. The executive of the Fraternal met once per month and planned a variety of extra-curricula activities for the four participating institutions.

Some graduates of this period obtained remarkable achievements. For example, G. B. Verity (1912) having gained the Bachelor of Divinity degree, returned and lectured at The Jamaica Church Theological College in 1914; Percival Gibson (1918) became Bishop of Jamaica (1956-1967); and John Swaby (1926) succeeded Gibson as Bishop of Jamaica (1968-1975).²⁷

From 1913 to 1937, there was a steady flow of students into St. Peter's College. In 1913 there were 9 students in residence, in 1930 the number of students stood at 8; but in 1935 it increased to 10, which was two students less than the full complement of the

26. *Warden's Report to Synod In: Synod Journal* (1939) 33; *Report of Ministerial Training Committee to Synod In: Synod Journal* (1942) 28.

27. *Diocese of Jamaica Synod Handbook* (1966) 54; *Diocese of Jamaica The 150th Anniversary Booklet* (1974) 17; Evans (1975) 81; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 52.

college.²⁸ It is important to note that during this period preference of admission to the colleges was given to white applicants, whether they were Europeans or Creole Jamaicans. The next category that was readily allowed admission was the gentlemen of colour who together with the whites formed the elite group of the society. The Afro-Jamaican students who were accepted into the institution seemed to have represented a 'superior type' of black men. Other Jamaicans of African descent were prepared at the college for missionary work in Africa. It is not certain whether these candidates for ministry accepted the option to serve in Africa because they were unable to gain admission to the ministry of the Diocese of Jamaica, or because they preferred to work in the land of their ancestors. After years of service in Africa, most of them returned to Jamaica and served in the land of their birth.

Among the 78 students who were trained at St. Peter's College during this period (1913-1954), 26 came from England, 3 from Wales, 2 from Ireland, 2 from the United States of America, 2 from Antigua, 1 from Honduras and 42 from Jamaica. A few of the English students returned to England soon after their ordination, but others remained in Jamaica and served the Diocese for the full duration of their ministry. For example, John Clark, an Englishman, a student at St. Peter's College (1936-1938), served the Diocese throughout his entire ministry, and was elected Suffragan Bishop of Kingston (1968-1976). He died in 1996 and was buried in Jamaica.²⁹

Between 1938 and 1954, St. Peter's College had trained 68 students for the ministry of the Diocese of Jamaica. Some of the outstanding graduates of this period were Herbert Edmondson (1949) who served as Bishop of Jamaica (1975-1979) and William Murray (1950) who became Suffragan Bishop of Mandeville (1975-) and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies (1979-1986).³⁰

During the period 1938 to 1954, the relationship between St. Peter's College and the other denominations strengthened the co-operative relationship with the other colleges. In 1943, in consultation with the Anglican and Methodist churches, the warden of St. Peter's College planned a series of lectures for external students who were preparing for the Bachelor of Arts degree offered by Durham University and the Bachelor of Divinity degree offered by the University of London. The lecturers for this extra-mural programme were selected from the Anglican and Methodist churches. These lecturers fostered a deeper fellowship among the students of the Protestant colleges, and provided an opportunity for continued education among the pastors of the various denominations. However, by 1947 the support for the programme started to decline and it was discontinued by the end of that year. It should also be noted that in 1943 an English sociologist, Professor John Simey, used St. Peter's College for a series of Social Welfare lectures. These lectures were attended by students of the four Protestant colleges who also shared fellowship at lunch each day.

The supply of students to St. Peter's College during this period was relatively

28. *Synod Journal* Diocese of Jamaica (1913-1936) n.p.

29. Diocese of Jamaica, *The 150th Anniversary Booklet* (1974) 21; Evans, \ (1975) 68; Cundall, (1946) 115.

30. *The Jamaica Churchman* (1975) 1; *Handbook of General Information at UTCWI* (1966-1991) n.p.

consistent. In 1939 there were 10 students in residence; in 1949, the number increased to 12 which was the full capacity of the accommodation of the college; but in 1952 it was reduced to 8. The number was further reduced that year when Wilmot Perkins withdrew from the college. In an attempt to deal with the declining numbers of students at the college, the theological education committee suggested that men of high intellectual standard and professional achievement who were well over the average age of students should be admitted to the college. They were required to do a one year course, at the end of which they would be ordained in the full time ministry of the Diocese of Jamaica. Many of the target groups did not respond to the scheme and so it proved of little help to the church.

It was difficult to determine how many of the 68 students who were trained at St. Peter's College during this period were Afro-Jamaicans. From the third decade of the twentieth century the minutes of the College Committee did not mention the ethnic origin of the Jamaican students who were admitted to the college. However, it is reasonable to assume that most of them were coloured gentlemen and Afro-Jamaicans who had distinguished themselves academically and had achieved a reasonable economic stability.

One of the significant features of the period (1954-1966) was that the students of the college were not recruited from Britain, but mainly from Jamaica and other Caribbean countries. In 1955, only 1 student came from Britain and 1 from Canada. There was no British, Canadian or American student at the colleges in 1964. The British student to be admitted to St. Peter's College in 1965, terminated his course of study at the college in 1966 and returned to England. The other students at the college during this time frame were Afro-Jamaicans and Afro-Caribbeans.³¹

Between 1954 and 1966, St Peter's college had produced some distinguished alumni who have given outstanding service to the church, the college and the society. Any attempt to compile a comprehensive list of these graduates would be too voluminous. Consequently, the selection is restricted to a few examples. For instance, Orlando Lindsay³² a student at the college (1954-1956), has been serving as Bishop of the Diocese of the North Eastern Caribbean and Aruba since 1970, and Archbishop of the West Indies since 1986. Keith McMillan (1954-1957) served as a member of the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies(1970-1979) and as Bishop of the Diocese of Belize (1980-1988). Neville de Souza (1955-1958) has been serving as Bishop of Jamaica since 1979 and as a member of the Board of Governors of the United Theological College of the West Indies since 1980.³³ Other graduates of the college have given sterling service as Diocesan Bishops in the Caribbean, guest lecturers and professors in theological institutions and universities in North America and Europe, as well as have left their indelible marks on the church and the society.

In 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies was established,

31. Synod Journal (1955-1966) n.p.; *Minutes of St. Peter's College* (1955-1966) n.p.; *Diocese of Jamaica Synod Handbook* (1955-1966) n.p.

32. Evans (1975) 72, 94, 127; Lindsay was the first Jamaican of African descent to be elected Archbishop of the West Indies.

33. Evans (1975) 72, 130; *Synod Journal* (1979-1966) n.p.; Diocese of Jamaica, *Synod Handbook* (1958-1966) n.p.

St. Peter's College supplied 5 students to the ecumenical institution.³⁴

7.5 THE CURRICULUM

From 1858, some ministerial training was given at Bishop's College in Kingston. However, a curriculum was not designed until 1872. In that year, the curriculum was divided into a literary and a theological course. The literary course embraced the usual branches of a good British education, and the rudiments of Latin and Greek; the theological, courses in Biblical Exposition, Pulpit Elocution and Homiletics, Pastoral Theology, and Practical Work and Church Management.³⁵ Textbooks were imported from England and examinations were set and assessed according to British standards.

Students were engaged in Sunday schools, doing catechetical work under the supervision of experienced clergymen and at the direction of the College Committee.

As theological education developed in the Anglican Church in Jamaica, the curriculum was extended. The following curriculum was prepared by Reginald Courtenay, Bishop of Jamaica, and Rev. C. F. Douet, Principal of Jamaica Church Theological College. It was published in the *Church Chronicle*, September 1877 and contained:

Greek Testament
 Bible History
 The 39 Articles of Faith
 Church History
 Prayer Book
 Paley's Evidence of Christianity
 Latin (Set Books)
 Latin and Greek Grammar
 Logic and Euclid
 Essay and Composition.

The curriculum at this early stage embraced training in the Classics and Theology, as a whole set of disciplines typical of European theological institutions.

By 1877, all candidates seeking admission to the college were required to pass a satisfactory entrance examination in the following subjects:

Bible - Old and New Testaments
 Prayer Book
 English History
 Arithmetic

34. Davis, *Roots* (1977) 79,86; Evans (1975) 101; *Warden's Report to Synod*, St. Peter's Theological College, In: *Synod Journal* (1955-1966) n.p.; *List of Students*, UTCWI (1966-1967) n.p.

35. *Warden's Report to Synod* Bishop's College In *Synod Journal* (1858-1874) n.p.; Evans (1975) 94; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 92; *Nuttall Papers* (1866-1916) n.p.

Geography
 Dictation and Composition
 Elocution.

Candidates who desired to enter degree programme were required, in addition, to the foregoing subjects, to gain a satisfactory standard in:

One Gospel in Greek
 Caesar de bello Gallico (Book I and II)
 Algebra (to the end of Simple Equations)
 Euclid (Book I)
 General History
 Thirty-nine Articles with Scripture proofs.³⁶

Between 1903 and 1930, the following subjects were added to the curriculum of the college:

Church Music
 Church Building
 Elocution
 Medicine.

These subjects were considered by the college as essential for the students who were being prepared for missionary work in West Africa.

It must be emphasised that, after 1930, P. W. Gibson did the most to reshape and develop the curriculum. In 1936, he suggested that more training in Homilectics and Pastoralia should be offered to the students. According to him, this could be conducted by experienced clergymen of the Diocese. Apparently Canon Gibson realised the need for better communication and deeper involvement between priests and people. Three years later he followed up with the suggestion that some of the students from St. Peter's College should be allowed to attend classes in French at Kingston College.³⁷

By 1950, the curriculum was standardised and redesigned for a three year programme. It was used with variations to prepare students for either the General Ordination Examinations or the Bachelor of Divinity offered by the University of London or the Bachelor of Arts pursued at Durham University. Between 1954 and 1966, the curriculum was as follows:

First Year:
 Elocution

36. *Warden's Report to Synod* Jamaica Church Theological College (1877-1881) n.p.; *Bishop's Letter Book* Jamaica Church Theological College (1895) 6; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 93.

37. *Minutes of Meeting of Theological Education Committee* St. Peter's Theological College (1913-1916) n.p.; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 95; Frank Cundall, *History of the Diocese of Jamaica* (1946) 67.

Pastoral Theology

Logic

Elementary Theology

Old Testament Introduction (History of Israel)

New Testament Introduction (Gospels)

Church History (Early Period)

English Bible

Homiletics

Latin

Philosophy

Second Year:

Religious Education

Elocution

Practical Theology

Apologetics

English Bible

Old Testament Introduction (The Prophets, Psalms and Wisdom Books)

New Testament Introduction (Teaching of Jesus)

New Testament Exegesis (Matthew and Romans)

Ethics

Church History (Reformation Period)

Systematic Theology (Being of God, Doctrine of the Spirit)

Hebrew (Grammar and Syntax)

Church Building (especially for missionaries to Africa)

Medicine

Third Year:

Elocution

Practical Theology

Comparative Religion

English Bible

Old Testament Studies (Religious Ideas in the Old Testament)

New Testament Studies (Teaching of St. Paul and the Epistles)

New Testament Exegesis (Mark and Acts)

Systematic Theology (Man, Sin and Grace)

History of Missions

Church Music

Psychology

Church Administration

French.³⁸

38. St. Peter's Theological College *Curriculum Committee Report to Diocesan Council* (1956-1960) n.p.; St. Peter's Theological College *Curriculum Committee Report to Synod* (1926-1966)

During this period 1954 to 1966, there were many similarities as well as differences between the curriculum of St. Peter's College and those of Union Theological Seminary and Calabar College. St. Colme's Hostel, Calabar College and St. Peter's College did not include missiology in their curricula. That of the Anglican institution included subjects, such as French, Medicine and Church Building which were not found in those of the Presbyterian and Baptist colleges. The curriculum of St. Peter's College may be regarded as an extension of theological institutions in England. This point is readily understood and appreciated since the wardens and most of the tutors were either Englishmen or persons who were trained in England. As products of the English system, they endeavoured to develop a curriculum which furthered the promulgation of western values and British civilising mission. The curriculum was so conditioned by a middle- and upper-class value structure that it was not oriented to deal with the problems and needs of the Afro-Jamaicans and the wider Afro-Caribbean communities.

The influence of British thought on the curriculum was often characterised by a valorisation of British culture at the expense of non-British culture. The curriculum became that of the master with features of both a transcendental dialectic which always constitute the students as object rather than as subject. It did not provide the student with the opportunity to participate in the form, the content and the decision making process which treated the events, the persons, and the issues in their environment as important resources for understanding and insight. Furthermore, it reflected Goodland's concern 'that the curriculum appeared to be hung up on a limited repertoire of methodologies and has not yet struck out boldly in an effort to employ, adapt and invent methodologies suited to the peculiar character of the problem at hand'.³⁹

The curriculum did not allow students to experiment with models which reflected socio-political and anthropological concerns, as well as with the conventional models of individual scholarship. It prepared them to become members of an exclusive community, which resulted in the alienation from self and the wider society. George Lamming has examined and pointed out that the alienation from self which was for the colonised, the psychic legacy of colonialism, had resulted in the disintegration of self and community.⁴⁰

Paradoxically, the ethno-cultural stereotypes and theories were not so much indicative of ignorance as they were evidence of a certain kind of knowledge given force and validity within the curriculum. The force of such analysis and categorisation, established within the European oriented curriculum, and centred in the idea of identity through difference, informed much of the module of the theological education process of

n.p.; *Synod Journal* Diocese of Jamaica (1825-1966) n.p.; D. A. Williams, *Analysis of Diocesan Involvement in Education* (1992) n.p.

39. John Goodland, *Curriculum: State of the Field* (1949) 368; David Tanner and Laurel Tanner, *Curriculum Development* (1975) 94; Michael Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979) 123; Linda Chung, *Modernisation and Ethnicity* (1979) n.p.; Shaki Coe, *In Search of Renewal in Theological Education* (1972) n.p.; Harold Entwistle, *Class, Culture and Education* (1979) n.p.

40. George Lamming, *In the Castle of My Skin* (1953) 38; Albert Menimi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1965) 93; Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self Identity* (1991) n.p.

this period. The curriculum mirrored the European spirit of conquest and, therefore, it denied, for example, Afro-Jamaicans any sense of their history, culture and identity. It expressed what V. S. Naipaul designates as 'historylessness'.⁴¹

One would have thought that after the 1950's when the student body was composed of largely dark-skinned Jamaicans, the curriculum would have placed more emphasis on such disciplines as pastoral psychology, sociology, political science, Christian education, history of the Caribbean, and the study of the ethnic and religious roots of the Caribbean peoples. Sufficient consideration was not given to these or to the multi-racial and cultural structure of the society. As a result, by 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies began ecumenical ministerial education, a curriculum was developed which emphasised quality of education in keeping with European models, without commitment either to the Jamaican community or to the development of the total person within the context of ethno-cultural identity and self-actualisation.

7.6 THE SPIRITUALITY

During the period under review, the spirituality of the Anglican theological institution was grounded in Scripture, tradition and reason. The spiritual life of the community was nurtured by a disciplined life of personal prayers and corporate worship. There were four communal worship services each day: Morning Prayer, Litany at midday, Evening Prayer and Compline. Holy Communion was celebrated at least once per week and on Saints Days. Each term commenced with a Retreat which was conducted by the warden. During the term there was a Quiet Day which was sometimes led by a visiting clergyman. The students at the college assisted at Sunday school and Church services on Sundays and during vacations. The spiritual life of the colleges revolved around the chapel. It served as a meeting place for the diverse expressions of concerns of the community and as a symbol of the fundamental unity and spiritual nurture of the community which was a gift of the Holy Spirit. Corporate worship in the chapel was one of the ways in which the community shared in God's forgiveness, love and reconciliation. It provided the atmosphere and circumstances in which the staff and the students searched, renewed, discerned and embraced each other's ministry, relationship, commitment, growth and witness in the building up of the body of Christ, and the integration and development of the society.⁴²

41. V. S. Naipaul, *The Middle Passage* (1981) 29; Michael Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979) 58; Edward Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens* (1985) n.p.; John Chambers, *Journal of Education Psychology* (1973) n.p.; R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (1973) n.p.; Franz-Josef Eilers, *Communicating Between Cultures* (1992) n.p.

42. Stephen Jennings, *Sorting Out Spirituality in Jamaica* (1994) n.p.; John Booty, *The Spirituality of Participation in Richard Hooker* (1994) n.p.; Chin-Fen Haiso, *Personality and Spirituality Developed in Relation to Theological Education* (1977) n.p.; Ben Johnson, *Pastoral Spirituality* (1988) n.p.; Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Christian Spirituality* (1983) n.p.; Peter Phan,

The daily spiritual experience in the chapel reminded and challenged both staff and students of their responsibility to narrow the gap between the secularising radicals and the heavenly conservatives and to maintain a creative balance between intellectualism and emotionalism. They were reminded of their 'call' to become authentic and effective channels of reconciliation in a broken and divided society. This inevitably demanded constant conversion and on-going formation and discipleship which were rooted in a life indwelt by the Holy Spirit and in solidarity with those who were marginalised and oppressed. The daily acts of worship in the chapel were a source of encouragement and challenge to the community which was nourished by Word and Sacrament, and which expressed itself in a life of service, joy and hope in the Triune God. The emphasis on a life disciplined and nurtured by the liturgy and the sacrament of Holy Communion was stronger at St. Peter's College than at St. Colme's Hostel and Calabar College.

The need was felt for a synthesis of the life of prayer and the life of radical activity. The integration of inner spirituality and social action needed to be reaffirmed and focussed. The concept of the pastor being 'set apart', which was the outdated European model of ascetic sanctity, was sometimes too narrowly understood as the only criterion and expression of faithfulness to God. The community was made aware that spirituality in the Jamaican context, first and foremost, commended itself to the kind of sanctity which was involved with the people in their communities. These two complimentary perspectives prepared and equipped the students of the colleges to deal with some of the complex pastoral situations within the society.

7.7 THE RELATIONSHIPS

7.7.1 The Relationship with the Churches

In 1858, theological education was started in the Anglican Church in Jamaica by Reginald Courtenay, Bishop of Jamaica. In order to ensure that a close relationship existed between the college and the church, he located Bishop's College in the old Bishop's Lodge in Kingston. Between 1858 and 1877, he was responsible for ministerial training in the Diocese.⁴³ Between 1877 and 1966, the various Diocesan bishops maintained a close relationship with the theological institution.

During the period 1858 to 1966, the college was accountable to the Diocese of Jamaica. The warden of the college reported monthly to the Diocesan Council and annually to the Synod. The Theological Education Committee monitored the operation of the college and submitted its reports to the Diocesan Council. However, the Council and Synod had the authority to make or change policies which would affect the administration of the institution such as recruitment of students and the tenure of staff.

The financial maintenance of the college had been a real challenge to the Diocese over the years. However, it received benevolent grants and bequests from overseas

Cultural Diversity (1994) n.p.; William Pinar (ed.) *Heightened Consciousness* (1974) n.p.; Michael Reilly, *Spirituality for Mission* (1978) n.p.

43. *Warden's Report to Synod Bishop's College* In : Synod Journal (1858-1971) n.p.

missionary societies as well as local churches and individuals. Between 1877 and 1888, the Colonial and Continental Missionary Society contributed 300.00 annually to the college. In 1879, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge donated 200.00 and in 1887 it again gave 1,000.00. From 1877 to 1892 the Dowager Lady Howard de Walden provided an annual grant of 1,000.00 for the college.⁴⁴

In 1889, synod reported that of the 90 cures only 23 churches had contributed to the college. These figures suggest that most Jamaicans did not feel the need for a theological college, probably because the mission of the church was not dynamic and relevant enough to the experiences of the great majority of the population. Others may have preferred to be trained abroad, and so they tended to look askance at any institution of purely local derivation.

In 1916, Archbishop Enos Nuttall left a bequest of 200.00 which was used to establish a scholarship fund in his name. In 1937, Christine Burrowes contributed 100.00; in 1938 Willie Gamble 800.00; Matilda Valentine 200.00; and Mary Klien 100.00. In spite of these donations and the annual contribution of 800.00 by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, funds at the disposal of the college were very limited.⁴⁵

In 1927, the Bishop of Honduras, E. A. Dunn (1917-1944) requested that candidates for the ministry of his Diocese be trained at St. Peter's College. It was agreed that men from Honduras be trained at the college at an annual fee of \$100.00 per student. It should be noted that there was a long-standing relationship between the Diocese of Jamaica and the Church in Honduras. In fact, when the Diocese of Jamaica was established in 1824 the British settlements in Honduras constituted a part of it. This arrangement continued until 1891 when British Honduras became a separate Diocese under its first Bishop, H. R. Holme.⁴⁶

Between 1936 and 1939, three Moravian students were trained at St. Peter's College. By 1947 St. Peter's College was in such a precarious financial position that the Suffragan Bishop of Kingston, Percival Gibson (1947-1955) sent out appeals to 100 churchmen for special contributions to the college. As a consequence of his initiative the Dixon Scholarship Scheme was formed in 1948. It provided 4 scholarships tenable at St. Peter's College at a value of 200.00 annually. A fifth scholarship was tenable at Durham University or a medical school for two years.⁴⁷

From 1950 to 1965, St. Peter's College received generous gifts and endowments from the Taylor Trustees in England, and from the Jamaica Church Missionary Society. In 1965, the financial strain at the college was significantly reduced by a bequest of

44. *General Prospectus of Jamaica Church Theological College* (1887) n.p.; *Minutes of Meeting of Jamaica Church* (1892) n.p.

45. *Anglican Warden's Report to Synod*. St. Peter's Theological College (1926) n.p.; *St. Peter's Theological College Annual Income and Expenditure Report to Diocesan Council* (1926-1965) n.p.; Frank Cundall, *Life of Enos Nuttall* (1922) 185.

46. *Report of Ministerial Training Committee to Synod St. Peter's Theological College* (1894-1950) n.p.

47. Evans (1975) 101; Davis, *Roots* (1977) 107; *The Jamaica Churchman* (1936-1970) n.p.; *Journal of the Church in the Province of the West Indies* (1890-1966) n.p.

\$2,000.00 from G. H. Scott.⁴⁸

The high cost of education in a developing country, such as Jamaica prevented many students from meeting the financial requirements of the college. They had to be subsidised or provided with loans by the Diocese. At the same time, the Diocese was caught up in the struggle of meeting its recurrent expenditure after its disestablishment and disendowment in 1870. Consequently, no apparent strategic plan was worked out to develop its assets in order to become financially independent before 1966, when it began to participate in the ecumenical enterprise of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

7.7.2 The Relationship with other Colleges

Between 1858 and 1913, the Anglican theological institution in Jamaica was associated with several overseas colleges. After three years of ministerial training in Jamaica, some students continued their education abroad. For example, in 1879, G. Thomas proceeded to Codrington College, Barbados; and in 1892, W. E. Evelyn and H. H. Kilburn also went there to be trained primarily as missionaries to West Africa. In 1880, J. A. Bowen and A. P. Kennedy were prepared at Wycliffe College, McGill University for the Bachelor of Divinity degree, and in 1881, H. H. Isaacs went to Cambridge University to prepare for the Bachelor of Arts degree. Jamaican students were allowed to sit the Licentiate in Theology or the Bachelor of Arts examinations after an additional year of study at Durham University. However, at London, Cambridge, Oxford and McGill Universities they had to pursue their courses for two additional years before they were allowed to sit the Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Divinity examinations.⁴⁹

During the period from 1913 to 1966, several students of the Anglican institution in Jamaica prepared for, and were successful in the Licentiate in Theology, the Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Divinity, Master of Arts and Doctor of Sacred Theology degrees at theological institutions in Britain, North America and Canada. The work of students who sat external examinations was assessed by both local and overseas examiners. Although the students at the Anglican institution in Jamaica did not have the advantages of residential students, they competed commendably with their overseas peers. In 1931, an English examiner commented on the performance of the Jamaican students as follows, 'I have read all the papers with interest and several of them with marked appreciation. It is evident to me that good, solid work is being done in our Jamaican college.'⁵⁰

48. *St Peter's College Finance Committee Report to Diocesan Financial Board* (1932-1966) n.p.; The Taylor Trustees administer funds from the residuary estate of Dr. William Taylor of Queen's College, Oxford and Liverpool, who died in 1836. He left them in the discretion of the Trustees for the promotion of Christian Education within the island of Jamaica.

49. *Minutes of Meeting of Theological Education Committee*, Jamaica Church Theological College (1913) 152.

50. *Warden's Report to Diocesan Council*, St. Peter's Theological College, In: *Synod Journal* (1933-1934); *Letter from Durham University to St. Peter's Theological College* (1946) n.p.

St. Peter's College was not a partner in a co-operative ministerial training venture (1913-1954) but the students participated in a variety of joint activities, such as dramatic plays and poetry reading, cricket, football, tennis as well as a united social evening each term. A united committee was formed of representatives of St. Colme's Hostel, Calabar College, St. Peter's College and Caenwood College to arrange the various extra-curricula activities. Between 1954 and 1966 some Anglican tutors lectured weekly at Caenwood College, and the Anglican students attended those lectures. The students participation in the joint programmes cemented their fellowship and strengthened the multilateral relationships among the colleges, which, in 1966, facilitated the ecumenical spirit at the United Theological College of the West Indies.

7.8 CONCLUSION

The model of theological education which developed in the Anglican college in Jamaica during this period (1858-1966) did not seriously address the socio-cultural and ethno-religious concerns and needs of, particularly, the people of African descent. It would appear that enough effort was not made to relate the ministerial training programme to the distinctive and peculiar cultural and historical experience of Afro-Jamaicans. The structure and design of the curriculum did not reflect a sensitivity and awareness of, and an active concern and involvement in the contextual situation and experiences. Given Jamaica's socio-cultural, psych-historical and religio-political background, the theological education system was not tested against the challenges, aspirations, and peculiarities of the particular environment.

The Anglican model of theological education in Jamaica which was derived from British institutions placed the emphasis on high academic attainment in the Classics and Arts. The philosophical perspective and conservative approach pursued by the British tutorial staff resulted in a closed predicament, which was protected from anything which could not be accommodated within it. Arendth Van Leeuwen has commented 'that the irreversible direction of modern history is toward the open predicament.'⁵¹ Notwithstanding, the theological education system of the Anglican college was not informed by the open predicament which involved a creative openness to the church and the world, and a kind of sensitive listening, reflecting and acting. Instead, it was locked into the ethno-centricity and the civilising mission of the British theological educators. It was not integrated to bring together a wide range of disciplines, methods and models. Instead, a model was pursued which mirrored British imposition and Jamaica's imitation.

The Baptist theological college had started the training of Afro-Jamaicans since 1843, but for 62 years, Afro-Jamaicans were not admitted to the Anglican theological institution in Jamaica. Many of them entered the ranks of catechists and Church Army. But this in itself resulted in a new consciousness of ecclesiastical division and social stratification. The model of theological education offered at the college until the 1950's

51. Arend Th. Van Leeuwen, *Christianity and World Civilisation*, In: *Roots and Blossoms* (1977) 114.

supported and maintained an elitist system which responded to the demands of Euro-Jamaicans while neglecting the needs of Afro-Jamaicans. Notwithstanding the aforementioned comments, the British missionaries will long be remembered for their prudent vision and pioneering zeal in laying the foundation of theological education in Jamaica.

From 1954 to 1966, St. Peter's College and Calabar College did not participate in the ecumenical theological education scheme, but St. Colme's Hostel was a full partner. However, in 1966, the Anglican institution was involved in the ecumenical initiative which blossomed into the United Theological College of the West Indies.

Relationship with those who possessed this mystique did not produce contempt; it merely produced awe which reinforced the apartness of the pro-consular race. However, this relationship could not be easily maintained if Afro-Jamaicans were admitted to the academic staff of the college in significant numbers or appointed to hierarchial positions where the mystique was at its most intense level. It was not surprising that the few Afro-Jamaicans who were appointed to the academic staff of Calabar College and St. Colme's Hostel towards the end of this period, were relegated to assistants to the British leadership and control of the Protestant college. This was, apparently, a deliberate move to keep theological education at these colleges firmly in the hands of British missionaries.

Consequently, the model of ministerial training which was pursued was a derivative of the British system. Little or no effort was made to weave the different ethno-cultural strands into a distinctive Jamaican pattern, nor to develop a module which would effectively address the social stratification and cultural diversities of Jamaica. The British system was uncritically copied without adequate regard for its suitability to the needs of the country.⁴⁰

Notwithstanding the weaknesses of the Baptist theological education system it challenged and enabled the Protestant colleges in Jamaica to recognise and trust persons of African descent, and to have confidence in the capability, integrity and sense of responsibility of Afro-Jamaicans. By 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies was established, it supplied some of the most qualified and capable students to the ecumenical institution.

40 Phillip Mason, *Pattern of Dominance* (1970) n.p; Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1965) n.p; Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (1966) n.p; Stewart Piggin, *Assessing Nineteenth Century Mission Motivation* (1978) n.p.

CHAPTER EIGHT

METHODIST THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION (1875-1966)

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The Methodist who arrived in Jamaica in 1789 were the last of the four Protestant churches to be engaged in ministerial education. As long as the flow of British missionaries to Jamaica continued, the Jamaica District of the Methodist church felt no need to provide local training for the development of an indigenous ministry. However, in the 1860's attempts were made to train candidates for the ministry of the Jamaica Methodist District by arranging for them to reside with senior ministers. Some of the obstacles of this arrangement were overcome in 1875 when York Castle Theological hall was established in the hills of St. Ann. During the first 53 years of its operation not many candidates offered themselves for the ministry. As a consequence of inadequate supply of students and increasing financial difficulties, the institution had not been fully utilised.¹

Although the supply of white and coloured students at the college was insufficient to meet the needs of the church, yet the Jamaica District made no attempt to admit Afro-Jamaican students to the college and to develop an indigenous ministry. By the end of the nineteenth century, there was a strong conviction that the Protestant churches should recruit Afro-Jamaicans for their colleges, in order to develop and maintain an indigenous ministry. The Methodists were more conservative than the Baptists and Presbyterians. Consequently, the Methodists instead of showing more respect for indigenous cultures, utilised them to legitimise social class and racial differences within the society. In their attempt to recruit white creoles and coloured persons as students of the college, they alienated the Afro-Jamaicans from the leadership of the church and reinforced the Euro-Jamaicans hegemonic control of the ministry and mission of the church.

Between 1913 and 1954, a co-operative ministerial training scheme had developed among the Methodist, the Baptist and the Presbyterian theological institutions. This strengthened the levels of fellowship and co-operation among them.

In 1940, the tutor of Caenwood College presented the following report to the Jamaica District Synod:

This year has been one of happy co-operation with the tutors and students of Calabar and the Presbyterian Hostel. The spirit of co-operation among the three colleges continues to deepen, possibly preparing the way for closer unity in ministerial training.²

The aspiration for deeper ecumenical relationship among the Protestant colleges, which was expressed in the last sentence of the above quotation, proved to be prophetic, and was fulfilled in 1954, when Caenwood College and St. Colme's Hostel merged and

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1. *Principal's Report to Provincial Synod*, York Castle Theological Institution (1875-1913) n.p.
 2. *Caenwood Theological College Tutor's Report* (1940) 37; *Jamaica Methodist 200 Anniversary Brochures* (1789-1989) n.p.

formed Union Theological Seminary. In 1966, Calabar College and St. Peter's College joined them and established the United Theological College of the West Indies.³

8.2 HISTORY OF THE LOCATION

In 1875, the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church established York Castle Theological Hall in Brown's Town, St. Ann.⁴ This was a thriving community in which the Methodist Church was well established.

In 1887, York Castle Theological Hall was closed because there were no students in residence. When it reopened in 1888, it continued to be faced with a shortage of students. It was again closed between 1904 and 1913 because of the inadequate supply of students to the institution.⁵

In 1913, the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church opened Murcott Lodge Ministerial Training Centre at East Race Course, Kingston.⁶ All churches within the Provincial Synod of the Caribbean and the Americas were invited to train their students at the college, since there was additional accommodation as well as adequate facilities.

Murcott Lodge Ministerial Training Centre operated at East Race Course in Kingston from 1913 to 1928. In 1928, the Methodist purchased a large property at Caenwood in Kingston and located its college there. Commenting on this development, the Methodist tutor wrote:

The outstanding event of the year has been the building of the Caenwood College and the removal of the Methodist students from Murcott Lodge Ministerial Training Centre and Calabar College to Caenwood College.⁷

In 1954, Caenwood College and St. Colme's Hostel united and formed Union Theological Seminary. This seminary continued its operation at the same venue until 1966, when it merged with the other Protestant colleges into the United Theological College of the West Indies.

8.3 THE STAFF

In 1875, the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church appointed Andrew Kessen as the first principal of the York Castle Theological Hall which was established in the hills of

3. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Report to Jamaica District Synod* (1954) n.p.; *Handbook of General Information, UTCWI* (1966) n.p.

4. *Principal's Report to Provincial Synod*, York Castle Theological Hall (1888) 10; *Wesley's Methodist Missionary Society General Correspondence* (1875) n.p.

5. Caenwood Theological College, *Coming of the Souvenir Booklet* (1949) 12. Students at York Castle Theological Institution were placed on three months probation and at the expiration of that period were retained or sent home.

6. *Wesley Methodist Missionary Society Annual Reports* (1875-1913) n.p.; Osbourne and Johnson (1972) 130; *Caenwood College Souvenir Booklet* (1949) 15; Donald Chung, (ed.) *For Ever Beginning* (1960) n.p.; Claude Cousins, *The Jamaica Methodist District* (1966) n.p.

7. *Tutor's Report to Jamaica District Synod* (1929) 4; *Caenwood Theological College Coming of Age Souvenir Booklet* (1928-1948) 5.

St. Ann. He was an English missionary, who was described by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society as a competent educator and manager. Between 1875 and 1887, he developed the institution into an outstanding seminary for the training of ministers for the Methodist Conference of the Caribbean and the Americas.⁸

In 1889, Thomas Butcher, an English missionary, served as tutor of the York Castle Theological Hall. He was succeeded by another English missionary W. C. Murray in 1891 who served for six years.⁹ However, from 1904 to 1913, the hall was closed because of an inadequate supply of students to the college and financial difficulties.

In 1913, the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church addressed prudently some of the financial challenges which had overwhelmed York Castle Theological Hall in the early twentieth century. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society appointed J. T. Hudson, a missionary, as tutor of Murcott Training Centre which was founded in 1913. He had arrived in Jamaica in 1889 and had served in various circuits of the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church. Between 1913 and 1918 he served as tutor of Murcott Lodge and helped to create new possibilities of co-operation with Calabar College and the other Protestant colleges engaged in ministerial training. He advocated a four-year course of training for students in the co-operative programme. In 1920, he retired and went back to England. A few years later, he returned to Jamaica and in 1928 was appointed Warden of the newly established Caenwood College. He guided the institution until 1938, when he retired and returned to England.¹⁰ He, along with Ernest Price and David Davis of Calabar College, were the triumvirate who pioneered the establishment of co-operative theological education in Jamaica.

When Caenwood College needed a warden in 1938, A. S. Herbert filled the vacancy. He had the competent assistance of J. G. Morton. In 1944, Herbert retired and returned to England.¹¹

In 1946, John Poxon served as Warden of Caenwood College. He was assisted by Atherton Didier who had been a Dominican student at Caenwood College in 1929. After his ordination, he was assigned to the Wesley Circuit of Methodist Churches in Kingston and lectured on a part-time basis at the college.¹²

In 1951, Herbert Cook was appointed Warden of Caenwood College and served the institution until 1954. He had as lecturers three of the former students of the college, namely, Donald Henry (1943) who was from Antigua, David Mitchell (1943) from Grenada and Caleb Cousins (1945) from Jamaica. Sister Jessie Kerridge, a British missionary, also lectured at the college during this period.¹³

The year 1959 signaled a turning point in the composition of the tutorial staff at Union Theological Seminary. Jessie Kerridge resigned because of ill health and returned

8. *Ministerial Training Committee Report to Provincial Synod York Castle Theological Institution (1877-1888)* n.p.

9. *Ministerial Training Committee Report (1889-1913)* n.p.

10. *Ministerial Training Committee Report to Jamaica District Synod (1913-1938)* n.p.

11. *Minutes of Meeting of Theological Education Committee, Caenwood Theological College (1940-1944)* n.p.

12. *Tutor's Report to Provincial Synod Caenwood Theological College (1948)* 10.

13. *Ministerial Training Committee Report to Provincial Synod (1954)* 1.

to England. As a result, Cynthia Clare was appointed a tutor and a warden at the Seminary. She was trained at Caenwood College (1948-1951) and at the University of London (1951-1953). She was the first Jamaican female to be appointed to the tutorial staff of Union Theological Seminary (1959-1966).¹⁴ In 1966, she and Caleb Cousins were the Methodist tutors at the United Theological College of the West Indies.

8.4 THE STUDENTS

In 1875, when York Castle Theological Hall was established, the Methodist Church took a very conservative approach in recruiting white and coloured candidates only for its theological college. It required the secondary and tertiary educational training for admission to the college. However, it became confronted with the fact there was racial distrust and insecurity between the coloureds and the whites, and between the coloured and the blacks. In response to white prejudice, the coloured people discriminated against the blacks. This led to racial conflict between blacks and coloureds throughout the period 1875 to 1937. The coloureds were Europeanised, self-conscious and more nationalistic and patriotic than the white creoles who still regarded England as their home. At the same time, the effort of the coloured to emphasise the European features of their racial and cultural heritage led them to despise their African characteristics. Paradoxically, the local white caste refused to recognise them as Europeans and as equals. It was against this ethno-cultural background that, in 1875, the Methodist Church attempted to recruit white and coloured candidates to be trained as ministers of the Jamaica District. They had not emulated the Baptists who, in 1843, had started to train Afro-Jamaicans at Calabar College.

Arthur Lightbourne from the Bahamas was the first student to be admitted to the Methodist college in 1875, and Maurice Millar from the Black River Circuit in St. Elizabeth was the first Jamaican to be admitted in 1881. Thomas Geddes, another Jamaican, was admitted in 1885; and David Parnther, also Jamaican, in 1889. In 1890 Parnther left the college for Richmond College, London, where he obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree.¹⁵

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Black Nationalism had began to open some professions to Afro-Jamaicans. The conservative policy of the college gradually became more liberal, and the student body more ethno-culturally mixed. By 1913, the following Afro-Caribbeans were admitted to the college: Donald McDonald who came from British Honduras; Sydney Sandiford from Barbados; and R. F. Siley, L. Reynolds and Claude Cousins from Jamaica.¹⁶ In 1913, co-operative theological education was

14. *Tutor's Report to Provincial Synod* Union Theological Seminary (1964-1966) n.p.

15. *Principal's Report to Provincial Synod*, York Castle Theological Institution (1875-1891) n.p.; Janet Dick, *The Impact of the Methodist Church on the Jamaican Community* (1972) n.p.; H. B. Foster, *The Rise and Progress of Wesleyan Methodism in Jamaica* (1881) n.p.; Fay Grey, *Contribution of the Methodist Church on Education* (1944) n.p.

16. *Wesley Methodist Missionary Society Annual Reports* (1875-1913) n.p.; Osbourne and Johnson (1972) 130; *Caenwood College Souvenir Booklet* (1949) 15. All the documents consulted have not stated whether or not other students were admitted to the college during the

started in Jamaica with 4 students at Calabar College and 2 students at Murcott Lodge Ministerial Training Centre. The first four years of this scheme produced some outstanding graduates, such as Sydney Sandiford (Baptist) and Claude Cousins (1916).

Between 1918 and 1928, Murcott Lodge Ministerial Training Centre was closed. During this period, the Methodist candidates for ministry were trained at Calabar College. They resided in Kingston, in the homes of Methodist pastors who assisted and supervised their training.

By 1928, the Methodists established Caenwood College, and its candidates for ministry continued to share in the co-operative scheme with Calabar College. In spite of obstacles and set backs between 1913 and 1937, a total of 30 students of Caenwood College participated in co-operative training programmes. These included persons such as Hugh Sherlock (1928-1931), who made outstanding contributions to the college, the church and the society.¹⁷

There was never a system to ensure a constant supply of students to the colleges each year. Consequently, in 1931 Caenwood College supplied 8 students to the co-operative training programme; but in 1935 the number of students had decreased to crisis proportion: only 2 students were involved in the programme. The main reason for this crisis was the failure of the participating districts of the Caribbean Conference to meet their financial obligations to the college.

Within this time frame (1913-1937), there were 30 Methodist students: 2 came from Barbados, 2 from Trinidad, 2 from Panama, 2 from Grenada, 2 from Anguilla, 1 from Dominica, 1 from British Honduras, 1 from St. Kitts, 1 from Antigua and 16 from Jamaica.¹⁸

From 1938 to 1954, Caenwood College had among its ranks 32 male students and 5 female students who were being prepared to become deaconesses. The following students left an indelible mark on the college, the church and the society: Caleb Cousins (1948) who became a tutor at Union Theological Seminary (1954-1966) and Methodist warden at the United Theological College of the West Indies (1966-1973); and Cynthia Clare (1949) who lectured at Union Theological Seminary (1959-1966) and the United Theological College of the West Indies (1966-1992). This list of distinguished alumni would be incomplete if there was no mention of the following graduates: Philip Potter (1948) who served as General Secretary of the World Council of Churches (1972-1984) and William Watty (1959) who was President of the United Theological College of the West Indies (1985-1990).¹⁹

period (1875-1913).

17. *Caenwood Theological College Ministerial Training Committee Report to Provincial Synod* (1938) 18; *Minutes of Meeting Theological Education Committee Caenwood Theological College* (1940) 27.

18. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report to Synod* (1954) 14; *Caenwood College Souvenir Booklet* (1954) 5.

19. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report*, Jamaica District Synod (1956-1959) n.p.; *Handbook of General Information*, UTCWI (1966-1990) n.p.; Davis, *Men of Vision* (1982) 22; Claude Cadogan, *Jamaica Methodist 200* (1979-1989) n.p.; Michael Jagessar, *Full Life for All: The Work and Theology of Philip A. Potter*, The Netherlands: Boekencentrum

Among the 58 students who were in residence at Union Theological Seminary in 1955, the Methodists had 23. By 1964, their enrolment had increased to 33 students.²⁰ In 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies commenced its operation on lands adjacent to the University of the West Indies, there was a decrease in the number of students admitted, but an increase in the number of denominations and communions from which they came. Among the 60 students who were admitted to this ecumenical institution, 16 came from the Methodist Conference of the Caribbean and the Americas. One of the significant features of the period (1966) was that most students of the United Theological College of the West Indies were either of African or Asian ancestry.

8.5 THE CURRICULUM

In 1875, Andrew Kessen, the Methodist warden, developed the curriculum which was used at York Castle Theological Institution based on the system pursued at the University of London. The model which was used in the institution by the British missionaries who were responsible for the theological education lacked cultural and contextual sensitivity. Although the curriculum of this Protestant college was initiated and developed to meet the pastoral needs of the Methodist church, yet its curriculum bore an indelible similarity and commonality in content, methodology and intent to the other Protestant colleges. It also lacked relevance and sensitivity to the historical and cultural circumstances and context in which it was formulated. The missionaries were devoid of empathy and were psychologically absent from the Jamaican situation. The curriculum was a carefully conceived classical package which was out of touch with the ethno-cultural diversities and socio-religious complexities of Jamaica and the wider Caribbean region.

During the time frame (1875-1913), the practice of not accommodating otherness within the curriculum and of attempting to justify the prolonged British control over the system were facilitated by the apparent benevolence of a civilising mission on the part of the British missionaries and the complacency on the part of the African and Asian elites. De-emphasis of ethno-cultural particularities designated Africans and Asians within the educational process as devoid of social, historical and cultural constructs. There was absence of that important connection between the reality of the society and that of the educational process. The curriculum was not designed to affirm the selfhood and presence of non-European peoples, nor to reflect the cultural diversities and social complexities of the Jamaican context. The substitution of a philosophical idealism for a sociological realism posited the indigenous people of Jamaica as other, which suggested an implicit acceptance of a deliberate strategy to place their history and culture outside the Euro-centric curriculum. In other words, the curriculum did not mirror cultural sensitivity, anthropological awareness and communal commitment and relevance. It was not apparently intended to facilitate self-actualisation nor to enhance communal

Publishing House (1997) n.p.

20. *United Theological College of the West Indies Minutes* (1966) n.p.; *Bicentenary Souvenir: The Methodist Church in the West Indies* (1960) n.p.

development within a pluralistic society.

Between 1875 and 1913, the curriculum of the Methodist institution, like that of the other Protestant colleges, was divided into literary and theological courses. The students also studied logic and were involved in syllogistic reasoning and rhetorical discussions which were considered, during this period, as marks of Protestant scholasticism. These literary and cultural requirements were regarded as essential to the students' preparation or theological education. However, they underscore the inappropriate situation in the transfer of learned culture which was carried over in the British model of ministerial training and which made the dichotomy between theory and practice and between the mission of the church and the realities of the society even more pronounced.

During the period (1875-1913), the Methodist curriculum was unlike those of the Presbyterian and Baptist colleges that pursued a four year course of study; but was similar to that of the Anglican institution that followed a three year programme of training for its students.

With the passage of time (1913-1954), the curriculum of the Methodist college was comparable to the best in Britain. At the same time, it reflected the co-operative effort with the Presbyterian and Baptist colleges.²¹ It was reformulated to allow some students to prepare for and to sit the Diploma in Theology examination, and the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Divinity degrees offered by the University of London. The demand for critical exegesis of biblical studies, social analysis of historical studies, and philosophical and hermeneutical reflection on Systematic Theology became a great challenge to the Methodist college, with its limited staff. The curriculum was not formulated and presented as critical inquiry, with the intent of achieving a reflective awareness and critical articulation of credible relations between theological education and contemporary philosophical, historical and scientific interpretations of the world. It was more concerned with denominational traditions and identity than with dynamic mission and contextual needs.

Between 1954 and 1966, the curriculum was revised and redesigned to reflect the following three year programme:

First Year:

English (Language and Literature)

Pastoral Theology

Logic

Elementary Theology

Old Testament Introduction (History of Israel)

New Testament Introduction (Gospels)

Church History (Early Period)

English Bible

Homiletics

21. *Tutor's Report to Provincial Synod (1935-1936)* n.p.; *Minutes of Staff and Curriculum Committee (1948-1948)* n.p.; *Ministerial Training Committee Reports* Caenwood Theological College (1951-1952); *Methodist Church Report, Jamaica District (1880-1966)* n.p.

Latin
Philosophy

Second Year:

Christian Education
Elocution
Practical Theology
Apologetics
English Bible
Old Testament Introduction (The Prophets)
New Testament Introduction (Teaching of Jesus)
New Testament Exegesis (Matthew and Romans)
Ethics
Church History (Reformation Period)
Systematic Theology (Being of God, Doctrine of the Spirit)
Hebrew (Grammar and Syntax)

Third Year:

Elocution
Textual Criticism
Practical Theology
Comparative Religion
English Bible
Old Testament Studies (Religious Ideas in the Old Testament)
New Testament Studies (Teaching of St. Paul)
New Testament Exegesis (Mark and Acts)
Systematic Theology (Person of Christ)
History of Missions
Psychology
Church Administration.²²

At a time when the Jamaican society had become more pluralistic, the curriculum of the Methodist institution had assumed a conservative and denominational identity. As a result, a curriculum evolved which emphasised classical education in keeping with a British model without relevance and commitment to the needs and aspirations of the people of Jamaica. Nothing is wrong with a curriculum which is a British model and is implemented in a culture and social context which are actually British. However, we create insurmountable barriers when in the words of Erik Erikson 'we misguidedly become overcommitted to what we are not.'²³ The establishment of the United Theological

22. *Ministerial Training Committee Report to Provincial Synod Union Theological Seminary* (1954) n.p.; *Ministerial Training Committee Report to Jamaica District Synod* (1960-1964).

23. Erik Erikson, *Young Man Luther* (1958) 2; David Mitchell, *New Mission for a New Age* (1977) n.p.; George Mulrain, *Tools For Mission in the Caribbean* (1986) n.p.; Sonny Rampall, *The Search For Caribbean Identity In: Called To Be* (1972) n.p.; Horace Russell, *The*

College of the West Indies in 1966, was an attempt to maintain a creative balance between the philosophical and sociological perspectives on the one hand and the contextual and global structures in an ecumenical setting.

8.6 THE SPIRITUALITY

The spirituality of the students at the Methodist college was nurtured by a disciplined life of private devotions and corporate worship comparable to that at the Presbyterian and Baptist colleges. As the students entered the mystery of this twofold religious experience, deepened their spirituality and they became acutely aware that their thinking, praying and acting together had resulted in a fellowship of participation. Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit they discovered new ways of participating more meaningfully in the struggles for justice, peace, freedom and development of the society. They were no longer pre-occupied with their own individual spirituality, but rather with the proclamation of the Kingdom of God, which Jesus announced as a gift and a responsibility. They discovered that it was the Spirit of God within them that reconciled them to God, and made them agents of reconciliation in the world. This dimension of spirituality was consistent with what Peter referred to as 'a holy priesthood, offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ' (1 Peter 2:5). The offering of the spiritual gifts which they had received, demanded that they freed themselves from magisterial authority and power and regarded themselves as servants of Christ and of his people. They expressed their discipleship in pastoral visitation, open air services, involvement in youth work, Student Christian Movement and other voluntary organisations. As they became involved in these activities, the real challenge was to what extent were they prepared to commit themselves to God and to participate in God's mission within the harsh realities of the Jamaican society and the challenges of the global community.²⁴

During the period 1875 to 1913, some Euro-Jamaican students attempted to keep things in their traditional form because they feared failure, or in order to avoid incurring the displeasure of the college authorities and the wrath of the church. In their effort to keep things officially correct, they did not open themselves to the creative zeal and empowerment of the Holy Spirit which would have enabled them to take risks in furthering their own ministerial formation and assist them in developing that level of spirituality which would inspire them to become agents of reconciliation and transformation in the world.²⁵

From 1913 to 1966, the engagement of staff and students in critical biblical analysis contributed significantly to the development of their spirituality. As they discovered who

Challenge of Theological Reflection In: Out of the Depths (1977) n.p.

24. Murcott Lodge *Ministerial Training Committee Report* (1913-1928) n.p.; Caenwood Theological College, *Ministerial Training Committee Report to Provincial Synod* (1928-1948) n.p.; Ching-Fen Haiso, *Personality and Spritual Development in Relation to Theological Education* (1977) n.p.

25. Union Theological Seminary *Ministerial Training Committee Report* (1954-1955) n.p.; E. C. Gardner, *The Church as a Prophetic Community* (1967) n.p.; Milton Yinger, *Religion, Society and the Individual* (1957) n.p.

God is and how He incarnates himself in history, they began to discern the connection between critical biblical inquiry and the process of spiritual growth for Christian witness and service. However, the biblical discernment did not develop from a hermeneutical and methodological study of the Bible that was informed by Caribbean perspective and experiences, nor was it consistent with the relation between Gospel and culture contained in the biblical text.

At Caenwood College and Union Theological Seminary, the process of searching and discerning in the interpretation and application of the Bible enabled both staff and students to unravel some of the mysteries of the Scriptures and to relate them to the struggles, needs and aspirations of the college, the church and the society. The spiritual adventure and discoveries at these institutions facilitated, in 1966, the transition to the United Theological College of the West Indies.

8.7 THE RELATIONSHIPS

8.7.1 The Relationship with the Churches

From 1875 to 1966, the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church was responsible for the development of theological education in the District and for the Provincial Conference of the Caribbean and the Americas. Its theological institution assumed a distinct denominational identity. The church, through its ministerial training committee determined the policies and general direction of the college.

During the period 1875 to 1966, the church was unable to fully finance the operation of the college. Consequently, a special relationship developed with its British conferences and foreign missionary societies. These overseas institutions appointed the wardens of the college and contributed generously to the maintenance of the college. When the Methodist Theological Hall was established in 1875 at York Castle, St. Ann, it received a grant of 1,000.00 from the Wesleyan Missionary Society, London. From 1876 to 1913, it received contributions from the British Methodist Conference and the Jamaica Methodist District.²⁶

In the 1940s, the Provincial Synod of the Methodist Conference of the Caribbean and the Americas appointed a Ministerial Training Committee which was given jurisdiction over Caenwood College. It had the responsibility to oversee the discipline, the curriculum, the budget and the placements of students during the summer vacations, as well as to monitor the conditions under which students and probationers were trained. It also recommended candidates for 'full connection'²⁷, subject to the approval of the conference. During this period, the Jamaica District continued to provide financial support for the college. The Wesleyan Missionary Society in Britain appointed and paid

26. Cyril Davey, *Two Hundred Years of Methodism* (1960) 6-7; Edgar Thompson, *The Methodist Missionary Society* (1958) n.p.; John Telford, *A Short History of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Mission* (1932) n.p.; Jonathan Bank, *Mission and Money* (1991) n.p.; R. H. Bonthuis, *Resource Planning in Theological Education* (1970) n.p.

27. Full Connection refers to the occasion when candidates were fully ordained and received into the Conference or District of the Methodist Church.

the salary of the warden of the college.

During the period 1940 to 1954, the college was confronted with financial problems. The high cost of theological education in a developing country such as Jamaica resulted in ministerial education being confined to a relatively small elite, and contributed to a selective recruitment of students. In 1948, in an attempt to redress this situation, the Provincial Advisory Committee appointed by the Provincial Synod of the Methodist Conference of the Caribbean and the Americas raised from its 6 participating Districts 655.00 which it contributed to Caenwood College. In 1952, the amount increased to 720.00. Of the amount donated in 1948, the Jamaica District gave 252.00 and in 1952 its contribution was 300.00. The Districts of Bahamas, Barbados and Trinidad, British Guiana, British Honduras and the Leeward Island contributed the rest.²⁸ It should be noted by 1954, the college had extended its relationships beyond the churches in Jamaica and Britain. They had provided ministerial training for students of several Caribbean countries, and consequently, had received financial assistance from them. By 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies was opened, the Provincial Conference of the Caribbean and the Americas was responsible for its financial support of the college.

8.7.2 The Relationship with other Colleges

Between 1875 and 1966, the model of theological education which developed in the Methodist college was derived primarily from colleges in Britain. For example, the local institution was associated with Richmond College, which was related to University of London. In 1890, David Parnter was sent from York Castle Theological Institution to Richmond College, where, in 1892, he was successful in the Bachelor of Arts examination.²⁹ From 1892 to 1966, several students of the Methodist college in Jamaica successfully completed the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Divinity degrees in overseas institutions.

During the period 1913 to 1954, Murcott Lodge Ministerial Centre was a partner with Calabar College in the co-operative theological education enterprise. In 1918, when the Methodist college was closed, its students were trained at Calabar College until 1928, when the Methodists opened Caenwood College.³⁰

In 1943, Caenwood College and St. Peter's College jointly organised a series of lectures for external students who were preparing for undergraduate degrees offered by Durham University and the University of London.³¹

28. *Resident Tutor's Report to Synod St. Colme's Hostel (1940-1954)* 19; *President's Report to Assembly Calabar Theological College (1949)* 38; *St. Peter's Theological College Annual Income and Expenditure Report to Diocesan Council (1949)* 21; *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report to Provincial Synod (1954)* 27.

29. *Tutor's Report to Provincial Synod, York Castle Theological Institution (1893)* 18.

30. *Ministerial Training Committee Report to Jamaica District Synod Murcott Lodge Ministerial Training Centre (1913-1938)* n.p.; *Tutor's Report to Jamaica District Synod Caenwood Theological College (1929)* n.p.

31. *Caenwood Theological College Coming of Age Souvenir Booklet (1928-1948)* n.p.

An ecumenical milestone was created in 1954 when Caenwood College merged with St. Colme's Hostel and formed Union Theological Seminary. During 1958, the warden and tutor of St. Peter's College lectured at the Seminary and the Anglican students participated in the lectures. In 1966, Union Theological Seminary was one of the constituent colleges of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

8.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter is a critical study and empirical assessment of the development of theological education in the Methodist college, rooted in the history of mission and in the ethno-cultural realities of the people of Jamaica and the wider Caribbean region. The system of theological education which emerged between 1875 and 1966 was sometimes beset with obstacles, failures and closure of the institution. However, these negative experiences were regarded as challenges which were transformed into renewed commitment and efforts to provide ministerial training which was not always relevant to the particularities of Jamaica. The model pursued by this Protestant college was a product of the British system. The staff was recruited from Britain, and the curriculum, examinations system, text books and syllabuses were British oriented. Consequently, what evolved was a model which mirrored neither a liberal and compassionate understanding nor a dynamic and creative involvement in the Jamaican context and experiences. Instead, European interests, values, perspectives and culture were transmitted to Jamaica, and became the underpinning factors and forces of the Methodist theological education enterprise. What was equally disturbing was that these influences impeded the process of decolonisation, re-identification and freedom of Afro-Jamaican and Afro-Caribbean peoples. A Euro-centric system of theological education was interpreted and presented through European perspective and presuppositions which did not fully grasp the broken and crushing experiences of the Afro-Caribbean peoples who had endured uprootedness, captivity and indignity.

Understandably, between 1928 and 1966, the Methodist college more than any of the other three Protestant colleges extended its ministerial training to a wider Caribbean and American community. This contributed to the on-going process of critical analysis and conscientisation within the region.

From 1913 to 1954, the Methodist college, as well as those of the Presbyterians and Baptists, but not that of the Anglicans, participated in a co-operative theological education programme. However, during the period from 1954 to 1966, the Methodist and the Presbyterian colleges, unlike the Baptist and the Anglican colleges shared in an ecumenical theological education enterprise.

It should also be noted that the curricula of all four Protestant colleges did not include the theory of missions or missiology. Their curricula were derived from British models. The process of utilising alternative models of theological education which were relevant to the needs and aspirations of the Caribbean was started in 1966, with the inception of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

CHAPTER NINE

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF THE WEST INDIES (1966)

9.1 INTRODUCTION

After the second World War, there was an obvious trend in Jamaica towards ecumenical theological education. This new area of theological ferment contributed to the belief that if the denominational colleges were united the economic cost of operating the joint institution would be reduced, the fellowship of the residential community would be deepened, the academic standards would be improved and the mission of the churches would be strengthened. There was a growing feeling that the colleges, which had participated commendably in the co-operative scheme, belonged together in a visible structural relationship. This ecumenical relationship would facilitate their affirmation as members of the one Body of Christ, living and witnessing in a new and dynamic relationship of mutual trust and common expectation.

In 1959, discussions began between the University of the West Indies and the Jamaica Council of Churches, with a view to closer co-operation between the university and the theological colleges. This initiative received further momentum in 1960 when Charles Foreman, Associate Director of the Theological Education Fund, which was established by the World Council of Churches for the development and indigenisation of theological education in developing countries, visited Jamaica. The churches were made aware of the heavy financial investment in theological education which they would have to make in the near future. Consequently, they requested financial assistance from the Theological Education Fund towards the improvement of theological education in Jamaica.¹

In 1961, a survey was conducted by the Division of World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches. A report of the survey which focussed on Ecumenism and Theological Education was edited by Wilfred Scopes and published under the caption of the Christian Ministry in Latin America and the Caribbean. It emphasised that theological education should be seen as a developmental tool for the integration of the Caribbean, and that this integration should be attempted on an ecumenical basis. In response to the findings of this survey, a Caribbean Theological Committee was established to prepare recommendations and plans for the improvement and development of ecumenical theological education in the Caribbean. Consequently, in 1963, representatives of the Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Moravian churches, and of the Disciples of Christ discussed with the University of the West Indies the possibility of establishing a Faculty of Theology. The university expressed great interest in the scheme, but was unable, due to financial constraints, to accommodate the

1. *Memorandum from the Theological Education Fund*, World Council of Churches (1963) n.p.; *Union Theological Seminary Memorandum of Theological Education Fund, Proposal for the Establishment of UTCWI* (1964) n.p.

proposal. The representatives of the Churches, including Percival Gibson, Menzie Sawyers and Hugh Sherlock, formed a Theological Education Consultation Committee to explore other alternatives. Aemilius Barclay had died in 1926. The most feasible option which commended itself to them was the formation of the United Theological College of the West Indies.²

In 1964, the Committee recommended to the various synods, assemblies and conferences within the Caribbean, that the United Theological College of the West Indies be established. The conclusion of its recommendation provides a useful summary of what was intended:

The members of the Theological Education Consultation Committee are convinced that the foregoing proposals for the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies offers a unique opportunity for a united advance in the quality of theological education in the region. This judgement applies both in respect of academic improvement and the development of a common approach to the mission of the churches of Jesus Christ in our several territories. We stress the fact that the proposed scheme would unite the theological education programmes of seven confessional groupings throughout the English-speaking Caribbean, as well as Haiti, the Dutch Antilles and some territories of Central America.³

In 1965, the University of the West Indies announced that the Licentiate in Theology would begin that year, while the university would continue to give consideration to the establishment of the Bachelor of Arts programme in theology.⁴

A new era dawned in October 1966 when the United Theological College of the West Indies opened its doors just outside the gates of the University of the West Indies in Mona, Kingston.

From 1966, the United Theological College of the West Indies was responsible for the preparation of candidates for ministry of the Protestant churches in the Caribbean and the Americas. It incorporated the four denominational colleges, Union Theological Seminary which included St. Colme's Hostel and Caenwood College, Calabar College, and St. Peter's College. Its aim was not only to centralise theological education in the Caribbean but also to bring it into closer collaboration with the University of the West Indies and to strengthen the mission of the church in the region.

9.2 HISTORY OF LOCATION

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2. *Memorandum of Theological Education Committee to the Senate and Registrar*, University of the West Indies (1961) n.p.; UTCWI Report to Churches, Proposed Faculty of Theology at the University of the West Indies (1963) n.p.; Letter sent by Calabar Theological College to the University of the West Indies and the Jamaica Council of Churches requesting a Theological Faculty at the University of the West Indies (May 1959) n.p.; W. Collins, *The Church in Jamaica* (1990) n.p.; Cawley Bolt, *The Jamaica Baptist Reporter* (1962-1977) n.p.
 3. *Minutes of Joint Meeting of UTCWI*, University of the West Indies, and Theological Education Consultation Committee (1965) n.p.
 4. *University of the West Indies Regulation and Syllabuses on the Faculty of Arts and Theology* (1994) 22; *Handbook of General Information*, UTCWI (1966-1991) 6.

From 1954, it was recognised that the distance between the denominational colleges limited the benefits that could be derived from a united college. The four Protestant colleges recommended to the participating churches that an appropriate location should be identified where maximum advantages could be obtained from the combined facilities.

In 1963, representatives of the Jamaica Council of Churches discussed with the University of the West Indies the feasibility of establishing a Faculty of Theology on the Mona campus, in Jamaica. The university was unable to accommodate the proposal of the churches. Consequently, in 1963, the churches formed a Theological Education Committee to select a suitable site, in close proximity to the university, for the establishment of an ecumenical college.

In 1964, an appropriate site of seven acres of land adjacent to the campus of the university was purchased with a grant of 7,000.00 from the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches.

In 1966, the United Theological College of the West Indies started operation at Golding Road, St. Andrew, adjacent to the University of the West Indies. This was a significant milestone for the Protestant churches and colleges in Jamaica. The constituent churches worked out a Constitution, underwrote the required capital and guaranteed a current budget on an agreed student ratio. This ecumenical venture was regarded as a miracle of faith by the participating colleges and churches.

The Board of Governors of the college appointed Wilfred Scopes as President.⁵ He was a British Presbyterian missionary who was regarded as an appropriate choice by the Board of Governors of the united college. He was born in Ipswich, England in 1901. He was a missionary to the London Missionary Society in India from 1925 to 1960. During those years he had been Principal of Union Theological Seminary at Gooty in South India, and Andhra Union Theological Seminary at Dornakal in South India. At the same time he served as Secretary of Theological Education and Christian Literature in the National Council of India. In 1961, he had participated in the World Council of Churches survey of theological education in Latin America and the Caribbean. He was, therefore, regarded as suitable to lead the new ecumenical institution.

9.2 THE STUDENTS

In 1966, when the United Theological College of the West Indies commenced its operation, 60 students were admitted to the ecumenical institution. The student body had a geographical representation of 2 from Anguilla, 3 from Antigua, 2 from Bahamas, 4 from Barbados, 2 from British Honduras, 1 from Costa Rica, 1 from Curacao, 2 from Dominica, 5 from Guyana, 2 from Haiti, 24 from Jamaica, 2 from Panama, 1 from St. Vincent, 2 from Surinam, 5 from Trinidad and Tobago, and 2 from Turks Islands. The ecumenical college was responsible for training West Indians as pastors for the Protestant

5. Handbook (1996-1999) 4; Edward Evans, *A History of the Diocese of Jamaica* (1975) 121.

Churches in the Caribbean and the Americas.⁶

The United Theological College of the West Indies represented the most significant achievement in Caribbean ecumenism. This unprecedented form of ecumenical interaction involved students from 11 different communions and 9 different denominations as well as 16 territories in the Caribbean and the Americas. This ecumenical model of theological education demanded great adjustments and presented significant challenges and opportunities to the participating colleges as they sought to strengthen and reshape the mission of the churches throughout the region. Its close relationship with the University of the West Indies resulted in a cross-fertilisation of ideas and provided the opportunity for theological students to witness to the university community.

9.3 THE CURRICULUM

In 1966, some students continued to prepare for the Bachelor of Divinity degree offered by the University of London. Others who met the matriculation requirements of the University of the West Indies entered the Licentiate of Theology programme, while those who had not measured up to the requirements of the university pursued the College Diploma course which qualified them for ordination to the ministry of the various denominations in the Caribbean. The four-year intra-mural training at the United Theological College of the West Indies included the following areas of study:

First year:

Biblical Interpretation

English Bible

New Testament Introduction

Christian Education Psychology

English Language

New Testament Greek

Practical Theology

Homiletics

West Indian History

Second year:

Old Testament History

Old Testament Theology

New Testament Introduction Theology

Church History

Philosophy

6. *Synod Journal* (1955-1966) n.p.; *Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church* (1955-1966) n.p.; *President's Report to Assembly Calabar Theological College* (1948-1965) n.p.; *Diocese of Jamaica Synod Handbook* (1955-1966) n.p.; *Minutes of Methodist Provincial Synod* (1966) n.p.

Christian Education
 Greek, Hebrew (optional)
 Practical Theology
 Use of English (University Survey Course)

Third year:
 Old Testament History
 Old Testament Theology
 Prophets New Testament Introduction Greek (St. John's Gospel)
 Church History
 Systemic Theology
 Philosophy
 Sociology (University Course)
 Use of English (University Survey Course)

Fourth year:
 Old Testament History
 Old Testament Theology
 Prophets
 New Testament Introduction
 New Testament Theology
 Greek (St. John's Gospel)
 Systematic Theology
 Christian Education
 Practical Theology or Homiletics
 Comparative Religion or Christian Ethics⁷

The curriculum of the ecumenical college gave students the option to pursue other courses at the University of the West Indies, such as Introduction to Politics, Elements of Accounts, and a Special Caribbean Research Project designed to study and alleviate community problems. At the same time, the tutorial staff of the college supervised the students in church work and evangelistic enterprise during the weekends and vacations. Many students gained valuable experience of church and social work through their involvement in the church and the wider community. The emphasis on the clinical and practical disciplines demonstrated the recognition of the ecumenical institution that curriculum should be empirically and systematically designed for the benefit of the church and the society.

The regular timetable at the United Theological College of the West Indies provided for weekly denominational classes which each warden conducted and which all students were required to attend. Extra curricular activities included weekly denominational fellowship meetings or worship services to which all other members of the community

7. *Prospectus of UTCWI* (1967-1968) 11; *Synod Journal* (1967) 53; *Handbook* (1993-1996) 10; *The Curriculum, UTCWI* (1966) n.p.

had access. The college participated in the University inter-hall and inter-faculty competitors in cricket, football, netball, swimming, entering as a hall or a faculty in the various competitions.

The various subjects were taught by the tutors, not according to denominational bias nor from the perspective of church dogma, but according to the standard of critical scholarship. Examinations were set by the lecturers of the college and graded by them, while the University granted the diploma or degree in accordance with standards which had been previously determined. Hence the seminarians completed their academic training in theology with an accredited diploma or degree from the major educational institution in the region.

Although the course of study for male ministerial candidates lasted for three or four years, that for students in training as deaconesses was for a duration of three years. Shorter courses for more mature students, and for students with special needs were arranged at the request of the churches. Every effort was made to achieve a creative balance between the theoretical and the practical training, and to sensitise the students to the mode of thought of the society in which they would minister and participate in the mission of the church.

9.4 THE SPIRITUALITY

In 1966, the daily devotional activities continued to be the central feature in the spiritual life of the colleges. Every morning and evening the students, in turn, conducted communal devotions in the presence of the tutors. A mid-week service, usually conducted by students, always included the preaching of the Word. On Saturdays there was a brief service of intercession and sermon. A monthly service of Holy Communion was conducted according to the rites of each of the traditions represented at the ecumenical institution.

The corporate daily worship facilitated a process of liturgical experimentation and reform. This resulted in a considerable amount of liturgical pluriformity. One of the challenges facing the united college was how to determine carefully and clearly how much uniformity was essential for the maintenance of an ecumenical institution. For example, the availability of a variety of denominational hymnals and song books raised the question of whether there was need for the production of an ecumenical hymnal or song book, or should what was available be used with liturgical flexibility and sensitivity. The fundamental concern was how to improve the spirituality of the students in the crucible of their imperfections as they struggle to be living symbols of holiness and servants of the Lord and of the people.

The United Theological College of the West Indies was regarded by the students as an effective symbol of the Kingdom of God, in so far as its staff and students lived in obedience and faithfulness to the unity of the Kingdom. The statement of its purpose included the following:

The doctrinal bases of the life, teaching and worship of the college is belief in one God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It affirms the Catholic doctrines of the Christian faith,

according to the Word of God in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.⁸

Divisions and differences in ecclesiologies, doctrines, sacramental life and spirituality diminished and weakened the effective ministry and dynamic mission of the church. Only a theological institution which had overcome division within its own life would be able to prepare students as agents of reconciliation in the world. By the solemn act of participation in one ecumenical training process the churches, even though they continued to exist as distinct ecclesiastical systems, had inaugurated a process of deepened commitment to ecumenical ministerial training in which the Spirit's gift of unity in Christ was nurtured and sustained.

The ecumenical college made it possible for the students in the process of ministerial formation to regard themselves not only as members of a particular communion, but also as members of a living and dynamic communion of communions, sharing the one baptism, proclaiming the one faith, receiving the one Body and Blood of Christ, recognising the ministry of each other, and reaching out as one in forgiveness, love and service to the world. Each student was enriched by sharing in the gift of the Spirit with the other. The ecumenical community prayed and worked to remove the walls of alienation that existed between the churches, and to overcome the attitudes which tended to marginalise persons in regard to race, class, age, gender, disabilities, marital status, sexual orientation and positions of power and powerlessness.⁹ It sought to reaffirm the commitment of the diverse traditions to the one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church in which all participate as children of God.

9.5 THE RELATIONSHIPS

9.5.1 The Relationship with the Churches

The ecumenical college were first and foremost an institution to which the Protestant churches sent the candidates whom they had selected to be trained for ministry. Students were admitted to the college on the recommendation and by the sponsorship of their respective denomination. Priority was given to students from the 11 communions who shared in the United Theological College of the West Indies (1966) Students from other communions were admitted by the Faculty on conditions which were determined by the Board of Governors. During their training at the ecumenical college, the students maintained their relationship with their particular communion by their involvement in the work of the churches on weekends and during vacations.¹⁰

8. *Handbook* (1993-1996) 2; *The Constitution, UTCWI* (1966) n.p.

9. Harold Entwistle, *Class, Culture and Education* (1979) n.p.; Aggrey Brown, *Essay on Colour, Class and Politics in Jamaica* (1979) n.p.; Lloyd Brathwaite, *Problem of Race and Colour in the Caribbean* nd, n.p.; Charles Mills, *Race and Class* (1987) 75; John Mills, *Racist Culture* (1994) n.p.; Hartley Neita, *Colour and the Church* (1997) n.p.; Rex Nettleford, *National Identity and Attitudes to Race in Jamaica* (1970) n.p.

10. *Union Theological Seminary Ministerial Training Committee Report to Provincial Synod* (1954-1955) n.p.; *Minutes of Meeting of Theological Education Committee, Calabar*

The direction of the colleges was exercised by or a Board of Governors. This entity was made up of representatives of the Jamaica Council of Churches, as well as the President and other appointed members of the tutorial staff of the college. At the United Theological College of the West Indies there was also an Education Council, similarly constituted, which was responsible for the educational policy of the college. The Board and Council were all accountable to the hierarchy of the participating denominations.¹¹

During this period the financial support of the college came primarily from the participating churches, rather than from the related mission boards in Britain, Canada, and the United States of America. The churches in the Caribbean took responsibility for the financial support of the college. The recurrent expenditure was met by the churches, by contributions from local and overseas donors, and by funds raised by the Association of Friends. The participating communions in the united college contributed 1,636.00 per student annually towards capital expenditure, 215.00 per annum for each student in respect of tuition and board, and 35.00 towards the Presidential budget and the Building Reserve Fund. Churches that did not participate in the united college were asked to pay these amounts and an additional annual overhead charge of 50.00 for each student. The annual budgets of the college was approved by the Board of Governors and forwarded to the Synods and General Assemblies of the participating denominations for their support.¹²

The full-time members of faculty, with the exception of the president and librarian, were recruited, not by the colleges, but by each of the participating denominations. Each denomination also appointed a tutor to be warden of its students. He was an ordained minister and enjoyed the confidence of his church. He was directly responsible to his church for the students entrusted to his care and guidance.

By 1966, the Protestant churches in the Caribbean and the Americas had taken full responsibility for the direction and financial support of the ecumenical theological institution which was located in Jamaica. The leaders of these churches had realised that through united efforts they stood a better chance of solving some of the problems of the colleges, while witnessing in more authentic and dynamic ways to the world.

9.5.2 The Relationship with other Academic and Theological Institutions

In 1966, the United Theological College of the West Indies continued its relationship with academic and theological institutions in Britain, Canada, United States of America, Trinidad and Barbados. For example, the students prepared for and sat examinations for degrees which were offered by the University of London, McGill University, Union Theological Seminary (USA). As external students they were unable to participate and to benefit from the rich variety of cultural and non-theological disciplines of these academic

Theological College (1962) n.p.

11. *Warden's Report to Provincial Synod*, Union Theological Seminary (1963) n.p.; United Theological College of the West Indies, *Minutes of the Board of Governors* - June 1965, April 1966, October 1966; *Handbook* (1993-1996) 5.

12. *St. Peter's Theological College Annual Income and Expenditure Report to Diocesan Council* (1926-1965) n.p.; *St. Peter's Theological College Finance Committee Report to Diocesan Financial Board* (1932-1964) n.p.; Jonathan Bank, *Mission and Money* (1991) n.p.

communities. Furthermore, it was too expensive for some students to spend even the final year of their course of study at these overseas institutions.¹³

When the United Theological College of the West Indies began in 1966, it was affiliated with the University of the West Indies and functioned as the Department of Theology in the Faculty of Arts and General Studies. The college prepared suitably qualified students for the Licentiate in Theology offered by the university according to courses approved by the university. In addition, the college awarded its own Diploma and Certificate in Ministerial Studies to students who had satisfied the college by their performance over a period of training and whom the college recommended to the churches as suitable candidates for ministry, whether or not they were graduates of the university.¹⁴

At the United Theological College of the West Indies the participating churches were allowed to name such persons whom they wished to appoint as lecturers and wardens. Persons so named were accepted by the University of the West Indies as accredited lecturers and examiners after their credentials had been thoroughly examined by the Board of Governors of the college, who alone could make the recommendation to the university authorities. The president of the college who had to be an ordained minister in good standing with his own church, was appointed to office by the Board of Governors, but the appointment had to be approved by the Vice-Chancellor of the university.

Additional courses or changes in courses which the churches might require had to be approved by the Educational Council and the Board of Governors but were not examinable by the university unless they were approved by the Faculty of Arts and General Studies as well as by the higher authorities of the university. Theological students were required to take a number of essential subjects offered by the university in order to qualify for the degree. Conversely, non-theological students were able to select theology as an option for the Bachelor of Arts General degree.

The president of the college sat on the Academic Board and the Dean of Studies on the Faculty of Arts and General Studies of the Mona Campus of the university. The registrar of the university sat on the Board of Governors of the college and appointed nominees to the Educational Council and Finance and General Purposes Committee.

The students of the college were members of the Guild of Undergraduates, and when there was available accommodation, non-theological students of the university were accepted as residents in the college on recommendation of a member of one of the participating churches, or a warden of one of the halls of residence of the university.

13. *Synod Journal*, Diocese of Jamaica (1956) 46; *Union Theological Seminary Dedication Souvenir Booklet* (1955) n.p.; *Handbook* (1966-1967) 14; Basil Moss, *Clergy Training Today* (1964) n.p.; George Mulrain, *Tools for Mission in the Caribbean Culture* (1986) n.p.; Francis Osbourne and Geoffrey Johnson, *Coastland and Islands* (1972) n.p.; Sonny Ramphall, *The Search For Caribbean Identity* (1972) n.p.; Edward Thornton, *Professional Education for Ministry* (1970) n.p.

14. *Handbook* (1993-1996) 6; *University of the West Indies Regulations and Syllabuses on the Faculty of Arts and Theology* (1994) 20; Davis, *Men of Vision* (1981) 8; David Shanon, *Theological Education as Education for Ministry* (1971) n.p.

These students who were attached to a hall of residence of the university were required to express their willingness to abide by the rules of the college and to share in the life of the community. They enjoyed all the rights and privileges of residents of the college which included participation in the cultural activities and the corporate worship of the community.

The University of the West Indies is extended over three campuses which are located in separate countries of the Caribbean. Related to each of the campuses were three other theological seminaries which were also affiliated to the university - St. John Vianney, a Roman Catholic Seminary related to the St. Augustine campus in Trinidad; Codrington, an Anglican institution related to the Cave Hill campus in Barbados, and St. Michael's, a Roman Catholic Seminary related to the Mona campus. All these institutions followed the same courses and sat the same examinations required by the university for the Licentiate in Theology. Changes in the curriculum and the addition of courses necessitated close consultation among the campuses before submission to the university for approval. The United Theological College of the West Indies enjoyed a special relationship with St. Michael's Seminary by reason of proximity which enabled close collaboration, exploration and sharing of resources between the two institutions.¹⁵ Since 1966 a coordinated programme of ministerial training has been pursued by the Protestant theological institutions in the Caribbean.

9.6 CONCLUSION

From the mid-twentieth century some Protestant churches in Jamaica and the other Caribbean territories realised the need to unite for the training of their candidates for ministry. However, for many years various ecclesiastical distinctions and doctrinal differences prevented the establishment of an ecumenical institution. In 1966, Union Theological Seminary, Calabar College and St. Peter's College merged into the United Theological College of the West Indies. The 11 communions which participated in the new ecumenical institution represented richly varied traditions, cultures, perspectives and institutional forms. Although the union of the ecumenical college was structural and visible, it reflected unity in diversity for the participating churches which were still divided and unreconciled. More significantly, it mirrored the commitment of the participating communions to seek a visible unity which was truly Catholic, Evangelical and Reformed. At the same time, it acknowledged the diverse expressions of a common ministerial formation which were indicative of the diverse ethno-cultural heritage of the Caribbean region. The member churches entered into a structural union while anticipating that the Holy Spirit had yet more light to break upon them in their pilgrimage with one another and with others who might, from time to time, wish to join them on their ecumenical journey.¹⁶

15. *Handbook* (1993-1996) 7; *Theological Education, UTCWI* Prepared by Ted Swanson (1968) n.p.; Brathwaite, *The Role of the University in the Developing Society of the West Indies* (1965).

16. *United Theological College of the West Indies: New Forms of Ministry Report* (1967) n.p.; *United Church Herald* (1959-1966) n.p.; *United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman Ministry and Mission Annual Reports* (1965-1966) n.p.; William Watty, *UTCWI Anniversary*

The United Theological College of the West Indies was established as a symbol of ecumenical ministerial training in the Caribbean. It brought together the human resources, the information resources, the financial resources, and the professional and technical skills which were not available to any one denominational college. For instance, it was able to combine and provide a well equipped library which contributed to the improvement of the academic standard of the college. Simultaneously, the courses in Theology at the University of the West Indies brought the graduates of the college in line with the other professions. It also provided the opportunity for the different traditions to meet and reflect together on questions of mutual concerns. In this way the student's outlook was broadened, their understanding deepened, and disagreements were placed in their proper perspectives. The ecumenical sharing of resources enabled the institution to access a wider range of missiological, theological, cultural and educational skills, perspectives and methodologies. The united college was able to pull the divergent elements into a convergent system in which relationships were developed, and which led to a great degree of co-operation and commitment to ecumenical ministerial training. The students who were trained at the college and the university established close relationships and developed lasting friendship and deeper understanding which they took with them into their professional situations and which contributed to the integration and development of the Caribbean region.

One of the most significant characteristics of the 1960s was the renaissance of Afro-Jamaican intellectuals who were highly critical of the prolonged control of foreign missionaries over the theological education system in Jamaica. They demanded that the face of leadership in the Protestant colleges should become more identifiably Jamaican, if not West Indian. The independence of Jamaica in 1962 had opened several windows of opportunity for Afro-Jamaicans to aspire to the highest echelons in Church and State. However, the expatriate missionaries who had controlled the colleges for approximately 120 years, began to see themselves as trustees of institutions in the process of transition. The long-held negative perception and outmoded stereotype of Afro-Jamaican's incompetence and irresponsibility had outlived their usefulness as imperial strategies of control and the missionaries began to accept the emergence of indigenous leadership of the colleges as inevitable. Since their hegemonic control of the system of theological education in Jamaica was obviously at stake in the new configuration of things, they perfected the art of delay in a new philosophy of gradualness of inevitability. This perspective became the new and unwritten philosophy of imperial strategy of control between 1962 and 1966. Notwithstanding, by 1966, more than 40 percent of the tutorial staff at the United Theological College of the West Indies were West Indians. It is instructive to note that the extent to which the leadership of the united college was indigenised by 1966 was not matched by efforts to contextualise its curriculum. Although the process of transition had not been as cataclysmic as many had feared and predicted, there had been growing concerns that there should be safeguards to ensure that foreign paternalism had not been replaced by indigenous paternalism.¹⁷

Brochure (1976) n.p.

17. Paul Sorum, *Intellectuals and Decolonisation in Jamaica* (1977) n.p.; Edmund Davis,

The manifestation of denominationalism was evident at the ecumenical college in the distribution of houses according to denominations and in the appointment of separate wardens for each denomination. The constitution of the college provided for the students to meet in separate groups each week to study the peculiar features and disciplines of their traditions. Although this provision would appear to create unintended ambiguities, yet it should be noted that ecumenism in the Jamaican context was never interpreted to mean that everything at the united college would be leveled into uniformity. Students had to appreciate their own traditions before they could relate meaningfully to those of others. They could not identify positive with others before they had come to grips with their own identity. Furthermore, it should never be forgotten that the graduates of the ecumenical college were going back to serve in churches of different denominations and traditions, and not just in one big non-denominational structure. The extent to which the seminary could conscientise them to relate and co-operate with other denominations and traditions meaningfully, would greatly facilitate the measure to which ecumenism would be effective and dynamic within the churches in Jamaica and the other Caribbean territories.¹⁸

The establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies, working in collaboration with the Protestant and Roman Catholic seminaries in the Caribbean as well as with the University of the West Indies was an incredible epoch-making effort. It mirrored the commitment of the churches in Jamaica and the other Caribbean territories to the development of ecumenical theological education in the region as a challenge and a witness to the global community.

Contextualisation as a Dynamic Process of Theological Education (1980) n.p.; Nicolas Bruce, *Contextualisation* (1978) n.p.; Edward Cleary, *Crisis and Change* (1985) n.p.; Philip, *Patterns of Dominance* (1970) n.p.; Donald Messer, *Contemporary Images of Christian Ministry* (1992) n.p.

18. Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity* (1991) n.p.; Kwane Bediako, *Theology and Identity* (1992) n.p.; N. Glazer, *Cultural Pluralism* (1977) n.p.; Katherine Walsh and David Loades (eds.) *Faith and Identity* (1990) n.p.; J. van Baal, *Erring Acculturation* (1960) n.p.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION: UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF THE WEST INDIES: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

10.1 RETROSPECTION (1841-1966)

The development of theological education in Jamaica was a long and challenging adventure. It started in 1841, passed through the various stages of denominational co-operative and ecumenical ministerial training, and culminated in 1966 with the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

Within this timeframe, one of the challenges which confronted the Presbyterian, Baptist, Anglican and Methodist colleges was how to adapt the British and North American models of theological education to the needs and aspirations of the Caribbean. St. Colme's Hostel, Calabar College, St. Peter's College, Caenwood College and the United Theological College of the West Indies struggled to maintain and pursue a contextual system of ministerial education, without being isolated from global realities. It was an effort to ensure dynamism and relevance. Relevance was essential if the mission of the church was to be dynamic within the particular historical and sociological situation of the Caribbean with its Western influences. As Frans Verstraelen reminds us:

In the European colonial and imperialist expansion, mission was almost exclusively linked to the missionary movement and expansion of the West into the non-Western world.¹

A contextual model of theological education emerged in Jamaica which was relevant to what Jan van Butselaar has described so aptly as 'thinking locally and acting globally'.² Contextualisation as a dynamic process of theological education enabled the students of the denominational and ecumenical colleges to use the global parameters to reflect and relate to the local paradigms which affected their lives, values, beliefs and perspectives. It provided the theological community with an opportunity to engage in analysis and evaluation of the society in order to identify some of the forces and factors which had resulted in oppression and deprivation in many communities. During the ecumenical stages in the history of theological education in Jamaica, it developed a wide range and a strong social and spiritual basis in which the appeal of the Gospel remained universal, but the interpretation and application became contextual.

Although the tutorial staff of the United Theological College of the West Indies was gradually indigenised, or more accurately stated, West Indianised, its core curriculum was not fully contextualised.³ Its theological education system was too sympathetic to traditional subjects and methodologies. Most of its textbooks were produced outside of

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1. Frans Verstraelen, *Mission and Bible in Historical and Missiological Perspective In: I. Mukonyora* (1993) 141-167.
 2. Jan van Butselaar, *Thinking Locally and Acting Globally* (1992) n.p.
 3. *Handbook, UTCWI* (1996-1999) 48-49.

the region and its perspective and methods of assessment were largely a derived European and North American model.

Since 1966, some tutors have been struggling to evolve an authentic inter-cultural communication system at the ecumenical college with deep and transforming Caribbean dimensions. They have endeavoured to develop a model of theological education which have reflected an analysis of the society and an evaluation of the educational and cultural systems. This method was initiated in order to release the ministerial training process from positivist, imperialist and Darwinist influences and structures.

In spite of the setbacks and challenges, the commitment and relentless effort of some missionaries laid the foundation on which theological education developed in Jamaica. The support they received, particularly, from overseas missionary societies and the church in Jamaica enabled the colleges to produce outstanding indigenous leaders, such as Aemilius Barclay, Percival Gibson, Menzie Sawyers and Hugh Sherlock.

The students at the United Theological College of the West Indies were trained to understand themselves more definitely as members of a global community, and to recognise and acknowledge one another as different members of the Body of Christ and of humanity. Their common faith in the one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church and their shared historical, sociological and educational heritage enabled them to understand the diversity of religious beliefs and liturgical practices at the college, to accept their own identity, to affirm the dignity of one another, and to appreciate the distinctive features of the other participating communions.

During the years 1913 to 1966, co-operative and ecumenical theological education fostered a collaborative rather than competitive style of relationship among the students. This reduced some of the misunderstandings which were so often evident among those who were trained at the denominational colleges, as well as those graduates of the ecumenical institution who exercised different patterns of ministry.

Since 1966, the United Theological College of the West Indies has become a centre of ecumenical theological education and a focus of extra-mural activity in the Caribbean. Its relationship with the University of the West Indies which has a campus at Mona, Jamaica; at Cavehill, Barbados; and at St. Augustine, Trinidad, with an extra-mural department operating throughout the Caribbean, facilitated the ecumenical witness of the college and the mission of church in the region.

The theological education journey which was initiated in 1841, by the Presbyterians, and continued along each milestone by the Baptists, the Anglicans and the Methodists, and which in 1966, merged into the United Theological College of the West Indies, was, indeed, an adventure of faith.

10.2 THE PRESENT SITUATION

Since the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies in 1966, economic, social and demographic forces have changed the Jamaican society. This process has been accelerated by rapidly evolving technology which has produced new information faster than the human mind can assimilate it. Industrial and agricultural

developments in the country have resulted in the disintegration of villages, the uprooting and scattering of communities, and the breaking up of family ties. The fantastic growth of building operations on the edge of several towns has made meaningless the old distinction between rural and urban areas.⁴ In addition, the population explosion, the availability of higher education with a secular undertone, the access to television, computers and the Internet have all contributed to a more secular society. Traditional values have been challenged. Old methods have quickly become obsolete, and old solutions have been outdated. The sub-culture which has been promoted primarily by the deejays has great influence on the youth in particular and the masses in general. Many individuals who have experienced some measure of social mobility through education and employment have developed an attitude of politeness and half-hearted support in their relationship to the church. Attendance at church for many Jamaicans is a mark of respectability and a social habit. Moreover, there is a significant decline in the involvement of men. The majority of church members are content that the authentic witness and the dynamic mission of the church should be carried on by 'the faithful few'. In Jamaica, Christianity exists alongside Islam, Bahai, Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism. There is a harmonious relationship among them as well as with the Rastafarian movement which is a protest against ethno-social domination. In spite of the ecumenical witness of the United Theological College of the West Indies, denominationalism is strongly entrenched. The responsibility of modernising and restructuring ministerial education in the Caribbean to meet the needs of the contextual and global communities must be addressed by the United Theological College of the West Indies.

The approaching millennium provides exiting possibilities, and, at the same time, poses formidable challenges. The changing structures of the society have demanded new and creative missions, not only to the Caribbean region, but also to the wider global community. The prevailing challenges seem to demand that the United Theological College of the West Indies equip its graduates to make new and creative efforts and to find new directions in their search for effective strategies and relevant mission in an ever-changing and multi-cultural society. The social, cultural and spiritual dimensions of the environment should be factored into the theological education system, so that more Jamaicans may recognise the inter-relatedness between the college, the church and the society. In a society which is ever shaping and reshaping itself, the ecumenical college is challenged to develop new patterns of ministry with appropriate identity and marks of professionalism. It should also seek to develop and maintain new and creative relationships with the Jamaica Theological Seminary which, since 1960, has provided ministerial training for candidates for ministry of the Evangelical churches in Jamaica, and with the Caribbean Graduate School of Theology, which, since 1986, has provided graduate level theological education for candidates of Evangelical churches in the Caribbean who desired advanced training for Christian ministry.

Within the first three decades of the establishment of the United Theological College of the West Indies, the ecumenical institution has developed intra-mural courses for the

4. United Theological College of the West Indies: *New Forms of Ministry Report of a Theological Education Conference* (1967) 1.

Licentiate in Theology, the Bachelor of Arts, the Master of Arts and the Master of Philosophy in Theology which are offered by the University of the West Indies. The Doctor in Ministry degree is offered by Columbia Theological Seminary, Georgia, United States of America. At the same time, the ecumenical college has established an Institute of Continuing Studies to upgrade and sharpen the skills and performances of lay workers in their congregations. Courses are provided at the college for lay people who attend evening and weekend classes as well as short residential courses requested by churches and other agencies. The college provides continuing education for pastors and other church workers. Courses are also offered for persons who wish to lecture in religious education, ethics and philosophy at the universities, and others who intend to lecture in religious knowledge at teacher training colleges.⁵

While most churches in Jamaica have achieved the goal of self-support for the indigenous ministry, they still welcome fraternal workers from abroad, whose salaries and allowances in some cases are paid by the overseas mission boards. Even with supplementary help, there is a widespread shortage in the ranks of the professional ministry. If the mission of the church is to witness and work for the coming of the Kingdom of God, then there is an urgent need for a radical reappraisal and refocusing of both the content and methodologies of ministerial education in Jamaica and the other Caribbean territories. This would include willingness to explore and when necessary to discard those principles and practices which tend to inhibit creativity and dynamism in the mission of the church. As the Caribbean moves towards the third millennium the United Theological College of the West Indies should endeavour to develop new patterns of theological education to meet the impact of a rapidly changing world. Howard Gregory, an Anglican priest and the first graduate of the ecumenical college to be elected president (1990) has stated:

Today the face of theological education is changing rapidly. Lay persons are being affirmed as persons who serve in ministry in authentic ways and not as appendages to ordained ministry. Lay persons are now looking to theological colleges and seminaries as centres for the broadening and deepening of the faith and for the necessary tools, resources and skills which will enable them to better live out their faith and serve the church in various ministries.⁶

There is need for fundamental changes in the appointment of staff at the United Theological College of the West Indies. The present system whereby a particular church is responsible for providing staff for a particular subject is untenable. For instance, if the tutor of a particular subject leaves the college, his denomination is given the opportunity to recommend a person for the post. This means that what is usually achieved is not academic excellence, but the keeping of denominational balance. Under the present system the salary of a particular tutor is paid by his or her church. The consequence of this is that there are situations in which there are great discrepancies in salaries paid to tutors. If the college is to equip itself for the opportunities and challenges of the twenty-

5. *Handbook of General Information at UTCWI* (1996-1999) 33-40.

6. *Handbook, UTCWI* (1996-1999) 1.

first century, the participating churches will certainly have to grant more independence to the college in the development of its academic staff. In the future they may have to contribute their appropriate percentage of the budget into one pool from which tutors will be paid equitable and realistic salaries.

The college should ensure that not only the staff is primarily West Indian, but also that they are of the highest academic and professional standards. A new approach would allow existing staff to be given the opportunity, along with other appropriate applicants, to compete for vacant and new posts at the college. Efforts should be made to recruit only the best staff with a long-term commitment to ministerial education. The staff which will be required in the future should be flexible in their teaching methodologies, sensitive to the needs of the church and committed to the transformation of the society. They should be prepared to provide the students with opportunities and support-systems to work through the changing patterns of their own belief structure and the effect this has on their own spirituality. The staff should also be able to guide and direct students into ways of sustaining their intellectual interests and spiritual growth, work-based skills, and the integration of their past experience into their future ministry in a rapidly developing, multi-cultural and technological society.

Another issue which the college should grapple with relentlessly is staff development. The tutorial staff should be afforded the opportunity and financial assistance for study and writing. Lecturers need to keep abreast with the rapid changes and new trends which are brought about by communication technology. It is essential for churches to reassess and adjust their budgets for theological education to include provision for renewal and continued education of staff and for the publication of textbooks which will reflect the perspective and experience of the Caribbean.

As the ecumenical college prepares for the next millennium it should recognise the legitimacy of a vocation to work in ministerial education. Furthermore, it should seek to co-operate with the churches in establishing a proper career structure and accredited status for theological educators who are seeking to make a significant and essential contribution to the life and mission of the Church.

10.3 FUTURE TRAINING FOR MINISTRY

The fundamental ministry is Christ's ministry, and the whole church, as the Body of Christ, has a ministerial function derived from Christ's ministry. A special ministry of Word and Sacrament is necessary within the total life of the church, whose function is to equip God's people for the work of the ministry. The ordained ministry is not set apart as a caste, but is representative of the Body of Christ, and serves to build up the whole body in holiness and in service to the world.⁷ In an effort to prepare candidates for ministry in the third millennium the theological education model of the United Theological College of the West Indies should be redesigned and reoriented to equip every baptised member of the Church for the ministry to which he or she has been called by Christ. Ecumenical ministerial training should be directed not merely to the work of the church, and to the

7. UTCWI, *New Forms of Ministry Report* (1967) 4.

welfare of the members of the church, but also to the training of all Christians for spiritual maturity, communal integration and social transformation.

As the United Theological College of the West Indies moves towards the next century, there is increasing need for persons to be trained for specialised and tent-making ministries. God's call to serve in schools as chaplains, in youth work, in administration, in industrial evangelism, in the use of mass media and so on should be mirrored in the curriculum of the United Theological College of the West Indies.

Whatever cloud of uncertainty may hang over the future, the united college should not fail to lay the foundation for a more flexible model of theological education which will be more relevant to the changing structure of the Caribbean society. While there will always be the need for the service of full-time professional ministers, the increasing specialisation of ministries must be anticipated.

Specialisation for ordinands should not normally take place until after the completion of a full course of study, and preferably only after some years of service in the church. However, some students may be identified before ordination and sponsored by their denominations for specialised training. In addition, opportunity could be provided during the regular course to make students aware of the fields of specialisation and it should be possible for some students to choose those optional courses that would be in line with possible future specialisation. The church is in need of more specialists, most of whom should be based in the local congregations. Many clergy and lay persons maintain that their skills and experiences have never been recognised nor utilised by the church. In the contemporary scientific, technological and knowledge-based society, every effort should be made by the ecumenical college to provide a more professionally trained clergy and laity.

The ecumenical institution should also recognise the invaluable contribution of ordained and lay women to the witness and mission of the church. Now that the long-held negative perception has seemingly been changed, structured programmes of training, similar to that of men, should be put in place for the preparation of women, not only as deaconesses or sisters, but also for the ministry of Word and sacrament. God's calling of women to serve the ministry in all its forms is currently acceptable to all the participating communions of the ecumenical college.

There is need for fundamental reappraisal in the process and the criteria which are used in the recruitment of students to the ecumenical college. The traditional model by which the prospective candidate for ministry professed an initially self-authenticated directed sense of call from God is usually assessed and the person examined by a committee in order to decide his or her suitability for ministry. In light of the possible opportunities and challenges of the new millennium, the church in Jamaica and the other Caribbean countries should recruit students for the ecumenical college who emerge from the creative dialogue between the needs of the church and the challenges of the society. It is the results of this dialogue which should determine the nature of the students to be trained and the quality and shape of the ministerial training needed for such ministry. In other words, the students to be trained at the college for service in the church of the future would be determined by the needs of the church, the demands of the society and the candidates personal sense of call. This new paradigmatic shift would have to be

managed with considerable competence and sensitivity.

The United Theological College of the West Indies should encourage the participating churches to recruit stipendiary and non-stipendiary candidates to be trained for ministry. Both categories of students should share as much common ministerial training as possible and only deviate at those points when their differing ministries require specialised study. In other words, all students in training for the ordained ministry, both stipendiary and non-stipendiary should share a common course.

Some new trends for an awakened theological institution may have to include the multi-modal system with special focus on Extension and Distance Education. These programmes of vocational training may be developed on a part-time basis which will facilitate short residential courses in various communities. Part-time students are usually mature persons who are involved in both secular and ecclesiastical environment. They prefer to be trained in defined geographical context, where community spirit is established in the meeting of regular tutorial groups, weekend conferences and summer schools. The Distance Education programme will allow a larger number of persons to be trained for the various ministries of the church without the usual family dislocation and employment disruption.

Academic excellence should not be sacrificed in part-time ministerial education. However, the highest educational standard can be maintained only if educational methodology is made flexible and assessment of students' performances take a variety of forms. Students should create their own workflow patterns which should be reflected in the different kinds of assessment. All students should be expected, in spite of their previous academic experience, to complete the full course of study. Students with particular skills may be incorporated into the teaching programme to facilitate a tutor-student model. The co-studentship model allows both lecturer and student to participate in the educational process. This should be developed in preference to the traditional model of lecturer instructing the student.

Lay leadership development in the new millennium should not be regarded as the primary responsibility of the ordained ministry. Programmes for the training of the laity should be designed and conducted by the United Theological College of the West Indies with the emphasis placed on Christian witness and service to community integration and nation building. It is of crucial importance that the ecumenical college co-operates with the ordained ministers in order to provide opportunities and facilities for lay workers to seek training for the better performance of their various functions within the life and mission of the church.

During the third millennium, the United Theological College will have to grapple more seriously with the problem of contextualisation. Its tutorial staff will have to become more conscientised to the needs and aspirations of the Caribbean. Its curriculum will have to be reformulated and refocused. Its theological education system will have to become more oriented to the needs of the college, the church and the society. Most of the theological education materials should be produced within the Caribbean and the perspective and methods of assessment should be determined within its boundaries. Some tutors have been struggling to develop a relevant theological education system at the ecumenical college which will facilitate the transformation of the Caribbean community.

As we stand at the threshold of a new century, efforts should be made to revise and design a curriculum which will reflect the sociological perspective of the Caribbean and its education needs. It is hoped that the commitment of the ecumenical to these initiatives will assist in transforming the mission of the church in the region from one of maintenance to one of dynamism.

The students of the United Theological College of the West Indies should be trained to understand themselves as participants in an ecumenical venture which will facilitate the integration of their community and the wider Caribbean region. Although the theological education model of the college should address the needs of its particular situation, it should also remain open to inter-contextual communications. The floodlight should be fixed on local and concrete issues, which will be relevant to the lives and experiences of the people.

The United Theological College of the West Indies should construct a contextual theological education system which will vindicate the value of indigenous culture, but at the same time affirm the universal and historical character of Christian belief. This means that though the process of theological education may focus on Jamaica and the wider Caribbean it should not be limited to a dialogue with theological educators of the region only. To do such a thing would place the ministerial training programme of the region in too narrow a framework. The global as well as the contextual should be maintained in the theological education system if it is to provide a social, moral and spiritual framework to meet the demands of the technological and evolutionary age.

The evolutionary era of the third millennium will demand that the United Theological College of the West Indies endeavour to provide a new frame of ministerial education which will adequately access the contribution of science and technology to the mission of the church in Jamaica and the wider Caribbean. Their application should become pervasive factors to be effectively and creatively utilised for the advancement of a renewed model of theological education in the years ahead. The increasing information technology and the transfer of knowledge will play an essential role in their impact on globalisation and contextualisation during the twenty-first century. There are some Jamaican educators who maintain that during the new millennium contextual knowledge should be the basis of global information in order to challenge the determinism associated with the increasing emphasis on global knowledge. However, in Jamaica and other Caribbean territories there are several obstacles and limitations to global knowledge and the transfer of it. For instance, many communities in the region lack adequate access to the Internet, because they have no telephone, no computer, and no reasonable levels of literacy. Furthermore, there are fiscal problems, such as the escalating cost of acquiring telephones, satellites, computers, pagers and fax machines. Notwithstanding, globalisation is changing the way some students of the ecumenical college think about the world and their own identity. The relationship of identity to global reality, therefore, should exist in the openness of the ecumenical college to other institutions through a process of inter-relatedness and inter-dependence.

In the ever-changing Jamaican society of science and technology, the United Theological College of the West Indies should be sensitised to the increasing opportunities as well as formidable challenges of the contextual and global realities. The

ecumenical institution should seek to refocus and reshape its theological education system in order to provide relevance, dynamism and direction for the mission of the church in Jamaica and the wider Caribbean region. The experiences of the past should help to shape the theological education system of the present, and prepare the United Theological College of the West Indies to respond creatively to the opportunities and challenges of the future.

APPENDICES

The Appendices provide subsidiary materials which are essential for a comprehensive overview of the development of Theological education in Jamaica from 1841 to 1966.

1 THE POPULATION OF JAMAICA (1844 - 1966)

The growth of the population of Jamaica and other vital statistics are background information which is essential to the study. The figures were taken from the Handbook of Jamaica compiled in 1967 by the Jamaica Information Service.

CENSUS DATE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1844	181,633	195,800	377,433
1861	213,521	227,743	441,264
1871	246,573	259,581	506,154
1881	282,957	297,847	580,804
1991	305,948	333,543	639,491
1911	397,439	433,944	831,383
1921	401,973	456,145	858,118
1943	598,267	638,796	1,237,063
1956	732,100	788,780	1,520,880
1966	872,320	987,550	1,859,870

2 DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP (1844-1881)

In 1844, the total population stood at 377,433 and the total church membership was 167,574. In 1861, the population was 441,264 and church membership 185,485. And in 1881, the former was 580,804 and the latter was 203,591. This meant that during the period 1844 to 1881, more than a half of the population did not belong to any of the then existing churches. Information taken from the Blue Book, Ecclesiastical section of the Jamaica Archives:

DENOMINATION	1844	1861	1881
Anglicans	42,000	37,820	33,180
Methodists (Wesleyans)	22,884	29,405	32,180
Baptists	34,000	52,540	63,675
Presbyterians	15,000	15,382	16,954
Methodists (United)	1,540	1,950	2,880
Moravians	1,500	11,350	13,150

Native Baptists			
United Presbyterian	7,320	8,020	10,355
Roman Catholics	1,530	2,960	2,275
Jews	5,000	5,675	6,389
Congregationalists	7,300	5,810	5,590
American Missions (Included Disciples of Christ and Afro-American Spiritualists)	1,000	14,573	16,636

3 PERCENTAGES OF CHURCH AFFILIATION (1943-1966)

In 1943, membership of the following churches represented 61 percent of the population of Jamaica. In 1956 it stood at 60.8 percent, and in 1966 it was 59.2 percent. This information which is provided by the Handbook of Jamaica indicates that in 1943, 1956 and in 1966 nearly 40 percent of the population were not members of any of these churches.

DENOMINATION	1943	1956	1966
Anglicans	28.4	23.5	21
Baptists	25.8	22.7	20.1
Methodists	8.9	7.7	7.1
Presbyterians	7.5	5.6	5.6
Roman Catholics	5.7	6.9	7.6
Moravians	4.1	3.6	3.6
Church of God	3.5	6.2	12.6
Seventh Day Adventists	2.2	3.0	3.8
Congregationalists	1.7	1.3	1.3
Salvation Army	1.1	1.3	1.3
Afro-American Spiritualists and Black Indigenous Christians	4.0	7.9	12.1
Hindus	0.3	0.2	0.1
Jews	0.1	0.1	0.1
Chinese Folk Religionists Buddhists and other Religions	0.1	0.1	0.1

4 TABLES OF YEARS AND LOCATIONS

4.1 PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES (1841-1966)

Between 1841 and 1966, the College moved to the following locations:

- 1881-1844 Theological Hall, Bonham Springs, St. Mary
- 1844-1858 Theological Hall, Montego Bay, St. James
- 1858-1876 Theological Hall, Mount Olivet, Manchester
- 1876-1877 The Academy, Montego Bay, St. James
- 1877-1888 The Academy, Duke Street, Kingston
- 1888-1895 The Academy, Ebenezer, Manchester
- 1888-1936 The Academy, New Broughton, Manchester
- 1937-1945 St. Colme s Hostel, Half Way Tree, Kingston
- 1946-1951 St. Colme s Hostel, Lockett Avenue Kingston
- 1952-1954 St. Colme s Hostel, Arnold Road, Kingston
- 1954-1966 Union Theological Seminary, Arnold Road, Kingston
- 1966 Fusion-The United theological College of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston

4.2 BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES (1843-1966)

From 1843 to 1966, the theological institution was sited at the following venues:

- 1843-1868 Calabar College, Rio Bueno, Trelawny.
- 1968-1913 Calabar College, East Queen Street, Kingston.
- 1913-1952 Calabar College, Slipe Pen Road, Kingston.
- 1952-1966 Calabar College, Red Hills Road, Kingston
- 1966 Fusion The United Theological College of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston.

4.3 ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES (1858-1966)

During the period 1858 to 1966, the college operated at the following places:

- 1858-1877 Bishop s College, Hope Road, Kingston
- 1877-1882 Jamaica Church Theological College, Spanish Town, St. Catherine
- 1882-1893 Jamaica Church theological College, Hanover Street, Kingston
- 1893-1966 St. Peter s College, Caledonia Avenue, Kingston
- 1966 Fusion The United Theological College of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston.

4.4 METHODIST THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES (1875-1966)

Between 1875 and 1966, the seminary was located at the following sites:

- 1875-1913 York Castle Theological Hall, Brown s Town, St. Ann
- 1913-1928 Murcott Lodge Ministerial Training Centre, East Race Course, Kingston

1928-1954 Caenwood College, Arnold Road, Kingston
 1954-1966 Union Theological Seminary, Arnold Road, Kingston
 1966 Fusion The United theological College of the West Indies, Mona
 Kingston

4.5 THE UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF THE WEST INDIES, KINGSTON
 (1966) GOLDING ROAD, ST. ANDREW (ADJACENT TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
 THE WEST INDIES)

5 DATA REGARDING THE UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF THE WEST INDIES

5.1 THE CONSTITUTION

These include the constitution of the college (5.1) percentage of students by territories (5.2) percentage of student body by communions (5.3) and staff, nationalities and denominations (5.4)

The Constitution sets out the fundamental principles by which the college was governed during the embryonic stage of its development. These principles were prepared by the Theological Education Committee, approved by the participating churches and implemented in 1966.

1. NAME: The name of the college shall be The United Theological College of the West Indies hereinafter called the College .

2. PURPOSE: The purpose of the College is to prepare men and women for ministry in the Church and to promote theological study and learning.

3. DOCTRINAL BASIS: The doctrinal basis of the life, teaching and of the College is belief in one God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. It affirms the catholic doctrines of the Christian faith, according to the Word of God in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

It is agreed that within the general life and organization of the College there shall be opportunity for the teaching of doctrinal tenets, practices and disciplines to students in preparation for their distinctive ministries.

4. ORIGINAL PARTICIPANTS: In the formation of the College the original participants are the following communions:

The Anglican Church (Jamaica Diocese)
 The Jamaica Baptist Union
 The Methodist Church in the West Indies

The Anglican Church (Jamaica Diocese)
 The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica
 The Presbyterian Church in Trinidad
 The Guiana Presbyterian Church
 The Presbyterian Church of British Guiana
 The Congregational Union of Jamaica
 The Moravian Church in Jamaica
 The Moravian Church Eastern West Indian Province
 The Disciples of Christ in Jamaica

Other Communion may be admitted to participate in the College on terms acceptable to the Board of Governors, hereinafter designated, provided the application for admission in each case is first made to and is recommended by the Educational Council, named below, and receives the majority assent of at least three-quarters of the members of the Board present at their annual general meeting.

5. THE BOARD: Control and direction of the College shall be exercised by a Board of Governors whose term of office shall be as stated in the By-Laws.

The Board shall be constituted as follows:

- a) representatives of the participating Communion as prescribed on the By-laws:
- b) not less than five, and not more than ten members, representing the whole area served by the College, and appointed by the representatives afore-mentioned in section (a);
- c) The President of the College and three other members of the teaching staff, elected by the Faculty.

The Board shall at each annual general meeting elect:

- a) a Chairman and one or more Vice-chairmen from among its members;
- b) a secretary and Treasurer who may or may not be members of the Board.
- c) an auditor or auditors on such terms of remuneration as the Board may decide.

The Board shall meet at the commencement of the Trinity term to consider any amendments to the Constitution, matters of general policy, and to receive the annual report. The Board shall also meet at the commencement of the Advent and Lenten terms to conduct ordinary business.

At all meetings of the Board ten members shall form a quorum, and the Chairman shall have an original as well as a casting of votes in the event of any equality of voters.

The Board may adopt such By-laws and regulations as may be deemed necessary for its own business and the affairs of the College, provided that any regulations affecting the educational work shall be adopted only after consultation with the Educational Council or the executive of the said Council.

6. THE EDUCATIONAL COUNCIL: There shall be an Educational Council which shall be responsible for the educational policies of the College.

The Educational Council which shall be constituted by:

- a) one representative of each of the participating Communions, elected annually by the respective Communions;
- b) the members of the Faculty.

The President, hereinafter designated, shall be the Chairman of the Council, or, in his absence, the Council may appoint one of its members to act as Chairman.

The Council may appoint an Executive Committee comprised of members of the Council to undertake such responsibilities as may be remitted to it.

The Council shall meet at least once every twelve months. The quorum shall consist of ten members, at least four of whom shall not be members of the Faculty.

The Council shall make an annual report on the educational work of the College to the Board of Governors.

7. PRESIDENT: The Board of Governors, in consultation with the Educational Council, shall appoint a President and a Deputy-President who shall hold office for two years.

The President shall be a member of the Faculty.

During his term of office the President shall be responsible for the general administration and operation of the College, subject to the direction of the Board of Governors, and acting in consultation with the Educational Council, the Faculty, and such other Committees as may be appointed by the Board.

8. FACULTY: The teaching staff of the College shall constitute the Faculty.

All members of the Faculty shall be appointed by the Board of Governors in consultation with the Educational Council.

It is understood that the various Communions participating in the work of the College shall be represented on the Faculty in so far as the Communions find this practicable.

Members of the Faculty shall be nominated by Churches, Missionary Societies or other bodies who shall consult with the Educational Council concerning their suitability and qualifications.

The Faculty shall be responsible for the teaching work of the College, and shall share with the relevant Church authorities the responsibility for the admission of students and their supervision and discipline.

It is understood that in terms of Article 4 (Doctrinal Basis) this general

responsibility shall not limit provision for teaching distinctive tenets, practices and disciplines as therein stated.

The President of the College shall be Chairman of the Faculty, or, in his absence, the Deputy-President shall act as Chairman.

9. STUDENTS: Students shall be admitted on the recommendation of the Communions responsible for their acceptance as candidates for ordination or other recognition, and the authorities of these Communions shall be consulted as to the courses to be undertaken by their students and shall share in their oversight.

It is recognised that arrangements may be made for students who are candidates for the Ministry of particular Communions to have an identity of residence and corporate life within the College.

Students other than those recommended by the participating Communions may be admitted by the Faculty on conditions to be determined by the Board.

10. FINANCE: The financial operations and general management of the College shall be under the direction and control of the Board of Governors.

11. BUILDING AND GROUNDS: The Board of Governors shall be responsible for the purchase, holding and disposal of land, and shall erect, furnish and maintain such buildings as may be required for the work of the College; and for these purposes they shall enter into arrangements with participating Communions for contributions by them, or with such other sources as may be available. The Board shall also be empowered to negotiate the raising of loans, and to pledge the assets of the College as security therefor.

Until such time as the Board is incorporated under the laws of Jamaica as a legal entity with all necessary powers, the Board shall appoint a suitable body, having the required legal authority, to exercise these functions as its trustee. The initial trustee shall be Moravian Church in Jamaica as incorporated.

12. IDENTITY OF RESIDENCE: To carry out the intention of Clause 9, relating to identity of residence, the Board shall be required, on request, to allocate specific buildings, or parts thereof, for the use of a particular Communion, in ratio to the latter's contribution of capital and tutorial assistance, such a right to be revoked only by the Communion concerned, provided that where allocated space is not fully used, and after consultation with that Communion, the Board may make suitable arrangements for occupancy.

13. OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES: The Board may appoint such officials and employees as may be necessary for the operation of the College.

14. RELATIONS WITH THE UNIVERSITY AND OTHER COLLEGES: On the recommendation of the Educational Council, the Board may enter into such relations with the University of the West Indies or other institutions of learning as may be considered to

be in the interests of the College.

In as much as it is the intention of the College to fulfill its purpose, as stated in Clause 2, on behalf of Christian Communion within the geographical area served by the College, the Board, on the recommendation of the Educational Council, may enter into relation with other colleges similarly engaged, on terms mutually agreeable, and provision may be made for their representation on the Educational Council.

15. WITHDRAWAL: In the event of the withdrawal of one or more Communion from participation in the establishment and administration of the College, or in the event of other circumstances arising to necessitate its dissolution, the property of the College shall be valued and its assets, both real and personal, shall be divided among the contributing Communion in ratio to the sum total of their contributions, provided that such dissolution of the College take place within a period of twenty years from its establishment, the Theological Education Fund of New York, or its successor body, shall also be refunded its contribution in ratio to the available assets. The Commitments of any Communion so indicating its intention to withdraw from the College shall continue for three years from the date of such intimation to an annual meeting of the Board. Reimbursement of capital following withdrawal would be arranged over a period of time as directed by the financial condition of the College.

16. AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION: Save and except Clauses 2, 3, 12 and 15 hereof, which are hereby entrenched as provisions which may not be altered or amended while the Constitution is in force, this Constitution may be amended under the following conditions:

Twelve months prior notice of intention to amend shall be given;
At the annual meeting of the Board at which the motion to amend is considered, at least three-quarters of the members present must vote in favour of the amendment to secure its approval.

5.2 PERCENTAGE OF STUDENT BODY BY TERRITORIES (1966)

The figures provide an overview of the distribution of students according to their country of origin. The most outstanding feature is that Jamaica has the largest percentage of the sixty (60) students at the college. Guyana with a smaller population than Trinidad and Barbados has a larger percentage of students at the college than these territories. Trinidad is predominantly a Roman Catholic country, consequently, the Protestant Churches there are not as strong as in Jamaica. Furthermore, the Anglican churches in Trinidad and Barbados send their students to Codrington College, and sends only students who are preparing for the Bachelor of Arts degree to the United Theological College of the West Indies.

TERRITORIES	PERCENTAGES
Anguilla	2.5
Antigua	6.4
Barbados	2.5
British Honduras	5.1
British Virgin Island	3.8
Costa Rica	1.3
Curacao	1.3
Dominica	1.3
Guyana	41.2
Nevis	3.8
St. Vincent	1.3
Surinam	3.8
Tobago	1.3
Trinidad	10.3
Turks Islands	2.5

5.3 PERCENTAGE OF STUDENT BODY BY COMMUNIONS (1966)

This appendix shows the distribution of students with reference to their communions. The Methodists have 32.4 percent of the student body, as against the Baptists, its closest rival, who have only 16.8 percent, the Anglicans with 11.6 percent and the United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman with 6.4 percent. The College trained Methodist students for ministry from the Caribbean and the Americas, which is a wider geographical area than that of any other denomination. Codrington College in Barbados receives most of the Anglican students in the West Indies, while St. Andrew's College in Trinidad absorbs many of the Presbyterian students of the Eastern Caribbean.

COMMUNIONS	PERCENTAGES
Anglicans	11.6
Baptists	16.8
Disciples of Christ	1.3
Lutherans	3.8
Methodists	32.4
Moravians of Jamaica	5.1
Moravians of East Caribbean	12.9
Presbyterians of Guyana	1.3
Presbyterians of Trinidad and Grenada	6.4
United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman	6.4

5.4 STAFF, NATIONALITIES AND DENOMINATIONS (1966)

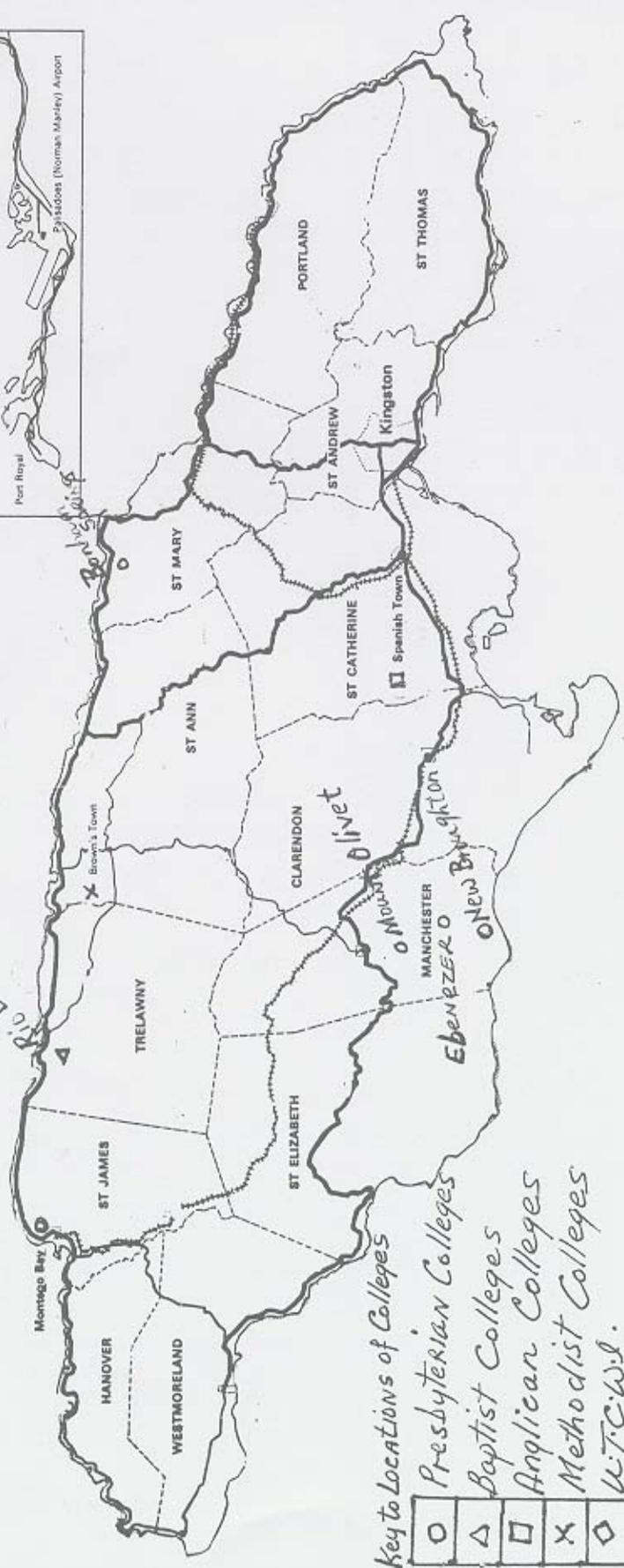
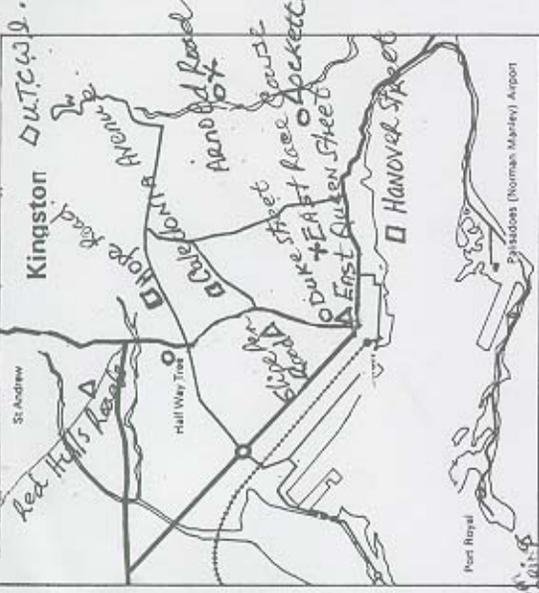
By 1966, nearly 60 percent of the tutorial staff were British and American, while more than 40 percent were West Indians. It was strongly felt that the gradual replacement of European staff by West Indians would facilitate the process of indigenisation and contextualisation of theological education in Jamaica and the wider Caribbean region.

Wilfred Scopes - British - Presbyterian
Richard Bland - American - Lutheran
Cynthia Clare - Jamaican - Methodist
Caleb Cousins - Jamaican - Methodist
Allan Hunter - American - Disciples of Christ
David Jelleyman - English - Baptist
Frederick Linyard - English - Moravian
John McNab - Jamaican - Anglican
Donald Monkcom - English - Baptist
Horace Russell - Jamaican - Baptist
James Seunarine - Trinidadian - Presbyterian
Alexander Taylor - Scottish - Presbyterian

Map Of Jamaica

Caribbean Sea

Caribbean Sea



- Key to Locations of Colleges
- Presbyterian Colleges
 - △ Baptist Colleges
 - Anglican Colleges
 - x Methodist Colleges
 - ◇ W.T.C.W.I.

○	△	□	x	◇
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SAMENVATTING

Deze studie analyseert en evalueert de ontwikkeling van het theologisch onderwijs op Jamaï ca van 1841 tot 1966. Ze valt in twee delen uiteen.

Het eerste deel bepaalt de historische, socio-culturele en zendingscontext waarin ambtsonderricht in deze periode zijn intrede deed in het land. Het concentreert zich op de Tainos nederzetting op Jamaï ca (1494-1509) alsmede op de problematische verhouding tussen christelijke zending en westers expansionisme ten tijde van de Spaanse heerschappij (1509-1655), de Britse overheersing (1655-1962) en de onafhankelijke natie (1962-), en op de ontwikkelingen in het onderwijs vóór en na de onafhankelijkheid (1962). In een kort historisch overzicht worden de verschillende stadia van kolonialisme, slavernij, emancipatie en onafhankelijkheid kritisch onderzocht. Beoordeeld wordt, hoe ethnocentrisme, sociaal-politieke problemen en de 'interculturatie' in een multiculturele en pluralistische samenleving van invloed waren op de zending van de kerk op Jamaï ca en de andere Caraï bische gebieden. Dit deel van het werk geeft nodige en nuttige achtergrondinzichten in de historische en sociaal-culturele krachten en factoren die de ontwikkeling van het theologisch onderwijs op Jamaï ca gedurende een tijdsperiode van 125 jaar hielpen vormgeven.

Het onderzoek schetst en bekritiseert ontstaan en groei van de vier denominaties die een aandeel hadden in de ontwikkeling van het theologisch onderwijs op Jamaï ca: de Church of England in Jamaï ca (1655-1966), de Baptisten (1783-1966), de Methodisten (1789-1966) en de Presbyterianen (1823-1966). Tussen 1655 en 1825 stond de Church of England in Jamaï ca onder de jurisdictie van de Bisschop van Londen, en in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw werden de Baptistische, Methodistische en Presbyteriaanse kerken geleid en bestuurd door Amerikaanse en Britse zendelingen. Daardoor kwam het leiderschap van de kerken op Jamaï ca onder het oppermachtige gezag van buitenlandse zendelingen die weinig waardering aan de dag legden voor de inheemse cultuur en leiderschap. Niettemin wisten Jamaï canen als Aemilius Alexander Barclay (1876-1926), Percival William Gibson (1893-1970), Menzie Edward Williamson Sawyers (1905-1980) en Hugh Braham Sherlock (1905-) zich te onderscheiden als inheemse kerkleiders, met name in hun kerkelijke betrokkenheid en op het gebied van onderwijs. Met uitzondering van de Baptistische Kerk werden van 1655 tot 1904 Jamaï canen van Afrikaanse en Aziatische afkomst uitgesloten van het ambt in de Protestantse kerken. Inheemse arbeid en leiderschap kregen een ondergeschikte, dienende plaats toebedeeld binnen de kerkelijke instellingen. Daardoor boette de missie van de kerk als bringer van geestelijke groei, verzoening en sociale verandering veel in aan relevantie en effectiviteit. De dynamische missie van de kerk werd gereduceerd tot één van instandhouden, zwalkend tussen betrokkenheid en neutraliteit ten aanzien van het verbeteren van het ethnocentrische en materialistische beleid en de benarrende en onderdrukkende praktijken van de Euro-Jamaï canen. De meeste protestantse zendelingen van die tijd (1655-1966) lieten zich niet in met de risico's en de kwetsbaarheid die essentiële elementen zijn van een relevante en authentieke zending van de kerk in een verbrokkelde en pluralistische samenleving. Zij waren meer bezorgd om het instandhouden van hun opgelegde orthodoxieën en het 'brengen van beschaving' dan om de verkondiging van Gods Koninkrijk.

De protestantse kerken op Jamaï ca hechtten opmerkelijk veel belang aan het educatieve werk van hun kerkelijke instellingen. Dit kwam vooral tot uiting in de verschillende voorbereidende en voortgezette scholen en de lerarenopleidingen en theologische hogescholen die zij vestigden. De zendelingen gaven financiële steun en deden belangrijk werk voor deze onderwijsinstellingen. Zij waren de pioniers in het onderwijs tussen 1655 en 1966. Onderwijs werd door de kerken op Jamaï ca beschouwd als de sleutel tot sociale mobiliteit, vooral voor de mensen van Afrikaanse en Aziatische afkomst, gemarginaliseerd, arm en berooid als die waren. De educatieve zending van de kerken zorgde uiteindelijk voor gekwalificeerde Aziatische en Afro-Jamaï caanse studenten voor de protestantse theologische hogescholen. Zo werden de ambtsdragers van de protestantse kerken en het docentencorps van de theologische hogescholen in de tweede helft van de twintigste eeuw inheems. De zendingsgeschiedenis illustreert de historische, sociale, cultureel theologische en geestelijke context waarin ambtsopleidingen op Jamaï ca ontstonden van de negentiende tot de twintigste eeuw.

Het tweede deel van het onderzoek bestudeert op systematische en empirische wijze de geschiedenis van het theologisch onderwijs op Jamaï ca (1841-1966). De nadruk ligt op het United Theological College of the West Indies en zijn vier voorgangers. Dit deel belicht de politieke, sociale, culturele, missiologische en educatieve factoren en krachten die zich verstrengden en de vormgeving schraagden van het model van theologisch onderwijs dat op Jamaï ca ontstond in de bestudeerde periode. De inhoud, methoden en doelstellingen die de opkomst van het ambtsonderricht inspireerden en versoepelden roepen gepaste vragen op ten aanzien van de invloed van positivisme, Darwinisme en imperialisme op het theologisch onderwijssysteem op Jamaï ca.

De protestantse hogescholen werden opgericht door Britse zendelingen. Zij werden beheerst en vormgegeven door zendelingen, daar de overzeese zendingsgenootschappen de meeste financiële steun verschaften en verantwoordelijk waren voor de aanstelling van presidenten en beheerders. De zendelingen waren overwegend Brits in hun theologische opleiding en culturele oriëntatie. Daardoor brachten zij hun klassieke en filosofische modellen van theologisch onderwijs van Engeland naar Jamaï ca over. De uitheemse staf was vaak niet vertrouwd met de ervaringen van de gemeenschap en het uit het moederland geleende curriculum was niet relevant voor alle behoeften en doelstellingen van de Caraï bische bevolking. Dit werk beoogt daarom een kritische beoordeling van de mogelijkheid om ideeën en educatieve methoden, ontstaan in een bepaalde omgeving te verplaatsen en hanteren in een andersoortige samenleving.

Dit deel richt de schijnwerper op de vier stadia in de ontwikkeling van het theologisch onderwijs op Jamaï ca (1841-1966). Eerst was er het *confessioneel ambtsonderricht* (1841-1913). Dit proces werd in gang gezet door de protestantse zendelingen en resulteerde in de oprichting van vier confessionele theologische hogescholen: de theologische academie van de Presbyterianen (1841), Calabar College van de Baptisten (1843), Bishop's College van de Anglicanen (1858) en het York Castle theologisch instituut van de Methodisten (1875). Vervolgens was er *coöperatief theologisch onderricht*, waarin de verstandhouding tussen de protestantse hogescholen werd verdiept en de samenwerking versterkt. Ten derde, als gevolg van de inspanningen die de kerken binnen het coöperatief theologisch onderwijsmodel deden om de kwaliteit van het ambtsonderricht te verbeteren, de uit de hand lopende kosten ervan te verminderen en tegemoet te komen aan de aanbevelingen van de Wereldraad van Kerken, zag het *oecumenisch theologisch*

onderwijs het daglicht (1954-1966). Deze fase werd ingeluid door de fusie van Caenwood College (Methodistisch) en St. Colme's Hostel (Presbyteriaans) tot Union Theological Seminary (1954). Tenslotte werd dit verder uitgebreid door het opgaan van Union Theological Seminary, Calabar College en St. Peter's College (Anglicaans) in het United Theological College of the West Indies (1966). Dit was de dageraad van een nieuwe tijd, de weerslag van de ijver van elf gemeenschappen en negen denominaties uit zestien gebieden in de Caraïben en de Amerika's voor oecumenisch theologisch onderwijs.

De studie besluit met een reflectie op het United Theological College of the West Indies. Dit hoofdstuk houdt zich bezig met een terugblik op de periode 1841-1966, het richt de blik op de huidige situatie en geeft richtlijnen en aanbevelingen voor de toekomstige ambtsopleiding aan het United Theological College of the West Indies.

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