PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN JAMAICA
PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN JAMAICA

(being a critical survey of mission policy from 1754 to the present day)

J.W. Kilpatrick, M.A., B.D.

Presented for the degree of Ph.D., 1st November, 1943
A-C a

alias been variously described by church leaders in
and elsewhere as a tropical paradise, a health resort, a
near approach to the ideal of an indigenous church, a small, quiet
field where the missionaries settle their differences without troubling
the home authorities. It has also been described by missionaries in Jamaica as 'the forgotten
field'—forgotten because of that


very peculiarity of being able to settle its own differences, of

being content to move slowly and peacefully under the heat of a tropical sun.

Twice every century, however, Jamaica discovers that she is


neglected and oppressed, and twice each hundred years the British


Churches make a review of the work and re-arrange their policy and


their methods. There may be something to be said for a policy


which is given half a century to work itself out, but it is to be


remembered in these days that the power which opposes the Church of


Jesus Christ may not be willing to wait half a century before renewing


their deadly assault on the work of the church.

1938 was one of the troubled periods of Jamaica's history, and


it was found when the Royal Commission visited the Island that the


Churches were unable to give such account of themselves, not because


they had been totally inactive, but because few of the leaders had


a working knowledge of the history of their own denominations, and


fewer still any idea of the work of the Church as a whole. There


had been several accounts of the work of the churches prior to the


1914-1918 world war, but nothing comprehensive since that time, and


the result of the leaders' not having a clear statement of policy


to place before the Royal Commission, and before the public, was


that there arose a very real danger, viz., that the Church would


not be able to influence the reconstruction of the social life of


the community.

Every denominational, and every missionary society, at once saw


the need for the gathering of facts as to their church's policy,


and the leaders saw the need for immediate plans for co-ordinating


the policy of all the Protestant churches in social, educational,


and evangelistic work. One practical step was the formation of


the Jamaica Christian Council.

There has never been, so far as we have been able to discover,


a comprehensive review of the work of the Church as a whole in the


Island, probably because there has not been, until the recent day, any

idea of the Church as a whole. There are references in various


popular works to the influence of the Church, but nothing which


is authoritative and full enough to form the basis of a new policy.
It is to supply that need that the present study is attempted, and that explains why many points which would be of interest to particular denominations have been mentioned only briefly. The intention is to show that the policies of the various societies have actually followed much the same lines, that they are in fact converging, and that although no formal plans for corporate union are yet laid, there is a real and active union in the basic work of the Church.

Too much is made in denominational histories of the controversies and relations between the churches in slavery days, and not enough of the complementary nature of the policies then carried out. The important points of unity lie clearly in the methods of evangelism, in the training of the native ministry, in the future use of foreign agents, in the church's influence in education and social welfare, and in the strengthening of the link of the Jamaican Church with the Church Universal.

We have shown that much has been done, and that much more requires to be done, before the Jamaican can be said to be fit for complete control of the Jamaican Church, but the present need is to take active steps to make him fit for the responsible leadership, especially when he feels the time has come for him to assume that responsibility.

The parent churches in Britain must accept the fact that there will be a change of policy and of relations between themselves and their daughter churches in Jamaica, and they have the opportunity now to establish a strong indigenous Church. If they do not take that opportunity, the change will still come, but there will be a breach of relationship, based on suspicion, instead of a new relationship based on understanding co-operation.

I would take this opportunity of thanking the Revs. Dr. A.S. Kydd, Mr. George Carstairs, J.W.C. Dougall, and Mr. Wm. Valentine, for assistance and access to early manuscript records, Mr. Dr. A. Mitchell Hunter, of New College, for guidance and help in obtaining works of reference, and finally, the Very Rev. Professor D. Leatham, and the Rev. Professor Hugh Rott, D.D., my supervisors, for their continued interest and guidance in the preparation of this thesis.

J.W. Kilpatrick.

St. Colen's College,
Jamaica, B.W.I.
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I. HISTORICAL OUTLINE
I. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

A critical survey of Protestant missions in Jamaica involves not only a historical study of the various branches of the Christian Church and of missionary societies, but also a wide interpretation of the phrase 'Protestant Missions'. To review the story of denominational activity in Jamaica would be interesting, but would hardly give a clear picture of the contribution of these agencies to the religious life of the people or to the Kingdom of God. 'Protestant Missions' is therefore to be understood generally as indicative of the various sources from which the historical facts are drawn in creating this study of the work and policy of the Christian missions in Jamaica; and in particular, the term 'Protestant' will be taken as the equivalent of 'Non-Roman', i.e. it will include the Anglican Church, for, as will be shown later, the Jamaican recognizes no distinction between 'Anglican' and 'Protestant'; while the term 'missions' will cover the work of the churches among settlers as well as among slaves and natives, i.e. that in Britain is known as the 'Colonial Church' in addition to the more familiar term 'Foreign Missions'.

The need for such a study was never more apparent than in 1830 when the churches were expected to state their views on the needs of Jamaica before the West India Royal Commission, then, mainly through lack of knowledge of each other's work and policy, they showed fully revealed their utter lack of co-ordination as well as the lack in methods.
The purpose of this study is therefore to examine critically the policy adopted by the various Protestant Churches in Jamaica from 1754, when the first Moravian missionaries arrived, through nearly two centuries of labour, marked at times more by denominational rivalry than by unity of aim and policy, up to the present day, when the ten leading non-Roman churches are co-operating for the first time in Jamaican history, in a united witness campaign.

To understand how this has come to pass, it will be necessary to give in brief outline the main historical facts of mission work in Jamaica.

Jamaica is the largest island of the British West Indies, with an area of 4,404 square miles. Its length is 144 miles and its breadth at the widest point is 49 miles, but as Newman says, "the importance of Jamaica cannot be gauged from its size, for the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 has given it a value in the eyes of the world to-day which it has not had since the days when its sugar industries made it one of the most precious parts of the British Empire." 1 Jamaica was not always a British possession. It was discovered by Christopher Columbus on his second voyage in 1494 and taken possession of by him in the name of the King of Spain. The name then given was 'Santiago' which replaced 'Xaymaca' ('land of wood and water') which was the original designation of the island, and which is to-day retained in the form 'Jamaica'. 11 The main interest of the Spaniards was to find gold, but in this they were unsuccessful, though even so late as 1711 to find the King of Spain writing to Columbus "Juan de Arévalo and the Christians in Jamaica should endeavour to find gold. If there is none, orders will be

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2. 1611.
Jamaica thus became a Spanish colony and the Aruaks - the original inhabitants - were assigned to the colonists really as slaves. Between 1509 and 1609 when the island was captured for the English by John and Venables, Spain sent no less than thirteen Governors. During this period, the forced labour and ill-treatment meted out to the Aruak inhabitants by the Spaniards, combined with the tropical fevers and new diseases unwittingly introduced by the colonists, speedily reduced the native population. The Aruaks were unaccustomed to field-work, and as early as 1517 negro slaves were introduced to supply labour needs, and trade grew to formidable proportions. More profitable than even the slave trade however, was the life of the pirate, free-booter, filibuster, buccaneer, or corsair, which consisted in attacking Spanish ships carrying gold from Central America and Peru. Long before the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, Philip of Spain had protested to Queen Elizabeth of England and to the King of France against the attacks, but while these sovereigns officially condemned the buccaneers, they secretly rewarded them.

By the end of the sixteenth century overwork, ill-treatment and disease made it clear that the native Aruak race would soon be extinct. Negro slaves had become part of the island's economic system, and while the Spanish governors forbade the planters to trade with English and French corsairs, the planters were convinced that only slave labour could make their fortunes in Jamaica. Also, the corsairs forced planters to buy at the point of the sword. 11.

The Spanish occupation lasted 161 years, i.e. until 1660 when the island was taken by a force under Admiral Penn and General

1. Ibid. p. 78. 11. Ibid. pp. 61-62.
Yambooom and became England's first colony, although England's title to it was not recognised till 1670 in the Treaty of Madrid. By 1655 the Arawaks were completely extinct and the inhabitants consisted of 1,500 Spaniards and a similar number of negro slaves.

With the English occupation, the population was increased by the importation of white slaves or bondservants of the criminal classes from Scotland, England, and Ireland. "These were delivered, like cargoes, by bills of lading, and sold, on arrival, to different estates for varying terms." The importation of negroes from West Africa continued. Newman states that "in 1673 there were already 17,000 persons in Jamaica, more than half of them being negroes," while Ellis gives evidence that "the population of the island at the end of the seventeenth century consisted of (in round figures) 7,000 Europeans and 40,000 Africans." This includes numbers of French refugees, but the large increase in a comparatively short time is not so surprising when we remember the magnitude of the slave trade and the prolific nature of the people. "Between 1790 and 1807 more than 36,800 slaves were imported, and nine the slave trade was abolished in 1807 there were 319,351 slaves in Jamaica." The 1811 census showed a population of 631,363; the 1821 census gives 850,118, while the 1943 figure is 1,727,541. Of the present-day population, it is estimated that 2 are white, 77 negro, 15 mixed (coloured), and 3 orientals, which means that 99 are of African descent. The whites include British, French, German, and American, and the term oriental includes Chinese, Japanese and Syrian. The black Jamaican to-day draws many coloured distinctions.

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unknown to the white by name, but the names are actual variations of the classifications in slave days; mulatto was the offspring of white and black; Sambo of black and mulatto; Xasim quadroon of white and mulatto; Mestee of white and quadroon; the child of a mestee and a white was reckoned white, and in the eyes of the law was white and free.¹ The modern terms are black, brown, dark, fair (the reference is to skin in the last two), white Jamaican and white.

Half-caste and the lighter breeds are known generally as 'coloured' in opposition to the two original types of black and white. These two, as W. P. Livingston says "are root-stock, and possess all the fundamental virtues of virgin races; the others are hybrids, the Eurasians of the West Indies, the result, to a large extent of illegitimate union. These have no more right to be grouped with the negro than they have to be ranked with the white. As a matter of fact, the majority are physiologically nearer the white than the black, and the tendency is towards the elimination of the darker strains. They are, however, of as different an order from the parent white as they are from the parent negro. They are a compound of both; the intelligence of the one meets and amalgamates with the animalism of the other producing a strange nature, the good in which is perpetually reaching forward to higher things, and the evil like an unseen hand, perpetually dragging it back to savagery."¹¹ It must always be remembered that there were, at the beginning of our period of study, four types or groups of people, with different interests, different aims, different economic levels, and each with his own status. The colonists were a group.

¹ King: Jamaica, its State and Prospects p.4. ¹¹ Livingston: Black Jamaica p.7.
of officials, at first mainly military, attached to the ruling power, sent from England for a period of service, with instructions to govern the colony with as little trouble and as much profit as possible to the home government. The colonists had no real stake in the colony. Its welfare too often was affluence little interest. The descendant of that group is the modern civil servant (and Jamaica has suffered in the past through many such) who regards the island as a stepping stone to some higher post in the Civil Service. The second group consists of settlers who for one reason or another made up their minds to make Jamaica their home. Some, as we have seen, were refugees; many were deported for political reasons; and others were attracted by financial prospects. Their children are the pure creoles—though the word is rarely heard in Jamaica, the term 'white Jamaican' being employed. The stock is not strong, for they have frequently intermarried and the group is physically productive of many weaklings. They have more of a colour prejudice than the colonists class.

It is of interest here, and will be looked at later, to note that clergymen of the Church of England, and missionaries of all other bodies, are apt to be identified with the colonists class, with them, of course, they had much in common. During the period immediately preceding Emancipation, Anglican and Church of Scotland ministers were grouped with the colonists, but ministers of missionary societies, both Scottish and English tended to be grouped with the settlers.

By far the largest group was the slave group, whose conditions will be more apparent when we come to Chapters five and six.
Hundreds of books have been written to depict the sufferings of the field slaves, their degrading conditions, long hours, poor wages, encouraged to breed but forbidden to marry, treated as animals, and much of it is true when the owner was an absentee landlord (*in 1796, out of 769 Jamaican proprietors 606 were absentees*¹) and the estate was run by an underpaid young man from Britain, himself cut off from the society of white people, away from all restraint of northern life and pursued by tropical heat and fevers, given over to indulging his baser passions. Those book-keepers received £50 to £80 per year, live together in barracks and were not permitted to marry. They might in time become overseers with salaries from £100 to £200.¹¹ Livingstone writes "as many as 90% succumbed to the combined effects of impure habits and unwholesome surroundings."¹² Overseers were responsible to attorneys (an attorney might be in charge of more than one estate) who possessed supreme power, and were called to account for very little so long as money was sent to the absent owner. On the other hand, the owners who resided on their estates usually looked after their slaves well, and conditions were fairly comfortable both for field-slaves and for house-slaves.

The fourth group consisted of free blacks, i.e. those who had been slaves, and had either been given their freedom by the owners, or had purchased it for themselves with their owner's consent. A Moravian record tells of a lay worker who had been a free slave having purchased his freedom for £50, iv while a Baptist record tells that masters gave good reports of slaves in order to raise the price, in one case to £950 making it impossible for the  

slave to purchase his freedom.

This group on the whole has produced the best type of Jamaican. He has initiative, is willing to learn and to work for his family has the sense of having earned their freedom and prefer working to maintain it, as opposed to the Jamaican who feels he must be supported on a lavish scale by Britain because Britain freed his forefathers over a hundred years ago, taking away the security of house, yard, work, and medical treatment - he has conveniently forgotten the other side of slavery. The descendant of the free black is not so vocal in demanding progress and changed conditions, but will recognise that he himself can change conditions by hard work. He has a somewhat pathetic trust in the Home Government, and has no desire that Jamaica should be governed by Jamaicans. He believes that the present talk is just talk, and that Britain would never shirk her responsibility and betray the majority of the people by handing them over to the whims of the vocal minority whose aim is power and the easy acquisition of wealth. He has seen the result of local government in parochial boards, and has no desire that the same type of people assume full control over all his affairs.

Caldacott adopts a somewhat different division, viz., Ruling Whites, Subordinate Whites, White Bondservants, Coloured People and Free Blacks, and Slaves.

Church of England.

For the first seventy years of English rule, only the established church of England was at work, and it regarded the spiritual health of only one class - the Colonists - settler - ruling - white, with the.

subordinate whites as a kind of poor relation. But that group, which to have sub-divided, was not sub-divided in the Church. It was the group, with only such minor distinctions as would be regarded in an English village of the times, which alone had any right to the Gospel. The bond-servant, man of colour, and slave were disregarded, for they were part of the stock — valuable only for accumulation of wealth. The free black, so far as the Church was concerned, really belonged to the slave class, but had slipped out by accident, to be patronised if the clergyman felt inclined.

The Church of England was established by law in 1662 not as a missionary church, but "to minister to the British officials, soldiers, and colonists." This was the outcome of the commission to Wayle, the Governor in 1661, which included instructions that "the government encourage ministers, that Christianity and the Protestant religion, according to the Church of England, might have our reverence." By 1664, seven churches were built in the island, but there were only five clergymen, and in 1664 laws were passed for the state maintenance of ministers, for poor relief, and the erection of churches. The B.P.G. Digest, however, states that "at this time there was only one church on the Island, and five ministers, two of whom were Swiss.... 'but alas!' my lords,' said Sir Thomas Hodford to H.I. Commissioners, 'these five do not preach to one-third of the Island. The plantations are at such distance from each other.... that the Christian religion might be quite forgot, or at least, little minded among them.' The state of things in 1663 was thus described by Sir Thomas Lynch: 'there are as yet not above nine churches. All the ministers

are sober orthodox and good men. None but such as conform to the Church of England, and are recommended by my Lord Bishop of London can be admitted.¹

The character of the clergy will receive attention later, but it is not great. Writing of the eighteenth century, Ellis states "a careful examination of the literature having reference to the Church of England in this century inevitably leads to the conclusion that though the Assembly ungrudgingly voted the necessary money for Church purposes, yet the Church itself was regarded as little more than a respectable and ornamental adjunct of the State, the survival of a harmless home institution which would cease to be tolerated if it showed any signs of energy or activity outside its own particular groove. The Church at home was willing to provide chaplains for white settlers, but its missionary zeal in the first half of the eighteenth century was only beginning. The Church Missionary Society did not then exist, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.), as its full name implies, had for its object to establish and conduct missions in foreign parts. Jamaica was not foreign; it was a British colony. The probability is that the Bishops of London in sending out clergy gave no instructions as to missionary work among negroes, about whom they cared little or nothing."¹¹ The literature of English non-conformist societies put the matter much more forcibly, without mentioning the idea that 'Jamaica was not foreign'.

The connection of the S.P.G. began in 1702, however, when it

¹ S.P.G. Digest, p.220. ¹¹ Ellis, p.40.
granted £5 towards replacing books of Commissary Bennet who was in a "deplorable condition, having lost nearly the whole of his pro-

perity in a dreadful fire which happened in Port Royal." During the next seven years several other clergymen received book grants, and in 1709 and 1710 the clergymen were each voted £10 towards their passages. Jamaica was fairly well supplied at this time with clergymen (according to the S.P.G. records) and although the Society began efforts for the satisfactory establishment of a Church with a Bishop in 1715, it took over a century (till 1824) before the ob-

stacles were removed and the first Bishop, Dr. Lipscombe, was appointed.

By 1800 there were 20 Church of England clergy in Jamaica, and in 1825 Dr. Lipscombe found 21 parishes with a Rector and Curate assigned to each, "...the rectories were all filled up, but ten of the island curacies were vacant from want of proper places for the Cur-

ate to officiate in." Gradually the difficulties were removed, and the vacancies filled, so that by 1834 the Church of England had 56 clergy men, and by 1844 there were 75, "a larger number of clergy-

men than had ever before been assembled out of England and Ireland. In this year there were 76 churches and chapels of ease, plus 11 chapel-schools, and as the latter are accounted 'out-stations' that except there was only one vacant charge. In 1804 there were 61 clergy men for 96 churches, and in 1850 only 7.

The first Church of England service was held on 15th January, 1670, and a Theological Hall was opened in 1806, which is affiliated to Durham University, and has power to examine for the L.Th. 

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the B.A. degree being granted to students of the College after three
years' residence at Durham.

In 1869 the Church of England in Jamaica was disestablished and
disendowed. This was the result of a movement towards freedom of
religious opinion—a movement which led in 1860 to the disestablish-
ment of the Church of Ireland largely by means of the "minority argu-
ment." ¹ The Baptists in Jamaica were foremost in advocating the
same argument, but the real issue was a financial one. In 1824
£20,000 was granted by Government for the support of the Church of
England, and this was given annually, even when the number of clergy
had considerably increased. ² The Church of England Synod, and
previous to its formation its leaders, made no protest against the
Disendowment Act, though "it was thought (in England) that if the
Church had conferred with the Methodists, and taken common action,
a certain amount of concurrent endowment might have been secured." ³

In fact, according to Allis, it was suggested to the 'Dissenters' that
they might share the endowment according to the number of their con-
municant membership, but Phillip, the Baptist agent, refused ⁴ and
Government had no recourse but to put all churches on a voluntary
basis. ⁵ The Church being disendowed, disestablishment as a change
of status was inevitable.

Caldewort claims that disestablishment as such had little effect
upon the Church, but he wrote in 1896, i.e. well within the genera-
tion which had seen the Church disestablished, and therein little
doubt that the position of the Church of England to-day in Jamaica,

¹ Caldecott, p.156. ¹¹ Allis, p.137. ¹² Allis, p.142. ⁴ Cal-
dewort, p.106-107. ⁵ Allis, p.106-107. v. note—Phillip had no objection to accounts from Government for school-chairs, and for rental for schools which were managed by Baptist ministers.
especially in relation to government and the governing classes, is far less secure, and its power to influence government policy in educational and social matters, is far less than it was before 1870. The other results are apparent: one is that government, having no responsibility to the Church of England in practice ignores not only it, but all other churches; the other is that an unbelievable number of sects have arisen, all of them with the same amount of official recognition as the Church of England. In the 1943 census, which showed a population of 1,237,391, 50 official 'religious denominations' were allowed for, of which 41 would claim to be Christian. Many others were found to exist when the Census officers gathered statistics, but nearly all of these 50 are recognised then government appoints their so-called 'bishops' or 'ministers' as Marriage Officers.

Disendowment, however, was felt immediately, and as little notice was given, it came as a rather severe blow to the Church of England. The clergy then in charges were secured for life financially, but with the death of each, the parishioners had to pay £300 to £400 disappearing annually. Within 20 years every rectory in Jamaica had been vacated. Even with the magnificent work of Bishop Ruttall (later Archbishop of the West Indies) the Church of England has never risen to the financial security of endowment days. However, there is no doubt that in the beginning the people were roused to support the work of the Church more than previously, ("the voluntary offerings in Jamaica sprang up from £300 in 1870 to £16,000 in 1876"), and the clergy were also roused to greater activity. The total result was that the Church of England became more of a missionary.

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1. Census Instructions to Supervisors, p. 60. 11. Caldecott, i. 146. 111. Ibid. p. 148.
church in Jamaica than it had ever been before.

The official title adopted is "The Church of England in Jamaica", and in common with other dioceses in the West Indies, the constitution includes the following features: (1) The Bishop is regarded as the seat of pastoral authority, the clergy as his deputies; (ii) the appointment to parishes is now a matter of synodical legislation, allowing for some freedom of movement according to fitness, and attaching to tenure of office pastoral office conditions of continuance of fitness for the duties involved. (iii) The Church has a recognized position in Church Councils and the administration of Church affairs...it operates for the diocese generally, by means of a representative system. (iv) The basis is wholly voluntary. All are invited to join...all have a right to the offices of the Church, but they must ask for them or show willingness to receive them...

The Synod or Governing Body is composed of three 'orders': (1) The Bishop; (ii) all licensed clergy, assistant curates included; (iii) Lay Representatives. They are elected by the 'settled congregations', for which purpose fifty members, registered as subscribing supporters, for a minimum; over 200 may have two representatives, and smaller congregations may combine. A proposal to restrict elective power to communicant members has been brought forward on more than one occasion, and rejected. In Synod the voting is of two kinds, in spiritual matters by 'orders'; in matters of finance and other things secular, 'en masse', with a casting vote to the Bishop. There is an 'Incorporated Lay Body' of four trustees in whose name all property is held. The Synod meets annually, and is advised by a Diocesan

council consisting of the Bishop, Archdeacons, twelve clergy, and twelve laity. Financial matters are managed by the Diocesan Financial Board, consisting of the Bishop, Archdeacons, members of the Incorporated Lay Body, three clergy and nine laymen. There is a Rural Deanery or Parochial Council for each of the fourteen parishes, with one lay representative from each congregation along with all licensed clergy of the parish. Settled congregations are managed by a Church Committee of not less than eight, and not more than twelve members. Such, with minor changes, is the system in vogue in the Church of England in Jamaica to-day, which is the largest, most influential, and oldest of the ten principal non-Roman churches, with 245 churches and chapels served by 97 ordained clergy. The number of communicants registered in 1940 was 44,000, and the Jamaica Blue Book of 1938 gives the number of adherents as 266,478. The receipts of money paid into the Diocesan Fund in 1937 for all purposes were £19,247, and of this amount £16,111 was spent in salaries of clergy and catechists. The transition from the past to the present is summed up fairly accurately by Merle Davis thus: "Upon the memorial monuments of the parish churches may be read the life history of the colony in the names of the governors, officers, and prominent citizens who led its affairs through nearly three hundred years. On the other hand, the Anglican Church is serving the common people on sugar estates, banana plantations, and in remote rural areas under a well-trained ministry. A great number of its ministers are native Jamaican, and there is no discrimination in salary standards or advancement in office between the European and the Jamaican pastor." 11

Church of Scotland:

Caldcott bears witness to the fact that among the young men who went out as book-keepers, on their way to becoming overseers and attorneys, there was always a large element of Scottish lads, in such that Long (the Jamaica historian) estimates that one third of the ruling class in Jamaica were Scottish – including one hundred Campbells. 'The Scotchman hugging the Creole' (though a wrong use of the word Creole) was the West Indian parable of the cotton-tree clasped by its gigantic creepers and fending under their unremitting demand for nourishment. Nevertheless the parable is not to be forced; the Scottish lads brought with them as good as they received, and Long, who had abundant sources of observation, sets down his opinion that in the West Indies both Scotsmen and Irishmen flourished better than Englishmen; a conclusion made not unlikely by the achievements of these two nationalities in other parts of our outer empire, and, we may add, supported by the attitude to, and the relation with existing between, the Jamaican and the Englishman to-day, which is anything but cordial.

It is clear, however, from the unpublished records of the Scots Kirk in Kingston, of which Hakewill, writing in 1821, said: "The handsomest building in Kingston is the Scotch Church in Duke Street, which was erected about the year 1814 by a public subscription from a plan of Dr James Delancy," that many of the young men had not only become attorneys for several estates, but had taken a leading place in the commerce of the island, and were among the most prosperous of the merchants.

1. Caldecott, p.34. 11. Cundall, History of Jamaica, p.176.
Old records are difficult things to keep in a country of cockroaches, silver fish, and bookworms, especially when earthquake and fire and hurricane destroy buildings without warning, but the Scots Kirk records are in a good state of preservation.

The first minute is dated "at the Court House on Tuesday the first day of February 1814" and reveals that a small committee had been at work earlier and reported that "the idea of establishing a Presbyterian place of worship in this city originated with a numerous class of persons professing that form of religion in this as well as in other parishes of the Island; in consequence of which, a meeting of the well-wishers of such an Institution was called and took place on the 15th November last when it was unanimously resolved 1st That a book should be opened for the reception of voluntary subscriptions as the best mode of ascertaining the probable success of such an undertaking, and 2ndly That another meeting should be again held on the 30th of the same month to decide whether or not the amount of such subscriptions would warrant the further prosecution of the design in question."

"In pursuance of such resolution a book was forthwith opened and a meeting was convened on the 30th November at which it appeared by the list produced that the number of subscribers then consisted of Forty-eight and their subscriptions amount to Two Thousand nine hundred and seventy-two pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence."  

The list of subscribers is appended, with their subscriptions, and the names are, without exception, of Scottish origin. The second list shows an increase of twenty-five subscribers, and the amount

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1. Manuscript minutes of Scots Kirk 1.11.1814.  II. ibid.
contributed in the next four weeks was £4,699.11.8d. January 1814 brought in a further £428.10.8d., so at the first recorded meeting in February 1814 the amount in hand was £3,101. The Committee and also petitioned the Common Council of Kingston, and on 20th December 1813 were granted the sum of £1,000 currency. This is recorded in the minutes, and also in a quotation from a local pamphlet of the time — "A rare pamphlet appeared in 1814 from the office of the 'Kingston Chronicle', entitled 'Proceedings relative to the establishment of a Presbyterian Place of Worship in the City of Kingston', from which it appears that the movement to have a Presbyterian place of worship first took place on the 15th of November 1813. A subscription list was opened and in a few months realised nearly £3,000. Further efforts soon raised that sum to upwards of £8,000... and a vote of the Common Council of Kingston £1,000. Cundall, who quotes from the pamphlet, shows little understanding of the position of the Scottish Church either in Britain or in Jamaica. He passes over references to non-Anglican churches in most of his works, and where he does descend to refer to the existence of ministers or churches of other denominations, it is clear that he has not taken the trouble to find out the facts with any degree of accuracy. The records show that this pamphlet contained the names of the subscribers, and must show that the first £3,000 was given in two weeks — not 'in a few months'.

At the next meeting of the Committee on 4th February 1814 it was agreed that Scotsmen in other parishes be asked to subscribe, that a suitable site in the centre of the town be procured, and a building be erected to seat 1,000 persons. On 22nd March of the

1. Ibid. Reports presented at meeting. 11. Cundall, History of Printing in Jamaica, p.27-8. 111. MS. Minutes Scots Kirk 4.11.1814.
The year, plans for the building were approved, and on 1st April it was reported that a site, with a dwelling house on it, was purchased for £3,200. Meetings were held at least twice per month, and the committee showed great activity and kept full records. The secretary to the committee was paid £200 per annum from the month of April 1814.1

A full description of the building to be erected is given in writing in the minutes, "an octagon figure extending 86 feet 9 inches in the clear from East to West and 62 feet 7 inches from North to South.... a gallery...supported by 12 columns of the Ionic order...over which will stand 12 columns of the Corinthian order...."11 Later, the number of panes of glass in the windows is given, with the detailed cost of every item used in the construction of the building.

A Bill was presented and passed the House of Assembly, constituting certain members of the subscribers a Body Corporate and a request for a grant from the House of Assembly brought £5,000 "to be laid out in completing a place of worship in the City of Kingston for Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland as by law established."111. The very different relations existing between Government and the missionary societies will appear later, but it is clear from the above, to say nothing of additional grants made shortly after, that the policy of the Church of Scotland to minister to Colonists and Settlers principally was recognised by the State. By 1816iv the Committee intimated that they intended to found a school for the education of youth and the House of Assembly granted a further £3,500 for the completion of the Church building, on condition that "no further sum should be expected from the House."v

1. ibid. l.iv.1814. 11.ibid. 29.1x.14. 111. ibid. 2.1.1815.
iv. ibid. l.v.1816. v. ibid.
On 11th February 1617 a committee was appointed to correspond with Scotland with a view to obtaining a minister and a proctor.

A lease is already provided for him and a stipend of £1,000 currency a year will be paid him by quarterly instalments. (It should be mentioned here that £1,000 currency was worth about £650 sterling, and that all the figures quoted above are in currency.) The proctor was asked for from Edinburgh along with the minister, and the passages of both were paid. The total cost of the Church building was £21,000 and the first meeting of the General Committee on 12th January 1619 is minuted "at the kirk" and it is intimated that the Common Council has given another grant of £1,000. At that meeting the Rev. John Brown presented extracts from the Presbytery of Edinburgh records showing "the testimonial of his appointment and ordination" from which it appears that a Rev. James Brown had first been appointed, but had resigned before taking up the appointment. The kirk was opened for public worship on 4th April 1819, "the North and West sides of the gallery being appropriated for white people, and the South and East sides for those of colour; the whole of the centre range of pews downstairs being occupied by the whites." Pews downstairs cost £21.6.8d and upstairs ranged from £1 to £16 per annum, pew no. 1 downstairs being reserved for the use of the Common Council and magistrates of the city.

In that year the Scots Kirk established two schools in Kingston for "the education of children of persons of colour in general...and for the children of the higher classes. One is apparently under the minister, and the other under the proctor. The..." 

1. Ibid. 11.11.1617. 11. Ibid. 12.1.1619. 111. Ibid.
communication to the House of Assembly (again for financial assistance) claimed to provide for the spiritual nourishment of members of the Irish Church, whose rector was absent, and whose curate had died.

In a further petition it is clear that the Kirk admitted slaves to divine service, and also that Government preferred to have their slaves under the eye of the established Church (of Scotland or of England) than to have them under Baptists or Methodists. Your petitioners humbly submit that from the comparative smallness of the established church to the number of inhabitants, a great proportion of the population, especially the free people of colour and slaves were formerly obliged for want of room to resort to Methodist meeting houses; That they have reason to believe that a considerable number of these classes have already through this institution (the Kirk is always so referred to in the records) been rescued from their former sectarianism, and may more your petitioners doubt not will yet be induced to unite themselves to the congregation and be thereby delivered from the control of their former instructors and the inglorious habits acquired through their influence". Caldecott, the Anglican historian writes "it should be remembered at once that some flavour of establishment was also granted to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 'the sister establishment', as Bridges calls it. The Presbyterians received grants, and it was ordered that the minister should show a licence from the presbytery of Edinburgh". Even with that 'flavour of establishment', boys in the gallery in the Kirk were at this time made free for black people and slaves. And by 1825 three hundred and twenty children are reported as being in the Sunday School.

i. ibid. 3.iv.1820. ii. Caldecott, p.5f.
The records finish on 6th January 1826, and thereafter little is
found in the way of statistics. The Church continued its work in King-
ston under a succession of ministers, until in 1846 the Rev. Thomas P.
Callender who had supplied in a vacancy in Scots Kirk (he was in Jamaica
for health reasons) took some 50 members with him and founded St. Andrew's
Kirk, connected to the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland work then
in the island. Scots Kirk continued to call its ministers through
the good offices of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and three stations
were formed up-country. The four ministers, with their representative
elders, formed a Presbytery of the Church of Scotland in 18901 and the
ministers were supplied through the Colonial Committee of the Church of
Scotland. In October 1930, as a result of the Union of the Church
of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland in that country in
1929, the congregations of the Church of Scotland in Jamaica united
with the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica and their ministers
became missionaries under the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church
of Scotland, the ministers being members of the Jamaica Presbytery of
the Church of Scotland, while their congregations are under the full
control of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. The Min-
ister of Scots Kirk, however, is still under the Colonial Committee,
and is not a Foreign Mission Committee appointment, and he is still
paid the major portion of his stipend by the congregation. The present
leadership of that congregation is 450, and the income in 1942 was
£1,400. The Church of Scotland now works entirely by supplying mis-
ionaries and a small grant of money to the Synod of the Presbyterian
Church of Jamaica.

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1. Directory of Foreign Missions, 1933. 11. 1930 Synod Minutes.
The story of church activity in Jamaica, however, is bound up with the work of the denominational missionary societies, and their history has been written from many points of view. Mostly, it must be admitted, with an eye to appealing for funds and for workers in the home country. There is, on the whole, a tendency to ignore, or, in the case of the Baptist missions, to depreciate entirely, the work of other societies in the same field, and while that is not peculiar to Jamaica, it takes away considerable value from the testimony of these writers even to their own work.

Moravian Missions:

Missionary work in Jamaica really began with the advent of three Moravian missionaries in 1744 at the invitation of two estate owners. In spite of official instructions to Governors and clergy, it cannot be said that the Gospel was preached to the slaves and coloured people by the Church of England. The Moravians went to Jamaica not to preach to the colonists, but "for the purpose of instructing the negroes in the blessed truths of the Gospel." The proprietors of the estates promised to support them, gave them house and land for a church, and the slaves were given time and liberty to worship. The actual record of Moravians who worked in the island, however, shows that the men who issued the invitations, William Foster and Joseph Foster Barham, were absentee owners, the between them owned five estates on only one of which the Attorney was friendly. Frequent reference was made to the fact that orders for the humane treatment of slaves were not put in force by the attorneys, and the same conditions applied to the allowance of time for worship.

2. The breaking of the Bath, p. 3.
for slaves. Be that as it may, in one year 600 regular attendants were reported, although only 26 members were admitted by baptism. 1

By 1756, helpers were required and new missionaries quarreled with the old on the question of 'too hasty baptisms', 77 having been baptized out of 400 candidates in the course of the previous year. The ensuing conflict weakened the influence of the Moravian missionaries, and the newcomers were left in charge till 1764 when there was a slight revival with new reinforcements. From 1770 till 1809, however, the mission is described as "feeble" partly because of internal strife, and partly because of the policy which will be discussed in the next chapter.

During this period the Moravian missionaries had to support themselves, in spite of promises given by absentee owners. One estate had been presented to the brethren, complete with slaves, so that they themselves became slave-owners, and it was only in 1824 that the Moravian Mission Board began to pay the missionaries a small salary.... In the past, they had been compelled to work plantations; henceforward, like the Anglican clergy, they could give all their time to spiritual work; and therefore, for the first time, they were now treated with respect by the planters.... many of the planters now assisted the cause". 11

During this first and difficult period, doubly difficult by reason of the large number of deaths among the staff, Hutton, the Moravian historian, gives the following reasons for describing the work as a failure - "(a) In spite of the influence of George Carias (brother of the first Moravian missionary) for whom the negroes conceived a strong affection, most of the missionaries, though respected, 1. With and Choulou, p.71 f. 11. Hutton: The Moravians in America, p.26. 11. Hutton: History of Moravian Missions, p.21."
were not loved. How could the negroes love a man, who, after
preaching the Gospel on Sunday, punished them, and punished them, for
business on Monday? (b) By earning their own living the missionaries lost caste. (c) The more time the Brethren devoted to busi-
ness, the less time they had for spiritual work. (d) Another cause was the Brethren's system of discipline. (Dissension among the staff made the negroes feel they had to be perfect before they could be
baptised). (e) The last cause of failure was ill-health. In order
to purify the bad drinking water, some of the missionaries, following
the false ideas of the time, resorted to rum; thereby, in their in-
ocence, they undermined their constitutions, and this was one reason why the death-rate was so high. Whether the reasons given by
Hutton are valid or not, the Moravian work did not proceed very quickly
during the first half-century.

With the new century, considerable progress was made, and schools
became part of the policy in 1826, with a Normal School for teacher
training in 1840, and in 1861 a training college for female
teachers, and in 1876 a Theological College. From that time
native ministers have had a place in the mission.

The following table gives some idea of the progress of Moravian
work, and is compiled from figures given by Hutton, Buchner, Vestal
and Smith and Choules:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>No. of Missionaries</th>
<th>Stations</th>
<th>Baptisms</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1764-5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>? aggregate 93-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of the B.M. p. 160; Smith and Choules, p. 71-72.
There is no doubt that part of the reason for the slow growth of the work at first was loyalty to Zinzendorf's main policy in missionary work:— "You must not," he said emphatically, "try to establish native churches; you must not enrol your converts as members of the Moravian Church; you must be content to enrol them as Christians". His ground for the policy was that he had no faith in the continuance of the Moravian Church, which he said "would soon be both dead and forgotten" and then the converts would be enrolled as Anglicans, Presbyterians, or Lutherans.

While Zinzendorf lived, there was no constitution, for he personally chose men, appointed inspectors, called synods, acting, as he expected them to act, by faith in the Lot, plus the Moravian Text Book. In 1764 the General Synod formed provinces, of which Nebraska was one, and the mission was managed by a Mission Board. Various synods were held on the continent of Europe and these organised a system of government, provided missionaries with official instructions and began the abolition of the Lot. By 1840 it was decided that "systematic attempts be made to render the work in the British West Indies entirely independent... both to raise their own ministry and cover their own expenses". In 1857 arrangements were made for self-government by regular conferences, and in 1879

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Missionaries</th>
<th>Stations</th>
<th>Baptisms</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>2,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1732</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>5,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>records</td>
<td>7,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>12 (men)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>available</td>
<td>6,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>available</td>
<td>5,433</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(including women)
It was decided that Jamaica must become self-supporting, but this had to be abandoned. In 1914 the General Synod reaffirmed their missionary ideals, their catholicity, and stated their desire for cooperation with other churches. How far this has gone will be considered in a later chapter. At present the Moravian Church in Jamaica is governed by a Provincial Elders' Council which acts between Synods, the Synod meeting once every two years, presided over by the president of the Provincial Elders' Council. The property is held by a body of trustees, incorporated in 1864, and the Mission is subsidised by both British and American branches of the Society, by whom all missionaries are appointed. The relations of this denomination to Government will appear in considering its policy with regard to education and social work.

Methodist Missions:

Methodist work in Jamaica dates from the year 1789 when Thomas Coke first visited the island and work was begun in Kingston. There is however, little in the way of statistics of either men or chapels in the early days, but by 1826 there were 2 chapels in Kingston and several meeting houses in various parts of the island. A large section of all the books dealing with Methodist history of this period is taken up with the opposition which they encountered—an opposition based not on religious grounds, but on a question of civil law. The question is of interest because the Baptist Church also found itself in trouble through breaking the same laws. They were two in number, dealing with (1) license for preachers (11) hour of meeting.

(1) The Jamaica law required that all ministers obtain a

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license to hold service. In the case of Church of England clergy-
men, license of the Bishop of London was accepted, and in that of
the Church of Scotland, license of the Presbytery of Edinburgh. For
one reason or another, partly because of the attitude of the Anglicans
in England to non-conformists, and partly, and more probably, because
of the type of preaching adopted by the Methodists and Baptists — a
style which was apt to rouse men and women who at all times were and
are easily roused and highly emotional, — the Methodists found dif-
iculty, (they claim) in obtaining licenses. Also, every meeting
house or chapel had to be recognised or licensed as a place of wor-
ship, and this formality the Methodists did not attend to. Trouble
with the civil authorities naturally followed. That these licenses
were readily granted is shown by repeated references in the records
of the Scottish Missionary Society,¹ and that the Methodists had
brought trouble on themselves is suggested by the fact that Dr. Coke
was received in Jamaica "with exceeding kindness" by the inhabitants,
some of them "persons of property,"² and although the Methodist chao-
els in Kingston were closed from 1807 to 1815 this was not due to
anti-Methodist feeling as such, but to definite objections against
the type of preaching and the wild utterances their 'layworkers gave
out. The Rector of Kingston gave £10. 13. 4 (two doubloons) for
the erection of the Methodist Chapel in Kingston,³ and it is stated
in the Methodist records that they got encouragement and support
for the first ten or eleven years. In refuting charges brought a-
against other missionaries by Methodists, we find clear indication
that Methodism had impressed itself on some part of the population

¹ Chap. 7. ² Scottish Missionary Register, vol.1, p.69 (Method-
thing not to be desired. "Even in Jamaica where the dark and
insidious fanaticism of the Methodists has been discovered with more
severity than in other places..."\(^1\)

(11) From 1807 when the slave trade was abolished and the death
march of slavery itself was sounded (long before Baptists and Meth-
doctists openly pressed for abolition)\(^1\) there is no doubt that many
of the slave owners became panic-stricken, and between their fears and some
wild rumours among the slaves (such as those which led to the 1831
rebellion) a law was passed on 19th May, 1827 of which clause 86 said
in effect that there shall be "no assembly of slaves after dark at
meeting places of dissenters or professing teachers of religion, be-
cause of plots, effects on health etc."\(^1\) This was directed against
native preachers, pocomania leaders, and all gatherings which because
of their secrecy, might foment a slave rising, and English dissenters
were included only if their ministers were unlicensed, for the pro-
viso to the Act clearly states: "Provided always, that nothing
herein contained shall be deemed or taken to prevent any minister of
the presbyterian Kirk, or licensed minister, from performing divine
worship at any time before the hour of 8 o'clock in the evening at any
licensed place of worship, or to interfere in the celebration of
divine worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish
and Roman Catholic religions."\(^1\) It should be noted that while

\(^1\) ibid. p.542. \(^1\) Indeed it can be said that freedom would have
been granted with less difficulty had not Knibb the Baptist Mis-
ionary, overstressed the position in Jamaica, and it can also be
said that Knibb took up a stand only when it was clear that free-
dom would be granted in the ordinary course of affairs.
the Methodists felt a grievance against special mention being made of the Presbyterian Kirk, two stations of the Scottish Missionary Society (Hamden and Lucea) which were not under the established church of Scotland came under this law, and that 'licensed minister' covered Baptists, Methodists, Moravians and all preachers connected with any society as well as self-appointed preachers. It was not, as Methodists maintain, an act against missionaries.

Persistent ignoring of these laws soon gave the Methodists a bad reputation with the established clergy, the planters and merchants, and the Government. The Methodists took up the position and it made good propaganda in England that "all the commercial and property interests of the islands (the West Indies as a whole) were engaged in the maintenance of slavery" and in volume five of the official history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society slavery is well written-up from the propaganda point of view, and statements such as the above lead to a general denunciation of owners even after 1834 which is not backed by facts in Methodists productions or elsewhere. But it cannot be said that Methodists refused to ask for a license on principle, for one of them, Mr. Grimsdall, was imprisoned for preaching in an unlicensed meeting house, though he himself was licensed. Nor can it be said that they preached against slavery, for several were themselves slave-owners, as is admitted by Findlay and Holdsworth with reference

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1. It is further interesting to note that in 1938 similar powers were taken by government during labour riots, and the writer has in his possession a permit allowing him to conduct service in six churches in Kingston in person or by deputy. At that time the Salvation Army was not allowed to hold street-corner meetings, and they made no protest about it — nor did any recognized church have difficulty in getting the required permit. ii. Findlay and Holdsworth: Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society — History, vol. 5. p. 20. iii. Smith and Choules, vol. 2. p. 501.
to the period 1810-1834: "The pro-slavery animus against Methodism in the island was aggravated just then by the publication in the local newspapers of the resolution of the British Conference of 1807 against the holding of property in slaves by Methodist ministers. Several missionaries had married West Indian ladies who owned slaves in their own right; in other cases, such possession devolved on the wife subsequently to her marriage. The wife's proprietorship entailed embarrassing legal responsibilities. In many of the islands manumission could only be effected by payment of a heavy fine, required as a guarantee against pauperism of the freedmen... Domestic help was often unprocurable except in the form of slave service." The comment given is "the Conference resolution was too impolitic - it did not understand the situation." An equally valid comment would have been that it did understand the situation, and it tried both to justify the position, and to clear the way for taking a stand on the side which by that time would clearly be victorious.

By 1817 the Methodist mission had a membership of 4,774 in the island, 32 of them being white, and the remainder black and coloured. They had two chapels in Kingston, and one in each of three country towns. After emancipation in 1838 their work extended in all departments and they rapidly covered the island.

The principles on which Methodist work was carried out is seen in the 'Instructions to the Wesleyan missionaries' which were either drawn up or revised in 1834, and which give the ideal of missionary policy: No. 1. reads "We recommend to you, in the first place and above all things, to pay due attention to your personal piety." 11

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No. 2 impresses the "absolute necessity of using every means of mental improvement" seeking an increase of "general knowledge" and of "Christian divinity". No. 3 exhorts to brotherly unity among the missionaries. No. 4 solemnly reminds the missionaries that they are "Methodist Preachers pledged to preach 'in the most explicit terms' the doctrines of Methodism, and to enforce all its rules and usages". Nos. 5 and 6 are against meddling in politics and secular disputes, and No. 7 is directed specially to the West Indies, where the sphere of work is defined as "the ignorant, pagan and neglected black and coloured population", and "all others who may be willing to hear you". No. 8 asks for a journal or diary of work, and No. 9 forbids any Methodist missionary from "following trade", but enjoins them to "be economical".

A footnote states that some societies deliberately paid inadequate salaries so that supplements by farming were necessary, but if this is intended to be a witness against the Moravians, it is a complete misunderstanding of their position, which was based on Scripture.

It is admitted that the complete transfer of the English system of meetings, synods, etc. was the practice, and all finance was in the hands of the Chairman and the Home Committee. Then native tutors came into being (comparatively late for the Theological College was not begun till 1876) they were equal only in judging matters of discipline. The official reason is that the Home Committee feels that Conference has given it a trust, therefore "it recognises that fidelity to its trust requires it to maintain effective control". The intention is clearly to make the harness

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light, but definitely to keep the harness on. Even so late as 1914, a "Statement of policy" adopted by the General Conference states inter alia: "The chief duties of the Foreign Missionary on the field will be (1) the general oversight of the Native Church; the understanding being always that the oversight in detail should be transferred as rapidly as safety allows to an indigenous ministry and to duly constituted Church courts. (11) "The guardianship of doctrine... (11) "The training and due equipment of an indigenous Christian ministry... (iv) "Leadership in all evangelistic work... (v) "To watch over the expenditure." They state a desire to build up an indigenous Church, but at the same time say "it is found, however, that the flexible constitution of Methodism, its circuits, etc.... are admirably adapted to every part of the Mission Field."11

That policy is a reaffirmation of Methodist practice in Jamaica since 1789, and a similar outlook appears in its attitude towards the reunion of the churches, as will be shown in a later chapter.

Caldecott, writing in 1896, says "the United Free Methodists have nine ministers in Jamaica with 3,300 members, but we have not met with any record of Primitive Methodists".11 At that time the Wesleyans had 24,000 members, but these churches are now united under the name, "The Methodist Church in Jamaica", governed by a Synod which meets annually, under the presidency of a Missionary Chairman, the entire movement being a Mission Field, (and not a self-governing Church) under the control of the Mission Board of the Methodist Church in England.

One important change of policy was tried in 1901, when the first

1. ibid. p.177-8. 11. ibid. p.176. 111. Caldecott, p.249. 1
iv. ibid. p.251.
In 1863 a conference was proposed, and in 1864 two West Indian conferences, one East and one West, were set up. The effect of this was that the Methodist Church became independent, and missionaries were entirely at the disposal of the West India Conference while in the colonies. Jamaica was thus separated, apart from grants, for nineteen years, and the result was financial bankruptcy. The business methods of one of the Chairmen during the period is admitted to be found corrupt, and in 1889 he returned to England leaving a general muddle and confusion. In 1897-8 appeals had to be made to England and a deputation came out in 1898-9 as a result of which the church became, as it is today, a mission field of the Home Church, and the General Conference of the West Indies was abolished in 1901. The experiment towards self-government was a total failure, and it is not to be wondered at that the Methodist Church is slow to move towards that goal again.

There are now in the island 173 churches with 41 ministers (of whom 20 are missionaries) and 19,591 members. The churches are organised in 52 circuits and the average minister has responsibility for 3 congregations. The church operates a Theological College in co-operation with the Presbyterian and Baptist churches, a Girls' High School, jointly with the Presbyterian Church, and a Cottage Home for orphans. The entire annual budget in 1940 was £12,674, of which £10,502 was raised locally, and £2,172 was granted by the Methodist Missionary Society.

The Baptist Church:

The Baptist Missionary Society was begun in 1792 in England.
Their work in Jamaica dates officially from 1614 when the first
part of the society arrived. This means that the Scottish Mission-
y society's work was earlier, for three agents came from that
society in 1800. But the Baptists also claim to be earlier than the
Methodists, for the first Baptist preacher was George Lisle, or Llele,
black man from Georgia, who with his wife had been the slaves of a
British officer, and at his death became free. Lisle was employed
by the government in Jamaica as a carrier, and as he had acted as a
pastor to a coloured congregation in America, he preached in Jamaica.
Three or four baptised persons had come with him to Jamaica, and they
went inland and preached. Lisle himself managed to collect £900 to
build a chapel near Kingston, one of the subscribers being Bryan
wards the historian of Jamaica. This was the first dissenting
place of worship.1 Lisle was at one time charged with preaching
seditious, because he wanted to 'save' the coloured people, and he
received severe treatment, but was later freed, and met with no fur-
ther opposition so far as is known. One of his flock, Moses Baker,
was engaged by the owner of an estate in St. James "a Mr. Sinn, as a
teacher to his slaves which he had purchased."12 Baker's case fin-
ally led him to seek the help of the Baptist Missionary Society, and
they sent the Rev. Mr. Rove in 1614, who, we are informed "got the
inhabitants' permission to preach without difficulty".13 Mr. Com-
pare in Kingston also got a license without difficulty from the mayor
of that city. These and other agents seemed to have been level-
headed men, for little is said of opposition until the time of Knibb.
By 1622 there were 1,600 communicants in the Kingston chapel, and

1. (J.W. History Baptist Missionary Society, vol.1. 11. loc. cit.
Another 450 were added in 1825, when the magistrates and members of
the house of assembly were present at the opening of an auxiliary
church. 1 In seven years Burchell increased the congregation at
Matto Bay from 12 to more than 1,500, and the only trouble men-
tioned is that lamps were sold to pay taxes. By 1831 statistics
show a membership of 10,000. 11 By 1837 it had grown to 16,630
and by 1861 to 20,036. 111 In 1860 it dropped to 10,677 but by 1880
it rose to 26,012 and by 1890 to 34,894. 1v (As a result of the
great drive which led to the complete separation from the Baptist
missionary society in 1842, the membership that year was 39,650,
but when the enthusiasm had passed it dropped to 18,400 in 1852.)
In 1860 the membership stood at 39,000 and in 1875 it dropped to
22,500. 1v

No account of the historical position of the Baptist church in
Jamaica could be complete without reference to the career of William
Knibb, much-lauded Emancipator in Baptist literature, but a man who
seemed to be more of an agitator than a Christian pastor. Modern
Baptist writers who know the conditions of the masses in Jamaica,
do not give the highly coloured picture of Knibb which the older
writers gave, with the result that modern writers have a far clearer
picture of the progressive and constructive work which the hitherto
badly-over Baptist missionaries accomplished. To quote first from
the works of the early missionaries, Clark, Dendy and Philip and
writing in 1865 at the end of a long term of service, they show that
the 1831 trouble was caused partly by Moses Baker who gave out a
hymn containing the verse

1. ibid., p.306-29. 11. Cox, p.77. 111. Myers, Centenary of the
Baptist missionary Society, p.193. IV. ibid., p.279. V. Alum.:
Cyclopedia of Christian missions, and Myers, p.155. VI. Knight:
History and progress, p.22.
"We will be slaves no more,
Since Christ has made us free;
His nailed our tyrants to the Cross,
And bought our liberty."

A book-keeper (i.e. manager or time-keeper on an estate) being present, reported the matter and Baker was arrested, though no charge was preferred against him. Then, as it was well known among the colonists, and had appeared in English papers, the controversy and discussions in Parliament on the question of emancipation were in progress. These discussions, heard but half understood by domestics, and the papers, read with little discrimination by such as could read, gave the impression that freedom had been granted, or rather would be granted on Christmas Day 1831, but that the owners would keep it from the slaves. One Samuel Sharpe, a deacon at Montego Bay, had heard conversations at table. He was a sincere Christian, and felt that the peaceful way to get what he thought was already granted him by the King was to cease work, and refuse to return unless he were paid for it; but "that on no account should injury be done to property, or human life be taken". The scheme was widely known in three parishes, but some firebrands felt they must take stronger measures, and they rebelled, and tried to set fire to the churches of one of the evangelical clergymen of the Church of England, and of the Hampden Presbyterian Church. Faithful members warned the ministers in time, but much damage was done elsewhere to estates. Knibb and others, knowing the situation, contradicted the news of supposed freedom, but they did so at a huge service held at the opening of a new church. Probably they made too much of it, for the negroes blamed them then, then for keeping the truth from the slaves.

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1 Clark, Dancy and Phillip: The Voice of Jubilee, p.34.
11 ibid. p.36.
While later, the whites blamed them for stirring the slaves to rebellion! Martial law was declared, and Knibb was called to serve, and did so, while claiming exemption. In 1632 he went to England, and the impression and instruction is from Cox in 1642 was completely carried away by his own oratory. "Infidels, clerks, and laymen, had been combined to banish Christianity from the island." In this, Lundy and Phillip also admit that many others "welcome missionaries and approve of emancipation" and they further agree that it was the Baptists who were led by Knibb who started the troubles of 1631-32.

In reading the immense amount of literature which surrounds Knibb's activities after 1631, his controversies with his brethren and with missionaries of other societies, we are of the opinion that the letter sent by the Scottish Missionary Society to the Rev. Geo. Whiting of Hampden was exceedingly wise: "Should Mr. Knibb return to Jamaica, I hope you will have nothing to do with him... you will take nothing of him... only rouse his temper and give yourself a headache."

It was Knibb too, who was responsible for the movement for complete separation from the Home Church which has been responsible for the weakness of Baptist witness for over 100 years. In January 1642 the Jamaica Baptist Association decided to separate itself from financial assistance of the Baptist Missionary Society, as on 1st August, on the ground that during 1641 they had contributed £1,000 to the Baptist Missionary Society as well as supporting their own pastors and schools. It was a short-sighted policy, but probably...
the only way by which Knibb could become free of the control of the 
Baptist Missionary Society in England. The Baptist Church in Jamaica 
has not yet recovered from the results of that policy, which is still 
carried on with one adjustment mentioned later.

There is no doubt that the majority of the missionary societies 
intended that their churches become indigenous, i.e., self-supporting, 
self-governing, and self-propagating, to quote the definition then 
used, as soon as possible, but one year's experiment was hardly suf­ 
ficient ground for complete separation. Further, funds had been 
collected to found a Theological College, which was opened with ten 
students in 1843, and these students had to be maintained. No cen­ 
tral controlling body had been set up, and no provision made for the 
projected overseas work in Haiti. Time and again the Baptist Mis­ 
sionary Society have had to send out grants of money, and in 1922 
that Society gave £2,000 towards the establishment of a Sustentation 
Fund and at their own expense sent out a missionary to raise the bal­ 
ance of £3,000 and to superintend the Fund. The full results of 
Knibb's policy will be seen in detail later, but the Baptist Church 
in Jamaica to-day accepts the verdict given by Knight in 1938 as the 
lesson of a hundred years: 'That it was a mistake when the fathers 
of our Mission broke away from the Home Society. The Church was 
then too young and weak... we are still suffering from that hasty act.'

The Jamaica Baptist Union, which is the only central organisation 
in the denomination, was formed in 1855 by a union of the East and 
West Baptist Associations. The Union is a voluntary organisation, 
consisting of ministers, churches, and personal members, elected at 
it annual session. The authority exercised by the Union is a moral

1. Knight, p.23. 11. ibid. p.29.
ual one; its advice and recommendations, while not obligatory on any minister or church, are nevertheless heeded. But in like the Union was given power to take action where a church or minister is acting against its own interests though even in 1938 a minister and his churches can leave the Union on the slightest pretext, and Baptist property can easily be alienated from the denomination.

To-day the Baptist Church has 216 churches and chapels, organised in 43 circuits and served by 56 ordained ministers. The registered membership is 23,500. An indeterminate number of Baptist churches operate outside the Union, and are more properly classified as 'sects'. The Union operates a Theological College in co-operation with Methodists and Presbyterians, and a High School for Boys in Kingston. The Principal and Tutor of the College are appointed by, and paid by, the Baptist Missionary Society in England, but the pastors of the Union are all Jamaican, or entirely supported by the Jamaican Church, though for the most part they are poorly paid. One result is that the Baptist ministers are of a lower standard educationally than those of other denominations, and the standard of life is not high, for the lack of central authority in the ministry descends through church life to the same lax methods of discipline in the congregations.

The Presbyterian Church:

The debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1736, when the Rev. Mr Hamilton of Glasmuir boldly affirmed that 'to spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel among barbarous and heathen

r/i'i na ceeined to him highly preposterous" and the scene is alleged to have taken place where Dr Erskine exclaimed "Rax me that Bible", and with the sacred volume in his hands reminded the Assembly of the Apostle to the Gentiles, that debate has so impressed itself on succeeding generations of Scottish ministers that the facts have been entirely forgotten. It is assumed that the Established Church of Scotland did nothing prior to 1796, and by many in other Presbyterian churches in Scotland that she did very little after. This attitude has persisted in Jamaica, and made it more difficult than it need have been to cement the union of 1930 and the subsequent working of the two branches of the Church.

As early as 1695 the Scottish Estates passed a bill incorporating a company for trading with Africa, the Indies, and Panama. The expedition was a total failure...but two ministers went with the first fleet, and four with the second (in 1700), and their instructions were to "preach to their own countrymen, and evangelise the heathen". In 1707 the Scottish society for promoting Christian knowledge was proposed, and the first meeting held in 1709. In 1732 it engaged three missionaries for North America and in 1762 the General Assembly granted a collection for the work of the society. That year's collection was £543.5.3d. In 1764 the Society asked parish ministers to raise contributions towards schools and training native ministers, and "the sum of £2,529.17.1ld was thus provided". It is true that there was no other general interest (so far as is known) till 1796, then the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Edinburgh Missionary Society were founded, and got £700 the first month. But here, too, it is noteworthy that "strict dissenters held aloof because Church...".
of Scotland men were in the Scottish Missionary Societies.\textsuperscript{41}

The work of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, which is in federal relation with the Church of Scotland, must be looked upon as beginning in 1800, when the Scottish Missionary Society, which had developed from the Edinburgh Missionary Society and was supported by Established and Secession ministers, sent to Jamaica the Rev. George Bethune and two catechists.\textsuperscript{11} Within a few days of their arrival, Bethune and one catechist died of fever, but the other, Reid by name, met with "coloured people in Kingston"\textsuperscript{11} and in 1800, the year of his arrival, opened a week-day school for "teaching children to read, write, and the principles of religion".\textsuperscript{111} The Baptist writer Timpson says that "for twenty-eight years he (Teacher Reid) conducted a school at Kingston, and was the first to demonstrate the equal intellectual capacity of black and white children."\textsuperscript{11v} Cundall mentions a tomb in the church in Kingston to "Esbenezer Reid (d.1843), headmaster of Wolmer's School for twenty-eight years (the monument was erected by his pupils)".\textsuperscript{11v} During this time, the Established Church of Scotland in Kingston had begun work (1813) and the Scottish Missionary Society in 1824 had sent the first of a long line of missionaries to Jamaica - Rev. George Blyth, with whom the work is generally said to have begun, no doubt due to the fact that Reid was not a minister. Aikman, however, claims that Reid founded what is now XXI one of the largest boys' schools in the city\textsuperscript{vi}; and this is supported by Cundall in the reference to XXII Wolmer's School above. Blyth had been sent out at the invitation of two estate owners, and his instructions were definitely to work among the slaves. The owners were absentee proprietors, but Blyth seemed to have little difficulty, and land and

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid 10-20. \textsuperscript{11}Brown; History of Missions, p.437. \textsuperscript{111}Timpson: Jamaica Interlude, p.10 note. \textsuperscript{11v}Cundall p.170. \textsuperscript{vi}Aikman.
materials were readily given for Church and Manse, both of which are still in use. The missionaries who followed him adopted much the same policy, for much the same reasons, i.e., they went where they were invited first of all, and that was mainly to sugar estates. None of them ever record any difficulty in getting licenses, and their letters are still extant in the correspondence books of the Scottish Missionary Society now in the Church of Scotland offices, Edinburgh. A study of these letters and their replies, which are also recorded, indicates how some of the misunderstandings arose with other bodies. For example, slave quarters on estates, and the roads to them, were private property, and permission had to be asked by any visitor. There seems little point in condemning the existence of a trespass law in Jamaica when a similar law was in force in England, yet Methodists and Baptists frequently neglected to get permission. Blyth writes in 1824, and frequently repeats the assertion, that "the Attorney gives me every facility....many of the white population are anxious to hear the Gospel." Watson, two parishes distant, refers to the unexampled liberality of the magistrates (in 1823) and vestry of Lucea, even though they are Church of England - "I cannot express myself too strongly in regard to the white people and their uniform readiness to co-operate with me in endeavouring to promote the moral and religious improvement of the black and coloured population, and I do not hesitate to say, that if ministers of the gospel only acted with becoming prudence and discretion, and do not unnecessarily expose themselves to the view of the civil authorities, they will meet not only with protection, but with support. I certainly would never make a compromise of my

religious liberty to obtain the goodwill of my civil ruler, but at the same time, if that goodwill can be obtained without compromise, I do think every missionary should endeavour to obtain it. That relationship between missionaries, negroes, civil magistrates and estate others and their attorneys could parallelled many times over from correspondence. Knibb especially never seemed to grasp that it was possible to achieve contact with slaves through the help of, instead of in the teeth of opposition by, the attorneys.

The first church was opened for worship in 1828, and had then 64 members, but by 1830 had grown to 220. Similar increases are reported in other stations, and by the end of the century the membership of the entire Church was 12,600. Teachers had also been sent out from Scotland, for schools formed an important part of the work from the first in the Presbyterian Church.

In 1836 the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery was formed by the ministers of the United Secession Church and those of the Scottish Missionary Society. In 1847 the Glasgow Missionary Society, and the Scottish Missionary Society work were handed over to the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church, and the work in Jamaica became associated with the United Presbyterian Church, although for a time one minister at least belonged to the Free Church. In 1848 the missionaries agreed to form themselves in a synod consisting of four presbyteries and to be called 'The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica', and that has continued until the present day, first in federal relation with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, then in 1900 with the United Free Church of Scotland, and in 1930 it joined with the congregations of the Presbytery of the Church of Scotland.

Scotland (following the 1929 Union in Scotland), but retained its name, being related now to the Church of Scotland. Thus the work begun in 1800 by the Scottish Missionary Society and that in 1815 by the established Church of Scotland was gathered under one Synod in 1930.

It is in order here to state that the congregations are governed by Kirk Sessions, over which the Minister presides as Moderator. The island is divided into five presbyteries with the Ministers and one elder from each charge (a charge may have one to four congregations in it) composing it, and the presbyteries meet quarterly. Synod meets once a year, and as in presbytery, missionaries have the same rights and powers as Jamaican pastors. The Moderator is elected annually by the Synod, and the custom is to have missionary and pastor alternately, although that has been changed on occasion in favour of the pastorate.

In 1836 the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery started theological training, and that has continued unbroken till to-day, when the work is carried on in co-operation with the Baptist and Methodist colleges. The proportion of Jamaican pastors to missionaries is two to one, but that also is rising in favour of the pastorate. The missionaries, with the exception of the Theological Tutor, have charge of congregations as have the pastors, but the missionary stipend is paid from Scotland. A pastor is in charge of the East Indian Mission, though that is being merged with the West Indian congregations where possible, and the work in Grand Cayman is carried on with one missionary and two pastors, who, with their elders, form a Presbytery which has the same relation to the Synod as those in Jamaica itself.

In 1942 there were 99 congregations, with 36 ministers, of whom
12 are sent from Scotland. Also, there are 3 Jamaican probationers with 3 others added in August 1943, which gives a proportion of five to two. There were also in 1942 30 Jamaican catechists and 12,303 members. The Blue Book of 1938 gives 35,000 adherents in the island. The entire income of the Church in 1942 was £11,305, plus some £4,000 sent from Scotland for missionaries' salaries, and the training of native ministers. The Synod operates two Industrial Homes for Boys, and an Orphanage for Girls, and, in conjunction with the Methodist Church, a High School for Girls.

The Congregational Church:

Few records exist, according to Watson, of the early days of the Congregational churches in Jamaica, but the work was begun in 1834 by the London Missionary Society when the Emancipation Act was passed, at which time the Society felt that more workers were required than the Methodists and Baptists could send. It therefore appointed six missionaries, whose work was "to preach, and to teach ex-slaves to read the Gospel." Infant schools were begun for those under six, and instruction was given at first by the missionaries' wives, and soon by native teachers. By 1860 there were 16 stations, 6 missionaries, 3 native pastors, and 1,691 members. In 1877 the Congregational Union was formed and the London Missionary Society withdrew, the work being handed over to the Colonial Missionary Society.

In 1855 a Training Institute was founded and five young men were received, of whom three became ministers, and two teachers. It was not found possible for the Union to continue a separate College, and

the pastors for some time have been trained in the Presbyterian or the Methodist College, and for the past seven years they have joined in the co-operative training run by the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Colleges.

The objects of the Union, which have not been changed materially, are as follows:—"That while this Union distinctly recognises the independence of each church, and disclaims legislative powers, yet the objects of this Union shall be to promote fraternal intercourse among the members of the associated churches; to extend Evangelical religion and education in the island by grants in aid of establishing new stations in suitable places; to enable the members of this Union to express their sentiments as a body." The Union has faithfully carried out these aims, and to-day it has 36 organised churches, with 10 ministers, one half of whom are Jamaican. The communicants number 2,521.

The Society of Friends:

The work of the Quakers, or the society of Friends, is said to have begun with a visit of George Fox to the Island in the seventeenth century, and there are references to visits of certain Quakers in a book of early records published for the first time in 1907, the first of which is as follows: "Anno 1655 Joseph Ruse, being on his Travels, occasionally preaching, was taken by order of the Mayor of Arundel to be shipped for Jamaica among a company of disorderly persons...his liberty being deemed as criminal as their profaneness." Then follows "Elizabeth Boston...among the earliest exponents of jocularity...she in 1661 sailed for the American colonies...again in 1671 as a member of George Fox's missionary party...on arrival in Jamaica, etc., she was..."
Robert Borrow spent a short time with the planters in 1694, and Robert Beadles died in Jamaica in 1729, a young man. It was a Quaker who in 1675 had the honour of giving the first money for the cause of education in Jamaica, and there are records of a meeting house in Kingston in 1740.

There cannot be said to be any Quaker Mission before our period, however, but only spasmodic preaching by visitors to the Island, and nothing is heard of the society, or of any meeting house, from 1740 until some sixty years ago, following on the visit of an American Quaker to Jamaica, the present work of the Friends' Missionary Society began. There are now 12 Friends' churches with 3 ordained ministers and 939 members. In addition, there are four American Friends' missionaries who are appointed by the Religious Society of Friends in Philadelphia.

The main part of their work consists of a Training College for teachers, a Social Workers' School, a Nursery School, and an Industrial and Agricultural School, and these will be dealt with fully in chapter six of the present study.

The Church of Christ:

The 'Church of Christ', or the 'Christian Church', as it is known locally, began work in 1858 under the American Christian Missionary Society, later known as the United Christian Missionary Society. The official name in the Island is the 'Jamaica Association of Christian Churches', and the body, after a very small beginning, has now 36 congregations with a membership of 5,000. There are 8 ordained ministers, one of whom is a missionary and acts as Superintendent appointed.

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by the United Christian Missionary Society of Indianapolis.

This group of Churches is 95% self-supporting, and the ordained ministers, most of whom are Jamaican, have all been trained in the United States, the entire cost being met by the United Christian Missionary Society.

The Church of God:

There are many branches of the 'Church of God' in Jamaica, but only one is recognised by the Jamaica Christian Council, and it has 20 organised churches with 18 ordained pastors, 2 English missionaries, and 8 Americans. 19 out of the 20 churches are self-supporting, and the total membership is 2,142.1 The pastors are paid by the native church, and the missionaries by the American Mission Board. The best pupils from a secondary school which the denomination operates are received into a theological department attached to the Kingston church, and are trained for the native ministry. The seemingly large number of pastors in proportion to the number of churches and members is due to the fact that the body ordains workers as pastors whom other denominations would designate 'catechists'.

The Salvation Army:

The Salvation Army came to Jamaica some fifty years ago, viz., in 1897, and began work in Kingston and in the west end of the island at Clarendon, and they developed the whole of their work in the West Indies and Central America from Jamaica.

From the beginning, their work was evangelistic and social, and their policy and organizations for work amongst the blind, the discharged prisoners, leper children, destitute women and girls, conchs

1. Ibid. p. 21. 11. Salvation Army Year Book 1956.
more properly under the section on Social Service (chapter six).

The Salvation Army is organised on the usual British lines, and there are to-day in Jamaica 97 organised centres, with 99 full-time officers, of whom 18 are European. There are 4,900 recruits, soldiers and adherents, and 50 Sunday schools and 15 day schools are operated by the body. There is an Officers' Training School in Kingston for the equipment of officers for Jamaica and the West Indies, and of the £5,200 budget, £5,200 is spent on evangelistic work, and £5,000 on social work annually, 70% of that being raised in Jamaica.

Other Groups:

All of the above bodies are constituent members of the Jamaica Christian Council, as are also the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., whose work will be considered later. But there is in Jamaica an unbelievable number of sects, of which the chief is the Seventh-Day Adventist church, begun in 1894, which body has 137 churches and 17 ministers with 10,515 members. It is entirely self-supporting, having no foreign missionaries on its staff. There are several groups of Native Baptists, Independent Baptists, Adventist Baptists, African Methodist Episcopal (which has degenerated considerably in Jamaica, so that it is not considered a church, but only a survival of what was once a decent, and a decent-sized, group), besides the Christian Scientists, Millennial Darnists, and a multitude of what are known as 'fancy religions' some of which are exceedingly short-lived. There is no unity amongst these groups (the groups are all of them small - not more than perhaps six congregations of each in the island) even though they may bear the same name, and there is no method of knowing...

what policy or organisation they possess, if indeed they possess any.

The writer has personally counted during the year 1937-38 no less than 47 different religious bodies advertising services in the local Kingston press, and it was then reckoned that while all these bodies were in existence in the capital and most of them had one or two branches in the country parts, there were many others which had not 'come to town', and the total number for the island was 120. The 1943 Census returns allowed for 50 different religious groups or denominations, but when the returns were made, it was found that several new denominations had sprung up, such as the 'Zion Baptist Catholic Church', apparently confined to one district in a Western parish.

Ninety-five percent at least of these sects are of American origin and most of them are an imitation of the externals of a Christian service, with a prominent place given for the 'workings of the spirit', and for the 'dream', for the familiar saying is 'God gave buckra [white man] his religion out of a book, but to the negro He speaks in dreams'.

Many of them also are modifications of the primitive African worship - spiritism (probably meaning 'little madness') with a veneer of Christian symbolism - the 'altar' having religious pictures on it, and the name of Christ being used frequently. These sects hold their meetings in 'yards' fenced with bamboo poles and sometimes roofed over with banana trash, and the old superstitions which the early missionaries encountered are still practised. The Old Testament is the favourite book part of the Bible - its more immoral parts give excuse for practising the licentiousness which follows pagan worship.

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1. Census Instructions to Supervisors, p. 60.  
The Churches are conscious of the evils of the sects, but until the barriers of separation are pulled down and the more ignorant realise that the Church is one, holy, catholic church — the body of Christ — they are not likely to be convinced that they are committing any error in multiplying divisions and putting their own interpretation on such passages of scripture as they find convenient.

The most casual visitor to the Island will be struck with the situation and the accuracy of the description given by Mr. Merle Davis:

Three to five denominational church buildings may be seen in great numbers of rural villages and hamlets, which have, at most, a few hundred people. None of them has a congregation strong enough to support a resident pastor. Each church is a mission point or circuit charge which is visited once or twice a month by the minister of some distant and stronger church. Several sectarian pastors converge on horseback from different directions to the same isolated community to preach to the few believers in their individual charges. That this problem is found to a greater degree in the towns is illustrated by the following: "In Savanna-la-Mar, a parochial centre of 5,500 inhabitants, there are nineteen different denominational sects and twenty church buildings — several of which are of stately dimensions. The list of churches and church groups in this town is a formidable one: Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Church of God, Salvation Army, Seventh-Day Adventist, Plymouth Brethren, Pentecostals, Jehovah Witnesses, Millennial Dawn, Holiness, Samuels, Gospel Trumpeters, International Bible Students, and three revivalist groups. The five churches first named enrol about three-quarters of the Christians of the city. The Anglican church alone has 500 members."

Two quotations from evidence supplied to the International Missionary Council in 1941 will show (a) the general attitude of the sects to the Church, and (b) the reason for the growth of the pocomania type of worship in recent years:

(a) "The influence of these irresponsible sects must be fearlessly faced. They are not only one of the greatest dangers to the Church but a peril to Government, for they tend to undermine every effort to build a stable society. The Jamaican people are highly emotional, and these sects offer natural channels for the expression of their emotions. Many of the sects are disloyal to the Government, and encourage stealing, teach against payment of taxes, and giving an honest return for a day's wages, etc. They are undermining the influence of the pastors by telling their followers that a 'Church' is a 'racket', the pastors are 'shams', and that it is a 'waste of money to support them.' Some of these sects encourage their people to shout and dance all night, so that they are ill next day. Monday is a notoriously light day in factories and on estates because of the aftermath of these meetings. The health and class attendance of the school children are widely affected from their attendance at these exciting night-meetings."

(b) "Pocomania (derived from the African myal-cult) derives from a suppression of emotion. It is a reaction from cold, formal religion. The Jamaican must express himself in motion and rhythm. Previously, the Church could control the Jamaican. As long as the negro respected the white man, he repressed these things, but now he is disillusioned with the white man, and the Church, and he is doing what he wants to do. The white youth have their outlets for feelings, but the black lower group

\[\text{1} \text{ quoted by Morde Davis p. 41-42.}\]
This expression of the inmost self of the people is bound to come out. The Jamaican cannot express himself fully in church, so he is driven out of the church to reveal his inner self. Another factor follows with this evidence: "Our sober and unemotional type of service cannot compete with the drumming, dancing, and emotionalism of these sects. However, there is a widespread tendency for the member to lose faith in these leaders, and the groups soon begin to disintegrate. After the leaders go away, our old, lax members are ashamed to come back to us. The popular craze for new forms of religion has grown markedly in the last twenty-five years. Our people are very responsive to such activities, and are splitting up into many little churches which disorganise faith, and social and Christian solidarity. In this way, the Christian movement in Jamaica is steadily losing ground."

Such is the present position, and the time has clearly come for the Protestant Churches to look at that position, and in the light of their experience and their faith to formulate a progressive policy which will deal adequately with the situation. The alternative is to see the work of two centuries disappear, and Jamaica becoming either purely pagan, or falling under the power of the Roman Catholic Jesuits from the United States of America, already a very powerful and well-organised group in the Island.

The comparative statistics on the following page will give some indication of the position of the Churches at the present day:

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1. quoted by Lerie Davis, p.42. 11. ibid. p.43.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Work begun</th>
<th>No. of Churches</th>
<th>Present staff (ordained)</th>
<th>Communicants (Church records)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>1662</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>44,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moravian</td>
<td>1754</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>19,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (B.M.S.)</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>23,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J.B.U.) 1783</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>1880?</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Christ</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of God</td>
<td>1885?</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>99 (officers)</td>
<td>4,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>970</strong></td>
<td><strong>395</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>120,779</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholics</td>
<td>1494i1</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27,000i11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i: 1943 census figure of the population gives a total of 1,237,391 of which 595,403 were under 21 years of age. The Census report of denominational statistics is not available.

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1: compiled from Horle Davis and from denominational reports.
ii: The Catholics claim to have worked from the discovery of Jamaica.

iii: They claim 55,000 adherents, but Horle Davis gives the above.
II. METHODS OF EVANGELISM
Having reviewed the historical outlines of the various church groups in Jamaica, our next task is to examine the methods by which these groups have in the past carried out their missionary task. It will be seen that all groups have much in common, especially after Emancipation in 1838, and that the tendency is towards a complete unification of methods, as is illustrated by the United Campaign of Witness conducted in 1943 under the auspices of the Jamaica Christian Council.

Established Church Methods:

We examine first of all the methods employed by the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, for these were undoubtedly influenced by their legal status.

From its original foundation, Jamaica, like other colonies, showed ample signs on the surface of the close relationships between Church and State which then prevailed in England. Cromwell sent seven chaplains with the Jamaica expedition, and most of the early Governors received specific instructions that "an orthodox ministry was to be encouraged....Parishes were at once marked out, although in some the ecclesiastical side was unworked. But in general the Parish was at once a civil and an ecclesiastical area; vestries were constituted with a double range of duties; churches were built, and order was taken for the maintenance of the clergy." By 1754, then, the Church of England had a system worked out on paper, for the

i. Caldecott, p. 44.
evangelisation of the whole island, and there was in theory a church and clergyman in every parish. But that was for white people in practice, even though some clergymen ministered to slaves and coloured people. The ecclesiastical parish work was therefore decided practically by the clergyman, and there are various statements as to the value of the Anglican clergymen from the point of view of character up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Ellis, quoting Long's history, says "Of the character of the clergy in this island I shall say but little. There have seldom been wanting some who were equally respectable for their learning, piety, and exemplary good behaviour; others have been detestable for their addiction to lewdness, drinking, gambling and iniquity; having no control but their own sense of the dignity of their function and the censures of the Governor." He also clearly states that "the Church at home was willing to provide chaplains for white settlers, but its missionary zeal in the first half of the eighteenth century was only beginning...the probability is that the Bishops of London in sending out clergy gave no instructions as to missionary work among negroes..."

It is clear, however, that provisions in theory were not carried out in practice. In Long's time in Portland parish "there was neither church nor resident rector; the services were performed in some planter's house about once or twice in the year; and St. George's parish was in a similar position. Barclay, a partisan of the Colonies, allows that in some country districts churches were closed on Sundays for weeks and months together."

The policy of the Church of England, so far as it was declared,

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1. Ellis: The Diocese of Jamaica, p.42. 11. Ibid. p.40. 111. Caldecott, p. 47.
was clear. The island was divided into parishes, and each parish was to have a parish church and a resident rector. That it was not carried out is equally clear, and part of the blame must lie with the church. Its services were also intended to be for white people, though some planters did not object if their slaves were baptised, so long as they were not expected to sit with them in church at the same service. But the entire work depended on the faithfulness of the clergyman to his calling, and on his ability to stand up to the temptations of the tropics. Leslie in 1739 writes that while the town churches are generally in the form of a cross...the clergy trouble them little, and their doors are seldom open. The entire work depended on the faithfulness of the clergyman to his calling, and on his ability to stand up to the temptations of the tropics. Leslie in 1739 writes that while the town churches are generally in the form of a cross...the clergy trouble them little, and their doors are seldom open.

Such work as was done, however, consisted in the conducting of Sunday services, preaching, celebrating the Sacraments, and pastoral visitation in the form of social calls. Baptisms and marriages were performed in private houses, and where there was no clergyman, Churchwardens or justices of the peace officiated, as they did also at funerals, most of which were in private ground. There is little doubt that until the coming of the missionaries religion was at a low ebb.

The official fees established by law for "Christening, marriage or death" was £10.13.4d "equal to two doubloons" and outside of the church building, some clergy "demand one doubloon to open a prayer-book." Caldecott says that in 1615 the fee for baptism was to be reduced to 2/6d, but Ellis quotes the Clergy Act of 1825 thus: "The fee...for meeting a corpse at the parochial burial-ground and reading the grave service was £1.6.6d., double that amount being charged for the full funeral service. Churches were scattered...and funerals often

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1. Quoted by Cundall, p. 13.  II. Caldecott, p. 47.  III. Stewart, p. 44.  IV. Ibid.  V. Caldecott, p. 84.
took place in private grounds... the fees were again doubled. The fee for baptism in church on Sunday was five shillings and in any other place or on any other day it was £1. A fee of £1 for every mile beyond the first mile was exacted for every service in addition to the ordinary fee... Slaves were exempt from the payment of fees, which meant that their owners were exempt... It was not until the passing of the Clergy Act of 1840 that fees were officially abolished for marriages, christenings or burials, and then a grant was given from the Treasury.

The position before emancipation can best be seen by reference to the opinion of two men of the time: first, Rev. Geo. Bridges, rector of St. Ann, an ardent advocate of the Planters' cause, and a bitter opponent of Dissenters: 'Empty Churches, the unhallowed burial of the dead - i.e., dead negroes (buried) in fields or gardens, the criminal delay of baptism, the discouragement of marriage, and the profanation of the Sabbath, are models which the Slaves can hardly be expected to improve... It is vain that the clergy from forty-eight pulpits fearlessly denounce the wrath of heaven and the loss of men while none attend to hear them; for it cannot be expected that the heathen, or the neophyte, will approach the altar which seems despised, or neglected, by the presumed superiority and higher attainments of his temporal masters.' (The rector of Port Royal declares there was "not a more godly people on the face of the earth" than his parishioners.) Second, the opinion of Stewart, a Presbyterian writing in 1807: "As to the respect paid to religion, it will be sufficient to say that, with a few exceptions, the congregations in the churches consist usually of a few white ladies, and a respectable proportion of free people of colour and blacks." Lady Nugent gives this testimony in 1802: "I cannot... [citations omitted]."
here remarking that the clergyman's wife...excused herself from
attending, on account of the service being so long to-day...Her married
daughter...did the same. At the Communion, there were only one old
white man and woman and one brown lady, besides ourselves..."1

Through all the troubles before 1834 and up till 1838 the attitude
of the Church of England was determined by the clergyman of the parish,
and while some were bitterly opposed to dissenters, and some strongly
supported the slave-owners, there were others who were friendly to the
missionaries, and who did not confine their activities to the white
settlers. The coming of the first Bishop in 1824, of course, made for
a wider policy, and a more regular discipline of the private lives
of the clergy.

The Church of Scotland policy has already been described in the
statement of the beginnings of that work in the previous chapter. There
was only one Church, in Kingston, and from the beginning (1813 - opened
in 1819) arrangements were made for, firstly and mainly, the care of
the white merchants and settlers who had called the minister and paid
him, but, at the same time, seats were set apart, apparently at the
same diet of worship, for not only the free people of colour, but for
slaves. It is stated in the minutes that two schools were operated
in connection with the Church, apparently one for white children, and
one for slaves - no doubt domestic slaves, for it was in the city.
From that time till to-day, although there is no school directly under
the control of that congregation, there has not been discrimination
between black and white. A feature of the Scottish Church which is
not found in the Anglican of the time is the establishment of a Sunday

school for the instruction of children, and of course, instruction classes for adults were common to Anglican and Scottish church work.

The actual relation of the Anglican church up to 1834 to the slave population can be gathered from the statement of the character of the clergy and their general support of the slave-owners' position, but it must not be deduced from that that they were in any way antagonistic to the negro as such. Even those who thought of him as sub-human, as an animal and beast of burden, were not necessarily unkind in their practice and treatment of him. There are many instances of slaves being allowed to attend Divine Worship, especially after the missionaries came, though it has been said that that was allowed only because the established churches and the others preferred to have their slaves under their own eye if they insisted on listening to preachers. Caldecott states that in general, however, "the only share of the slaves in religious institutions was the suspension of all field-work on Sundays, as had been the case with the serfs of the Middle Ages; and at the festivals of Easter and Christmas certain holidays were compulsory." The fact that some clergymen were missionary-minded may be proven from the existence to-day in the offices of the Church of England in Jamaica a Chalice, referred to by Dr. W. Lloyd in 'Letters from the West Indies' as follows: "Such was the interest evinced by the slaves for religion, that they subscribed twenty pounds to buy a communion service cup; it has been appropriately engraved". The chalice is eight inches high, and is inscribed round the foot "Purchased for Golden Grove Chapel by the slaves of the estate, 1830!"

Missionary Societies:

All the missionary societies began their work in Jamaica with the definite intention of preaching to, and converting the negro slaves to Christianity. Their methods differed but little. Moravians and Presbyterians (except for Mr Bethune in 1800) went at the specific invitation of estate owners to minister to their slaves. The fact that to-day those two denominations are strongest in the country parts and country towns near old sugar estates shows how the policy was continued through the years. The Methodists and Baptists went to the towns, both spreading from the capital, and only later going into the country parts, and even to-day their strongest churches are in towns. That difference in method, due to circumstances over which the societies had little or no control, probably explains the jealousy between those two groups of churches which is evident up to 1834 at least, and it also probably explains why the Moravians and Presbyterians were accepted by the settlers and civil authorities as the others never were in those days. From the inhabitants' point of view, it was the difference between a guest and an invader, apart altogether from the suggestion that the agents of the one group kept themselves to church work and free of current political and economic problems, while those of the other group, out of a sense of grievance at privileges afforded to their quieter brethren, were apt to try to force issues which they themselves had created. More important, however, is the fact that Methodists and Baptists relied too early on lay helpers who were as a rule free people of colour, but with little education and no training, and when troubles arose in the east end of the island, it was not the
Methodist missionaries who were responsible, but local preachers who had gone out from the city. It was probably as a result of this experience that that church did not set up a College for training native ministers until 1876, some forty years after the Presbyterians started their College.

The purpose of the missionaries is given in all instances in very exact terms. The first Moravians went "for the purpose of instructing the negroes in the blessed truths of the Gospel". After making arrangements for the proprietor of Stirling in Trelawny to bear the cost of church and lance for the slaves, and stating that he had written asking neighbouring owners to allow the Scottish Missionary Society agent, to preach to their slaves also, the Rev. Geo. Blyth is instructed by the Society on 24th August 1824 "Should any of the white people wish to attend, they can provide an awning for themselves or whatever they may judge most expedient at their own expense" (a large tent had been erected for the slaves till the church was built), and on 30th November 1825, when a request was sent home for a minister for Falmouth (eight miles from Blyth's station), the Society wrote "It is not the design for which the Society was instituted to provide the white inhabitants of the colonies with ministers". Their suggestion is that the whites call a minister after the fashion of the Scots Kirk in Kingston in 1818. The Methodist Instructions to the Wesleyan missionaries revised in 1834 defines the sphere of work as "the ignorant, pagan and neglected black and coloured population...and all others who may be willing to hear you". The Baptists, having begun with Lisle and Baker, themselves freed slaves, adopted the

same policy, while by the time the other denominations came on the scene the distinction between slave and free had either disappeared or was about to do so.

All the societies warned their missionaries, even up to 1834, but especially before 1824, not to interfere in what was thought, by all concerned, to be an economic question, viz., the rights and wrongs of slavery. (This is not to be confused with making representations against attorneys who evaded laws for the amelioration of slaves, and with trying to improve the living conditions of the slaves.) The clearest instructions are given by La Trobe, the friend of Wilberforce, and it is claimed that the policy herein adopted was a help to Wilberforce in so far as it proved slaves had been made fit for freedom. It is an argument not to be passed over lightly, for where the principle was followed, notably in districts predominantly Moravian and Presbyterian, the troubles of 1831, and even 1938, were very slight, both slaves and owners in 1831, and employees and employers in 1938, apparently having the feeling of mutual trust and cooperation necessary to change conditions peacefully and without loss to either party. La Trobe writes thus: "The Moravian missionaries in the West Indies never interfered between masters and slaves. Bishop Spangenberg makes a similar statement, and in his 'Account of the Brethren's Work' he says that on one occasion the West Indian missionaries passed the following resolutions:—(1) We will consider it as our duty that our missionaries among the heathen are not to interfere with the commerce between them and the merchants.... (11) We will never omit diligently to put before the slaves the doctrines which the
Apostles preached to servants. Servants in those days were almost universally slaves. (iii) We will frequently remind the heathen of that Paul saith: 'the powers that be are ordained of God'. By teaching these principles the Brethren made the slaves fit for freedom, and that was their real contribution to the cause. While such a statement can readily be turned into saying that the Moravians supported slavery, it must also be remembered that it was not till voices were raised in England by the Friends that other missionaries felt the wrongs of the system as such, for as we have seen, both Moravians and Methodists on occasion became slave-owners while preaching in Jamaica.

Whether in towns or on estates, all the missionaries followed much the same methods in their work. The first step was to preach the Gospel either in the open-air or in slave villages where permission was given, or in private houses or yards. The Moravians and Presbyterians settled down and established churches of which they became the pastors, while the Methodists and Baptists travelled wherever they could find a congregation. That policy has resulted to-day in the first group having strong churches in certain areas where the second group is small and weak, and while the second group is more widely scattered, and has more buildings and out-stations, the average membership in any one station is much smaller, and to-day their ministers have to cover more distance to visit the same number of members. The wastefulness of this method has already been seen at the close of chapter one.

The first attempts at preaching brought the missionaries face to face with illiteracy, and led them to hold week-day meetings and classes for children, and for such older people as could be got quoted by Hatton: History of Moravian Missions, p.196.
together, when far reading was taught, the Bible being used as the
text-book. The Psalms were employed frequently, and it was a common
sight to see children sitting at night instructing their elders in the
mysteries of reading, for the children learned more quickly. It might
be stated here that there was never any language difficulty in Jamaica,
for by the time the missionaries came the slaves had been forced to
understand English, and there is no record of any settler attempting
to learn any African dialect, even in the earliest days of Spanish
or English occupation. Only two words of African origin are common
to-day, and these not in the original form - 'bucra' or 'buckra', mean-
ing 'white', and 'busha' from 'obusha' meaning 'overseer' or manager
of an estate, formerly used of the book-keeper who kept a record of
the labourer's work.

Prayer-meetings are part of the ordinary church life in the missions,
though we have not met any reference to such in the Anglican records
before 1838, and instruction classes, with definite preparation for
admission to the church, were conducted all the year round by the
missionaries. Apart from one reference to tracts and books for free
distribution and for lending, mentioned as having been sent in August
1825, the only literature given or sold to the negroes was the Bible.
Blyth in 1825 got 14 Bibles costing 4/4d each, 6 costing 3/6d, 25
New Testaments at 1/6d, and 3 at 4/-, with 25% to be added for the
selling price, but with instructions to sell at bookseller's price,
cost price, a reduced price, or give away free according to the cir-
cumstances of the people, but the letter finishes "people value what
they pay for". In the case of the Presbyterian Church, catechisms

1. Correspondence S.M.S. 30.8.1825. 11. Ibid. 30.11.1825.
had been sent out in 1825 but Elyth writes "The negroes paying for them is entirely out of the question, and is a thing I could not for one moment think of."

During 1807 to 1815 the British and Foreign Bible Society sent consignments of Bibles and Testaments to Jamaica and they state that older folks paid children fivepence to tenpence per week willingly to have the Bible read to them in the evenings. The clergy of the island, the Corporation of Kingston, and the Justices and vestry of Westmoreland in 1812-13 sent £700 to the Society's work, and at that time Bibles were sold to slaves for 15/- 11 In 1828 a version of the New Testament was printed in Negro-English (which is a corruption consisting of broadening vowels and passing over consonants and slurring words together, e.g., 'What shall we do?' becomes 'We fe do?'), prepared by the Moravian missionaries. It appeared to be still in existence when Catton wrote in 1904, having been reprinted in 1846, 1865, and 1889, but in spite of inquiries we have not heard of its being known even by the oldest missionaries on the island today, several of whom have been fifty years and more in the island.

The Baptists held week-day classes for prayer and instruction, frequently under a 'leader' and the Methodists used the 'class-system', and in addition all missionaries visited the homes and yards of the negroes. Elyth repeatedly writes of incidents when he visits sick slaves in the estate hospitals or in their quarters.

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1. Correspondence S.M.S. August 1825. 11. Caton, British & Foreign Bible Society vol.1. 111. Ibid. vol. 2. p.75. IV.Ibid. v. Stewart (p.171) in 1868 mentions a 'circulating library in Kingston, with poor books' which was not used, as it was mostly a 'trash of novels', but this was no doubt intended for whites, or at most for free blacks, though no doubt the custom which is still followed of domestic servants reading everything discarded by the master or mistress of the house, either books or newspapers, was followed then by such as could read.
From the fact that the various missionary societies were able to preach and visit and instruct and sell Bibles, to receive members and build churches and chapels, it will be apparent that they were carrying out their aims of preaching the Gospel to the negro slaves and winning them to Christianity. They did not then, nor have they, or the Church of England, since made any systematic study of the African forms of religion, but all took up the attitude that there could be nothing good in these forms (for it was, and is still, difficult for a white man to be present at such meetings or to find any accurate information about them). Descriptions of what is said to have happened at them, and what is known by investigators into the native life, made good stories for missionary platforms in Britain, but it was an evil which should have been tackled seriously, for much could have been done by showing up its errors to the negro.

Without in any way apologising for, or justifying the system of slavery, it must be remembered that the slave had some time to himself, and some money to himself. The most sane and balanced account of conditions which has come from a Baptist pen is as follows: "Slaves were allowed to earn a little money for themselves. They were given plots of land to cultivate, from which they fed themselves and sold any surplus provisions; or in any other way they might earn a few shillings, so long as it did not infringe on their regular hours of labour."1 Henderson, the writer, was pastor in a country town from 1876 to 1926, and wrote in 1931, but he was born in 1849. He also gives what is perhaps the truest representations of the facts of the slavery controversy: "The House of Assembly, composed of slave owners, believed that progress depended on slave labour, therefore they

1. Henderson; Goodness and Mercy, p.5.
objected to missionaries because they interfered with property, etc. They opposed freedom because they believed it would mean ruin, or anarchy. 1

It is no part of our purpose to rewrite the story of the troubled days of 1831 and 1832, for although many of the missionary books are taken up with either assessing the blame or justifying the particular stand taken at the time, they occasion was only an incident, and such things as the Colonial Church Union - which had no connection with either Church or Missions - had best be forgotten. The happenings of the time did not in any way alter the policy of the missionaries or the clergymen, though they may have made that policy a little clearer to the inhabitants.

On 1st August 1834 slavery was abolished under the British Flag, but a transition period of six years, later reduced to four, was provided for under the 'Apprenticeship Bill' which was passed by Parliament on 30th August 1833. The following were the conditions of 'Apprenticeship' contained in the Bill:

1. From, and after, August 1st 1834 no slavery would be tolerated under the British Flag.

2. Former slaves would be divided into two classes, domestics, working in homes, and prenials, working in fields. To fit them for a proper use of their responsibilities and new conditions, they would serve an 'apprenticeship' to their old masters; domestics for four years, and prenials for six years.

3. During that time the master was entitled to four and a half days a week, or forty-five hours, of labour, in return for which he must provide food and clothing and house accommodation. The remaining two and a half days (including Sunday), the apprentice could work for wages, or in cultivating his fields in his own interests. He was free to attend any religious services he chose on the Sabbath. To remove any obstacle to this, the Sunday markets which prevailed were abolished, and Saturday became the general day of trading.

1: ibid. pp.10.
4. If apprentices were required to cultivate land to supply provisions for themselves, suitable land within a reasonable distance must be provided free of cost for that purpose, and they must be allowed extra time for this out of the days they were required to work for their masters.

5. Any apprentice who was able to purchase his freedom before the time specified in the law was at liberty to do so, even against the wishes of his master; and the price to be paid for his release would be fixed by magistrates to be sent out from England to superintend the working of the law.

6. Flogging as a punishment could no longer be inflicted without the permission of these magistrates; and the flogging of females was forbidden.

7. Children under six years of age at the coming in of the law were free, provided the parents could support them; and all children born after August 1st 1834 were also free, with the same proviso.

8. It was also decided that, instead of the loan of £15,000,000 proposed at the beginning, a grant of £20,000,000 would be made to the West Indian planters for any losses they might sustain, and this burden would be borne by the tax-payers of England.

The four years during which this Bill operated were perhaps the most difficult in the history of all the churches, for there was general confusion. The title of the Bill was unfortunate, for the slaves could not understand how a well-trained and well-tried man who had been in charge of a gang of labourers, or of some part of domestic work for years, could suddenly be reduced to the status of an 'apprentice'. It would have been perhaps worse had freedom been granted outright in 1834, but the transition was made doubly difficult because there was no guidance given as to rates of pay which the freed slaves were to receive, and little attempt made to inform them that the houses in which they lived belonged to the estate owners, and even though they had been born in them, and cultivated the plots around them, the coming of freedom meant not only wages, but the spending of wages on

1. ibid. p.47-49.
things like rent and food. These questions, of course, are social and economic, but the effect on church work for four years and more was profound. Preaching became practical, dealing with social and economic questions as well as spiritual. Religion could be practised openly without fear, even with the hardest masters. Churches were crowded out, and it is significant that the slaves thronged to the established Church as well as to the mission churches. Of this, one illustration will suffice: "The erection of the Church of St. Paul's, Annendale, in 1838, supplies a noteworthy instance of the good disposition of the negroes and coloured classes towards Christianity. The proprietor of the estate gave the land and materials, the Jamaica Government, the Bishop, and others added contributions, but more gratifying still, 'the apprentices on the estate, of their own free will, subscribed about £200 in money, and no less than twelve hundred days in work', and this too at a time when they were still slaves. So earnest and sincere were their efforts that, in one day fifty six persons cleared about four acres of virgin, unopened woodland. Their numbers increased each week, and on April 7th, from 800 to 1000 of the black population pressed forward to hear the word of the living God and see laid the foundation stone of a Temple devoted to His service - the superstructure of which they felt an honest pride in knowing, was to be the result of their own gratuitous efforts... from a circuit of eight and ten miles were to be seen flocking on the following Saturdays (their only holidays) volunteers, ready and eager for the appointed work... children of tiny growth and the old in their decrepitude, joined in the work... the strong and healthy'.

The day by day work of the ministers and clergy consisted for these four years in explanations to the apprentices of the conditions under which freedom was to be given. They had to advise and guide, and make slaves fit for their new position. After 1833 the position was even more difficult, for the ministers were the only people without personal interests at stake, and acted continually as a go-between on problems of labour, housing, land tenure, wages, conditions of work, advice on co-operative marketing and land settlement. But during those years they were constantly in touch with government and courts and the officers sent from England to superintend the working of the Bill, and their testimony is that the whole situation was confused. "Nobody knows what is law, or not law. The local magistrates support the interests of the planters; the stipendiary magistrates are on the side of the people. The Attorney General says one thing; some lawyers in town say another; and the opposite; and authority in England, the Attorney and Solicitor General, disagree with the highest law authority in the island." This is confirmed in the records of every mission society dealing with the period, and the amount of interviewing and visiting and mediating required on the part of the ministers can well be imagined. There are many cases where owners made scarcely a move on their estates without consulting the missionary on the question of arrangements involving former slaves. They undoubtedly helped to develop the idea that the church was for all men, whatever their class or colour, and there is no church in Jamaica which has not a mixed congregation and a mixed ministry.

This period saw also the beginnings of work by the Church Missionary

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society, the London Missionary Society, and a number of other agencies interested in schools, and these were practically without exception managed by the ministers. They will be dealt with in the chapter on education, but meantime it must be noted that the work of the ministers became more and more of a teaching character and that the education of the negroes was closely connected with the Church.

The methods of evangelism adopted by all the churches after emancipation will be more easily understandable if we look briefly at the place given to preaching, to the Sacraments, to Social Work, and to the helpers employed, and to this we now turn our attention.

**Preaching:**

Preaching, of course, formed a part of every Sunday service, and was the main feature of the missionary service. It is so much taken for granted that it is mentioned in the records only in passing. But besides the sermon on Sunday, the opportunity of the weekly gatherings for prayer and instruction was taken for preaching, as was the occasion when ministers visited slave-quarters and houses. So far as can be ascertained, the preaching was Biblical. "We are chiefly occupied with preparing questions explaining different texts of Scripture, and as they are all anxious to be able to give suitable answers, they (the negroes) never absent themselves but from urgent necessity." Seven years later, in 1819, the Moravian John Hofa writes "Not a Sabbath passes, but some new negroes come to us....I have begun to hold an evening meeting on Tuesdays and Fridays with such as can attend. During the Passion Week we met every evening, and the place was crowded." This was in addition to classes for instruction, which were frequently

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held in the early morning, as prayer meetings still are in country parts.

Buchner reports that from early times the Moravian missionaries "began to preach to overseers and book-keepers in the forenoon and to negroes in the afternoon" and this is not to be understood as serving the whites first, for even to-day, for purely climatic reasons, white people are not fond of afternoon services, while the coloured people turn out in great numbers to them and even in the hottest season of the year the largest Sunday schools are those which meet in the afternoon. The greatest testimony to the effect of the preaching services held by the missionaries comes from the attitude of the planters who gave permission to them to visit the negroes in hospital and in their homes, but punished the slaves for absenting themselves in the evening to go to the 'preachings', and in all the troubles it was the preaching services which were blamed for stirring up ideas of freedom and deliverance. The other great testimony to the fact that the preaching was Biblical in character was the weight which the negro even to-day puts on the printed Word. He quotes indiscriminately (even when he is a trained pastor) from Old and New Testaments, but the Bible is commonly held to refute the statements of any other book, and he is willing to talk on Bible texts for hours on end, and at any time of the day or night.

That the place given to preaching was not emphasised so much after emancipation, when the time and energy was taken up with practical advice on housing and land and wages, is clear, though Sunday

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and week-day services continued. The growing numbers attending the church of England became accustomed to the rather less important place given to the sermon in that church, but when the island had quietened down and things became normal again, preaching grew in importance until the 1860 revival, when the churches were again thronged. The Church of England grew more evangelical after disestablishment in 1870, and under Archbishop Nuttall, but with few exceptions the church up to the present day is emphasising the other elements in worship, led by a small group of individuals who are so impressed with the idea of worship as the 'expression of the spiritual experience of the people' that they allow little or no place for the impression and impact of the Gospel message and the Living Word. The recent Campaign of Witness in which all churches joined made it clear that the people of the church are desirous of hearing again the Lord preached to them. Indeed, we feel that the explanation of the withdrawing of Christian people to the sects is not that the sects allow for forms of self-expression, but that they give a large place to their particular type of 'preaching'.

The Sacraments:

There are frequent references to the Sacraments, especially to that of Baptism in slave days. The Church of England has rather a bad reputation in that connection, for apparently the character of the clergy influenced their conduct even of the Sacraments. Buchner quotes one of many statements on this question: The Planters, since some slaves had requested Baptism because of the preaching of the missionary nearest them "invited the Rector of the parish to come
and baptised their negroes at once, and agreed to pay a certain amount for each.¹ (There was nothing unusual in the promise of payment, for fees were by law established, and if a planter gave permission for a slave to be baptised, someone had to pay the fee, though Ellis suggests that slaves were exempt from this fee.) This 'baptism' was done in the millhouse, and a dance with rum provided, followed.¹ That that was not the case with all rectors is shown by the Rector of Clarendon: "I have time but little more than sufficient to discharge the common functions of my office..... I have twice made known my readiness to attend for the religious instruction of the slaves....."¹¹ Not till 1840 were fees for baptisms etc. abolished in the Church of England.¹¹¹ No charge was ever made by the Moravians or Presbyterians for baptism, but the Methodist Church even today charges 2/6d, and the custom is among some of the people to put 1/- in the font after the baptism. Pastors can rarely resist taking this, though it is called a 'thank-offering'.¹² We have not found any instance of this in a church of which a missionary is in charge, but we have known instances of Salvation Army native agents in Manchester immersing at 1/- per head. It might be said that the Salvation Army headquarters repudiated this agent, but he was speedily restored.

Frequent complaint is made, generally on 'information received' from some traveller or missionary of another denomination, that slaves were baptised and received into the church too quickly, and without proof of conversion.¹⁴ A warning is sent to Mr. Blyth a few months after his arrival: "Independent of the solemn responsibility which in various other respects rests on the Christian missionary as to the admission of church members you will possibly

find that there are few things which are more likely to render your
labours among the negroes abortive to spiritual fruitfulness than the
admission of unconverted persons from among them to baptism and the
Lord's Supper... We have no doubt you will find the negroes very
eager to be baptised... and hence many of them will be very ready to
submit to instruction and probably may be disposed to employ such
expressions as they think will be pleasing to you and otherwise en-
deavour to impress you with a more favourable opinion of them than
they deserve. In the Methodist societies in the West Indies and in
some instances at least in the Moravian congregations, vast numbers
of those whom they have received as members have afterwards fallen
away... Blyth also raises the question of infant baptism and
of slave baptism, where the owner had to give his permission first.
The point at issue was whether an owner could stand 'in loco parentis'
though even that was doubly difficult when it is remembered that an
owner might not himself be a church member, but might nevertheless
permit his slave to be baptised.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is dispensed in town churches
at least once per month, and in country churches, because of the num-
er of out-stations once every two months. There are no references
to unseemly conduct at the Lord's Supper in mission churches, but
Lady Nugent in 1802 gives this incident: "When we went up to the
altar, the clergyman began his civilities - first asking whether we
would prefer having the bread and wine brought to our pew; then
hoping the heat was not too great; and, in the midst of the service,
stooping to enquire whether I would like a window opened that was

1. Correspondence S.P.S. August 25th, 1824. 11. Ibid. 1.3.1829.
over the altar. I said not a word... all this time, the young ladies were talking and laughing, loud enough to be heard, as they sat in the carriage at the church door.\textsuperscript{1} Instruction concerning the meaning of the sacrament is usually confined to the Catechumen's class, probably owing to the frequency of celebration. Teaching on Baptism is continuous, but not systematic, for it consists mainly in invective by sects, most of which are immersionist, and replies from time to time by the churches. The emphasis is on the method rather than on the meaning of this sacrament.

The great difficulty in practice about administering the sacraments is the question of church discipline and the high percentage of illegitimacy - a question which will be dealt with in \textit{Chapter Six}. In slave days, marriage was forbidden, but breeding was encouraged for economic reasons, and much could be made of the distress of a slave being sold to an owner in a distant part of the island, and being separated from his natural family. Much also of the statement that "nearly everyone down to the lowest white servant had his native female companion".\textsuperscript{11} After emancipation, then marriages were allowed to all (owners could at times give permission to slaves to marry), the rate of illegitimacy was 60\%. In the eighties it was 70\%, and dropped slightly around 1900, but rose in Kingston to 74\% among all classes. The island rate in 1942 is 69.93\%. But our interest here is the position adopted by the missionaries, and the effect of the legal position on their work of church discipline.

At first, the missionaries simply accepted the fact that

\textsuperscript{1} Lady Nugent's Journal, p.126. \textsuperscript{11} Phillipo, p.174.
Marriages were not allowed, and if proof of conversion were shown otherwise, the fact that a man and woman were living together without the blessing of the church was passed over, but discipline was exercised to some extent by seeing that they did not change partners. This was known, and still exists (hence the unreliability of the high illegitimacy figures) as 'faithful concubinage', or in native language 'married but not parsoned'. The women in such cases are designated 'Mrs.' and deem themselves and are deemed by the public, as perfectly respectable. Such people were not then held to be responsible for not being legally married, and were admitted to the sacraments. Even when a slave was sold and his faithful concubine was left with her family, the early Moravians had rules on the subject, and they first started the practice of having a marriage ceremony, with the permission of the owner, which ceremony was recognised by the church but not by the state. Their rules are summarised as follows: "(1) If a convert has more than one wife, he is not compelled to put her away, and he may not except with the consent of the other and of the church—1 Cor. vii. 12. (ii) Such an one—i.e. with more than one wife—is not to be a helper or officer in the church. (iii) A believer has one wife only, till death. (iv) In the event of sale, the church will not advise, though it will not hinder marriage with a local partner, especially if the wife is left with children." Other societies followed the practice of 'church marriages', until marriage between slaves was legalised, and the question was raised officially by the Presbyterian Alynth in a letter of Feb. 3rd, 1826, then the position was that only Church of England clergy could legally perform.

1. Buchner, p. 45. 11. ibid., p. 45 f.
Marriage of slaves, and in 1829 the colonial secretary is reported to have been favourable to the introduction of a Bill to allow non-Church of England clergy to perform slave marriages. Blyth himself reports 320 marriages at Hampden in 1834.

After emancipation, there was no legal barrier to marriage, and the matter took on a different complexion for purposes of church discipline. It is true that many of the slaves rushed to be married legally, and the church encouraged it, and tightened up their discipline in admission to the sacraments. But the majority thought of marriage as a binding tie, and time proved that the women did not desire marriage for too often (the position is unchanged) meant that the man stopped working and the woman had to work for him as well as herself and the children. She also ran the risk of having more children with a man continually in the house than if she had her own quarters. Furthermore, the negro is imitative by nature, and 'Buccan' weddings meant a lot of money, for dresses and entertainment, so the negro came to associate the spending of money with the essentials of a legal wedding. The result of all these ideas was that weddings were put off till late in life, and it is still common for children and grandchildren to be present when a couple is married. Stories both amusing and pathetic can be told from personal experience of Jamaica weddings.

The position today is a compromise in practice between the rigid theory that unmarried mothers whether they live consistently with one man or whether their children have different fathers, are suspended from membership, until they reform, and the lax theory that

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1. Correspondence S.M.S. 7.2.18. 11. Ibid. 27.6.1879.
ii. Scottish Missionary Register, 1835.
no discipline shall be exercised at all. The practice is to sus-
pend women for a few months and then quietly restore them on the
first occasion of their having a child, and the process is repeated
on each occasion even if the children are for different fathers.
In cases of faithful concubinage, suspension for the first child, and
attempts at persuasion to marry after every other. There are women
who, having been suspended, will never return and there are those
who will neither marry nor join the church until the child time of
child-bearing is past. Fathers can rarely be found for purposes
of discipline, but it is true to say that both men and women discipline
themselves, if it is worthy of the name, by keeping away from the
church for a time or for altogether.

The greatest weakness in discipline, however, comes from the
existence of so many sects, and from the Jamaican's attitude to all
denominations as 'equally Christian'. He, or she, will change their
'loyalty' time and time again - as soon as they differ from the
minister or priest, and as often as they come under discipline.

The practice of refusing to baptise illegitimate children is
not decreasing. Most churches have some method of getting over the
difficulty of parents not being members, or not being in good standing
in their church. Without entering into the rights and wrongs of
the question, it is sufficient to say that baptism is generally de-
sired by parents for their children, no matter whether the parents
are church members or not. The Church of England very early relaxed
their rule about three godparents and accepted two, and the mission-
ary churches now allow the mother or father to present the child if
either a member of the congregation who is in good standing, etc.
as guarantor, or, in the case of the Presbyterian church the Kirk session may act 'in loco parentis' until the parents become members or are restored to full fellowship. But there is no uniformity in practice even in the same denomination, and the records of baptism are in many cases kept in a deplorable condition.

**Lay Workers:**

Caldcott states definitely that "the laity undertook no duty except that of Churchwarden, an office in which the secular duties far exceeded the care of the church fabric, and some financial matters which gave them an appearance of being ecclesiastical. There were no lay readers or catechists; no Sunday School teachers; no district visitors". But more could hardly be expected when some of the clergy were much better qualified to be retailers of saltfish, or boatswain to privateers, than ministers of the Gospel and it was of these, some of them "unsuccessful planters, merchants, and ex-military officers who sought holy orders in England and then came back to enjoy the emoluments of island rectories" that Bishop Lipscombe wrote that he expected no good until the old clergy were exterminated.

With the coming of the Bishop to Jamaica and the better ordering of church life thereafter, and with the increasing interest and work in the sphere of education after 1815 then a Bill was adopted by the Jamaica legislature giving slaves the right to receive instruction, and the church was strengthened for the purpose by adding a curate to each parish. The laity were widely used in the Anglican church.

as Catechists, Readers and School masters. Some of these gave their whole time to religious work; others, e.g. the school masters, undertook it in addition to their ordinary duties, although the large place occupied by religious instruction in the school-teaching made that work by no means one that could adequately be described as secular, even on week-days. Some of the catechists had fixed stations, others itinerated from estate to estate, or village to village. Gardner says that some 'book-keepers in Jamaica who were employed in this way were in no sense religious men'. But the same historian says of many of the Baptist deacons that they were 'drawbacks to the advance of the people'. Bishop Coleridge required of his catechists that they should be 'men able to read well, instructed in psalmody... and competent to explain in a familiar way to the negroes any common word or passage of scripture, or in the lesson books of school'. The time had not come for Lay Readers as purely voluntary workers.1 The system of getting school teachers to act as catechists or lay readers either voluntarily or in return for a small honorarium or a teacher's cottage has raised many problems in all the churches but these belong more properly to the chapter on education, as does the use of laity in schools for slaves and for children after 1838.

With the exception of the Moravian church, which did not begin Sunday or Day school work till 1826, all other churches employ laymen and, in Sunday schools, women to assist in the work. It was the definite policy of the Baptists and Methodists to make use of native laymen as local preachers from the very beginning, and, as we have observed, it was the laymen, being untrained, which got these

1. Ibid. p. 105-6.
missionaries into trouble with the authorities. Both societies, however, were simply carrying out the practices of their denomination in England.

It was not till 1854 that the Moravians "arranged that suitable Church members should be employed as Scripture Readers and Assistant Preachers", but as we have said, laymen had been employed in the schools since 1826. There had been a plan, however, adopted within the Moravian congregations from quite early, though it was one which comes more naturally under management of a congregation than under general mission methods. The plan was as follows:

"After having visited and preached several times in a new locality, they invited those that wished to be further instructed to come forward and have their names entered as catechumens... being baptised, they formed the beginning of a congregation, were regularly visited, attended the services at the mission station... were conversed with individually, every eight weeks. They (the missionaries) were anxious to give as much attention as possible to individual pastoral care... This was the reason and purpose for which the missionaries met with each individual at least once in eight weeks... it was a wise and profitable institution. Less happy was the choice of its name, 'speaking'... Among the converts there were several who distinguished themselves by their devotedness and talent. The church thought well to make use of them, and appointed them as 'Helpers'... Their work equalled 'Elders'—to visit, exhort, hold prayer meetings, teach to read, settle disputes. Some ten to twenty were in each congregation, some women... all met with the pastor every four weeks."

1. Upton, p. 244. 11. The Breaking of the Dru, p. 50-1.
employed within the congregation, though the plan was put into effect only about 1823 according to Buchner. The Baptist system was rather different, for their laymen, known as 'Leaders' had a place within the mission, and became a real problem in time.

These 'Leaders' at first real helpers to the minister, became independent preachers, and assumed authority which they had not been given. They frequently came between the minister and his people, and had got into their hands the power to give 'tickets' for admission to the sacrament. The people protested against this abuse, and complained to other missionaries, and in 1831 a remonstrance was drawn up on the subject of Baptist Leadership, which was affecting not only the Baptist church, but the position and the peace of all other missions. It was in effect a request to the Baptist Missionary Society to control their agents for the good of the whole church. Knibb, however, defended the system, and blackened the character of those who opposed it, even though the first protest was actually made by three B.M.S. Missionaries, Coulter, Whitehorn, and Kingdon who were dismissed by the B.M.S. because they abolished the Leader system in their own churches. But we are not concerned here with controversy. Only it is clear even from that early date that the system employed by the Baptist denomination in Jamaica, by which any minister or layman can take power and actually use it against the interests of his own church, is one that lends itself easily to abuse and brings the church into disrepute. Further examples could be quoted, even within the last ten years and the presence of a number of adjustments to clear up problems similar to Leadership is proof that

... 

strict control is required in that church.

The Presbyterian Church has made use of laymen from the beginning in the office of the eldership, those duties are to assist at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to visit the members in the district regularly, and in the early days to catechise. Teachers were employed from the first, being supplied by the Scottish Missionary Society till natives were trained. Laymen also assisted in managing the affairs of property and finance and in erection of buildings, and both men and women in Sunday schools and work amongst the young.

By the time assistant preachers were felt to be needed, the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery had been formed (in 1836) and arrangements were set on foot for training catechists and native pastors immediately, the first attempt at training laymen for work in the church in Jamaica. That work has gone on continuously for 107 years, and catechists are required by the rules of the church to be regularly examined by the presbytery and to pursue a course of reading.

Teachers in the day school were also trained by the church, and assisted as catechists or lay agents, but at no time were they in sole charge of even an out-station. By 1870 Hampden, the first station of the Scottish Missionary Society had twenty such elders in the congregation, and "they visit in twos in each district and hold meetings" (these were house prayer meetings) and for a time after the revival of 1860 some of the congregations had native evangelists, i.e. catechists working under the minister and Presbytery for intensive visitation, and in Kingston one worked as colporteur.11

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The Methodists, as we have seen, adopted the system of local preachers, and they did not start training Jewsicans for the ministry till 1876, but with a large number of scattered stations it was necessary to use even untrained laymen. This system continues, though to-day arrangements are made for summer schools and correspondence courses for such as require these aids. The later arrivals in the field adopted all the methods which had developed up to 1834 - using local preachers, teachers, voluntary and full-time catechists, men and women in Sunday school work and social work generally.

Educational and Social Work.

We must here note that the vast amount of work which the churches put into education in slave days and afterwards was part of their method of evangelism. The Bible was essential to a proper understanding of Christianity, and education was essential for the reading and understanding of the Bible. Much of the evil of the time was put down to ignorance, and it was felt that education would abolish superstition fairly easily. By 1834 the Church of England had only 56 clergymen, but 95 lay teachers, and 142 schools. Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Church of Scotland had all opened schools as soon as possible after their work began, and the Moravians did so in 1826 "as soon as they could get teachers", and the Moravians and the Presbyterians each established colleges for training teachers soon after emancipation. It might be noted here that the Church Missionary Society laboured from 1815 to 1848 mainly in establishing schools for negro children, and withdrew.

1. S.P.G. Digest, p. 280, par. 4.
only then it felt the Church of England was able to carry on without its help. Educational work, which will be studied in detail in chapter five, was introduced primarily as a method of spreading Christian truth and knowledge, and abolishing the darkness of superstition and fear which was the daily lot of the slave and the unenlightened negro.

Work which in this age bears the title 'social welfare' has been brought to the forefront as if it were something entirely new, and the general impression in Jamaica amongst non-church-goers and opponents of Christianity is that the churches have never done any social work. That impression has been created largely by a misunderstanding of the Recommendations of the West India Royal Commission, but we are concerned with the facts as recorded, not with passing impressions. The church, in all its branches, has always done social welfare work in Jamaica, but it has not called it by that name. It may not have been well organised, and it may not have cured all human ills (though modern movements have not yet achieved that either), and it may never have been the work of a separate department with a well equipped and trained staff, but the church has practically the only body which ever attempted social uplift.

Social work as intended in the near future is so important that it requires a chapter to itself, but it must be mentioned here that as part of the method of spreading the Gospel, the missionaries visited the poor and the sick both in their homes and in the slave hospitals, (for Jamaica was better supplied with

hospitals and doctors in slave days than it is to-day\textsuperscript{1}), they collected and gave to the poor, they found work and assisted in wage disputes in the period after 1838, they purchased large portions of land and sold them out in small lots to the freed slaves, they gave instruction in housing and home life, and the wives of the mission staff taught domestic science to the girls.\textsuperscript{11} None of these objects bore their present-day names. They were all part of the everyday work of the missionary, but every opportunity was taken of showing the gospel in practice as well as in theory. Details of the work will be given in chapter six, but it must be noted that the work of the church spread largely through the personal contact given by the missionary in advice and help in working out every day problems of life one hundred and more years ago.

One point must be made, however, and that is that practically all churches deemed social work as an 'extra' to the preaching of the Gospel in those days, and it is only with the twentieth century that the ministry on the whole has come to feel that social welfare is big enough to require a full-time staff under the direction of the church, and this problem will be considered later.

The use of literature has already been mentioned, in so far as the Bible was practically the only text-book for church and school, and Caton tells of grants of Bibles for work in Jamaica from 1807, and of the foundation of the 'Jamaica Auxiliary of the People of Colour' in 1814;\textsuperscript{11} also of the Jamaica Bible Society in 1830, which however consisted only of the Secretary by 1834;\textsuperscript{14} in that year the Rev. J. S. Thomson of the British

\textsuperscript{1} Dillon, p. 29.  \textsuperscript{11} Livingstone, p. 30 and 45.  \textsuperscript{11} Caton, Vol. 1, p. 297.  \textsuperscript{14} ibid.
and foreign Bible society arrived and formed numerous auxiliaries throughout the island, and 620 quarto Guinea Bibles were sold that year and a depot opened in Kingston with 3,000 copies to meet the demand. The work continued till 1847 when 11,641 copies were sold.1 Thereafter grants were given to individual missionaries, but an auxiliary was again formed in 1939.

Several denominations published monthly magazines containing articles of devotional interest and of local news, and the following are still in existence: 'The Jamaica Diocesan Gazette', founded 1917, 'The Presbyterian', founded 1889, 'The Methodist Magazine', the 'Baptist Reporter', and the Salvation Army 'War Cry'. A Moravian magazine was published for about ten years, but ceased for financial reasons. Numerous grants of tracts and literature of that type is sent by various societies to all the churches, and the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church operate bookrooms for the sale of Bibles, hymnaries, and religious books of general interest. All the monthly publications of these churches are hard put to it to cover expenses, for none of them has a circulation wider than their own denomination, and there is room for a general religious magazine, with news columns, published by some organisation such as the Jamaica Christian Council. Each Church from time to time has published pamphlets dealing with sects, obeah, immersion, and social questions, but these require to be subsidised owing to the small circulation. Literature for Sunday school work is generally imported from abroad for reasons of expense. It can fairly be said that the Church has not taken advantage of the printed word in Jamaica, largely owing to lack of central organisation for distribution on the one hand, and, on the other, the refusal to co-op-

erate with other denominations in publishing matter which is common to all.

One great feature of which the Baptists and Presbyterians are proud is the fact that they very early sent out foreign missionaries. In 1841 the Jamaica Presbytery considered Africa as a suitable field, and were of the opinion that West Indian trained catechists would be best, if they were accompanied by ordained missionaries, preferably those accustomed to the tropical climate. Also, they would "possess the confidence of the native teachers". The result was the despatch of the Rev. Hope M. Waddell, "an ideal pioneer, in 1845, with a catechist, a teacher, a carpenter, and a dispenser to Calabar in West Africa. Others followed, and the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica still contributes to the work at Calabar started by them a century ago. In 1846 the work in Grand Cayman in the West Indies was begun, and is now a Presbytery of the Jamaican Church. In 1842 the Baptists also had arranged to send missionaries to Africa, and that interest continues. In 1894 the Presbyterians began a mission to the East Indian coolies in the island, a group of indentured labourers who had been neglected so far, and between that date and 1912, 1,389 had been baptised, and there were seven stations under a superintendent with six catechists and nine lay helpers. This work has diminished since the importation of East Indians was stopped, and the children are able to speak English from their infancy, so that all except two stations have been amalgamated with the East Indian congregations.

Throughout all that work, the churches were constantly coming into touch with the Government in its policy first towards slavery and then towards the problems of education and of freedom. We have already

noted the relations which existed between the missionaries and Government with regard to slave laws and preaching to slaves, and the problems which arose in connection with schools are dealt with in chapter five. The general impression is that Government refuses to progress or change until it is forced, and while that is an unfortunate impression, it is undoubtedly the experience of those who have to act as liaison officers between Church and Government. Up to 1870, Government had to listen to the established Church at any rate, but since then it has been more difficult for the churches to get Government to take action in any matter. On the whole, the churches are tolerated, and the contact is strongest in the sphere of education. The most important future relations will be in connection with Government schemes for Social Welfare under the West Indies Development Fund, treated of in chapter six.

A Study of Method:

Since the World Missionary Conference of 1910, the Jerusalem Meeting of 1928 and the Tamburan Meeting of 1938 have widened the interest in general methods of missionary work. But the great drawback is that these are studied more by members of the Home Committees than by missionaries on the field, whose duties take up so much of their time that little energy is left for studying reports which reach the field months after they have been published. Few societies make an effort to draw the attention of missionaries to world-wide developments, and few mission committees on the field make an intensive study of the work of other fields and of reports of even world-wide conferences. That condition is gradually disappearing, however, with the bulletin established by the International Missionary Committee under
which regular reports reach Jamaica through the Jamaica Christian Council, and many of the Home Churches have Press Bureaux established during the war which will no doubt continue after hostilities cease.

Much has been written, however, in the past concerning mission methods, and we turn our attention now to the bearing of these pronouncements on the missionary methods adopted in Jamaica.

The aim of foreign missions was expressed by the Scottish Missionary Society in a letter to Blyth in 1832: "The ONLY object of the society is the PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL among heathen and infidel nations," and the problem is how best to carry out that aim. Oldham wrote in 1912 "The evangelisation of the world has been sometimes represented as if it were primarily a question of distributing a sufficient number of missionaries throughout the non-Christian world", but he also points out on the same page that "the proper aim of foreign missions is to establish in non-Christian lands an indigenous self-propagating church as a means to their evangelisation." and J.R. Jones put the position more clearly when he wrote "The ultimate aim of missions should be to make themselves unnecessary. That mission is most successful which most speedily achieves its purpose and is able to disband." The question to be decided of course, is "when has the time come when a foreign mission has achieved its purpose?" In Jamaica, all the societies have stated that their ultimate aim was to create an indigenous church, and most of them have defined what they meant by that phrase. But the experience of the Baptist Missionary Society and the present state of that Church would suggest that that mission had not achieved its purpose; that the Mission Board withdrew too quickly. The experiment

made by the Methodist Church after the work had been carried on for
nearly a century also suggests that three generations is too soon to
leave the native church entirely on its own. These questions are
bound up with the training and the quality and character of the native
ministry, of course, and they will be dealt with in later chapters. But
the position which is felt by the Jamaican to-day expressed very strongly
in the sphere of politics, is also beginning to be expressed in the
churches - is that the time has come for foreign agents to withdraw
and allow Jamaica nationals to have complete control. The matter of
subsidies and the necessary continuation of financial assistance even
if foreign agents are withdrawn is bound up with self-government, but
there is, as Jones wrote in 1910 'one of the pet dangers of every mis-
sion in heathen lands is that of keeping the people whom they have
brought into the Kingdom as their perpetual wards...it is pleasant to
hold on to influence and authority. It is sweet to administer the
affairs of others. It is delightful to continue in the capacity of
almoners of the benevolence of the Home Church. It is difficult to
relinquish leadership and control."

No one would dream of applying that statement to all missionaries,
but it most certainly does apply to some, and the solution would be
(1) to provide for more frequent furloughs for missionaries and to see
to it that they have the opportunity of attending conferences and lec-
tures and discussions on missionary methods throughout the world; these
would be in the nature of 'refresher courses', and would mean that furl-
oughs might be taken at different times of the year to give a mission-
ary an opportunity of taking a term in college, rather than the present
practice (for Jamaica at least) of furloughs being taken during the

1 Jones, p. 151.
summer when many of the ordinary church organisations, and the Colleges, are closed. (ii) to arrange for regular visitation by deputies from the home Churches to bring the view of the wider Church before the mission church, and to obtain up-to-date information generally. The present custom in all denominations is to send deputies when some crisis has been reached, and the visitors act as judge and jury. A regular system of visitation would strengthen the connection between the mission church and the Home Church, and would also prevent the elaborate and well-prepared 'receptions' which mission churches love to arrange, and which are enjoyable and illuminating to the visitor, but rarely give any idea of the ordinary level of church life in the field.

No study of missionary methods would be complete without reference to the writings of Allen, whose utterances give one the impression that he has been embittered by unfortunate experience in the field, and is apt to overstress his points. "Our modern practice", he writes, "in founding a church is to begin by securing land and building in the place in which we wish to propagate the Gospel, to provide houses in which the missionary can live, and a church, or at least a room, fitted up with all the ornaments of a western church, in which the missionary may conduct services...The larger the establishments and the more liberally it is supplied with every possible modern convenience, the better we think it suited for our purpose. Even in the smallest places we are anxious to secure as speedily as possible land on which to build houses and churches and schools, and to take it for granted that the acquisition of these things by the foreign missionary, or by the foreign society, is a step of the first importance.
It is obviously impossible that the natives should supply all these things even if they are anxious to receive our instruction, it naturally follows that we must supply them. Hence the opening of a new mission station has become primarily a financial operation. Whatever may be the position in other fields, the above quotation cannot be said to be true of Jamaica, of any church, not even the Church of England since 1870. It is true, of course, that a missionary must have a roof over his head, and that will involve financial arrangements either in the form of a gift from someone, native or foreign, and land will be needed for meetings, whether any building is erected or not. But to suggest that either missionary houses, or churches have 'every modern convenience' is to look forward at least one hundred years in Jamaica if the past rate of provision of 'conveniences' is to be taken as a guide.

The annual minutes of Synod of every Church in Jamaica is sufficient to show that new stations begin, both under pastors and missionaries, from small gatherings of Christians in private houses, and that then these gatherings feel the need of a church, they begin to subscribe for the purpose. Land is often bought, or received as a gift from some interested native merchant or property-owner. Grants are made by the Synod from accumulated funds native funds, and a congregation is erected only at the request of the group and after sufficient enquiry has been made as to the possibilities of establishing a strong cause in the new district. A minister may be appointed to work the new station alone or as part of a circuit or charge. In two recent cases, one presbyter-ian, the land and £1,700 were given by an interested native member, £4,000 was granted by the Synod, and £1,000 by another (foreign) interest.

A missioner works the new congregation from another station; the other case is Anglican, and is in a new housing area, where members have met in a private house for many months and are now arranging for a building on land which they have purchased. Jamaica has not burdened the local churches with buildings and mission establishments which the native church could neither manage nor sustain. One other thing which must be remembered—the native churches' contributions for all purposes compare very favourably with churches in Britain, but native churches in Jamaica have not the accumulated funds of centuries, nor have they the endowments which most of the British churches possess. But, they are rapidly building up reserves, which, while they may not appear large to the eyes of the Home Churches, are a step towards financial security. Even Allen would admit that native churches should not be required to support missionaries sent from home, and in the case of one church at least (Presbyterian) no missionary receives anything from the native church. In other cases, Moravian and Method-•
ist, missionaries receive the same allowance as pastors, but get an extra allowance from their Home Societies, and the system also provides for block grants of money to the native church, so that for all practical purposes the native church does not support the mission agents.1

In a critical review by Roland Allen, we find the statement on general mission policy: "When it is accepted that the end of Christian missions is to produce Christ-like character in nations, the inevitable result is that missionaries and missionary conferences busy themselves with attempts to influence the action of nations as such, instead of doing their proper work, which is the conversion of men to Christ and the establishment of the Church. If that did that which is their proper

1. Merle Davis, chapter 2.
ork, the action of nations would certainly be influenced as the Christi­
ians multiplied and the Church grew; but that is a very different
thing from the attempt of missionary societies and conferences to in­
fluence nations, as such, directly. The one is the way of Christ and
His apostles; the other is the way of modern missionary statesmen.
Naturally, as statesmen, they want to direct the conduct of states,
and as Christian statesmen they want to direct it as they think it
would be directed if Christ directed it; but Christ directs by in­
dwelling the souls of men; while they act by persuading, if they can,
the leaders of the nation that the action which they call Christ-like
is wise and prudent, and tends to the prosperity of the people. This
statement is one which may be true if the only work studied is that
accomplished by conferences on such things as schools, children's homes,
social work, etc., in the running of which both governments and missions
work together. It is essential that an agreed policy be arrived at by
these agencies, and that the policy of each one be known before money
and time and energy are wasted, if duplicating of schemes and over­
lapping and bad distribution of men and money is to be avoided. Indeed,
it can be fairly stated that in the past in Jamaica, such work as chil­
dren's homes, social welfare, vocational training, has been begun by
churches in a haphazard fashion, so that the foundations which were
laid were not suitable for the superstructure when Government realized
its responsibilities and wanted to build better accommodation. The mis­
ionaries are hampered by small staffs, whose only equipment for spec­
tial types of work is enthusiasm and a conviction that something must
be done in a given situation. Much good work is wasted because of the
lack of a stated policy, both by missions and government. The best,
Allen, Jerusalem, a critical review, p.10-11.
or worst, example of that in Jamaica is the Presbyterian Home for Girls, situated in St. Mary, in one of the worst climates in the island, cold, damp, entirely unsuited for children who have had the bad start in life which these girls have had. The work has been a noble one, begun at that station because the missionary happened to be located there, and the missionary's family saw the need for something of the kind. But the climate and district requires heavy expenditure for clothing, for food, and for transport of foodstuffs. Alongside this venture, and started by the same missionary family, was a Vocational Training Centre for Girls, which, suffering from the same conditions of environment, etc., was a great burden on the church until Government joined in with the scheme. Ultimately, Government bought out the property, but without due consideration of the natural surroundings, so that the cost of running the institution is exceedingly high. Had either the Church or the Government had a long view of conditions, some other more suitable part of the island, more central, more adapted for growing provisions, better from a health point of view, would have been selected, as has been done in the case of the Vocational Centres for Boys. Whatever may be the position in other fields, then, Jamaica has not wasted time in conferences designed to influence the activity of the State; indeed, it had been better if the missions had arranged general conferences on such matters. For the first time, in 1942, representatives of all the churches which owned schools, (including the Roman church) came together to work out a basis for denominational schools in connection with the Educational Adviser to Sir Frank Stockdale — a report which will be dealt with in the proper place.
The other point which Allen has omitted is that while conferences may deal with general policy, the mission staff day by day is carrying on the work, by preaching, visiting, lecturing, and training nationals, and although conferences may not be held so often on that type of work, it is surely because its continuance is taken for granted. Jamaica, it must be remembered, in all denominations, employs missionaries to do the same work as native pastors. There are a few exceptions, viz., the Lord Bishop, the Chairman of the Methodist Church, the Theological Tutors of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist churches. But apart from these, missionaries have congregations to which they minister, and in every denomination, pastors have the same rights in synods and committees as have missionaries.

The whole question of the establishment of an indigenous church, and the training of native ministers and leaders, is one that requires separate consideration, which will be given in the two succeeding chapters, but the matter of employing the methods peculiar to any one denomination might be mentioned at this point.

There is a growing feeling among a certain class of natives — not a very intelligent class, but a class whose feelings are played upon continually by local politicians, that all the evils of the church in Jamaica are due to the fact that missionaries brought with them their denominationalism — 'our unhappy divisions'. The charge of bringing these divisions, of course, is true, but not the whole truth concerning present divisions in Jamaica. It might be pointed out also that the native Baptist groups are more divided than our denominations are, and that the only church which had a serious disruption is that which is under the entire management of Jamaicans, viz., the Baptist Church.
from which the Independent Baptist group has seceded. But the real point to remember is that the missionaries who first came to the island knew no system of church government other than their own; or if they did, presumably they belonged to a particular denomination because they sincerely believed its system of government, or its particular doctrines, were right, and essential, and Scriptural. At the formation of the London missionary society (1795), it was resolved: "That they should sink all party names and inferior distinctions in the one great design of sending the Gospel to the heathen and other unenlightened nations," and at the second General Meeting of that Society "it shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call unto the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God." If we grant the sincerity of the early missionaries, we must assume that their own form of government (there are minor adjustments in most cases) seemed the best, and we must also remember that the natives even today, when they understand the difference between one form and another, frequently do express preference, sometimes amounting to prejudice, for some one form. It must be admitted that distinctions between established church and non-Conformist is meaningless in Jamaica except to a party in the Anglican Church, that distinctions between the Church of Scotland in Jamaica and the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica is barely understood except by the Church of Scotland missionaries, but we cannot assume that it will be easy to find a new, joint, all-embracing form of government which would be acceptable to all Jamaican Christians. The churches have tried to work out a basis of union which will be discussed later, but the position is that only

1. Mackichen: Missionary Ideals, p.76. 11. ibid. p.77.
recently, and notably with the effect of the United Campaign of Witness carried out by all churches in the Jamaica Christian Council, has there arisen from the people, as distinct from the ministry, any desire for either union or federation. It may be the Jamaican churches will learn from the existence of foreign divisions the danger of division when they form one indigenous church.

In this connection a change should be noted from the idea that the individual missionaries are heirs of the past and that their purpose is to convert one by one. The modern idea is that society is the heir, and the purpose of missions is to Christianise the nation by bringing into national life, into society, industry, politics, and commerce, what has been called, vaguely, 'Christian standards'. That idea is only now gaining strength in Jamaica, and it formed the basis of the United Campaign mentioned, a Campaign whose theme was 'Christian and Citizenship'. It was appropriate in that the Church felt it should speak its mind on such subjects in view of the great responsibilities to be placed on the Jamaicans under the new constitution now to be granted to the island. But as Garvie points out, "social civilisation is not to be a substitute for conversion", and that is the danger of this method. So long, however, as the findings of the World Missionary Conference of 1910 are kept in mind "Indispensable Methods of Missionary Work (1) Preaching and Teaching of the Revealed Gospel" there is no danger of the Church putting social civilisation in place of spiritual regeneration of mankind. The effect of the United Campaign in Jamaica, indeed, was a demand that the Church give more of its time to holding classes for Bible study, to ordinary pastoral visitation, and to exposition of the great truths of Scripture in preaching.

Jamaica is coming more and more in line with the principles referred to in the Tambraram report in the findings on Evangelism: "It is highly important that in all evangelistic activities, the missionary should regard himself as the agent and instrument of the indigenous church, closely identifying himself with it... lest the work of evangelism should be considered his and not that of the church." The principle on which speakers were chosen in the aforementioned campaign was that of 'the best man for the job', and the result was representative of clergymen and laymen of all colours and all denominations. It was the indigenous church in action, although no basis of union or finances, or type of worship, or even federation of churches, had been considered. It was an ethical and spiritual unity, unhampered by material considerations.

In all these methods which the churches in Jamaica have used in common with churches the world over, such adaptation as has been necessary has been caused by the character of the people; in many ways it is true that the Jamaican negro is "the most primitive type on earth. His characteristic optimism, imitiveness, retentive memory, sensitiveness to ridicule, simple dependence on those he trusts, defective power of realising and accepting responsibility, suggest the childishness of immaturity, not that of effete old age." He is a great worker when he likes; but he will not tolerate the driving methods that work so well with the South American labourer, as the American bosses found out when they employed 60,000 Jamaicans at the Panama Canal. That is the character of the Jamaican people, and it means in church life that he is long-suffering when the minister makes changes which he does...
not understand, or when the minister is lazy or inefficient. He is quickly roused by any suggestion of force or driving, though he likes men to know his own mind. He can be easily led, but he will not be likely to follow one whom he does not trust. He will support every new organisation in the church, but has not the stamina or staying-power, and so the missionary is often discouraged by those who put their hands to the plough and not only look back, but turn back. Self-control and discipline he lacks, and much is needed in the way of education before these powers can be developed for Jamaica to-day is 60% illiterate, and the imitative powers seem frequently to be used in imitating the undesirable qualities of the whites.

The laity is taking an ever-increasing part in church life, and it may be truly said that country charges with two to four stations could not be run at all but for their help. The average number of congregations which a minister has, taking all denominations into account, is three, with the addition of one or two 'prayer-meeting houses', i.e., wooden sheds where a week-day prayer meeting is held, and a Sunday school is held by the local teacher, but the people are expected to come to the nearest church for service. There possible, catechists are employed, but most depend on laymen, on elders and teachers, for help in out-stations. In the Anglican Church, and it is true of most others, 'as a general rule the catechist is also the schoolmaster of the elementary school conducted at the station, his small pay as catechist being supplementary to his income as teacher. One used to hear a good deal of unfavourable, not to say unfriendly, criticism on schoolmasters being allowed to undertake catechetical duty. If their attention to church duties injured their day-school teaching, there might be some good
ground for this criticism, but that would soon be discovered at the official inspection of their schools. Experience shows that good teachers are generally serviceable and diligent catechists, and vice versa. The Church in Jamaica is under great obligations to these men. Since these words were written, the attitude of the teaching profession as a whole has changed. Many teachers still do catechetical work, but financial difficulties led some of the churches, especially after the 1931 storms, to reduce the catechetical grants, and some denominations made the doing of catechetical work a condition of obtaining the post as teacher (ministers are managers of the schools and employ the teachers). The result was that teachers prefer working in government schools, where there is no catechetical work to be done, or in a church where there is a grant. There is also a growing feeling, not unjustified, in the ministry, that teachers tend to use their position as catechists to get a following in the district, and numerous cases have occurred where a district is divided into a 'teacher's party' and a 'minister's party', with the teacher having the advantage of being on the spot all the time.

The churches today are therefore turning their attention to the training of lay men and women to work in the remoter districts, that matters of dispute in school affairs may not unduly hamper the work of the church, and the churches have agreed to an six system whereby teachers are employed by qualification, and not by willingness to do church work either voluntarily or with an honorarium.

The two outstanding needs in methods of evangelism are in Jamaica. They are, therefore, (1) some method whereby the churches may act as one body, to prevent overlapping, to bring to bear on the community a united

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1. Ellis: Diocese of Jamaica, p. 140.
witness, and to stress the ordinary work of the ministry, i.e., preaching the gospel, administering the sacraments, and visiting the people.

The desire for that co-ordination is coming from the people to-day for the first time in Jamaican Church history. (ii) The need for an authoritative body, fully representative, with powers to work out and declare the policy of the Church as a whole on matters of island importance, such as social welfare, education, illegitimacy, illiteracy, and general community life, and to determine the place of the Church in government schemes for the development of the island life. The way is being prepared by the existence of the Jamaica Christian Council, but that body has as yet no power either to speak for any church, or to decide the policy of any church. Yet in it lies the hope of the future of the Church in this island.

Before closing this chapter, it may be well to look at the opinion of one who was in a position to know the character and the mind of the Jamaican people, and who made a study of the island's history, study which foreshadowed many of the events of later years — under the heading 'Conditions of Development.' The moral law, however, is the real motive power of all progress, and the Church is its lever. The Church must continue to be regarded as the main influence engaged in the work of elevating the negroes. Their advancement throughout the Empire is commonly supposed to be due solely to the operation of British administration and British law, but this is a mistake. The history of modern civilisation, in its best sense, has been the history of evangelisation. It is the missionary who civilises a country. He creates the conditions that make advancement possible; he supplies the fundamental ideas and principles upon which are built loyalty, and obedience and peace. It is
upon these again that the state operates. The process is unseen, because it is accomplished down among the great deeps of character, and it is slow, because no lasting basis can be laid in haste. But it is sure, and it does not, like measures and phases of civil government, come in order to pass away. At times, all that has been achieved seems to have gone for nothing, overwhelmed during some paroxysm of passion, some insurrection against constituted authority; but when the waters subside the moral foundations are seen to be still there, more firmly embedded than before.

While the Church in Jamaica, therefore, is entitled to expect the factors of government and public enterprise to do their part in promoting the secular well-being of the people, it should still be prepared to accept the largest share of responsibility. Fortunately, it retains the affection of the negroes, who have not yet forgotten the claim that it has upon them. They remember that it was the missionaries who first came and gazed compassionately upon them as slaves, and sought to ameliorate their lot, who gave them a vision of freedom, and ultimately brought their deliverance, and made the vision a reality. This personal attachment to the men has accentuated their bias towards the religion taught, and they yet yield to it, today as hitherto, a pathetic allegiance. If ever the Church loses its grip of their hearts and lives, the causes will lie within itself.

These conditions of development are as true today as they were then first written, and while that personal attachment is not so strong as it once was, if the Church arises from her complacency, as she shows every sign of doing, it will be the church which will win the hearts and lives of the people in the Jamaica of tomorrow. It is not the fault of the old methods, but a tardiness to continue the policy of the original missionaries towards the building of an indigenous church which is the danger. To that consolidation we now turn.
III. CONSOLIDATING THE CHURCH
III. CONSOLIDATING THE CHURCH

We have already seen that the expressed aim of all branches of the church in Jamaica is the setting up of an indigenous church, and we have also observed that what has been accomplished has been the setting up of several denominations which are to-day at different stages on the road towards the ultimate goal. It is a truism that "the church which grows from divine seed can be indigenous in any land; denominationalism can never be indigenous outside the land which gave it birth". The impossibility of combining these two ideas—denominationalism and indigeneity must be realised by the Church as a whole, both on the field and at home. "It is frequently assumed that the world is to be evangelised throughout by missionaries from Christian lands; but it is not so. It is a serious mistake to suppose that the great nations of the world can be evangelised by foreigners, or that such an undertaking ought to be contemplated in our missionary plans. Any country must be evangelised chiefly by its own people. It is the work of foreign labourers to bring into existence a native evangelising force, and a body of Christians that can permanently maintain Christianity in the future. That is to say, it is the purpose in missions to raise up a native church. Missions that do not accomplish this are not in the best sense successful, and missionary effort that does not hold this as its ultimate end is not well directed. There can be no substitute for a native church." We do not claim that Jamaica is one of the 'great nations of the world', but the principle

holds true of any foreign people or country. The same writer continues: "We enter foreign lands for Christ, to stay as long as we are needed, but no longer....This view of missions should be unswervingly held by missionaries on the field and by Christians at home, and toward the day, however remote, of successful departure from the field, all labour from first to last should be intelligently directed."\(^1\) It must not be deduced from this that we look forward to complete separation from the younger churches, but rather to the consolidating of the idea of the world-wide church, i.e. the idea of the Church in the field, as distinct from the foreign mission enterprise of the Church at home. "It is", as Oldham says, "the latent possibilities of a self-propagating church in the mission field that justifies optimism regarding the future of missions."\(^11\)

"If the Gospel is to come home with living power to the hearts of men, it must be presented by those who are of the same blood as themselves, who have grown up in the same environment, who have the same outlook upon life as the hearers whom they address. We cannot say that any area has been adequately evangelised until it has had the witness of a native church, sprung from the soil, expressing its faith in its own characteristic way of life in the midst of a non-Christian environment."\(^111\) This policy has been stated time and again in world councils and missionary conferences, but it is one which is frequently passed over when policy is being considered on the field, for two possible reasons, (1) a fear that speaking about the subject will raise up feelings of separation between missionary and native pastor — a distinction of which both are aware, but which both try to ignore in

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\(^1\) Ibid. p.64. \(^11\) Oldham: The World and the Gospel, p.141. \(^111\) Ibid. p.140.
speech; and (11) the feeling that the time for withdrawal is so remote that the present generation of missionaries will not have to tackle the problem.

In Jamaica, both reasons are dangerous. In one church, the missionaries meet three times a year for matters which are largely their own concern, and for deciding locations of missionaries. The pastorate, rightly or wrongly, got the feeling that the missionaries discussed and reported on the pastors, and formed themselves into a Pastors' Council—a Council whose meetings are kept exceedingly secret, whose decisions are never brought to Synod as from the pastorate as a body, but introduced by one pastor, and supported by others, individually, one after another. The avoidance of a distinction which is obvious to all tends to create distrust and suspicion, and is not the best ground on which to work for the upbuilding of an indigenous church. Furthermore, the time for withdrawal from Jamaica is not so remote as some missionaries think. In 1939 a visitor to the island, who had worked for a time as assistant to a Presbyterian missionary in a large city church, and who had been long enough in the island to grasp the situation, wrote:

"The negroes are growingly suspicious of all who seek to help them. The Imperial Government, the local Governor, the Church, and even their own leaders, all come in for a share of suspicion, and the people are at the mercy of agitators." Since that date the situation has worsened, and the result of the granting of the New Constitution, with its indications of complete self-government politically in the not too distant future, is already seen in the feeling that as political governmental methods are changing, so must church methods. The problem is becoming

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urgent in every church, and one of the reasons for the lack of suitable
candidates for the ministry is the feeling that by entering the church
the young Jamaican will put himself under the 'foreigner', and the 'white
domination'. Also, owing to war conditions and the high cost of living,
the salaries of Jamaican civil servants and school teachers have increas­
ed enormously, and as this has coincided with the granting of more pol­
tical power to the Jamaican, he assumes that the former is the result
of the latter. No amount of negrophile productions can alter the seri­
sousness of the situation. We do not say that Jamaicans offer themselves
for the ministry because it offers a measure of financial security, but
in spite of exceptions, the majority of Jamaican ministers put their
energy only into that side of church work which gives a financial re­
turn, and that is the true reason, though not a pleasant one to con­
template, why many pastors never look near their Sunday schools, and
why very few conduct Bible classes for young men and women in their
teens. It might be thought that it is obvious, even on the financial
side, that this is a short-sighted policy, but the character of the
Jamaican negro is such that he has an infinite belief in his own powers
of persuasion, and thinks he will win these young peoples' loyalty
then their time comes for them to be received into the full membership
(and therefore the subscribing membership) of the church. Communion
Rolls are not infrequently in a bad state, and the records out of date,
but every pastor could tell the number and state of members on the
Subscription roll. These facts are sad but true, and much of the
blame attaches to the missionaries who (i) encouraged the policy by
which all training for the ministry was given free, not by bursary
competition, but by grants; and (ii) themselves laid more stress on
finances than on evangelism. In the case of (1) the only church which has made arrangements for the students to refund part of the expense of their training (the Methodist Church) has obtained a higher standard of living and a higher type of student than the other churches. That church alone has accepted the policy sent by the Scottish Missionary Society to Mr. Blyth in 1824 'people value what they pay for'. Of course much was made in the early days of the poverty of the negro slave, and all kinds of things were done out of pity - things which really undermined his manhood. The other danger - of forgetting that the negro was degenerate and had been a slave - was rarely forgotten by the churches, though it has often been forgotten by government officers. With regard to (11) the fault lay in the stressing unduly of self-support being and integral part of, and a first necessity towards, an indigenous church, of which the commonly-accepted definition was 'self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating'.

Fuller definition, and a more accurate definition of a living indigenous church is given in the Jerusalem Meeting report of 1928:

"A Church, deeply rooted in God through Jesus Christ, and integral part of the Church Universal, may be said to be living and indigenous:

1. When its interpretation of Christ and its expression in worship and service, in customs and in art and in architecture, incorporate the worthy characteristics of the people, while conserving at the same time the heritage of the Church in all lands and in all ages.

2. Then, through it, the spirit of Jesus Christ influences all phases of life, bringing to His service all the potentialities of both men and women."
5. when it actively shares its life with the nation in which it finds itself.

4. when it is alert to the problems of the times, and, as a spiritual force in the community, courageously and sympathetically makes its contribution to their solution.

5. when it is kindled with missionary ardour and the pioneering spirit.

The fostering of such an indigenous church depends on the building up of its spiritual life through communion with God in prayer, and in public and private worship; through knowledge of the Bible in the vernacular; through a sense of Christian stewardship; through the indigenous leadership of men and women who will share their religious experience with others; and through adventure and service and self-expression. In such a church, the problems of discipline, polity, control and financial support will naturally assume their proper place.¹

It is this faith that finance and other secondary matters will assume their proper place if the church is true to her vocation of preaching the Gospel which is essential if Jamaica is to have an indigenous church, and if Jamaican ministers are to see the ministry as a spiritual vocation, and not a profession for which the training is f. e. o., and in which ample opportunity is given for airing one's own opinions once or twice a week, with house and subsistence allowance thrown in. Much can be done by the home societies changing their policy in the selection of missionaries, as will be shown later.

All the churches of the island, however, have had the aim of
an indigenous church before them, and even those which have advanced
least towards its realisation have made some progress.

We have already seen in chapter two that native helpers and
leaders were employed from early days by the Moravians and Baptists,
and that full use was made by the Methodists of local preachers,
and by the Presbyterians of the eldership. Generally, that native
help corresponded to the willing voluntary worker in any British
church, a position which carries with it no ecclesiastical status,
and does not demand any specialised training by the church as a
rule. But our concern is with the place given to the native with
a view to building up an indigenous church, with its own native
ministry as well as its own congregational office-bearers and helpers.

Then, by the preaching of the Gospel, churches have been established,
they should, as soon as possible, be presided over by men of their
own nation and colour. We find is the stated policy of the Moravians,
and in an advertisement for teachers and catechists for
Jamaica in the Scottish Missionary Register for October 1839, we
read: "It is particularly wished that they should be able to initiate
others in the art of teaching, with the view of training up school-
masters from among the Black and coloured population." The
society for the Conversion of Negroes in the West Indies (founded 1794
under the Church of England) had from 1823 sent catechists to
Jamaica, and in 1830 the Bishop had under his jurisdiction "some 50
of these lay-agents", but they must have been trained by that

society's missionaries, for they were "book-keepers and coloured
people, and taught the children the creed, the Lord's Prayers, and
church catechism".1

The Scottish Missionary Society in 1831 stated that they were
ready to assist teachers in Jamaica, but did not desire to send more
from Scotland11 and though they were unable to carry out that policy
they did not give it up, but in 1835 they wrote to the Clerk of the
'general meeting of missionaries' as follows:- "I have to request
you will bring under their consideration at their first meeting the
subject of the practicability and advisability of the education of
native teachers and missionaries. We have to request you will
take into view the whole circumstances of the case. There can be
no question that the propagation of Christianity throughout the
world must ultimately be effected chiefly through native instru-
mentality. European missionaries can only begin the work: it
must be carried forward by means of duly qualified natives being
employed as teachers and missionaries among their own countrymen.
But while on the general question there is no room for doubt the
attempt may be made prematurely, and perhaps has in some instances
been so by the employment of persons not duly qualified for the
work (this is a reference to Baptists 'leaders')... whether
among the black or coloured inhabitants of Jamaica persons are to
be found of sufficient intelligence and piety as to encourage the
giving of them an education to fit them for becoming teachers and
missionaries".111 The result of that was that the Jamaica Mis-
mission Presbytery, formed in 1836, immediately began to take plans

11. ibid. 78.8.1839.
for training catechists and pastors, the details of which will be considered in the chapter on 'Training of the Ministry'. When the London Missionary Society began work in schools in 1824, they were all "conducted by native teachers, under the supervision of the missionaries", and by 1855 they had established a training college for teachers and assistant ministers. 

By 1841 four native trained catechists had been added to the Presbyterian staff, and the Methodists had decided to "increase the native workers and send only the minimum number of British missionaries," while the Baptists opened Calabar College for training native ministers in 1847. The Methodist Theological College was not opened till 1876, and consequently the native had not the same place in that church so early as in others, but that denomination used the help of laity as local preachers and were able to draw on a better educated class of men for that work, so that the lack of theological training was not so obvious, especially as close supervision was given to the work of laymen within the circuit.

It was not till after 1840 that the Missionary staff of ordained ministers can be said to have been increased by the addition of native ministers, and the first to give these pastors an official status was the Presbyterian Church, then working under the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery. From that time till to-day, native pastors who have passed through the theological college in Jamaica have the same status, the same rights, privileges and duties, as the missionaries sent from Scotland, so far as the local church is concerned. The missionaries are in fact chosen by the Foreign Mission Committee of

the Church of Scotland to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica. The proportion of native pastors to Scottish missionaries has been gradually increasing, for while in 1849 "the Synod had under its supervision 17 ordained missionaries and 5 catechists with charges (pastors)" in 1866 it had 16 missionaries and 13 pastors, in 1900 it had 17 missionaries and 24 pastors and in 1930 the staff consists of 12 missionaries, 1 church sister appointed by the Church of Scotland, with 24 pastors, 6 probationers (2 of whom are ordained) and 2 locally appointed church sisters. The Moravian church began its theological training somewhat later, around 1876, but it has 8 Jamaicans out of a staff of 15 ordained ministers. The Baptists, who in 1842 separated from the Home Church had the responsibility of training their entire staff from that date, and as the missionaries then in the field died or withdrew, the pastorate became entirely Jamaican. The Methodists over the last sixty years have trained the natives for the ministry, and today 21 out of 41 ordained ministers are Jamaican. They also have one out of three church sisters trained in Jamaica, and a second is in college. Ten out of twenty Church of God ministers are Jamaicans, five out of ten Congregational and seven out of eight Christian Church ministers. In status in the Jamaican church, and in all respects except that missionaries are supported by their parent societies or churches, Jamaican pastors are on the same footing as their brother missionaries, and the tendency is for the Jamaican to take more and more the leading place and position in the work of the mission, in administration, and in the work-

The Church of England did not open its theological college until 1682, but training had been given to Jamaicans by Rev. C. F. (afterwards bishop) Douet from 1874. Owing to the supply of Jamaicans of that the church considers the right type not being sufficient, a scheme was adopted by which laymen in England are brought out and trained at the Anglican college in Jamaica and later enter Holy Orders on the same standing as Anglican clergymen trained in England. The effect of that is a tendency to have an all-white ministry trained locally. (The Presbyterian Church has two pastors who are not Jamaican, and who were receive under special circumstances. Their position at times is difficult, for they have certain things in common with their countrymen, while their church interests are purely local.)

Except in the Methodist Church which is controlled by the Home society the native in all other churches is in control if he shows ability and is willing and able to take the responsibility, for 95% of the lay representatives in the Synods are Jamaicans, and the majority of the clergymen and ministers are also Jamaicans. In fact, from the point of view of self-management, the Jamaican churches are indigenous to a large extent.

At the same time, it should be noted that in the majority of cases the missionary to-day, and always, has been pastor of one or more congregations. Whatever other duties he may have had in the way of superintendence in the early days, that pastoral work has always been part of his labours. The question now before us is whether the Jamaican is fitted not only to be a pastor - that
has been proved by the increased proportion of natives to missionaries in all denominations — but also to do the work of superintendence and the guiding of general policy. That is, is he fitted yet for full responsibility? Those who plead for separation both politically and ecclesiastically maintain that he is, but before we discuss that question, it will be well to look at his place in the past policy of the churches, in towns and rural areas, in school work and church organisations, and to see how he has fitted into that work through the years.

**The Policy in Practice:**

From the general study of mission work in Jamaica, it is clear that in all churches the greatest use was made of native teachers in Sunday schools, in schools for free coloured children first of all, and for slave children when the law allowed; the majority of the teachers were negroes. Most societies, as we have seen, sent out teachers from Britain — the Scottish Missionary Society, the Negro Improvement Association, the S.P.G. — but all of them made it clear that such teachers had to begin to train native teachers as soon as possible. The missionaries had already begun that work, for it was obviously necessary that if a missionary had started schools at each of his three or four stations, he could not possibly conduct all the schools in person. The practice was wide spread of girls being trained by the missionary's wife to teach the children, and centres were opened fairly quickly for the training of male teachers. The Morrow, who did not open schools till 1826, report three English teachers and three Jamaican trained teachers
by 1839, and by 1853 their Normal school had two English teachers and two Jamaican teachers on the staff, there being twenty-four scholars being trained as teachers, and one hundred children in the school.¹ The Presbyterian Academy in Montego Bay was begun in 1836 for the express purpose of training teachers and ministers, and the Synod had under it in 1849 "four female teachers and more than twelve native teachers, several of whom have been trained at the Montego Bay Academy".¹¹ In 1842 the missionary at Carron Hall reports "we have sent out another teacher from Carron Hall school... He is the first of the black scholars who has entered on this work."¹¹ (This reference is to another centre for training native teachers.)

The position could be repeated from the records of all the societies, and to-day the entire teaching staff of the elementary schools, and a large proportion of those of the secondary schools are Jamaicans trained in Jamaica.

It may be fairly stated that the Jamaican has shown himself to be capable of training, and, in the case of elementary education, he has taken the responsibility of directing the 676 schools in which there are to-day more than 167,722 children. It is to be noted, however, that the majority of the staff of the training colleges for teachers are European, though there are Jamaicans on most.

The position in Sunday schools and church organisations is the same, and it is found that both men and women respond to such training as is offered in summer schools and leadership. Yet, and that they show both a desire for responsibility and

¹ Schooner, closing section. ¹¹ Brehm, Register, vol.73, p.2. ¹¹ B.E.
an eagerness to follow good leadership.

We have also noted above that some 9% at least of the office
holders in every denomination are Jamaicans, and it could be shown
that these are capable of running the affairs of congregations in
a highly satisfactory manner under capable leadership. But here
again we must take into account the character of the negro, and the
rising colour-sense. The brown man will not take orders from a
black man, and the black will not take his instructions from a brown
man. The white Jamaican, or the near-white, will take orders from
neither. And it must be admitted that when a coloured person gets
into a position of authority he seems to lose all sense of respon-
sibility and reliability and efficiency, although then he has been
under leadership he has shown excellent promise of all these qual-
ties. In spite of the suspicion of the foreigner, the Jamaican
prefers to put the foreigner in the position of trust and responsi-
bility, especially in the matter of funds or superintendence.

It may be that time and education and experience will get rid of
that feature of Jamaican life, but the present position is undoubtedly
that once the Jamaican gets into power he becomes inefficient and
dictatorial in manner, and spoils every hope of co-operation. It
is not without reason that, except in the Baptist Union (which has
little power over its members and is purely voluntary) every de-
nomination in Jamaica has a white man as its treasurer and secre-

The clue to this problem lies in the past history and in the
character of the negro. He is fond of innumerable committees, as
a reference to any of the church records shows. The Presbyterian
Synod has some eighty members, but it has no less than 21 com-
with an average membership of 9. 19 seats are held by elders, 3 by laymen, and 14 by ladies, so that of 163 seats, 177 are held by ministers and of these 67 are held by missionaries. Of the 21 chairmanships, 18 are held by missionaries, and these are all synodical appointments, i.e. appointed by a court which has 12 missionary members out of a total of not more than 60, and at which the attendance rarely falls below 60. The Jamaican attends the committees, and all the business before the meeting is discussed, frequently with several members speaking at once, so that the visitor would think no possible finding could be reached. After some time has passed and every one has stated his opinion, a finding is reached and is as a rule accepted by all present. These findings are not always carried out — that is true of committees the world over — but the real truth in Jamaica is that the Jamaican, having stated his opinion, has a subconscious feeling that that is the matter dealt with, and finished with, and he will be perfectly willing to follow the lead of the chairman and the committee as a whole, although taking every opportunity of explaining his own position.

Such time is wasted, but to press for decisions in any other way is contrary to his characteristics and will in the long run lead to obstructionism and division. The policy in the Jamaican church must be one of cooperation, of every agent, be he missionary or native, acting as an agent of the local church, as far as possible on the same footing. Then a native is put into the position of leader, the explanation of part of his unwillingness to act even in an emergency is the fear of adverse criticism of his brethren at the next meeting. He loves the position but he prefers to be quite sure
that he is not marching alone, and it is hard for the missionary to
walk so slowly when he feels he should be pressing forward with all
good.

It must not be concluded from the above that the Jamaican is
unconscious of the need for supervision, but it must be noted that
the supervision required is not the type which demands unquestioning
submission. The Jamaican spirit is immature, and one of the marks of
maturity is the habit of asking questions. Often the wise questions,
often stupid questions. The witness of the Baptist and the con-
gregational churches is that their system fails for lack of super-
vision, while the powers of the Methodist chairman and the Anglican
episcopal bishops are greatly restricted in practice by the exist-
ence of local advisors and the refusal to obey implicitly. The
presbyterian church six years ago had to depart from the practice
of allowing a congregation to "call" their minister because, amongst
other things the presbyteries were too small numerically to dis-
cipline their members as often as required. They appointed a
Transference committee with that seemed to be fairly wise powers,
but later changed it with so many rules and gave no less than five
different parties the power of veto that the work was of little use.

At present, that church is considering the institution of a super-
intendent whose duties would be consultative and advisory, but the
reports so far show that while the younger pastors see the need for
such a position the older brethren are afraid of interference in
their charges. In short, the whole question of the supervision of
the churches, and the relation of the missionary to the native pastor,
requires full consideration, and to that we now give attention.

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1. Presbyterian Synod Minutes, 1937. 11. ibid. 1937.
The Conference on Foreign Missions held at Liliuokalani in 1879 contains the following statement with reference to Jamaica: "Every thing in the condition of the churches... points to the necessary and gradual formation of a purely native ministry, not to the entire exclusion of a European ministry, but as eventually becoming the mainstay and support of the Gospel. Already in Jamaica there is a considerable body of such men in the largest denominations, and efforts are being made both there and elsewhere to increase their number. It cannot be doubted that as education spreads its beneficial influence, so will there arise a more numerous class fitted to become pastors and teachers in Christ's Holy Church." The figures of the relative proportion of native pastors to foreign missionaries, given above, reveal that the policy suggested in that quotation is in a fair way to being carried out, but over against that is the opinion stated at the London Conference in 1806 by the superintendent of the Moravian Missions in the West Indies, "after more than 150 years' work as Moravians in the West Indies we do not find that we can yet trust the supervision of our churches altogether to the natives. We must not be in a great hurry about it. No denomination has given its churches right over to the natives as yet. But all are making very great efforts in that direction, and all hope for it in time." The present attitude of most of the churches can hardly be said to be different from the latter opinion, but it must be remembered that that opinion savours of the attitude expressed in 1758 when the Associate Synod in Scotland pronounced against the missionary societies

on the ground of the "lowering of the denominational testimony by
promiscuous association in mission work" and writers like Allen
would no doubt protest violently against the phrase 'our church',
and not without reason then to remember that the members are native
members of Christ's church, and the property has been purchased
and maintained in most cases largely by native collections.

We are not here concerned with the amount of supervision exer-
cised by committees or courts of the home churches over missionaries
in the field with respect to their character and conduct, their finan-
cial support or their status in the home churches, but only in so
far as that may affect their work in the mission field. Our pur-
pose is to understand what amount of supervision is given, and that
amount should be given to the work of the local churches whether by
the home committee or by its agents.

The Church of England in Jamaica is self-governing, and any
superintendence which there exists is delegated to the Bishop or
other official appointed by Synod, within the terms of the Anglican
system. The Church of Scotland ministers are, for our purpose,
on loan to the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica and are members of
local presbyteries and work under committees of Synod, as do the
Presbyterians. The Baptist Union of Jamaica is a voluntary association,
and suffers, in the opinion of its secretary from "too much inde-
pendence".11 Horvian and Congregational, Christian, Church and
Church of God, are not controlled from abroad except in so far as
certain financial grants, e.g. for the training of theological
students, carry conditions with them, such as that students must

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1. Horison: Scottish Church's Work Abroad, p.27.
conform to a certain standard, and that the home society must give its imprimatur to the arrangements for theological training, as must the Church of Scotland to recommended locations of missionaries.

At first, the home societies were in complete control of all the work of the mission fields, and even today the Methodist Church is an integral part of the Methodist Church of Great Britain, its Synods being as fully under the British Methodist Conference as any of the Synods in England so that the statement of policy of 1814 with respect to missionary powers of supervision still holds: "the chief duties of the foreign missionary on the field will be (i) the guardianship of native general oversight of the native church... (ii) the guardianship of doctrine... (iii) the training and due equivalent of an indigenous ministry in all its branches... (iv) leadership in all evangelistic work, in preaching, teaching or healing. It is essential to such leadership that in each of these branches due attention be given to the training of native workers who will assist until they are able to replace the foreign missionaries. (v) To watch over the expenditure of the funds provided by the home Church.\(^{1}\) Methodist superintendence therefore, is both real and vital, and is not limited by decisions of the local Synod as such.

The first attempt at local superintendence was made by the Presbyterian missionaries (apart from the Church of England) in 1856 then they formed the Javanese Mission Presbytery which had powers of superintendence over its members and the congregations under it, and made regular visitations to the various stations, receiving annual reports of the work etc. This superintendence is no more than is

\(^{ii}\) Finlay and Holdsworth, p. 177 f.
exercised in the Scottish Presbyterian system, and does not include powers of transference, though it does include powers of deposition for moral offences and of enquiry into any charges made against the life, character, doctrine, and work of the minister. In 1845 a further step was taken when at the meeting in January, 1840, the missionaries resolved, for the purpose of giving to their congregations more fully the benefit of Presbyterian government, to divide themselves into four presbyteries, and to form a Synod to be called 'the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica'. This had 26 congregations. 1 That Synod meets annually, the first meeting having been held on 9th January, 1849, and it reviews the work of all the congregations and ministers, through its presbyteries, which now number six. It would seem that, provided these presbyteries exercise their function faithfully and regularly, this would be the most satisfactory system of supervision and would be most in accord with the native characteristics. For there is in the rules of that Synod provision for presbyteries to visit each charge and consult with both minister and congregation, not necessarily as a court of enquiry, but for encouragement; i.e. the visit is a friendly visit, and results would depend on the character of the charity from the presbytery, and the amount of co-operation he was able to get from the ministers and people. It is not the kind of supervision which lends itself to the ingathering of statistics, but it conserves that personal contact which the Jamaican both needs and loves, and the dangers of the wrong person being appointed deputy are no greater than that of a wrong person being appointed bishop. There is also the fact that experiments can be made in appointing native ministers.

1. Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, vol. 4, p. 95.
as presbytery deputy for a period, and thus taking a step forward to a completely indigenous church. The policy has been tried with some success by the Baptist Church, though in that instance the supervisor is a missionary who is in the island for theological work.

The ideal seems to have been stated by Henry Venn in 1851, and is more and more being accepted: "Regarding the ultimate object of a mission viewed under its ecclesiastical result — to be the settlement of a native church under native pastors upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors; and that as it has been happily expressed, the 'euthanasia of a mission' takes place when a missionary surrounded by well-trained native congregations under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agency should be transferred to the 'regions beyond'.'

In Jamaica it may be said, with the exception of the Methodist church, that all churches are at the stage where native pastors can take over all pastoral charges, and it is only financial arrangements which prevent that. This is a matter which until engage our attention immediately. But it can also be said that while missionaries still have pastoral charges, they do not, such missionaries, have powers of superintendence over the native pastors.

Venn's letter in 1807 to the Church of England in Jamaica also stressed the danger of missionaries acting as pastors: "It may be said to have been only lately discovered in the science of missions..."
that when the missionary is of another and superior race than his converts, he must not attempt to be their pastor, though they will be bound to him by personal attachment, and by a sense of the benefits received from him; yet if he continues to act as their pastor, they will not form a vigorous native church, but, as a general rule, they will remain in a dependent condition, and make but little progress in spiritual attainments. The same congregation under competent native pastors would become more self-reliant, and their religion would be of a more manly, homely character. 1

When the Church Missionary Society was accused of retreating from the Jamaican field, Venn, the secretary of the society, replied to the Bishop of Jamaica that the society had withdrawn in 1840 partly for financial reasons, but mainly because it felt the church in Jamaica was then able to carry on without the society's aid. He asks how has the Jamaica mission failed? "In answering this question, he contrasted Jamaica with Sierra Leone. In both colonies the subjects of the work were liberated negro slaves; but those in Sierra Leone were distinctly a more degraded and seemingly hopeless condition than those in Jamaica; yet in West Africa there was now a Negro church, a large number of clergy, and even a Negro bishop. The explanation of the difference was, he argued, simply this, that in Sierra Leone the principle of a native church with a native ministry had been adopted, and in Jamaica it had not. 11

The relevance of this is that where missionaries are still employed as pastors, the reason which is accepted in Jamaica, even by the majority of the missionaries, is that without their aid in raising funds..."
through their being in charge of congregations, the native pastorate could not be supported. The ruling factor seems to be the financial issue, and it would appear that if the Home Churches sent to the field funds sufficient to support the extra number of pastors, plus the amount now raised by the missionaries, the missionaries themselves could be withdrawn. But that is not the true position. The real question is whether, apart from financial considerations, the native pastorate as a whole is competent to manage the affairs of the native church without the advice, guidance, experience and help of the missionary who is his main, and often only, point of contact with the ecumenical church.

At the Madras Conference in 1928 the Bishop of Dornakal, in a paper on the 'Place of the Church in Evangelism', said, "The tendency to exaggerate the importance of self-support must be immediately abandoned. It was said...that the church must be responsible for pastoral work, and the mission for evangelism...also, ...until a church is paid for its pastoral ministry, it ought not to undertake any missionary work. A greater heresy than this it is impossible to conceive. Evangelism is a necessary factor for growth in church life..." The other danger is that the work of the missionary tends to be thought of in terms of the financial support of the ministry, and not the great work of evangelism. In Jamaica, there has not been the tendency expressed in the findings of the Tambaram Meeting for missionaries to do the whole work of evangelism - "It is highly important that in all his evangelistic activity the missionary should regard himself as the agent and instrument of the indigenous church, closely identifying himself with it... lest the work of evangelism should be considered his, and not that of the whole church." for his evangelistic work has been expunged.

connected with his work as a pastor of a congregation, but, the emphasis on self-support as a first essential to the creation of an indigenous church has made the native ministry, and to a lesser extent the missionary, put more time and energy into the raising of funds than into evangelism pure and simple.

Thus we are led to enquire into the financial methods adopted by the churches in Jamaica before we can come to a proper finding on this vital question of supervision and the relation of the missionary to the native church now and in the future. And it must be borne in mind that whatever work the missionary may do, if it is work which is the concern of the native church, it must be kept clear that he acts as an agent of that church until such time as that work can be undertaken by a native.

The Mission to the East Indians began in 1894 by the Synod of the Presbyterian Church is a striking example of the successful working of superintendency. East Indians had been imported as indentured labourers for the sugar estates, and a large number of them elected to remain in the island after their term of service was complete. The language difficulty was overcome by the Canadian Presbyterian Church sending two of its experienced catechists to start the work, and these were put under one of the missionaries who had spent ten years in Rajputana. He became Superintendent of the East Indian mission (in addition to his ordinary pastoral duties) with full powers of appointment and transfer, reporting to Synod through one of its boards. There was never any idea at any time that the work should be governed in the ordinary Presbyterian way, for it was known that it was only a matter of time till the East Indians were absorbed into the community.

The catechists were chosen by the Superintendent, and their work was to preach and teach and visit the people on the estates. Some of them were trained in Trinidad, in the Canadian Church's College, but most of the helpers had no training. The Superintendent visited each station from time to time, and the sacraments were dispensed on the occasion of that visit. In the fifty years of its existence, three superintendents have been in charge, and of the many helpers, four Lest Indian catechists have been ordained, and this was when it was felt they had enough experience to dispense the sacraments at their own stations, or when distance and press of duties made it almost impossible for the Superintendent to visit regularly. These ordained catechists were never members of Synod or Presbytery, nor of any committee of Synod. They were entirely apart, and apparently preferred it so. They referred every item of work to the Superintendent, and his decision was final so far as they were concerned. If he required advice, he sought it from the Mission Board of Synod, who practically automatically confirmed his every action at its meetings. The third Superintendent is a pastor - from Ceylon, i.e. not a negro - and while the system is still working, the fear of taking decisions on his own, and without reference to the Mission Board, is already seen. There are only two stations not amalgamated with Lest Indian stations, and while much could be said in the way of criticism of the policy of keeping a certain section of the work for one race of people and not bringing them under the same committees and courts and system of government as the native church, we have here the experiment of one man being given a section of work to do, and doing it as agent of the native church, while within fifty years all but two congregations
The requirements of evangelism given at the Madras meeting will not be met in this instance.

**Financial Methods:**

In the Church of England in the days of establishment, provision for the clergy came partly from Colonial Treasuries, partly from fees, and partly from Vestry allowances. Where they had glebes, although not actually free-holders, they were allowed the political franchise on that qualification, as if they were. Their incomes varied greatly, but taken as a whole they were on a liberal scale. In 1740 the Jamaica Assembly showed a generous desire to secure the clergy some independence of purely local control by forbidding further Vestry allowances, and substituting increased grants from the Island Treasury. In fact, to record with pleasure that in the West Indian lay mind there was a remarkably considerate regard for the clergy; no West Indian historian when recording their failures, or worse, does so without lamenting them, and looking about for their causes. The Legislature were always liberal in their financial treatment; everything we have read supports Gardner in saying that "when any kind of pressure is put upon the clergy, concessions (in other directions) were always made."¹ Arrangements at the appointment of the first Bishop in 1824 were as follows: The amount charged on the British Exchequer for Jamaica was, for the Bishop £5,600 a year in Colonial currency, £2,300 for an Archdeacon, and £2,500 for six additional curates, a total of £10,900 equivalent at six-tenths to £6,540 sterling.¹¹ In 1835 the following figures are given: "Rectors' stipends total £20,000; Curates' £10,330; Vestry allowances £1,430."¹²

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¹ See this reference for more details.

¹¹ Financial data from this period is cited for accuracy.

¹² Additional financial details are provided for context.
...c^c ...3,430; Surplice fees £5,372 from the inhabitants; and added to this was the upkeep of 39 churches and chapels. By 1840 fees had been abolished and an annual grant was given from the Treasury in their place. The total expenditure for ecclesiastical purposes rose from £100,000 in slavery days to £30,000 per annum "thus imposing a most unjust and oppressive burden upon the dissenters, who constitute more than half the population of the island." The actual amounts given from the Treasury by the 1840 Act in lieu of fees, were annually: £600 to the Rectors of Kingston, £330, £400 to St. Catherine, £400 to St. James, £300 to St. George, and 17 others at £200, a total of £5,100. The salary of rectors, including this grant, vary from £1,500 to £2,000. It is to be remembered that these figures are Jamaica currency, of which £5 was equivalent to £3 sterling, and that they include schoolmasters and church officers. In 1841 the total grant was £65,918, in addition to £11,000 given by the British Government and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

In 1870 when the Church was disendowed, the financial problem was acute, and there had to be a complete reorganisation of funds. Then, as now, the basis of finance in the Church of England is a Diocesan Church Fund. This is composed of "(1) a minimum weekly subscription of threepence by every member on the Church Register; (ii) Special Orillas, and (iii) New rents, under certain provisions in favour of provision for unrented seats. To subscribe to this kind is 'laid as a duty' on every person registered as accepting or desiring the pastoral care of the church; to omit it is allowable only in the case of poverty. But on this note the greatest care is taken to prevent...

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my misconception arising that the sacraments cannot be had without pay. They are open to all. The payment is the condition of active membership and participation in Church affairs. It is to be noted that the third source of income, pew rents, is no longer in existence in any church, and that the common idea among the natives is that they will not be allowed to receive the sacrament unless they are subscribing members, for by a subtle twist, the under-paid curates give the impression that the sacraments are only for active members, and only subscribing members are active. The Jamaican will absent himself or herself from the church rather than run the risk of being refused the sacrament. This is more true of the country than the town, and is held by the poorer classes of people generally rather than the more intelligent.

The objects of the Diocesan Church Fund are specified thus: (i) special Church endowment (for particular churches); (ii) sustentation (clergy and catechists); (iii) endowment of the see; (iv) stipend of the bishop, £800, and including also that of Assistant Bishop if there be one (£400), with rent and repairs to residence; (v) expenses of diocesan business; (vi) general endowment; (vii) general sustentation; (viii) sustentation reserve; (ix) emergencies. The clergy stipends are fixed by the financial board - in so far as its funds are concerned, i.e., additions may be made by congregations, but these are sent to the board, not direct to the incumbent - at £120 as minimum. The incumbencies are divided into three classes: (a) and (b) - £200 to £100; and some specially allowed to be below £100; the numbers in 1877 were respectively 26, 77 and 23....The expenses of public worship

1. Gold.cott, p. 152 et seq.
are a local charge, for which the local church committees are responsible. Repairs of churches are a local charge at present, pending the creation of a building fund.¹

Before examining in detail the methods of raising this money, it will be well to note that stipends in general have risen to an average of £200 to £250 per annum for both Jamaican and European clergy, but there are wide discrepancies between town and country charges, and many of the Church of England clergymen, especially in the poorer country parishes, have a difficult time financially. An official of the church described the financing of the Church of England in this way: "Each of our curates has to scrabble around for himself and sends the local funds to the Diocesan Treasurer who then pays the salaries back to the curates. The European and Jamaican pastors are paid the two salaries: £200 to £250 a year. The Jamaican church member takes pride in having a well-educated pastor who lives in a dignified house, rather than in the usual simple type of dwelling, and one who rides in a motor car and not on a horse. To be sure they grumble at the high salaries they have to pay the minister, but they also object to a cheap, uncared-for house the lives like themselves."¹¹ The real hardship in the system, however, is that the stipend paid each year depends on the funds gathered in the previous year, and there is no provision for quadrupling the income with the daily cost of living. Another hardship in the case of Presbyterian trained in Jamaica is that unlike missionaries, no provision is made for a furlough or return to their own country. Yet it has always been recognized that the foreigner requires a higher salary than the native on which to live, for while the majority of native

¹. pl. 100-4. ¹¹. Leile Davis, p. 15.
Pastors have either property, or land, or some sideline, such as salaried posts in an Agricultural Loan Bank. Missionaries of most churches do not engage in 'trade'. burial of overseas is also not required by natives, and the people of the island have always expected, and willingly been given, higher prices for food and materials from white people than from their fellow-countrymen. In general, it is true that the native can live as comfortably as the missionary on two-thirds of the missionary's income.

The Church of Scotland, method of finances has already been described and consisted from 1818 in few rents, aided by collections at Sunday services at the Church doors when the rents were insufficient.1

The missionary societies, except the Moravians (who did not guarantee salaries till 1824) from the beginning have supported their agents, either in full, or by subsidising them to an agreed amount so that with local funds societies like the Scottish Missionary Society paid 30s per annum in 1824.11 The Baptists so far as their ministry is concerned are self-supporting, and have been since 1842, but this is accomplished at the cost of understaffing, each pastor having a large number of scattered stations under his care. Even in 1824 it is stated that Baptist pastors had from 2,000 to 4,000 members in their charge,111 and that the danger was seen at home is clear from a report in 1860 to the United Presbyterian Synod in Edinburgh: 'The warning by the history of the churches of another denomination, and under this striking fact, that our Baptist brethren, who, some twenty years ago, were urged by Mr Knibb to separate from the parent society, have, as the result, had to become pastors, many of them of four or five

1. Baptist Scots Kirk 1870. 11. Correspondence since 1824. 111. Car- liffe, Thirty Years in Jamaica.
churches, instead of one, in order to secure a competent support, being independent of foreign aid; and now, according to Mr Underhill, the secretary, they report only 3/- or 9/- per head as the givings of each member, while the Brethren of the London Missionary Society, like ourselves, who have acted on a different system, report more than double for each member, as the result of a better system and of more thoroughly and efficiently working each separate station, and, sir, you must not 'let go the rope'; you must not too speedily or too entirely leave these your infant churches to their own resources.

In fairness, it must be stated that in the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica to-day; only two ministers have charges consisting of a single congregation, and these are in the two principle towns. Until 1941, one pastor and one other missionary had single congregations, but a shortage of staff in one case, and the opening of a new station in another, led to the change.

The income in all churches, including the Church of England at the present day, comes from three main sources: (1) from subscriptions or offerings in the church. (2) from special offerings and special services. (3) from investments for which capital has either been granted by the Home societies in years past, or has been accumulated through the years by the local synods. In most cases, annual grants are given for some purpose by the Home churches, either as part of their ordinary workings, or as the result of special appeals (in the case of the Church of England) for the particular field. Government grants are given only for schools and education in children's homes.

Let us now examine the administration of congregational finance - the ingathering of funds. Congregational income must be admitted...
to be the mainstay of all finances in the Church. It is a sign of loyalty and of a living Church, and that is objected to giving to the support of the clergy is not the giving, but the method of the ingathering. Apart from appointing collectors, as is done in the Methodist Church, there are two ways of getting the offerings of the people: (1) by the ordinary collections or offertory in Church during Divine Worship. This may either be 'loose collection' or according to the 'Free Will Offering envelope' system. The latter is found to be more secure from a financial point of view, and provided it is administered properly, can be an aid to the member in being regular with his offerings for the work of the Church. But when it becomes a hard and fast system, even to the extent of putting a detailed list of names and amounts on the door of the church each year, or of publishing these with the direct intention of 'shaming' the backslider into giving something before the list is put up, or, in one case, actually sending out accounts of amounts due, the idea of 'giving as the Lord hath prospered' seems to have been lost sight of entirely. Properly administered by methodical Christian office-bearers, the system is good, always provided that it is kept clear that the system is to aid in the propagation of the Gospel, and that the Church does not exist that that system may be kept in working order. (11) The second method is that of Special Services, a feature of church life of which the Jamaican is inordinately fond. Now in Jamaica there are four such special times in all denominations; (a) Easter; (b) Christmas; (c) Harvest; and (d) Missionary meetings. At each of these the custom in a well-run congregation is to give out special offering envelopes, and to invite special preachers for the services. Harvest and
Missionary meetings vary with the district, but the ideal is to arrange for one of these special services in each quarter of the year. The effect of this is (1) to give opportunity for special thankoffering for all members of the church, and (ii) to give opportunity for those who have 'fallen behind' with their ordinary offerings to 'make up', especially at the Harvest services, where the poorer people will give of their provision-grounds and their fowls, eggs, goats, etc., which are later sold for the benefit of the church.

These methods are common to all denominations, but it is observed that not only the Jamaican people, but the Jamaican ministry, have become over-fond of the 'special service' and instead of four, we find some churches having as many as twelve special services in the year. In an annual report, these special services show up well, and of course, they give opportunity for certain of the workers (nearly always the same persons, however) to take active part in the work of organising the programme, sacred music (some not so sacred), engaging artistes (for these do not often come voluntarily), selling tickets, and so on. The church is a busy hive of industry, but the result is far from ideal in our opinion. True, there is a good income, but the expenditure often is as high as the income. True, there are crowds of people, but they are there for entertainment, not for worship. And there is the deplorable spectacle of scenes in the church which are anything but edifying, and of the ordinary services being poorly attended so that the special afternoon service may be crowded. We have also the practice of admitting members of the church to their own church only by ticket, and of keeping members out of the House of God because they cannot find the shilling entrance fee. It may be that these
concerts, or sacred concerts, could be run in a better way, but the experience of the many programmes put on by Jamaican pastors and their helpers suggests that no amount of organisation can take the place of direct preaching of the Gospel. It also shows that the church which is run on 'special services' lacks the spiritual atmosphere which should pervade the church precincts; it makes the people less generous, for they get into the habit of refusing to give unless they receive some material return for their money; it makes them value the services of the church at very little, and it does not satisfy their inmost needs.

We have had the opportunity of testing these statements in many ways, and the result was as follows: In an average city church of 400 to 500 members, most of them Jamaicans, none of them European, it was found that the practice was to hold special services for one reason or another on an average of once per month. The result was that while these services were attended by large congregations, about half of the people belonged to other denominations. Also, the attendance at morning worship on occasion dropped to twenty, and in the evening little better. That came to be the case even on those Sundays when no special service was to be held, and also at the monthly Sacrament service. Over a period of ten years, the annual income was found to have been between £400 and £500. Then another minister went to that church, he decided that (i) the church was failing in its duty to its own members by the growing neglect of the Sunday diets of worship, and of the regard for the Sacrament; (ii) that the special services were not methods of preaching the Gospel but were a species of entertainment under the guise of religion; and (iii) that God had never allowed His work to stop for financial reasons. The opposition received at the beginning
from 90% of the office-bearers and the congregation was mainly financial — the argument being that the congregation could not continue without the money brought in by special services, and that the people would not come, and would not give, unless these services were held.

For several years, indeed for a generation, that congregation had had the reputation of 'running the church — and the minister' and the new minister was expected to fall in line. But he persisted in maintaining the importance of the Sunday services and the preaching of the Gospel, and it was found that when the people realised that their offerings were for the Lord's work, and not for 'supporting' innumerable organisations, and that it lay between them and God alone as to the amount they could give; also that no demands would be made of them through the year, but that opportunity would be given only at the stated times of Easter, Christmas, Missionary and Harvest, the members' weekly offerings increased, as did their special offerings at the stated times. Hitherto, they had 'held back' because they never knew how often they would be asked for additional money by the end of the year. Their interest was now centred on the worship of the church and the preaching of the Gospel, and their attitude was so changed that they were willing to let their officers do the work of looking after such funds as they had been entrusted with, and in time, when a move was made towards union with another church of the same denomination, only one member dissented from the proposal, although for thirty years the entire congregation had been against that union.

The above experiment may seem somewhat irrelevant, but the point lies here:— that the changed attitude on the part of that (typical)
Jamaican congregation led to an increase of 20% in the total income in the first year, an increase which was subsequently sustained. Other ministers of that church, encouraged by the experiment, have examined the basis of it, and where it has been put into practice, it has produced the same satisfactory results. It means, of course, sustained study on his part of the minister, for regular and systematic pulpit work is far more tiring than running about interviewing people for their part in a concert, and pulpit work cannot be delegated as concert programmes often are.

Not unconnected with the above is the truth which even native pastors admit— that Jamaicans will attend in thousands to hear a good preacher, and they will support liberally the work of that church where preaching the Gospel is kept central. In the recent Jamaica Christian Council Campaign, no collections were made at any of the meetings, although plates were at the door (all churches in Jamaica take the offering during service), and it was found that the expenses, which were heavy, were more than covered by the liberality of the people.

The Moravians and Baptists early introduced a 'ticket' system, by which each member gave sixpence per month, for which a ticket was given as a receipt and this came to be misunderstood as 'selling tickets'. It seems that part of the evils of Baptist 'leadership' arose from this, for many of the 'leaders' did sell tickets and kept the money for themselves. The system is not now in existence, but it is unfortunate that in many churches the custom of putting the 'Communion thankoffering (generally threepence) in the same envelope as the Communion Card should exist, for the poorer and unintelligent class of people undoubtedly associate the two wrongly.

1. Buchner; Loravians in Jamaica, 1835.
There is great need for instruction in congregational finance, for much could be done by a proper system, and many pounds saved by careful supervision of expenditure. In most country districts, the pastor is his own treasurer, and where he is not, it is the pastor who has to inform the treasurer of the funds of his own Synod, so the best way of attacking this problem would seem to be to include in the College course some lectures on Business Methods and Church Finance. Only two of the Colleges have such in their curriculum, St. Peter's Anglican, and St. Colme's Presbyterian, but the course ought to be extended to include office-bearers as well as ministers.

With respect to the ingathering of funds for Synodical purposes and general administration, the most practical way has been found to be to allow the office-bearers to allocate the necessary amounts to these funds. The average member gets tired of hearing weekly appeals for special objects, and the pastor is not always capable of explaining the relative importance of such funds. The Jamaican prefers that all his money be taken together, except the missionary offering, which goes to Home and Foreign mission purposes, and that he be informed at the end of the year how the money has been divided. Some churches use the special collection for special purposes method, others divide on a given schedule, and others combine the methods.

The policy of all the Home Societies which have moved towards the creation of a self-supporting church has been that after visitation by deputy some system of gradually reduced grants has been introduced. In 1867, e.g., because of expense, the London Missionary Society resolved "first, they limit the staff of English missionaries to the number of men (13) now left in the field. They desire that steady efforts..."
shall be made to place all the churches under the pastoral charge of suitable native ministers. They desire that all the local and incidental expenses of the mission shall henceforth be entirely defrayed by the native churches. Lastly, they will limit their grants from England to the support of the English missionaries and a small amount of general aid in the training of students and the promotion of the evanglistic work. In 1874 they guaranteed only a part of missionaries' salaries, in the 1883 report of deputies they agreed that no more missionaries be sent to the West Indies by the London Missionary Society, but white supervision is necessary for some years yet, and a diminishing grant was given; £300 per annum for three years, and £100 for three years, to be used in the upkeep of property as well as to supplement salaries, but the 1885 report states that while the Jamaica church is independent, "the churches there have never yet become able to reach a strong and absolutely self-supporting basis, and over and over again the Society has had to come to their aid with special helpers and special grants". A similar statement might be made of the Baptist Church, and of the Anglican Church. The others have regular annual grants for various purposes, e.g., £250 comes from the Church of Scotland for supplementing pastors' stipends, and in all cases the theological training is financed from abroad.

Apart from a few congregations, in the Church of England, and fewer still in the Church of Scotland (now united with the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica) the practice of endowing individual churches has not been followed. What has been done has been that the various supplies or controlling bodies have gathered a central fund for stipends. This fund is contributed to by all congregations, usually by assessment.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\] Murray, R. J. G., 11, 1816, p. 156.
arranged by the synods. The income from invested accumulated funds, from capital provided in former years by the Home churches, and, where missionaries are supported from abroad, by missionary charges, is paid monthly or quarterly to the pastors, and generally amounts to half his guaranteed income. The other half he gets directly from his congregational treasurer, and he may be kept very short in a bad season, or if his congregational funds are inefficiently managed. Experiments have been tried within the Presbyterian Church whereby the full stipend was paid monthly, the congregation being expected to refund what had been advanced. In no case has this worked satisfactorily, for the Central Fund has never been able to get the full advance repaid. That does not appear to be due to that character of the individual pastor so much as to the characteristics of the race. In 1945 it was moved that the full amount should be paid to all pastors, and this was sent down to Presbyteries for their consideration, although it was not clear where the working capital of £3,000 extra was to come from. The pastors, however, felt that their people would be more likely to keep up their subscriptions under the old method than to pay to synod what synod had advanced to their pastors. It is to be remembered also, that the custom in native charges is not to send money to synod until the end of the year, so that there is a good deal of local accommodation of funds during the year, e.g. congregational mission money will be advanced to the pastor and refunded later in the year in time to make the return to synod.

The Anglican Church, as we have noted, works on the system that all congregational funds are sent to the Diocesan treasurer, who then pays the clergymen his stipend. The method obtaining in that Church
is that if in one year the congregation does not send in the full
amount assessed, the clergyman is paid in the following year on a
lower scale. The difference between the two systems is that the
Presbyterian pastor falls short in the current year, while the Anglican
pastor does in the succeeding year. Also, the Presbyterian pastor has a
chance of recovering arrears of stipend, for the Synod does not cancel
the arrears or his right to appeal for them, whereas the Anglican cur-
ate can only collect current assessment.

Other denominations in general adopt similar methods, the pastors
being paid as money comes in by the congregational treasurer, and the
central authority giving subsidy for stipend. The Methodists receive
a block grant which supplements all agents, missionaries and pastors,
according to a specified scale.

In general, congregational expenses are borne by congregations,
and synodical expenses are covered by collections or assessments.
Rents for buildings and extension work are given by most Synods from
accumulated funds specially gathered for the purpose, but none of these
are high, and ordinarily the funds are collected from the community
by a series of special services, fairs, and all the accomplishments
of church bazaars.

The total effect of a study of the financial system of one of the
churches where conditions are accepted by all to be among the best,
showing that there is a great need for (1) missionaries who have to deal
with this problem receiving a general business training, (2) a review
of the practice of the various churches in the island in the matter of
their financial and business methods, (3) the pastor being relieved
of the management of every detail of finance in his congregation by
trained laymen, and most important of all, (iv) a sense of Christian stewardship to be preached and practised throughout the churches.

As might be expected, Roland Allen has much to say on the financial administration of missions, and in 'Missionary Methods - Paul's or Ours?' he attacks the idea of a Central Fund for the support of the ministry. "This modern practice is based partly upon our distrust of native honesty, and partly upon our fear of congregationalism. But our distrust of native honesty ought not to exist, and has nothing to do with the case. If the natives administer their own funds, it is their own funds that they administer. They will administer them in their own way, and they will be responsible for their administration to those who supplied them. That they are capable of administering public money the existence of guilds and societies for mutual benefit is proof. They may not administer it at all to our satisfaction, but I fail to see what our satisfaction has to do with the matter. It is not our business. By making it our business, we merely deprive our converts of one of the very best educational experiences, and break down one of the most powerful agencies for creating a sense of mutual responsibility. We also load ourselves with a vast burden which we are ill able, and often ill fitted, to bear."

Admitting all the dangers of a Central Fund, especially if its entire income is from investments and is able thereby to pay the full stipend to all beneficiaries whether they work or not - no Central Fund in our experience works under those conditions - what is Allen's alternative? He has none, except we return to the uneducated laymen, with little time for anything except earning his own living, acting as pastor in his own district. We presume Allen would allow congregations in

cities which had a good income, to help their weaker brethren on New Testament principles, and the centralising of the funds for the support of these weaker and poorer districts is only bringing a more orderly arrangement into the work of the Church, which is also a New Testament principle. In Jamaica, sad experience has shown, in church and private and public life, (and the experience could be paralleled both in Britain and in America when the inhabitants of these countries were at the immature stage of the modern Jamaican) that the handling of large sums of money is too big a temptation to the native. At his best, he prefers that his brethren be associated with him in control of money, as of every other public trust, and it is surely our responsibility to see that money which is given by people who have little opportunity or capacity to judge of its detailed use - 60% of whom are illiterate and cannot read a daily paper let alone understand a balance sheet - is used for the purpose for which they intended. It is not a matter of administering funds to our satisfaction, but a matter of not administering them in a wasteful and inefficient way, to say nothing of a dishonest use of them. But the main answer is undoubtedly that the natives themselves desire a Central Fund, and those churches which do not have that system are doing their utmost to get it introduced, as in the Baptist and Congregational denominations. A further point, not to be stressed too much, is that when a missionary succeeds a pastor, or a white pastor succeeds a black, the income of the church improves, and while the reason may be partly that the white man has had the benefit of a better education, it is also partly the native way of expressing the feeling that the white man can be trusted with their funds to a greater extent than the black man. As we have noted...
the Jamaican knows the Jamaican far better than the white man will ever know him, and almost without exception, Synod treasurers, appointed by Jamaicans, are Europeans or Americans.

There is, however, one point at which Allen seems to be driving, viz., the association of financial administration with the problem of supervision and with the continued assistance of the missionary in the field, and something must be said on this point before proceeding further.

We have seen that the Jamaican pastor in most instances has shown himself able to undertake the pastoral care of congregations, but at present is unable to take complete charge of the entire work of the church in the island. He still requires guidance, and he has stated the need for some kind of supervision or superintendence. He has clear ideas of how the powers of a superintendent must be limited, and it is fairly certain that at this stage such a person will not be chosen from the native ministry.

Let us assume that some kind of supervision, for the moment, is put into effect. What then will be the position of the missionary? Putting aside the functions of the ordinary missionary, which will be discussed in chapter eight, what is to be the position of this missionary superintendent?

1. In view of our consideration of the whole policy and of the needs of the field — and this must come before the continuation of foreign organisation — it must be agreed that some experienced missionary should be relieved of pastoral work, or given such ordained native assistants to allow for his travelling to every charge at least once each year for the purpose of giving advice and encourage-
must two ministers and people both in spiritual and secular affairs.

If the Jamaican is as we have shown, best able to co-operate if personal contact is strong, then that method of personal contact by someone who, by his position, has a working knowledge of the whole policy and the whole resources of the church, ought to be the method employed in this land. No amount of committee work, or circulars, or personal letters, or official instructions will achieve what a single visit from a competent supervisor will achieve. Even those denominations which have had least in the way of supervision in the past would welcome such an individual. This missionary would be at the disposal not only of individual ministers, but his advice would be invaluable to every committee of the church, and of course, his appointment would lie with the local synod—not with any home committee. He would be able however, to advise the home committee of the progress of the entire church in a way which official reports can never do, and he would be able to prevent many a difficult situation from arising.

2. In view also of our consideration of the financial policy of the churches in Jamaica, it is advisable that that side of church work be put into the hands of one or more officers who are competent, and who have not pastoral charges. It is essential that a system of training be instituted so that these places might be filled in time by natives—preferably laymen, and preferably salaried laymen, for much of the inefficiency of the business side of the church's work is due to the fact that the laymen, be he ever so interested, is doing a spare-time job, and the church must suit his pleasure and his leisure, and feels it can hardly question his
reports. People the world over, also have the feeling that they do voluntarily should not be questioned, and while no doubt a great deal of good work is done, where churches have the amount of detailed organisation and work which most of them have, the voluntary worker in the long run proves expensive. Even one full-time paid official to act as General Secretary and Treasurer in each denomination would make for the more efficient and the smoother running of the churches.

3. It is most essential that the supervisor or superintendent should not be the person in charge of the financial side of the church or synod. He ought of course, to be conversant with the state of the various funds from time to time, but he should not be put in the position of being tempted to advise a course of action because he knows the result of his advice will be to make a certain fund benefit. Allen overlooks the position on the mission field, where the 'native is often tempted to ignore certain evils because the richer persons in his congregation would be affected. No church in Jamaica is free of that danger, and it would be for the strengthening of the pastor, and the betterment of the Gospel he preaches if he were not in charge of the funds of his congregation. It is impossible to serve two masters, and it is in the long run impossible to do two jobs, for the spiritual supervision of a group of churches is a full-time job and the financial administration is also a full-time job. Co-operation there must be, inefficiency there should not be. The home churches have failed to realise that the time has long been past when the larger denominations in Jamaica can be efficiently managed by missionary or native pastors each doing
part of the general work of the church as an 'extra' job, and that it could be for the speedier setting-up of an indigenous church if missionaries were set apart for special functions, and steps taken to train up natives who in due course would fill these positions also, as once they were trained to fill the pastorates.

The local needs must always be kept before the home churches. The local needs to-day are not for missionaries to be pastors. But the need is definitely for men with pastoral experience to perform other functions in the form of advisors and supervisors, and to train natives for the further development of the work. The policy which has been followed is that of keeping the home organisation intact, and that organisation with respect to Jamaica, in all churches, has been to use men as pastors and the financial system has been arranged so that they must continue in that position. That was inevitable in the past, but a revision is urgently required. It is clear that subsidies of money are and will be necessary for some time, but that need should not influence the sending of men. The two should be kept separate, for the men have definite functions and the money ought to be a grant to the Central Funds of synods. In general, the natives will, under good leadership, build and maintain such churches, halls, manses and institutions as they require. The difficult part of church finance in Jamaica is the support of the ministry - though even that depends largely on the individual minister. We must agree that the younger churches need a highly trained and efficient ministry, and it is clear that in Jamaica the churches are unable or unwilling to support such a ministry unaided. Hence we agree with the findings of the Tambaran Meeting on the
situation: "In this situation we think it fitting that the burden should be shared by the older and younger churches, and the younger churches should be willing to receive help from the older for the provision and maintenance of a highly trained ministry on the following conditions: (1) That the necessity of steady progress towards financial independence is kept before the churches; (11) That subventions are not paid direct to any individual minister or congregation, but only to the Central Fund of an indigenous church; (111) That the freedom of action of a younger church is not prejudiced by this receiving of financial aid."

A further development of that policy would be for missionaries to be sent to the Jamaican churches on the understanding that their work, and their location, would be entirely in the hands of the local synod, and if a safe-guard were felt to be necessary, when any synod asked for a missionary to be sent, they state their plans for him, and the home church would then be able to decide whether such plan, in their opinion, necessitate the sending of a missionary. This latter will be considered in chapter eight.

We have considered so far that steps have been taken towards the consolidation of the churches and towards creating an indigenous church in Jamaica by each of the mission societies and home churches and we have seen that most are on the way to developing a trained native ministry competent to do pastoral work; that the native ministry and laity have a large share in the running of the church in all its departments; that the policy is controlled (except in the instance) by committees or courts where natives are in a large

minority, the only external control being exercised by conditions attached to the appointment of missionaries, but that these conditions have in the past been willingly accepted by the native churches. We have also suggested that the time has come to train the native ministry to take on the administration of the non-pastoral side of church work, and have indicated ways in which this might be done.

We now consider experiments made at an earlier stage of history in complete separation from the home societies, and the results of these experiments.

Experiments in Indigenous Churches:

We have noted in another connection the fact that in 1842 the Baptist missionaries in Jamaica separated themselves from the Baptist Missionary Society. The underlying intention was good, but it can hardly be said that it was the result of a well-thought-out policy. In 1839 the B.M.S. sent help to the Jamaica Mission to the extent of £6,914, and in 1842 the budget was £9,701, for the work was expanding as all mission work did, after emancipation. In that year the B.M.S. itself was £3,943 in debt. Jamaica, as a result of the enthusiasm following emancipation, and gratitude for what the missionaries had done and were doing in many spheres, had shown great liberality with respect to money, free labour, and other gifts, and further, had gathered £1,000 for foreign missions in 1841. This great liberality led Knibb and others to proclaim that from 1st August, 1842, the Jamaica Mission would become independent of financial help from the B.M.S. But the liberality did not last, for the changed conditions of life did not prove prosperous.
Reactions were bound to set in, and government had not paved the way by educating the slaves and by making necessary arrangements for land and housing. Labour was not easy to get, and plantations were abandoned for planters would not, and in bad seasons could not, pay the wages demanded in many parts of the island. The Jamaica House of Assembly reported that between 1842 and 1849, 465 coffee plantations were abandoned, 26,640 labourers having been employed on them previously, and 140 sugar estates where 22,553 labourers had worked a few years before. In 1845, the B.M.S. had therefore to make a grant of £6,300 for building debts, and in 1850 £2,500 for a similar purpose. The missionaries are reported as being in great distress, and they retired, died, or left the island, ten charges being vacant from 1844-57, and the recently opened college being without a Tutor for the same period.1

Since that date, the B.M.S. has frequently had to come to the aid of the Baptist churches in Jamaica, but it will be noticed that the experiment is mainly concerned with finances. That is inevitable, for it was a financial experiment, and one which has failed miserably and kept the witness of that denomination back to a great extent.

There was no attempt to make certain that a regular supply of native ministers could be procured, or trained, or that they could be trained adequately for the work of the church. No student had had time to complete his college course, and no arrangements had been made for the work of expansion which was certain to come. It was a noble gesture, but the home society must share part of the blame.

blame for not seeing that preparations had been made for the continuation of the work. An indigenous church is not simply a self-supporting church. It must also be self-governing and self-propagating. It must express the faith of the people in ways peculiar to its native art, music and architecture, in the line of the historic church. But the Baptist experiment was primarily a financial measure, with no preparation except a sublime optimism that the people could govern themselves and could continue to support the work of the church and to supply ministers for the various districts.

Throughout the past century, in spite of difficulties, the Baptist church has procured and trained a native ministry but it has not been able to support these adequately and consequently has not been able to draw upon the more intelligent class of men in the island. It has however, a group of intensely earnest and devoted men, though they are apt to impress the community and those in other churches as somewhat narrow in their views. Because of the lack of sound financial foundations, these men have to take charge of more stations than their brethren in other denominations, and the work suffers in consequence the lack of a simple authority and a central fund is stated to be the great barrier to progress, and the feeling of the leading Baptist ministers to-day is that the experiment was made too hastily, and that the church has not yet recovered from it.

The Theological Tutors are appointed and paid by the B.I.U.S. and the church, though officially indigenous, would have to raise much more annually to become entirely self-supporting in all its

1. Knight, p.29. 11. Ibid.
Another fact to be noted is that the Baptist church has not, like other churches, been able to operate children's homes or industrial institutions, mainly owing to the individualistic type of system and the lack of centralisation of ministry and congregations. The High School for boys is operated by a separate Trust and is financed by fees and government grants. For several years, theological training has been given in conjunction with the Methodist and Presbyterian Colleges, and the tutors appointed by these churches have shared in the training of Baptist students. The position then is that in pastoral work the experiment has succeeded in so far as the pastors are all Jamaican, but in administration it has failed for lack of the initial training, and the policy of the church as a whole is exceedingly difficult to determine because of the absence of a controlling body. In fact, though not in theory, the Baptist church received grants from the B.K.S. for the preparation of the native ministry.

The second attempt at complete separation from the parent society was made by the Methodists in eighties of last century, and that was considered both by Jamaicans and the Home society to be a failure, though not for the reasons which caused the Baptist Union to regret its experiment. The Methodists had been at work in Jamaica for a hundred years, and no doubt the centenary celebrations had something to do with the idea that the time had come for the creation of a completely indigenous church. They must have had a fair idea of the financial state of the people, and of the local needs in the way of supervision, and they had commenced theological training in
1876. The Methodist system of government had been in force for long, and they had interests in other islands in the West Indies apart from Jamaica. Everything seemed to be ready for separation from the home society, and in 1881 the first Jamaica Conference was proposed, although the English missionaries were against "handing money over to the negroes". In 1883 an East and a West Conference was proposed, i.e. the Methodist church in Jamaica became independent, and the arrangement was that the Methodist missionaries were entirely at the disposal, for work and location, of the Jamaica Conference while in the colony. Jamaica was thus separated, apart from grants (made to the Conference funds, for general purposes) for 19 years, and the result was financial bankruptcy. The chairman at one time was found to be corrupt in business methods, and although there was no suggestion of dishonesty, the state of affairs was a general muddle and confusion. The defalcation of the Vice-President of the Eastern district led to appeals to England, and a deputation arrived to consider the whole situation in 1898-99, as a result of which the West Indian Conference disappeared, and the President is now appointed by, and is entirely under the Home Committee.

The opinion of all who have considered this experiment is that it was a failure for one reason or another. Jamaica required not only financial assistance, but the supervision of its government, its money, its policy, and the training of its ministry by an experienced and efficient deputy of the Home Committee.

But wherein did this experiment fail? It would appear to have failed for the opposite reason given for the Baptist failure.

large part of their weakness lies in the individual powers of the ministers and congregations. A large part of the Methodist failure lay in the over-centralised system of that church. With an inefficient man at the helm, the danger of ruin was greater throughout the church which was centrally controlled than it was with an inefficient individual pastor, who after all could only ruin his own congregation or district.

The third experiment made in Jamaica was by the Association of Christian Churches, a small church, but one which until recently was independent of foreign control. As a result of internal strife and mismanagement, and the consequent appeal to America for financial help and advice, the United Christian Missionary Society of Indianapolis appoint and pay the salary of a superintendent, as well as bearing the cost of training theological students, all of whom go to the U.S.A. for training. In a small church, where there is only one missionary to seven pastors, the solution is simple and workable, but if that church extends its labours the problems not felt in larger churches will arise.

The total result of the experiments made to date therefore suggest that the time has not yet come in any church for complete separation, either financially, or from the point of view of supervision. Those churches like the Methodist and Presbyterian, which receive in one way or another annual grants, are on a fairly satisfactory financial condition, while the annual debit of the Anglican church equals the total of the combined grants of Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches.

It is in the light of these experiments and of the knowledge of
conditions first hand experience that deputies from overseas, and missionaries and pastors stationed in the island have come to their conclusions concerning the local needs and the policy of the future.

In a confidential report on the West Indies the Rev. W. J. Thompson writes: "We can now see that the experiment in independence and self-government at the end of the nineteenth century was foredoomed to failure, if only from a financial cause. The West Indian conference had not the indispensable minimum of money to sustain the work of the church and mission. When the conference was brought to an end in 1904 it was overwhelmed with debt. The figures I have already given shows how dependent the West Indian Church still is on help from England. The point I want to make here, however, is that as necessary as money to an Insular Church is the breath of life of the Greater Church. For intellectual and spiritual help and progress the West Indies need the element of British Methodism and its close and constant co-operation."

After mentioning negotiations for church union in Jamaica (see chapter seven) between Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran and Baptist (he omits Congregational), he continues "but I am concerned to know how the saving salt of spiritual influence from outside will be retained. I should rejoice if these four protestant denominations could unite and so reduce the wastefulness and scandal of our multiplication of sects and divisions; but I do not consider that a church composed of all the denominations of Jamaica put together could wisely dispense with the service of

ministers whose preparation of soul had lain outside Jamaica. The relation of the United Church of Jamaica to the Churches of Great Britain will require most careful consideration hereafter. It should be so determined that a vital nexus may be retained and that a common life may still flow through the channels of ministers who are sent out from the Parent Churches.¹

That is the real problem — the danger of insularity, and of a narrow type of nationalism which would cut Jamaica off from the rest of the world in every sphere of life. We have already noted the growth of a spirit of distrust and suspicion on the part of the negro for every one who would attempt to help him. This movement is political in its origin and is the result of agitators playing upon racial feelings, and whatever the ultimate intention and result of the new constitution may be, the first result is undoubtedly to increase this sense of racial solidarity and national self-importance. In popular terms it is 'Jamaica for the Jamaicans' without regard to qualification, training, competence or character. For a time, we must expect this attitude to continue, and it may be as many think, that Jamaica will become another Black Republic, where Black rules White, and no white is allowed to possess any property or hold any office. But it will lie with the churches to see to it that the vital contact with the outside world is not broken, that the sense of universal brotherhood is strengthened, and that the Jamaican church keeps true to the faith once delivered to the saints. No other group in Jamaica will achieve this, for the nationalist will ever put his own country first, right or wrong; the commercial

¹ ibid. p.31-32.
men will simply neglect Jamaica if the terms of trade become too impossible, for Jamaica produces nothing which cannot be procured as cheaply elsewhere; and in days of air transport its geographical position is not so important as it once was. Jamaica then faces the danger of insularity, and the channels must be kept clear by which the spiritual resources of the ecumenical church may flow into the native church life.

In 1924 the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, with which the Presbyterian of Jamaica was in federal relation, sent out a questionnaire in connection with the visit of two deputies to the island on the occasion of the centenary celebrations, the work having been deemed to begin in 1824 though we have noted that Mr. Reid worked in Kingston from 1800. Question 1 asks for statistics of the island, the proportion of Christians, the extent of the work of its own and other missions, the possibility of union etc. Question 2 asks "In your mission what proportion of effort is given to aggressive work, and what to the supervision of congregations? Apart from the work among East Indians are any workers specially appointed for the churchless population? Are there any such in the neighbourhood of your principal stations? Is the stationary position of your mission as shown by the statistics of the last twenty years not due to the absence of any who might be evangelised? Is the work of our mission now the maintenance of the Christian life of the people?" Question 3 reads "Is it still necessary for the Home Church to send out European missionaries? Could native pastors be put in charge of any of the congregations at present ministered to by the missionaries? If not, why?"
have pastors not been actually in charge of such congregations from
time to time? If some help from Scottish missionaries is still
necessary, would one missionary from home not be enough in each Pres-
bytery? If the number of missionaries were reduced, would a grant
for each vacancy for a number of years enable pastors to be appointed
without over straining the resources of Synod? Are the missionaries
from home in any sense superintendents of the districts in which
they live? Do they take oversight of congregations with native
pastors?" Question 4 deals with the pastorate entirely, and reads
thus: "Are the native pastors efficient, do they rely upon the
European missionary who may be near them, or are they independent?
Are the arrangements for their training adequate? Is there
sufficient supply of licentiates for vacancies? Is the ministry
attractive to young men, or do educated young men prefer to become
teachers? How do the salaries given to pastors compare with those
given to teachers? Does the Central Fund work satisfactorily, and
are the salaries of the pastors in your view adequate?" Question 5
deals with congregations, and question 6 with schools.1

The report of the deputies is very full, and gives a resume of
the history of the mission and then a detailed report of a conference
held with the pastors, when the questions were grouped into four
sections: "(1) The withdrawal of missionaries; (2) The relation
of pastors to the Foreign Mission Committee; (3) The arrange-
ments for teaching and examining theological students; and (4)
the advisability of abolishing the Mission Council."11 There were
present at that conference only three missionaries, viz.

1. Confidential Minutes Foreign Mission Committee U.P. Church of
Scotland, 19.1.24, appendix 1, p.993-4. 11. Ibid. 19.4.25, appendix 1.
p.1070.
The Theological Tutor, the Chairman of the Central Fund and the Clerk of Synod. It might here be explained that the Mission Council is composed of the missionaries on the field, and that it has general oversight of the policy of the mission, but the Jamaica Mission Council has rarely interfered with the Synod's policy. The Council also is the body which decides the location of missionaries subject to the approval of the Foreign Mission Committee. There is provision for the election of individuals who have shown great interest in the mission to be members of that Council (Jamaica has two such), but it has never been the practice to elect pastors to that Council. Indeed in Jamaica, the Mission Council has rarely fulfilled its function of oversight, and influences the Synod's policy only indirectly, by the location of missionaries. The present trend of events is for the Mission Council to accept without comment the policy of Synod and the decisions of Synod, with the result that the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica is to all intents and purposes entirely self-governing.

The report of the deputies proceeds thus: 'The first point (withdrawing of missionaries) will be dealt with subsequently.'

"Under (ii) the pastors desire direct access to the P.M.C. It was explained that this was practically secured, as decisions and representations of Synod come simpliciter and directly to the Committee.

"Under (iii) it was suggested that local parties ought at an early date to be laying plans for the future, site and curriculum of the college while the Synod could itself, if it so wished, appoint British examiners. But it was pointed out that the regulations
of Scottish Universities made it impossible to grant a degree in theology to students who had not taken an Arts degree in Scotland.  

At this point it is well to note what was being asked by the Jamaican pastors. They desired not to be completely separated from the parent Church, but to have personal representation on the parent church's local committee. The fact that the decisions of synod are 'laid on the table' at a meeting of the Mission Council held immediately after the close of synod means in theory that the Council could advise against the adoption of the findings of synod. It could not change the decision, but it has the power to influence that decision when it is too late for the synod to reconsider it. It is quite possible that not a single decision or appointment of missionary would have been different had a pastor been on the Council, but the division between pastors and missionaries within the church would have been avoided. The difficulty arose in 1934 and again in 1947.

It is also well to note here that when the co-operative theological training was begun in 1937, the annual examination papers were sent to Britain, to Baptist, Methodist, and Church of Scotland Colleges, and the practice has been stopped only owing to war conditions. Tuition is given for students who so desire to enter for London external degrees in Arts and Divinity.

Continuing the report of the deputies: "As to (iv), (abolishing Mission Council) the following considerations were urged:

1. The Mission Council is really a Missionaries' Presbytery, through which they retain their standing in the Home Church;"
(b) No case of undue influence or action on the part of the Mission Council had been alleged or suggested;
(c) Mission Councils are part of the general organisation of the P.M.C., to abolish which in a single field, even if desirable, was impossible;
(d) Those Councils were erected, apart from the organisation of the local Churches, so that when these in course of time should become autonomous, the stability of the Church would not be affected by their withdrawal.

The Mission Council is still in existence in Jamaica, and the reasons for its existence are difficult to see. The missionaries are, with the exception of one lady missionary, (appointed recently, and about to resign), all members of the Overseas Presbytery of the Church of Scotland through which, and not through the Mission Council, they retain their status in the Home Church. Undue influence on the part of the Mission Council may not have been alleged in 1924, but its subsequent actions do not justify such a statement for the period after 1924 if the frequent changing of locations in 1926-41 may be taken as an example.

The reply under (c) has been dealt with, viz., local needs should have preference over foreign organisation, especially when the natives are unable to see the necessity for the foreign organisation, i.e., when the native church feels it is competent to take on this responsibility in co-operation with the mission agents on the field. The pastors felt that in Jamaica the time for the withdrawal of the Council had come, and that "the stability of the Church would not be affected by the withdrawal." The deputes then state: The pastors professed

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themselves satisfied on the various points, although they still seem
to have a hankering desire for the abolition of the Council.¹ That
desire has been exceedingly vocal as the years passed, and it is to
be hoped that the Foreign Mission Committee will not feel itself so
bound to a system which may work well in other, and younger, fields,
that it is unable to see that the Jamaica Church is eager to take a
further step forward in the matter of self-management - not by sep-
arating itself from the Home Church, but by having one Council compos-
ed of pastors and missionaries, to determine the policy of the whole
church, and to decide the locations of all its agents. The feeling
of the younger missionaries is also that they should be at the dis-
posal of the entire synod, not at the command of twelve of its mem-
bers. It is admitted that the work of a missionary and his location
must be approved by the Committee which pays his salary, but a Com-
mittee which is 4,000 miles away labours under great difficulty in
such matters, and it is often simpler to give way in the matter of
an unwise location than to appeal and advance the work of the church by
fresh adventures in evangelism.

On the question of the withdrawal of missionaries, the deputies
were of the opinion that "anything like full withdrawal was for a long
time to come quite out of the question. Private conference with mis-
ionaries and pastors, however, while it showed that the latter would
much prefer maintaining the staff of missionaries at its present
strength, suggested reduction of the number as a policy that might
be justified especially in view of the establishment of an autonomous
and self-supporting church as the declared aim of the F.M.C.¹¹ The
synod agreed that if reduction was necessary, it would be gradual,

¹. ibid. p. 1070. ¹¹. ibid. p. 1070-1.
and the number of ten was accepted as the minimum for the field. (There were then 13, and since that date, two Church of Scotland missionaries have come on the staff, and one congregation in Kingston is supplied by a Colonial Committee appointment.)

The principles laid down at that time, based on a full examination of the circumstances of the church, for the future supervision and policy with respect both to men and to money, were: (i) The ideal that the Jamaican church should, as is found possible, advance towards the position of self-government and self-support; and (ii) the need for progressing in this direction only in such fashion as shall on the one hand preserve the results of the work of the last century, and on the other secure the efficiency and fidelity of the Church in days to come. It cannot honestly be said that the Jamaican Church is within measurable distance of ability to do without entirely without European counsel or even European guidance. The bearing of this policy of gradual reduction on the finances of the church is considered and the recommendation is to send a diminishing grant.

In 1934 the position was reviewed by the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland and the Mission Council sent home a private memorandum, and the Synod transmitted another memorandum from a Conference of pastors and elders. In these statements, the following points are made: (a) Pastors have their turn of occupying the positions of Moderator of Synod and Presbyteries; (b) The Clerks of Presbyteries are as a rule pastors; (c) They are also conveners of standing committees and the important position of Chairman of the General Board is as a rule held by a pastor. (This Board deals with local missions,

Training for the Ministry, Education Policy and Schools, and Catechists). Section 2 points to the improved liberality of the native church, £17 being the average per member for the support of the ministry, and £1.3.4d being the average for all purposes. Proposals to withdraw missionaries are regarded as serious, and examples are given of the results in other churches - Free Methodists, which have all been absorbed into other denominations, Christian Church, which at that time saw its pastors seeking admission to other churches, Baptist, which is now "rent in twain and threatens to go to pieces"¹, and the Methodist Church, whose experiment we have already studied. Much is made of the fact that there are now Church of Scotland congregations within the scope of the review, and appeal is made - a vast difference from early days - to the Church of Scotland not to desert the white people of the island. The main point of the memorandum is concerned with proving that if the number of missionaries is reduced, the church will suffer financially, and only in two short paragraphs is reference made to policy as such. These are: First with reference to a suggestion that a missionary might be superintendent - "The Mission Council notices that a suggestion is made that a missionary might be appointed with powers similar to that exercised by a Bishop. The Presbyterians in Jamaica have learned too clearly of the equality of presbyters to take kindly to such a proposal. It is to be feared that if the proposals were adopted there would be a conflict of authority which could not tend to secure the unity and harmonious working of the church."¹¹ Secondly with reference to the indigenous church: "The Church in Jamaica though consisting very largely of people of African descent, is not a

¹ ibid. section 3 para 3 (c). ¹¹ ibid. section 7.
native church. It is a Church for all. The nature of racial relationships in the West Indies makes this the only idea of the Church that is possible. This creates problems...it indicates however the necessity of a ministry, to some extent European. This explains why missionaries do pastoral work. Missionary charges could not be dispensed with without reducing the number of native pastorates... (for financial reasons)....

The memorandum from the Pastors at this time covers much the same ground and need not be repeated.

The impression of these two documents is that the question mainly considered was the financial one. With a 2/3 white population, and that mainly in the capital town, one Scottish minister would be sufficient as pastor, and no reference is made to the amount of supervision given, even in theory, under the presbyterian system. The result is that all these problems have been raised within the last few years with greater emphasis and greater urgency, and the solutions have already been suggested as we have seen.

Two things become increasingly important in all denominations - for all have had deputies and have sent memoranda to the parent Churches from time to time - (1) the Training of the Ministry in all its aspects, and (2) the relations with other Churches in the Island. To the former subject we have now come.

1. ibid. section 12. 11. Memo. of Synod Pastors and Elders, 20.11.34.
IV.  THE  TRAINING  OF  THE  MINISTRY
IV. THE TRAINING OF THE MINISTRY

Little has been said so far about the training required by the foreign missionary who comes to Jamaica, but that is a matter which must receive attention from the Home Churches in the future if much time and effort is not to be wasted and if the progressive policy previously noted is to be carried out.

In the Scottish Missionary Register for 1820 there are proposals for a Missionary Tutor to live in a hostel with the students of the Scottish Missionary Society to train them for work on the field, but the idea never amounted to anything continuous. The International Missionary Committee Bulletin in dealing with the mission situation in China as it is expected to be after the war, quotes from letters to men still on the field, and stresses the need for special training for missionaries now at home. The National Christian Council has adopted a programme known as the City Church programme, and it is for the working of this programme that the missionaries are asked to be trained. The programme itself is of interest, though it is not the type of programme which would be of much use in Jamaica where towns are few and small, and where the entire field can be considered as a rural community. But the details of the scheme are that the missionaries at home should make a detailed study of their own denominational city churches, noting their membership, budget, training of pastors and the like. A similarly useful piece of work could be done in connection with the Jamaican churches, and accurate reports would be

available for purposes of comparison and information. Such work would be invaluable both to the Home Churches and to those on the field, and would abolish the vague and inaccurate reports which too often appear. The letter also calls for specialists to be appointed for regional divisions and indicates some measure of co-operation between the missionary societies in their appointments and work.¹

It must be admitted that the training of missionaries for Jamaica, by all denominations, has been almost entirely neglected. It has been assumed that training given to the ministry for churches in Britain was all that could possibly be needed for ex-slaves and a handful of white planters and merchants, the latter group probably never going near the church. Missionary training in the theological colleges of Britain seems to be confined to those, at most, who offer themselves for the missionary field in some capacity other than that of an ordained minister. They then receive a short course of training, which includes English Bible, a little Theology, less Church History, and a brief glimpse of social work and conditions of the country to which they are going. The minister no doubt has had most of that training, but there is no provision either in the Colleges or out of them, for training in the peculiarly difficult work which the missionary will have to undertake. Granting that he has received the training which will enable him to do pastoral work, it must be remembered that his work in Jamaica will be more than pastoral. Just because he has been trained 'abroad', he will be looked to from the day he lands for guidance and advice, and he will be forced to think in terms not of his own charge or station, but of the whole of his particular denomination in Jamaica, at the least.

¹ Ibid. p.3.
Some guidance ought to be given to every missionary as to the actual conditions he may expect to find on the field, that he may both enter in the work immediately, and that he may fit into the general policy of the Church. To teach a child to swim by throwing it into the sea is neither sensible nor kind, and the policy of sending missionaries to any field without training for the new conditions is responsible for the strained atmosphere of many missions, and the embittered attitude of many younger missionaries. The attitude of the Moravians is not entirely unknown in other societies even to-day where there are large majorities of older brethren, both missionary and native, and while the real reason may be the perennial difference of youth and age, the difference comes out in an attack by older men with experience upon younger men who have not had time to gain the experience. The Moravian church insisted that, while scholarly men were not excluded, most of the missionaries must be drawn from the artisan and labouring classes; first, because such men were best able to endure a rough life; and secondly, because, in the church's opinion, higher education was not required. The English Missionary secretary added "students did not, as a rule, make as good missionaries as mechanics". If, of course, we grant that the work of the missionary is to keep plantations, as the Moravians did in Jamaica, or to run a boot-factory, as they did in St. Thomas, or trade, as they did in Labrador, the mechanic has a better chance of succeeding than the scholar, - using both these terms in a loose sense - but the Moravians departed from that practice of trading many years ago, and they have made more progress since then. The native church, on the whole, has made greater

1. Sutton, p. 190. 11. Ibid. 188.
demands than the senior missionaries, for scholarly missionaries, for natives, they feel they themselves can manage the practical side of church work, but they still need guidance and help in education, secular and sacred.

It must here be noted that Jamaica has not had missionaries of the artisan type sent out by societies. Even the Moravians were ordained ministers, and the only body which today, apart from teachers in church schools, has artisan missionaries is the Society of Friends, whose work will be dealt with under Social Welfare.

The training of the missionary, then, ought to include as a basis, the present training in university and theological college as given to ministers for churches in Britain, but there ought to be certain matters emphasised if the missionary is to be located in Jamaica; viz.,

(1) a good knowledge of church doctrine in its simplest expression for young people and people who are young or immature in mind, many of whom will be so till death. (2) a training in business methods of finance, in book-keeping and in ordinary rules for the conduct of meetings and the keeping of minutes. (3) A general knowledge of the history of missions and the policy, with a particular knowledge of the Church History of Jamaica in the form of a specially-prepared guide which it will be incumbent on the missionary to study, that he may be prepared beforehand, as far as is possible, for the conditions under which he is to work.

We have argued earlier for the appointment of missionaries to Jamaica for special functions, and not for pastoral work only, and for these functions special training should be given beforehand. The ideal method, of course, would be that the missionary spend the first four years in pastoral work, getting to know the people, the conditions,
the church life, etc., and that he then return for a period of intensive training for some special position, for which he has shown some degree of capability. By that time, he will have made himself known, and will have a fair idea of the work to be done, and therefore of the line of study he must pursue to equip himself for his special function. It might happen that his special training would have to be largely his own labours, for, few home churches could afford to maintain a staff of experts on such a small field, comparatively speaking, as Jamaica - but there are many problems common to all mission fields, and every single missionary would benefit - be he returning to pastoral or other work - by being obliged to pursue a course of studies in some missionary college. The missionary who is to return to do the work of supervisor would be greatly helped by knowing the results of experiments of that type on other fields, and the one who had to supervise Home Mission stations with a view to establishing churches in new districts would find contact with Church Extension experts in Britain extremely useful. So with financial administration, so with theological training and the preparation of social workers, so with every special piece of work. Because most missionaries turn their hand to any type of work which they are convinced is for the good of the Church, it should not be assumed that their well-meant efforts could not be improved upon by a period of training for the work.

But the question arises, when is this training to take place? There are few men who can appreciate instruction for a field before they have been there, and who can remember all the theory which they are expected to put into practice at some future date. That may be true, but much general training and information could be imparted to
the prospective missionary before leaving for the field. The really important training will come, as stated, during the first, and subsequent, furloughs. Missionary societies have advanced from the position taken up by the Scottish Missionary Society during a difference of opinion with Blyth, their missionary to Jamaica, who had been in the island six years, and who had written with regard to the small amount of his salary, his wife's illnesses, and his desire to return home for a period. The society replied, drawing his attention to the Scripture which asked men to 'deny thyself' and to put up with hardship. On the furlough question it is 'impossible to make general rules. Some need home after a year, some ten, fifteen, twenty years, or not at all'. The World Missionary Conference of 1910 stressed the need for more frequent furloughs for health reasons, and that vacations should be insisted upon in or near the fields.

Furlough arrangements in most churches in Jamaica are matters of personal dealing with the society concerned. The Scottish missionary is 'eligible' for a seven months' furlough after five years' service. It might be pointed out that these furloughs are not counted as 'holidays' after the first two months, for the work of deputising for the Home Committee then begins. But better results would be obtained if shorter furlough were given every three years, for three reasons: (1) the missionaries would be able to participate in courses in Missionary and other Colleges; (11) they would, if furloughs were arranged for the period of College terms, be able to do some deputation work in Britain at a time when congregational organisations were in full swing, instead of the present method whereby the missionary visits in the

(iii) the Jamaica missionary would feel his home base was in Britain, and he was going out to do a specific piece of work, whereas the present system is for the missionary to consider Jamaica his home, permanently, or for all his active missionary life, with periodic visits to his own country to see the members of his family, and give personal reports to committees and congregations. The truth is that the missionary in Jamaica, in every denomination, considers himself an agent of the native church, and is unable to take the long view of the foreign worker.

It would make for better work, and the danger of forgetting the ultimate aim would be eliminated both from the native and the foreign mind, if Britain were considered the base of operations, and Jamaica considered the field, so far as the missionary is concerned. To make that distinction, the idea which seems to exist in the Home Churches that Jamaica is a health resort would be immediately abolished. Attention should be paid to the effects of the different types of climate on the health of the entire staff, and on the work which should be done to the best advantage in hills or plains, on estates and in towns.

Jamaica may be a health resort, given proper housing with decent sanitation, but that cannot be said of many missionaries' manses outside the principal towns, and even there the decencies of life have only been provided within the last few years. That much of the blame for the bad housing of missionaries lies at their own door must be admitted, but it is unfortunate that the Home Churches have adopted the attitude that 'conditions in a tropical country must be bad, and had best be taken for granted and not mentioned in reports, while Jamaica,
being a sub-tropical land, with plenty of sunshine and bananas, with little typhoid and no yellow fever, is a heaven on earth. The visitor who is taken to the best places does not see the island, but men who are not specially interested in the church are appalled at the conditions under which the Home Churches allow their agents to live, especially in the country parts. These men, themselves successful, do not think the conditions are the result of self-denying heroism, but of sheer stupidity, for they lead to waste of human life — either of the missionary or his wife or children — and much of it is unnecessary, even from a financial point of view. There is no virtue in sacrifice for its own sake. If the missionary looked on Jamaica as a mission field to which he went out for a particular piece of work for so long as that work was necessary, he would do better work. Otherwise, let him become a settler, as the Church of England clergymen become, and build up his whole interests in the future of the colony, i.e. continue the idea that there must always be in Jamaica a number of European ministers, working alongside the native, all under the local Synod, whether that Synod is subsidised from home or not.

In a truly indigenous church, such as we have seen to be the stated aim of all the missionary societies, however, the latter idea is not the ideal policy. Granting the argument of the 1934 memoranda from the Presbyterian Synod examined in the last chapter, the logical conclusion is not that Jamaica must continue to have European ministers on the church staff, but that the future ministry be drawn from all classes and all races within Jamaica, i.e., that the native ministers be men of all colours, from black to white, that there be amongst them some pure negroes, some coloured men, some of Chinese, some of Syrian,
some of East Indian origin, some of Scottish and some of English ancestry. In this connection it may be noted that the Church of England has several clergymen who are Creoles, i.e. born of European parents residing in Jamaica; that the Presbyterian Church has one Englishman, one Scotsman, one East Indian, and two Caymanians on its staff as pastors.

Training the Native Ministry:

The next matter to be considered is the training of the native, or local staff. It has always been recognised that a native ministry was the first step towards the creation of an indigenous Church, and that the first positions to be occupied by the natives were the pastoral care of congregations which had been established by the early missionaries.

The Baptists and Methodists had from the beginning made use of untrained natives as local preachers, but it was the newly-formed Jamaica Mission Presbytery which in 1836 first took steps to train natives not merely as teachers, for that had been begun earlier, but as ministers. The hearts of the Presbytery are set on an Academy for training young men for the ministry, with a view to Africa and the islands. The Baptists first began to train natives for the ministry in 1843 at Rio Bueno on the north coast of the island in a building erected out of the Jubilee Fund 1842 and had ten students in the first session. The London Missionary Society in 1855 founded a Training Institute at Ridgemount, and five young men were received. Three finished their course and were engaged as assistant missionaries, the other two are teachers. The Methodists opened

York Castle High School for Boys to which was attached a Theological College in 1876. The Church of England began training students in 1874 under Rev. C.P. Douet, later Bishop, and opened a Theological College in 1882. Candidates for the ministry of the Church of Christ are trained in the U.S.A., and other denominations have their own tutors or co-operate with the Kingston colleges in a scheme which will shortly be examined.

The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, probably because of its Scottish traditions and connections, has always been foremost in demanding an educated ministry, and the training given to its native pastors is based on the conviction that "in Jamaica there is a demand for an educated ministry; and wherever that has been dispensed with, ministerial influence and efficiency have been seriously hindered." At the same time, it has kept in view the necessity of combining scholarship with pastoral and evangelistic needs, having in mind what is stated in the findings of the Tambaram Meeting of 1938: "For evangelism, lay workers and more simply-trained ministers may be more effective than highly trained scholars. But for the consolidation of the results of evangelism, the upbuilding of well-instructed churches and the relating of the local church to the Church Universal, a highly educated ministry is essential." It is this stage of transition or advance which Jamaica had reached to-day, and hence the need for a different type of missionary, and a different training for the missionary. Archbishop Nuttall expressed the same opinion when he said "As regards the ministry of our Church (the Church of England in Jamaica), the endeavour has been steadily to elevate the standard of training and

to find an open door of service for the best available sons of Jamaica, and I trust it will be increasingly the determination of those best sons - I mean best by character and training and general fitness - to offer themselves for the work of the Church. Similarly there has been an endeavour, which I trust will be constantly pursued, to secure an infusion of new blood from the mother country, but not to seek to be satisfied with Englishmen of an inferior type... It was with reference to the practice of the Church of England of getting out Englishmen of an inferior type and training them locally, that the 1924 United Free Church of Scotland deputies reported that "The Church of England has adopted the policy of ordaining, as far as possible, no negroes, but only white or very light-coloured men. They bring men out from England and train them in the island. This may partly be due to their sense of obligation towards the white population." McNeill speaks for all denominations when he writes: "The creation of a native ministry supported by their own congregations has been looked upon as a matter of paramount importance, and the question has from time to time received the most anxious consideration." That active steps have been taken is sufficiently indicated by the following statistics, compiled from Mr Merle Davis's "The Church in the New Jamaica" (1942) and from personal research:

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In the above, the top line gives the number of foreign missionaries, i.e., agents appointed by, and supported mainly by, British or American Soci-

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Iatics or churches. The second line gives the number of pastors, mostly Jamaican, mostly trained locally, and all appointed locally. The exceptional case is that of the Church of England, where all are appointed locally, but some 50% are actually foreign, though mostly trained in Jamaica.

In every case, the training given locally was intended to equip Jamaicans for congregational work, for preaching, teaching, and visiting. The details of the curricula of the colleges will follow be examined later, but any differences between them were due to differences in the home colleges of the various missionary societies or churches. It was not due to a close study of the peculiar needs or characteristics of the people of the island. And in most cases, where the pastor has kept up his studies, the results of that type of training have been justified, for there are in the Jamaica ministry a number of good preachers, capable of expounding the truths of Scripture and the Christian Faith to their own people in a way in which the missionary is unable to do. Where the training was, and is weak, is that there is no method of ensuring that the pastor will keep up his studies, and little attention has been given in the past in colleges to the practical, business side of congregational work.

The first point of criticism above is due to the missionaries to some extent, and of well-meaning people in Britain in the early days. From the beginning, parcels of books were sent to the 'poor negroes', to be distributed through the missionary. It was the custom to give a book as a prize to those who persevered with learning to read. The custom of pastor and people reading alternate verses of a psalm each
Sunday morning arose from the giving of a Bible, through the British and Foreign Bible Society free to every slave who could read to the satisfaction of the missionary. No doubt this was good, and no doubt also reading alternate verses aloud helped the slaves to get the sound of the words, but it had two effects:— it successfully destroyed the atmosphere of worship created during the opening hymn and took away all meaning from the Psalms; and secondly, it helped to give the negro the idea that books are things given free to the Jamaican; that they are a white man's luxury, and can be dispensed with by the negro, to whom God speaks in dreams. (“Book is for bucre; God has given the dream to the negro—better guide than book,” is one version of the proverb in 1837, and Baptist reports show that converts frequently had 'visions' just before, or during baptism. The word, and the experience is not unheard of even today.) Blyth in 1825 wrote to the Scottish Missionary Society: The negroes paying for them (books) is entirely out of the question, and is a thing I could not for a moment think of.11 Books were sent out for lending also, and Bibles to be given free, or sold at reduced prices at the discretion of the missionary. In all of this it is well to remember the statement in Brown's history with reference to the period immediately after emancipation: "Even the best friends of the negroes were now ready to acknowledge that they had been somewhat blinded to their faults by their sympathy in behalf of the wronged and oppressed."111 Of course, there is a danger in forgetting that they were degraded formerly, but in this connection the missionaries did apparently give the

impression that books are not things to be valued, with the result that as books are not given free even in elementary schools (provision is about to be made for some assistance in 1944) many parents kept their children away from school because they had no text books and because they felt they should not be expected to pay for text books. If a Sunday school book (the Bible) could be given free, why should they pay for a day school book? The same tendency is seen in church colleges, where students feel it a hardship to be asked to buy their text books, and where the practice for years has been for the home society to make a grant to cover the cost of books, which the student takes away with him when leaving college. Even if a grant for sake of argument that students' books should be given free, until the Jamaican places some value on books for the information they contain, the pastor, once he has left college, will neither purchase books nor continue his studies. Few pastors' bookshelves in Jamaica, and few missionaries' for that matter contain any books of more recent date than the man's last year in college.

The second point of criticism, viz., training for the practical side of congregational work, has only recently received attention and will be dealt with in detail under the curriculum of the college, as will the further step of training pastors for administrative and executive positions in the church.

Their position is accurately stated in the Tamaran Report in the following words: "Almost all the younger churches are dissatisfied with the present system of training for the ministry and with its results. In many reports received from different parts of the world, it is stated that there are ministers of a poor standard of
education who are unable to win the respect of the laity and to lead
the churches, that some are out of touch with the realities of life
and the needs of their people, and are not distinguished by zeal for
Christian service in the community. From every field has come the
conviction that a highly trained ministry is necessary for the well-
being of the church.

"We learn, at the same time, that in many areas the churches
are unable to bear the whole financial burden of such a ministry.
Because of financial stringency, in some places aggressive evan-
gelistic work has almost ceased; in others the number of ministers
has been reduced, with the result that many churches are uncared-for
and the spiritual needs of the people are not met; in yet others
men of limited education, who have had little or no theological
training have been hurriedly ordained. In our judgment, when any
of these courses has been followed, great harm has been done to the
church. Experiments have been made in the appointment of ministers
who spend part of their time and earn part of their income in other
than ministerial work. There are situations in which this system
works well; but it is our conviction that it is generally undesir-
able, and that the ordained minister cannot do all the work to which
he is called unless his whole time and strength are devoted to it.
A more hopeful measure is the grouping of a number of churches under
one well-qualified pastor. This has been carried out with advantage
where circuits have not been made too large, and where adequate lay-
help has been available."¹

That report rightly connects the training of the ministry with

the financial arrangements for its upkeep and the circuit system which financial considerations make necessary. Ninety per cent at least of ministers in all denominations in Jamaica have more than one congregation. The system is not ideal, but it has been the custom for so long that it is thought locally to be the ideal. The ideal is to have one minister and one church in each community large enough to support such. Jamaica has several problems in that connection:

(1) There are communities which are unable to support either a church or a whole-time minister. The solution attempted is that of joining with a neighbouring community to share the services of a minister. This is triplicated, quadruplicated, and so on until there is actually an instance of one young and, need it be said, active pastor who has charge of twelve adjoining communities. Half of his time is spent travelling over rough country, and much of the rest in procuring the necessary lay help for Sunday services. By working twelve stations, he is enabled to obtain a stipend of £250 per annum. The proper solution ought to be to appoint resident catechists in most of the stations with an ordained minister as superintendent — the catechist doing the pastoral visitation and attending to the church organisations for young people etc.

(2) The original intention of opening these small out-stations was in time to raise them to the status of congregations, supplied with a minister of their own. The time has come for a review of these stations to be made, and other arrangements to be carried out if the dissipation of energy resulting from the large number of these stations is taking from the witness of the church as a whole. The Roman Catholic method has been to import a travelling chapel which
goes to such small districts, and this has the advantage of going
to where the people are, whereas protestants are bound to the small
preaching buildings where they began work years earlier, even though
the population may have moved as small Jamaican populations fre-
guently do for agricultural purposes. (There is little practice
of scientific agriculture, for when they have 'worked' one piece of
land till it is non-productive they move to another plot). It is
wasteful of man-power to continue in an area where people are no
longer congregating or living and to carry through in miniature all
the services of a large town church.

(iii) A number of these small out-stations could be amalgamated
with similar places of another denomination. There is not much
over-lapping in large stations, though there is more than enough,
but in out-stations the position is a standing disgrace. We have
already quoted from Mr. Merle Davis's survey, but the point is worth
noting here again: "In a majority of these country centres one church
and one pastor could minister to the whole protestant population,
and the community would have the uninterrupted ministry of a resident
pastor whom they could support with their pooled resources." 1

(iv) The pastors are not in fact except in the Methodist college,
trained for a circuit system, nor are the people. The basic as-
sumption is that at some date the pastor will have one church and
one community to look after. Until then he will have to duplicate
or triplicate his energy and his time and his services, so far as
possible, and the problems of divided interests are passed over.
Financially, the position is serious, and in Jamaica both the solutions

1. Merle Davis, p.41.
mentioned in the Tambaram Report above have been tried. Men have been appointed as catechists who are allowed, and expected, to do as much pastoral work as possible, generally in connection with one station only, but in addition to supplement their income by trading or other work. They have not, except in one special case been ordained ministers. In fact though not in theory, most Jamaican pastors, of all denominations, have some source of income in addition to the church stipend, and these sources range from the selling of produce, the taking of paying guests, to salaried positions in Loan Banks and being Elected Members in the Legislative Council. But the necessity for these additions to the income is a debatable point, for almost without exception the congregations feel that if they are not getting full-time attention from their minister they do not need to pay him full-time salary. This state of affairs has gone on so long that it is now a vicious circle, and has proved in all churches a source of difficulty in the best use of man power, for where a pastor has financial interests and connections in a certain district he does not willingly accept transfer to another sphere of work.

But the problem is not wholly a financial one. To run a business from more than one centre requires training of a special kind, and to work more than one church community also requires special training. The native student must be trained to plan out his work as a whole, to co-ordinate the work of the various centres, to find and train for himself lay-workers in the out-lying districts, and finally, to create in the various congregations within his charge a sense of unity. Some men have achieved this, but very few. In most cases, the separate congregations are kept in separate.
compartments of the mind, the person of the minister being the only link between them.

One word here will suffice with reference to the training of catechists and lay-workers. We have noted in other connections the existence of leaders and helpers and catechists and local preachers in Baptist, Moravian, Presbyterian, and Methodist work, and it only remains for us to state that in general these were untrained except in the Presbyterian church until a comparatively late date when courses of training were instituted either as summer schools or in connection with the theological colleges. Each church has its own requirements in appointing catechists or helpers, and these vary in many respects. In the case of teachers — many teachers give catechetical help — little training is asked, for it is assumed that they can teach and preach, and that during their college course they have had instruction in teaching Scripture knowledge. The Methodist church has its regular examination of local preachers, and the Presbyterian church its system of examination by presbyteries before and during appointment. It is to be feared that there is a general laxity in these matters, in common with the laxity of supervision noted throughout.

Before turning to the specific training given in the theological colleges, it may be well to examine the financial basis of those colleges, for that part of the work has not been given due recognition by the Jamaican churches.

Firstly, with regard to staffing, the native churches have not yet produced any theological tutor, and the present staffs are as they

1. McKorrow, p.290 gives details of training in 1840.
have always been, ministers of British churches, paid and appointed by the home societies. They are all, except the Church of God, graduates of Scottish or English universities, in most cases both in Arts and Divinity. The question of appointing a native pastor to the staff of any of the colleges has never been raised so far as we have been able to discover, and only in the Church of England has any student trained locally taken a degree course in a British University, although several have taken London external degrees in Jamaica. One Church of England pastor has given lectures to students in the absence of the regular tutor.

Secondly, there is the problem of the provision and upkeep of the college buildings - a financial liability which is apt to fall heavily on a native church. The provision of the buildings is a simpler matter than the upkeep, and has been overcome by attaching the college to some other institution. The Baptist church, we have seen, opened their theological college in 1843 in the country, but from 1857 the college has been situated in Kingston. The buildings are part of the Calabar High School for boys, which is operated by a Trust on which the Jamaica Baptist Union is represented, but which is not controlled by the Union as such. The president of the College and the headmaster of the school are appointed and paid by the Baptist Missionary Society and the buildings are kept in order by the Trust from invested funds and from school fees. The Methodist College was also attached at first to a High School in the country but was later separated and removed to Kingston, and as the Methodist church is still run as a mission, the Home Society can be called on to provide for the institution as part of its ordinary work.

The Presbyterian church had the same plan, and as its work began first, was probably responsible for the method of the others. We have seen the beginnings of the Montego Bay Academy in which pastors and teachers were trained and for which the tutor was sent from Scotland. Before that institution was opened, as the number of native students in 1836 was small, the work had been begun at Goshen in St. Mary, where the students lived in the heme. When the Academy was closed for reasons unconnected with the college work, the practice came to be to allow the students to reside at whatever station the tutor had under his pastoral care. In the seventies when the religious state of the island was low, the number of candidates in all churches decreased and the theological departments of all the churches were closed from time to time. At this period there was a desire from the home churches to reduce the expenditure in the island, and theological work seemed to be the first to suffer. After a time this policy was seen to be unwise, and the Presbyterians opened a college in Kingston in 1877 in connection with which a mission station was opened and built up by the tutor and his students who used the station as a preaching and practical training ground. When this tutor left for an appointment in Africa, his successor was unable to live in the heat of the town, and, as this again coincided with a period of attempted reduction of expenses by the home church, the college was removed to the country, where a charge with four out-stations was operated by the tutor. The matter of buildings was not a great expense, for country mances are large, and the only outlay was the building of a row of cottages in the grounds. For a time

ii. ibid. vol.6. The College in Kingston cost £1,750.
the students spent two years there and two years with another tutor who was also in charge of a congregation. The theological hall was no extra expense to the native church. Such small upkeep as was required in the country was a simple matter, and annual collections rarely exceeded £20. As part of a deliberate policy of the synod, the college was transferred to Kingston in 1937 and the church owns a separate building in which the tutor and students reside, and for the purchase and upkeep of which the synod is responsible. The return to Kingston enabled the church to join in the co-operative scheme with Methodists and Baptists. Grants from the Scottish S.P.C.K. and the Margaret Marshall Trust have been invested as reserves for the college. The Church of England college began as we have seen, in Kingston in 1882 and has been given grants from time to time from the S.P.G., S.P.C.K., and other societies. It has an endowment fund of £9,000, and one resident tutor who is assisted occasionally by clergymen labouring in Kingston. It does not cooperate with any other college. The Church of God and the Salvation Army training institutes are attached to schools operated by these bodies.

Thirdly, and also a financial question, is the matter of fees for students. In all cases, the training is given free and in most, the text books are supplied free or at half price. The funds for this are provided as follows: In the Church of England the Taylor Trust in England sends an annual grant, and this is supplemented from local funds if needed; in the Baptist church, the funds are provided locally, except in the case of students from other islands when the American Baptist church pays the total cost; in the
presbyterian church the cost is met by grants from the Miller Bur­
sary Fund (Scotland) and from general funds of the Foreign Mission
committee of the Church of Scotland; in the Methodist church, the
cost of training is part of the annual budget which is provided for
by local and foreign funds; in the Congregational and Moravian
churches, the home societies provide the entire cost; and in the
Church of God and Salvation Army the cost is part of the annual bud­
get, while the Church of Christ students are trained in the U.S.A.
without expense to the local church. Baptist students pay the
total cost of text books, Presbyterian pay half, and Methodist stu­
dents refund part of the cost of training after they are on the
field. Fees for pulpit supply are given to students in the Baptist
and Methodist churches, and for summer work in the presbyterian church.

In general, it can be stated that a good deal could be saved
in overhead expenses if the churches at present co-operating in this
training had a common building for the resident students, and this
matter will be considered at a later stage.

The College Curriculum:

The earliest records show that the aim in opening theological
colleges was to train natives for the pastoral work of congregations,
as we have seen. The Jamaica Missionary Presbytery having re­
solved to institute an Academy, with a view to train up young men,
especially natives, for missionary work...., but that training was
to be given to others was not forgotten: In compliance with the
request of the missionaries in Jamaica, the Synod at home resolved
to send out persons who should be employed under the missionaries

In communicating moral and religious instruction to the negro; and it was also intended that they should pursue a course of study under the superintendence of the presbytery of Jamaica with a view to their being afterwards licensed and ordained as missionaries. Five such were actually sent out, but health allowed only two to complete their course. These became missionaries, on the mission staff. The main work was the training of natives, however, and the training of men sent from abroad was only a temporary expedient (except in the Church of England) till sufficient pastors were available. The Governor in 1855 visited the Presbyterian Academy and wrote as follows:

"By far the most creditable institution in the place, or I might also say in the island, is the Presbyterian Academy, principally intended for training young men to the ministry or the scholastic professions, but in which, for £6 or £7 per year, an excellent classical and mathematical education can be obtained by any boy." And the object of the theological hall is stated thus: "The object of this institution is to train such of the missionary students who have finished their course at the Academy, as aspire to the ministry, and who are considered by the presbytery to have suitable desires and abilities for being preachers of the Gospel." That care was taken in admitting students into the theological college may be gathered not only from the above requirement that they must have attained a suitable standard of general education, but from the rules governing the supervision before hand: "No student shall be admitted to the theological hall who has not been for a year placed under the supervision of a missionary who shall, by giving him missionary

work to do among the people, test his mental powers, his piety, his disposition, his steadiness of character, and his aptitude to teach. The requirements to-day are that students shall have obtained the Senior Cambridge certificate of pass on examination on such standard, and that they be under the supervision of the presbytery for six months before admission, and that in all cases they pass an entrance examination set by the church. Similar requirements are made by all the churches, and the aims of all are stated in much the same terms.

The Church of England states that its college has three purposes: (i) preparation for Holy Orders in Jamaica; (ii) instruction of catechists; (iii) of Church Army agents.

Having seen the requirements for admission, let us examine the type of curriculum given to these young men. We have noted that in one case, the Presbyterian, the Governor states that a good classical and mathematical education is given. The Academy programme was actually as follows: In each session the course embraced Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Christian Evidence, English, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Writing, Map-drawing, English composition and Biblical instruction. In the second session there were added to the above: School-management (text-book, Currie); Moral Science (text-book, Wayland); and Latin and Greek derivatives (text-book, McCulloch).

As there was one minister and one teacher on the staff, it may be imagined that the instruction in these subjects had to be somewhat sketchy, especially as in the theological hall in the same year (1870) we find that, as there were only two students, it was deemed expedient that these young men should spend a portion of their time during the session in philosophical studies. The text-book

chosen for that purpose was Stewart's "Outline of Moral Philosophy," the sections of which relating to the intellectual, active, and moral powers of men were carefully gone over. Use was also made of Wayland's 'Intellectual Philosophy,' and of Payne's 'Elements,' and Dr. David Stuart's 'Outlines of Mental and Moral Science.' It is to be noted that lectures were not given on particular subjects, but that a number of text-books were 'set,' and discussed in tutorial fashion at stated periods. This was the only possible method by which one or two tutors could instruct students of different years in so many subjects, but it proved exceedingly unfortunate in many ways, for it was apt to give the student only two points of view, viz., that of the set book and that of the tutor, and it was also apt to give the student the feeling that if he knew the arguments of the set book, he knew the entire subject. That method has been changed as we shall see.

In the theological department, in the same year 1870, the following subjects engaged the attention of students: (1) The interpretation of Scripture - embracing the necessity for care in the study of Scripture; the spirit in which it should be studied; the rules of interpretation; the utility and application of rules in interpretation; the use of external helps in interpretation; Jewish and heathen opinions; history, profane and ecclesiastical; chronology, natural history, manners and customs; geography, historical and physical; - the application of these rules to the interpretation of allegories, parables, types, and symbols. Text-book, Angus's 'Handbook of the Bible'.

(11) The Being and Attributes of God; the doctrine of the Trinity, including the divinity and Sonship of Christ, the personality, divinity

1. ibid.
and eternal procession of the holy spirit; and the mutual relations
of the persons of the Godhead; the doctrine of the divine decrees in
general; and predestination. Text-books, Dr. Hodge's 'Outlines of
Theology', Dr. Ashbel Green's 'Lectures on the questions in the West-
minster Assembly's Shorter Catechism relating to the divine decrees
and election'; and Dr. Boardman's two discourses on 'The popular ob-
jections to the latter doctrine, were also read and commented on.

(iii) The epistle to the Hebrews, chapters vii-xiii inclusive, with
Dr. Lindsey and Brown's exposition of the epistle, as guides to the
correct interpretation of it. Use was also made of Kye-Smith's Two
discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ, and of Dr. Lind-
say Alexander's lecture on the 'Typical character of the Levitical
institutes.'

(iv) Homiletics - the sources of arguments in sermons, and the conclu-
sion and general characteristics of sermons. Text-book, Foster.

(v) Hodge's 'Way of Life', chapters v to ix inclusive - on justification,
faith, repentance, profession of religion, and holy living.

Mention is made in 1861 of the students using Dolitzsch's com ment-
ary on the psalms, and of reading the book of Daniel in Chaldeo, but
it must not be thought that Hebrew, Greek, and other studies advanced
far, especially after the Academy ceased and the church had no way of
giving a pre-theological training to its students.

It is presumed that the other churches in the island had similar
courses of instruction, for before these sister churches opened their
own colleges, mention is made of students "from other churches" being
trained at the Academy. Each denomination would no doubt give special

attention to its own particular tenets, the Baptists stressing immersion and the Methodists stressing methodism. The practical side of Anglican instruction can be gathered from Caldecott, who, after speaking of the theological training, goes on to say: The admirably practical character of Jamaican Church work comes out in the report that there were lectures in the college on Jamaica Church History, and on Church Music, and one, by a layman, on keeping Church accounts, according to the requirements of Synod. For Mission students, there was instruction in Building and Carpentry. In a footnote Caldecott says: "With this institution may be compared the Wesleyan Theological Institution, and especially the Calebar Institution for the training of candidates for the Baptist ministry, and schoolmasters, which had seven students with the former objects, and twenty-three for the latter at last report. and from that we may gather than the curricula of the colleges were on much the same level at this time in Kingston.

The other side of training, viz., the practical side of preaching, visiting, and addressing meetings and running organisations, was provided for both in town and country by attaching the students as an assistant to one or other of the stations under the charge of the tutor, and when the Presbyterian College came to Kingston in 1877 a new station was opened for the specific purpose of providing a place for the practical training of students of that church.

Throughout the next fifty years, i.e. until 1920, little change was made in the method of tuition of the students, and indeed, little in the way of alteration even in text-books, probably because most of the tutors remained unchanged during that period. Certain standard

books were the accepted books, and portions of these were given from
time to time for the students to read; exercises were set on the ap­
pointed chapters, and discussions took place on the exercises. The
results were intimated to the committee concerned, and few students
ever failed, for not only is the pass-mark 33% in all subjects, even
knowledge of the English Bible, but allowances were continually made
for the fact that negro students did not have the advantages of white
students in the matter of education. The standard was a purely local
standard in most cases, and while there were in private life several
candidates for London external degree examinations, the percentage of
failure in these has always been over 50%—frequently nearer 100%.
The standard of the candidates gradually became lower, and repeated
attempts were made to raise the entrance qualifications, but time
and again 'special cases' were made, on the ground of age, or shortage
of men, or strong recommendations from some person of influence,
and such 'special' men were not only received on special terms, but
expected, and did receive special consideration and concessions right
through the course.1 While this was not so common in the Methodist
Church, in the Presbyterian, the Baptist, the Congregational and Mor­
avian Churches the general opinion amongst students was that all that
had to be done was to get into the College, by ordinary or special
means, and thereafter concessions would be made to cover any failure
or inefficiency. The result can well be imagined. Such a practice
had no attraction for the best type of young men, and when it is re­
membered that in the teachers' training colleges, both for men and
for women, only an average of 20 candidates were received annually

1. Synod minutes, Presbyterian Church, 1937-8; Calabar reports, same
period.
out of an average of 150 which sat the examination, the ministry came
to be filled with the failures of the training colleges, and finally,
with those who did not take the trouble to sit the training college
examination.

New native ministers trained during this period have impressed us
with any sense of call to the work, and it would appear that their
experience of college life, which consisted in a series of concessions,
had so impressed them that the 'concession-principle', if we may coin
a phrase, has become theirs for life. The consequence has been
apparent not only in slackness in preaching and pastoral work, but
also in moral conduct, and there have been more scandals of a moral
nature in the ministry within that period (1927-39) than either before
or since.

A word might be said here on the Anglican practice. Probably as
a method of avoiding the evils into which the majority of the other
denominations had fallen, the Church of England increasingly brought
cut from England men, not always of a high educational standard, for
training locally. In addition, they made it a practice to admit to
the college men who had shown and proved themselves to be of good
character and to give willing service in church and school and private
life, for short, intensive courses of instruction, and ordained them
immediately. The Church of England was thus able to continue its
work without accepting Jamaican students during that period.

On all sides, there was a conviction that the training of the
native ministry had to be revised, that something must be done to pro-
cure candidates of a better educational and moral standard, and it
was with a view to improving such conditions that the churches revised
before examining these revised regulations, let us notice the difference in methods of tuition.

The former practice was to appoint certain portions of a text-book in each subject as the ground to be covered within the year in question. The tutor was available for consultation by any student on any point, but supervision consisted generally in seeing that the students did study the particular book, and at the end of the term an examination was set on the portion appointed. There were periods during which certain doctrines were explained, i.e., portions of the text-book were expounded and discussed, and in some subjects exercises were asked for on a particular aspect of the subject, but generally within the lines of the text-book. We are not condemning the method, for it was the only possible method where one tutor had to take students at four different stages in their college course, not only in Old Testament, New Testament, Church History, and Systematic Theology, but also in English, Logic, Mathematics, and Latin, besides having to do the work of a charge with four out-stations. But there were certain inevitable results which are glaringly apparent. (1) Tuition became a mechanical repetition of theories held in the tutor's younger days. He had literally no time for pursuing the trend of modern scholarship on any subject. (2) The course was not looked on by the student as the beginnings of studies which he would make his life work. (3) The Church as a whole did not place much importance on the continuation of studies, or on learning at all. (4) The educational standards of the ministry and those of other professions in the island became divorced not only in the public mind, but in fact, and ministers gradually lost the
position of leadership in the community, because they had lost the
power to lead thought.

In examining the College libraries of the Methodist, Presbyterian,
and Baptist churches, in 1937-38, it was noteworthy that there were
very few books in them which had been published after 1910. None of
them contained a complete set of commentaries on either Old or New
Testaments of any description; one had a set of Hastings' Dictionary
of the Bible, in poor condition; and all of them revealed narrowness
of outlook if the contents of the shelves are an indication of the
教学. We shall see that conditions have been altered for the
better since that date.

The method of training in vogue at present, changed not only be-
cause a change was desirable, but owing to a scheme of co-operative
training between Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian already referred
to, is the lecture method, with the use of text-books by the students
and with guidance in the use of reference works contained in the var-
ious libraries. The result is that the students are beginning to
grasp the idea that no single book contains the whole truth about any
subject, and that scholarship is constantly making advances in discovery
and in thought. Furthermore, the lectures allow plenty of scope for
asking questions and for discussion, and from time to time essays and
exercises are prescribed. There are no examinations in the Easter
term, and experiment has been made in prescribing research work for
that period, with good results.

This change has been made possible only through the co-operation
of these three churches, for in place of the tutors of these churches
each giving instruction to their own denominational students in all
subjects, there is now a staff of four lecturers, for whom theological college work is their first concern. The arrangements are by no means complete, as we shall see, but they are in line with the forward movement on the mission fields. At first, when only two denominations co-operated, viz., Baptist and Methodist, a 'gentleman's agreement' existed concerning the interpretation of Scripture on the doctrine of baptism, and, though the teaching of theology happens to fall to the Methodist tutor, there has never been the slightest difficulty or misunderstanding arisen on the point. There was at that time one Methodist tutor, and two Baptist. In 1937 the Presbyterian students joined the scheme, and there were then two other tutors added to the staff by that Church. Changes in the staff occurred through death and the departure of missionaries, and the present staff consists of four, one Methodist, one Presbyterian, and two Baptists, of whom one also acts as headmaster of a Boys' High School, and consequently lectures only twice per week in the College.

As far as possible, the time-table and subjects are arranged that one tutor is responsible for each of the four departments, Old Testament, New Testament, Church History, and Theology, but owing to other church duties and the necessity of fitting in with the school time-table, each tutor has to lecture in other departments than his own. Also, subjects which properly belong to an Arts course, such as English, Logic, Ethics, Psychology, are divided amongst the tutors according to their interests and training, and the time at their disposal. We cannot claim this as satisfactory, but it is better than the former system.

There are no definite agreements existing between these three

churches, and each has its own college and is responsible for the standards, length of course, and supervision of its own students. In theory, each tutor is responsible for the entire training of all his students in all departments. Tutors of other denominations have no responsibility towards any but their own synods, nor for any but their own students. Each synod is aware of, and has given its 'blessing' to the co-operative scheme, and Methodists and Baptists have an understanding that each will give the other two years' notice of withdrawal, but nothing else exists on which to build a permanent Union College. The timetable, subjects, text-books, etc., are arranged by the tutors at a staff meeting which is not recognised by any of the synods, but whose recommendations with reference to examination results are in practice accepted by each of the synodical committees. At present, the curriculum required by the synods is not followed, for in most cases it is out of date, but the synods have in practice accepted the adjustments made by the tutors and have accepted the alteration and modernisation of text-books arranged by the staff. Synodical committees have confined their efforts to the practical requirements of the students in the matters of housing, feeding, and practical work during the vacations. Great responsibility therefore rests on the tutorial staff, and there has been little attempt to regularise matters and move towards a United College, partly because of the difficulties expressed by the Baptist Union in the wider negotiations towards the union of the churches which will be studied later. Sufficient here that it be noted that the Baptists withdrew from negotiations on the question of immersion. To raise the matter of College Union prematurely would almost certainly lead to the resurrection of the
I question in a more acute form, and might have the effect of bringing the co-operative training to an end. The longer the question is delayed, the more proof will there be that theological training can be given jointly, and the greater the number of men on the field will have been trained under the joint scheme. After ten years of Methodist-Baptist co-operation, and five with Presbyterians added, there is a growing number of young ministers in these denominations who have been through college together and know and respect each other's principles. It might be added also that the Congregational Union and the Moravian Church send their students to the Baptist and Presbyterian colleges respectively, and they receive the same training as the students of the College in which they reside.

Provision is made by each tutor for special courses in matters of particular interest to his own denomination, viz., the constitution and rules of the local church, and the history of the denomination.

A comparison of the old curriculum with the new is best seen by examining one typical college curriculum as required by the authorities with the present curriculum used in the co-operative scheme.

Table 1 is taken from the requirements of the Presbyterian Church as revised in 1910 and unchanged till 1933.

Table 2 is the course of training for Presbyterians in 1933.

Table 3 is the course used in the joint scheme as planned in 1937, which came into operation in 1938, for a four-years' course.

Table 4 gives the courses during 1938-42 in addition to the classes taken by students of all the denominations.

**TABLE 1.**

**First Year:**
- Latin (Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Horace).
- Greek (Grammar, Luke or John, and Acts).
- Psychology; English Literature; and English Bible.

**Second Year:**
- Old Testament Exegesis;
- New Testament Introduction and Criticism;
- Ethics; Homiletics.

**Third Year:**
- Hebrew Grammar; Old Testament Introduction;
- Old Testament Theology; Church History;

**Fourth Year:**
- Hebrew; Old Testament Exegesis;
- Church History; Dogmatics.

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**TABLE 2.**

**First Year:**
- Unity and Argument of the Bible;
- Old Testament (Deuteronomy);
- New Testament exegesis (St. Mark);
- History of Israel;
- Latin (Vergil, Livy);
- Homiletics; English.

**Second Year:**
- Old Testament Introduction (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel);
- New Testament (St. Luke - exegesis, Teaching of Paul);
- Ethics; Psychology; Early Church History.

**Third Year:**
- New Testament (St. John);
- Old Testament (Religious Ideas of the Old Testament);
- Church History; Comparative Religion.

**Fourth Year:**
- Old Testament (Psalms and Wisdom Literature etc.);
- Dogmatics; Reformation Church History;
- Christian Ethics; Practical Training.

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1. Presbyterian Book of Rules, etc. p. 83.
2. Presbyterian Synod Papers, 1933, p. 5.
## TABLE 3.1

### First Year:
- English; Logic; Elocution; Practical Theology;
- Elementary Greek; Elementary Theology;
- Old Testament Introduction (Historical Books);
- New Testament Introduction (Gospels);
- Early Church History; English Bible (Sermon on the Mount - one term only);

### Second Year:
- English; Elocution; Practical Theology; Ethics;
- Old Testament Introduction (History of Israel);
- New Testament Introduction (Teaching of Jesus);
- New Testament Exegesis (Romans and Matthew);
- English Bible (Hebrews - one term only);
- Systematic Theology (God, and the doctrine of the Spirit);
- Reformation Church History.

### Third Year:
- English; Elocution; Practical Theology; Comparative Religion; English Bible (Philippians - one term);
- Old Testament Introduction (Religious Ideas of O.T.);
- New Testament Introduction (The Teaching of Paul);
- New Testament Exegesis (St. Mark and Acts);
- Systematic Theology (Man, sin, and grace);
- History of Missions.

### Fourth Year:
- English; Elocution; Practical Theology; Psychology;
- Old Testament Introduction (Prophets);
- New Testament Introduction (Epistles, etc);
- New Testament Exegesis (St. John and Ephesians);
- English Bible (Galatians - one term);
- Systematic Theology (Person and Work of Christ);
- Jamaica Church History.

## TABLE 4.1

### First Year:
- Junior Hebrew; Religious Education and Sunday School Method; History of the Canon.

### Second Year:
- Hebrew; Apologetics; History of the English Bible.

### Third Year:
- The Creeds of the Church; Church Worship and the Sacraments; The Psalms and Galatians (English commentary).

### Fourth Year:
- Church Finance and Business Method; Rules & Forms of Procedure; Special periods Church History (Methodist).

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1. Minutes staff meeting 18.11.38. 11. St. Colme's reports 1938-42.
It will be seen that the course compares favourably with that covered in British Colleges, with the obvious limitations, that the students have not the preliminary education necessary for the fullest grasp of any of the subjects, and also that the staff is hopelessly inadequate to cover the range. All tuition, however, is given with the knowledge of the circumstances in which the student will later work, and there is not doubt that at present the course is closely related to the future of the student.

Practical work is under denominational committees, and consists in what can best be designated 'assistantships' for which no salary or honorarium is given, and in the work of which little guidance is given by the minister of the charge. The students on the whole are inclined to resent this side of college life, probably because the ministers under whom they work are not themselves in close touch with the college, and also because the conditions under which the students will work, for many years at least, will be vastly different from city churches. Ninety per cent of our churches are in the country, and what is possible financially and in the matter of lay help in town for the running of various congregational activities is rarely possible in the country in any denomination. It would appear from the records that better results were obtained when one station was attached to the College and was under the care of the Tutor of that College, assisted by the students. The theory of the class-room was then closely related to the work of the charge, and errors could be corrected at once. As at present managed, the two sides of the training are not co-ordinated except when annual reports are sent to the controlling committees and the opportunity has passed for correcting.
under the joint training it would be necessary to have one church from each denomination with a tutor on the staff, or for the United College to operate in an action charge.

From a wide study of the training for the ministry in Jamaica, there are five points which stand out as requiring emphasis and action in the near future:

1. There is need for a staff of at least four full-time tutors, each to be responsible for one of the four main branches of a theological course, viz., Old Testament, New Testament, Church History and Systematic Theology. This would enable students of different years to be given lectures separately, instead of first-year and final-year men receiving the same lectures. It frequently happens that a student studies the Reformation before he has studied Early Church History. The only method of avoiding this would be to admit students only every four years, taking them through the complete course in proper order, but this would not fill the needs of the churches adequately.

2. Unite the three colleges so that the students of the five cooperating churches reside together. (No church has experimented with non-residential students). This is partly a financial question, as it would involve the sale of, or transfer of, two buildings to some other department of work, e.g. women's training. But a Union Hostel would lessen overhead expenses although the initial cost might be heavy. Some synods would hesitate, for the present system allows the transfer of a tutor to some other work if it happens that there is no student of that denomination in college, in which case the upkeep of his manse falls on some congregation and the college itself
is closed. This has been the experience of every denomination in turn, and it is the fear of being involved in the upkeep of a union building in years when the denomination has no students in residence that makes all the churches hesitate to commit themselves to a union scheme. Also, if the agreement provided for each denomination to appoint a member to the union staff, the denomination would feel that although their member was paid by their particular union society, they themselves were getting little benefit. The union society also might not be happy about such a situation, though recently the Church of Scotland missionary tutor acted as resident warden in the Methodist college while the Methodist tutor was on furlough.

(iii) Some provision should be made for regularisation of the entrance standards to the colleges. Each denomination at present has its own standards, none of them requiring London matriculation, some of them not even Cambridge senior certificate. In a union college, or even in the co-operative scheme, it would make for the raising of the standard if the staff could be guided by a common entrance examination on a standard not lower than London matriculation. At present, each tutor examines for his own denomination and reports to his own head. The staff is then informed of the number of students entering college. (iv) Closely allied, is the need for either a full-time teacher for non-theological subjects, or for an arrangement with the teachers' training college to provide a general education so that every candidate might have some background before entering the study of theological subjects. The notion which appears in the above title (p. 119) is not satisfactory, and both students and staff should obtain better

with if the general education were received first.

by Presbyterian Church Union, 1959.
The length of time spent in the theological college must be regularised. The present length of course varies. Methodist students enter at the beginning of the summer term and attempt to cover in one term the ground covered by others in the first year. All other students enter in September. Methodists have three years after the preliminary term; Presbyterians have four years in all, as have Moravians; Baptists have normally four years, but frequently five; and Congregations have generally two (for financial reasons) but sometimes three. The drawbacks of this system, or lack of system, are obvious and need not be laboured here. The ideal would be for the first year to be a preliminary year (in the case of the Methodists the first term only), and for all students thereafter to take three years in theology.

We shall examine in chapter five the position with regard to university training, but it is desirable here to notice that could be done in that connection with the minimum amount of change. Some candidates for the ministry have passed the London Matriculation which can be taken in the island, and all could sit for this examination if tuition were given in the suggested preliminary year. Thereafter, i.e. in the remaining three years, the university syllabus for the London B.D. could be followed with advantage, so that each student, while not being compelled to sit for the degree, would benefit by the course of studies prescribed by that university. This would also bring the churches into line with other professions in the island, and particularly bring the non-Anglican churches into the line with Church of England, whose college follows the course of the L.Th., and B.A. (intermediate standard) of Durham University. A further benefit would be that the work of the Jamaican Colleges would be to some extent supervised by the London Staff Meeting, minutes 1942.
examiners, and arrangements might even be made for affiliation, as the Anglican College is affiliated with Durham.

No attempt has been made in co-operative training with the Church of England or with the Church of God, and the relation between the church of God and other churches in the island does not hold out any promise of success should an attempt be made. There are possibilities of the Church of England joining in a Union College, though here again there are financial difficulties over property and buildings.

Connected to the training of students for the ministry, there has been a scheme of training catechists, or whole-time workers. The course of studies for these men has as a rule been a modification of the course set for theological students, but this work has been done only in the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican churches. The custom has been to provide for a year's course, stressing such subjects as English Bible, sermon preparation, the church catechism, the conduct of the service, etc., but in all churches the rules have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance. We have already seen that day-school teachers who acted as catechists were thought to have sufficient training in religious instruction, and where a layman was employed only part-time — with a maximum salary of £12 per annum — he could not leave his ordinary employment to attend a college for training. The fact that full-time catechists do not attend, of course, is the fault of the churches mainly, though the difficulty is a financial one, for there is no provision for training except for such candidates as are intended for the pastorate. The following table indicates the type of curriculum arranged for the catechist's training:

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CATECHISTS' TRAINING COURSE

1. During a six months' probationary period, books of a general nature are prescribed, and a written examination is held to determine (a) sincerity of purpose (b) capability for the work (c) knowledge of Scripture and (d) command of English language and powers of speaking.

2. Over the next three years, a text-book is prescribed on each of the following subjects, and a uniform examination is set by the Synodical committee on the books for the particular year: Preaching and Pastoral work; Sabbath School work; Bible Knowledge; Shorter Catechism; How to study the English Bible; Presbyterianism; The Reformation; Rules and forms of local church.

3. Annual conferences held with each catechist on his work and the books he has read during the year.

It must be said that these rules do not seem to have been carried out, and some method is needed in all churches whereby the training of men can be connected with the training colleges for pastors.

Supervision of Students:

After the prescribed course of three to five years in the various colleges, during which students are under one or other of the Church committees for purposes of supervision and for summer work during the vacation, the students are appointed in different ways to different parts of the island. Anglican students are appointed assistant curates, under the rector of some church until such time as the Bishop appoints them to a church of their own. Baptist students await a call to a congregation. Congregational and Moravian students are appointed to work either in a vacancy or under some missionary-supervisor. Methodist students are put in charge of some group of churches jointly with a settled minister with whom they work as junior and senior colleague. Presbyterian students are located by a synodical committee, and may either supply in a vacant charge, or work in an out-station under a senior

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utor or missionary. Those Churches which allow students to accept appointments as ministers in charges as soon as they leave college have a method of probationer training, and the student, once he accepts a call, comes under the ordinary government of the ministry. Those like the Methodist and Presbyterian, which both have a three-year relationship, have opportunity of supervising the practical work of the probationer to a far greater extent than is possible once a man is in his own charge.

During this probationership, certain books are prescribed for the young man's study, and examinations are set on the books studied. Regular reports on his preaching and pastoral work are also required, and his final location is determined according to the needs of the field and the ability shown by the probationer during that period. In practice, it is found that the Methodist system gives better results and is more regularly worked than the Presbyterian, and the practice of making a probationer a junior colleague is better suited to the Jamaican character and mentality, than that of putting him under a committee of the church, or leaving him more or less on his own.

The day of corporate union of the churches is perhaps somewhat distant, but the day of adoption of the best system of training and of supervising the young students and probationers need not be distant. It depends on whether the Jamaican churches will take seriously into consideration the entire question of the training of the native ministry.

If the general policy of the churches is to equip Jamaican pastors for more responsible positions as leaders, then a further department must be added to the colleges, viz., refresher courses should be instituted for young ministers, and special courses from time to time for
Misters who show capabilities in special departments. The need for full-time social workers, for youth leaders, for missionaries, for evangelists, will appear later in our study, as well as for supervisors or directors of such branches of the church work as Home Missions, and for all of these functions opportunity should be given for adequate training.

There is in Jamaica both on the part of students and ministers of the churches, a feeling that college curricula are as a rule totally inadequate. The critics are divided into two camps—and this is not peculiar to Jamaica—one which desires all the present subjects to be struck off the list, and the entire course to be taken up with psychology, study of social conditions, psychoanalysis, youth programmes and similar subjects with modern-sounding titles; the other group is convinced that only a drastic return to the old days, by which they mean the subjects and textbooks they themselves used in college, will produce ministers capable of doing the work of the church in the twentieth century. The groups do not divide according to age or experience, and it may be that their criticism is in neither case valid. But the criticism is heard with increasing frequency in the island, and Professor Foster has made some remarks on the subject which are to the point:

I have little in the way of radical reform in mind. Theology, Old Testament, New Testament, and Church History will, I hope, remain the 'big four' of theological education....but my point is that so much is relevant. No amount of new subjects, or old subjects with new titles, will make ministers out of men without a call to the work. Present-day Jamaica is rather swept off its feet with programmes of organizations for education, for social work, for political schemes, for poor relief,
and seems to desire to remodel the Church on similar lines. All failure, and all weakness, is blamed on the 'system', and the contention seems to be that a new 'system' will bring the Kingdom of God to order. Jamaica is as true an illustration as can be found anywhere of the veracity of the statement that "a sense of history is the outstanding need of the younger churches. As the Madras findings say, one of the chief tasks of the modern missionary is 'to embody and transmit the experience of the universal church'.

Jamaica is in danger of cutting herself off from the idea of the universal church by the continued stressing of the 'uniqueness' of Jamaica and the Jamaican, on one hand, and on the other, by the stress on 'system' and 'organisation'.

I came to be uneasy about that current Protestant blasphemy which describes the visible Church as 'organised religion', with the superior assumption that the vaguer one is in that regard the safer for all of us. I mean, (what is needed is) a return to the apostolic faith in 'the Church which is His body'. After experience of the work of the Church abroad I would not send out any of your hazy idealists for international relations, social uplift, rural reconstruction, and the rest — no, nor-your zealot for mere individual conversions either. Unless work is Church-centred, it will not endure. This must not be taken as condemning things like social uplift, but it definitely does condemn the vague idealist whose action never by any chance finds expression except in words. It may be that too many missionaries came with a cut and dried system of religion and applied it ruthlessly without full examination of the conditions of the people to whom they came, but even if that were the case, and there is little proof of it

1. ibid. p. 111. 11. ibid. p. 150.
in Jamaica, it is no substitute to adopt a continual vagueness about
moral truths and the power of God in the lives of men, nor can pro­
gress be made by the mere collection of crowds of individuals attached
only to one particular dogma of one particular sect. The call for
unity among the churches in Jamaica is clear, but action will only
be taken by the Church leaders, i.e. the native leaders, when they
realise that they are part of the Universal Church, and that the char­
acter of that church cannot be changed by organisation. Government
reports, and these are not generally given to stating truths so funda­
mental, show that the Royal Commission found that in Jamaica at least
there could be no progress educationally or morally or socially except
such movements was church-centred. That truth must be emphasised
in all theological training in the island. Yet it was only in 1941
that permission was given, after much argument, to lecture in the co­
erative colleges on the History of Missions in Jamaica.11 Previously,
Presbyterian students had to be satisfied with the course on Reformation
history, Methodists and Baptist with a study of the Evangelical
Revival (without Reformation). All had early Church History, and none
had any instruction as to the general course of the history of the Church
of which they were a part.

I found it to be the widespread fashion to treat Church History
somewhat seriously for the first five centuries (451 seems to be a fav­
ourite date); and then to take a leap. Where you come down to earth
again depends upon denominational taste: Lutherans begin from the monk
of Wittenberg and his Ninety-five Theses, 1517. Presbyterians brush
past to get on to John Calvin at Geneva, 1536. Congregationalists are

1. West India Royal Commission Recommendations. 11. Minutes of
Staff Meeting.
impatient lest the 'Mayflower' should sail without them, 1620; while
Baptists find an earlier beginning on the Continent, but in England
are only a few years ahead. Quakers come down to George Fox and his
inner light in 1646. Methodists must travel another hundred years to
John Wesley and his warmed heart, 1738...we act as though, after the
first heroic centuries, nothing of great importance happened till our
denominational re-beginnings of Church History. These
words might have been written of Jamaican Colleges until recently.
The next step is to get that teaching down through the ministry to
the people, not that they may become brilliant historians, but that
they may realise they are part of 'the holy Church throughout all the
world'.

Jamaica today is standing at the cross-roads, quite literally.
The West India Royal Commission Recommendations are exceedingly wide
in their scope, and most of the organisation will be of the type that
is seen by the common people. It will be easy to point to proofs of
success or failure. Side by side with this, there is a growing demand
for higher education, and for the privilege of Jamaica's managing all
her own affairs. We are not concerned here with politics or with
government, but no one who knows the situation can look on without
grave misgivings at the multitude of schemes and the re-arrangements
of life for the community, without realising that there is a vital need
for the power that saves men from themselves. The Church has an opport-
unity, and we have seen already that she has the contact, if she would
make up her mind to use it. The people are naturally religious; it
is part of their very nature to worship and to express their worship

1. Foster, p. 165.
in ways which easily get out of hand if not guided into channels of active service. That is the Church's opportunity, and to grasp it she must continue and extend the training of leaders, of ministers for work in the community and the parish. To that end the Churches must take immediate steps to co-ordinate the work of their theological colleges, to maintain adequate staffs, to arrange for proper supervision of the young men leaving the colleges, and to provide special training for special spheres of service.

Training Schemes for Other Workers:

There are three experiments in training which have been made recently, in addition to the work done by deaconesses of the Church of England, the church of Scotland, and the Methodist Church. The Church of England deaconesses have been trained locally from 1895 and are women of devout character and approved fitness... set apart by the Bishop for the care of the sick and poor, the education of the young... be sponsors for illegitimate children... they are to be under thirty years of age, to have a year's preparation... to work in the parish with the consent of the incumbent... Methodist deaconesses are trained in England, and Presbyterian in Scotland, the latter being a voluntary worker. In addition, Church sisters are trained by the Methodist and Anglican Churches in separate institutes run by the deaconesses of these churches, part of the course for Methodist Sisters being given in connection with the co-operative college for ministerial students.

It is in connection with the Methodist Deaconess Training Scheme that the first of the three experiments is operated, and it consists in a course of instruction for Jamaican young women who desire to become

1. Valdecott, p. 179.
more proficient in work amongst girls in their own congregation, and, it is hoped, might prepare themselves for work as congregational church sisters. This course may be taken by correspondence, with certain periods of residence in the Deaconess Training Institute, when practical work is arranged. It extends over three years in such cases; or it may be taken in a six months' residential course. The lectures are given by Deaconesses and Church sisters of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, and the practical work of running Sunday schools and girls' and women's organizations is done in connection with city churches. The financial problem is the main difficulty in such a scheme, for there is no fund from which to give grants for these young women to study and there is no remuneration in connection with their work as congregational church sisters as yet. The lectures cover set books on knowledge of the English Bible, story-telling to children; Child psychology; club-work; elementary theology; and simple exposition of certain books of the Old and New Testaments.

The second experiment was carried out by the Sunday School Association of Kingston, which consists of over 100 Sunday School teachers from 17 different churches representing all denominations except Anglican. Daily lectures and demonstrations were given to the teachers by ministers and church sisters who had wide experience in youth work and Sunday school teaching, and the course covered two terms each year. It included Child Psychology, Bible Study, Expression Work, Teaching Methods, Methods of Prayer and of Children's Worship, etc. The cost was nominal and the experiment was felt to supply a great need in giving some training to Sunday School teachers in the city. It is not probable that this course could be used to advantage in the country, but
The third experiment has been carried through for many years in the summer months, both by denominations for their own workers, and by inter-denominational groups. It is the method of summer schools, and it has the advantage of not being confined to any one area, and of being available for day-school teachers during the school vacation. The cost is not as high, and the instruction is given free by ministers and experienced workers. Such schools last for eight or ten days, and may be for ministers, for office-bearers, for students, for Sunday school teachers, for church-workers generally, for youth workers, or for lay men and women interested in the general working of the church. The programmes can be varied to an infinite degree, but there is a growing desire that particular attention be given to refresher courses for ministers and full-time workers, in which the general policy of the churches can be discussed in an informal way, and when ministers who have left college many years ago can get into touch in some degree with the results of modern scholarship and with the more recent interpretations of doctrine.

It would seem desirable that these experiments be linked up with the training of the ordinary ministry, and that as far as possible they be made under the auspices of some such body as the Christian Council, lest the experience of the Universal Church be lost, and the energy and power be dissipated.

We now turn our attention to the two great spheres in which the Church has worked in Jamaica, and in which its influence and leadership is needed in the immediate future - the sphere of Education, and the sphere of Social Welfare Work.
V. EDUCATION
Our purpose in this chapter is not to examine religious education in the form in which it was given in Sunday Schools and instruction classes for children and adults in slavery days, for such instruction was found wherever the missionaries went. It took place in the church, if there were such a building, and was imparted by the missionaries, the missionary’s wife, or any voluntary helper who was willing to assist.

It is our intention here to examine the work of the church in what may be called ‘secular’ education; day-schools, elementary and secondary, the erection of buildings and the training of native teachers, the standards reached by the children in school. The churches had, almost without exception, declared education to be part of their policy of evangelism, and when the Missionary Societies began work towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, they found little in the way of schools even for free white children. Caldecott states that ‘There is in fact painfully little to record so far as regards the upper and middle classes; while for the masses we are in face of an absolute blank.... There were a few schools endowed by private benefactors in Jamaica, but in 1764 three out of the seven were in abeyance, and others are described as being ‘of very trivial importance’.1

The state of education at the beginning of our period may be gathered from a review given by Leslie, author of the ‘New History of Jamaica’ which was published in 1740:

Learning here is at the lowest ebb; there is no public school in the whole island, neither do they seem fond of the thing; several large donations have been made for such uses, but have never taken effect. The office of a teacher is looked upon as contemptible, and no gentleman keeps company with one of the character; to read, write, and cast accounts is all the education they desire, and even these are but scurvily taught. A man of any parts or learning, that would employ himself in that business, would be despised and starved. The gentlemen whose fortunes can allow it, send their children to Great Britain, where they have the advantage of a polite, generous education; but others are spoiled, and make such an inconsiderable figure ever after, that they are the common butt in every conversation. Mr. Beckford has lately bequeathed £2,000 sterling for a free-school; it is doubtful whether this gentleman’s intentions will be answered by the managers; for, by their way of proceeding, there is small appearance they design to encourage men of merit to take upon them such an office. Several have lately offered themselves the were every way qualified for the undertaking; and some promised themselves success, from the good disposition they perceived in many to encourage their design; but after a trial were of necessity obliged to quit it. 'Tis pity, in a place like this, where the means could be so easily afforded, something of a public nature should not be done for the advantage of posterity; but when such a spirit will appear, is hard to determine. There are indeed several gentlemen who are well acquainted with learning, in some of its most valuable branches; but these are few; and the generality seem to have a greater affection for the modish vice of gambling than the
'Belles Lettres', and love a pack of cards better than the Bible. To talk of a Homer, or a Vergil, of a Tully, or a Demosthenes, is quite unpolicite; and it cannot be otherwise; for a boy, till the age of seven or eight, diverts himself with the negroes, acquires their broken way of talking, their manners of behaviour, and all the vices which these unthinking creatures can teach; then perhaps he goes to school; but Young Master must not be corrected; if he learns, 'tis well; if not, it can't be helped. After a little knowledge of reading, he goes to the dancing school, and commences Beau, learns the common topics of discourse, and visits and rakes with his equals. This is their method; and how can it be supposed one of such a turn can entertain any generous notions, distinguish the beauties of virtue, act for the good of his country, or appear in any station of life, so as to deserve applause? Some of the ladies read, they all dance a great deal, coquet much, dress for admirers; and at last, for the most part, run away with the most insignificant of their humble servants. Their education consists entirely in acquiring these little arts, 'Tis a thousand pities they do not improve their minds as well as their bodies..."

That this state of affairs continued till the missionaries took active steps to change it is apparent from a study of the literature and the laws of the period. The coming of the Moravians in 1754 did nothing for education, for they state in 1826 that they have just started Sunday schools and day schools. Methodists and Baptists also seemed to have confined their activities to preaching until after 1800, and the first educational work was apparently done by the..." noted by Cundall p. 35-34.
Scottish Missionary Society agent, Ebenezer Reid who opened the day school in 1800.

The curious fact is that there was more supply of benefactors to endow schools than there was of administrative ability, or else of will, to carry them on. In 1798 a bequest of £1721 was found to be lying quite dormant; the money was recovered, and a free boarding-school on Church of England lines was set up. But another endowment, in the parish of St. Andrew, estimated at £14,000 was irrecoverably lost. In the Journal of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, there is a list of 218 legacies between 1667 and 1736, and yet only three schools were in existence. Most boys of the upper classes were sent home for their education. The few who remained were placed under private charge of the clergy. Fewer girls were sent, because of the expense; those remaining had to be content with brief periods of governesses, with itinerating masters for music and dancing. Of the boys and girls who went to England, Long says, 'they went like a bale of goods consigned to some factor, who placed them in some school of his own choice; and they came too often from the feet of parents, a disgrace to their friends, and a nuisance to their country.'

For want of parental and tutorial guidance not a single young Jamaican of whom he could hear thus sent out and supported until he was called to the Bar was of a character such as to lead him to gain a year by his practice; character, he says expressly, not abilities.

Cundall in 'Historic Jamaica' has given a detailed list of the legacies left by benefactors before our period, and he bears witness to the above statements, and indicated that steps were taken to rectify that had become a public scandal.

That the object of those few who, amongst a community indifferent to such matters, wished to benefit education in Jamaica, had been in the main disregarded during the eighteenth century, is evident from a report of a Committee of the Assembly presented in November 1791 by Bryan Edwards, the historian. The Committee had been appointed to enquire into and prepare an account of the several charities and donations that have been made and devised from time to time, by well-disposed persons for the establishment of free schools in the different parts of this island, and which have not been carried into effect agreeably to the intention of the donors; and further to report a state of the landed and other real property, funds, and securities for money, which, in the judgment of the Committee, are at this time subject and liable to such donations; and their opinion what steps are proper to be taken for the recovery and establishment thereof for the purposes intended.

They reported 'that the Committee, limiting their enquiries to such charities or donations only, in the recovery whereof there appears at this time any visible property to which resort can be had, confine themselves to the several parishes of St. Ann, St. Andrew, Vere, and Westmoreland; in each of these parishes donations have been made for the purpose in the resolution of the House mentioned; some of which donations have not been carried into full effect and others have remained wholly unapplied and unaccounted for by the several devisees, executors, purchasers, or possessors, under the original grantors or donors of such estates or properties as were socially charged with such donations'.

1. Cundall, p. 34-35.
such is the position admitted by all to have been the case as the nineteenth century opened, and education began with the work of the missionaries who, in order to instruct their converts in the truth of the Gospel, found they had to undertake to teach them to read the Bible.

Schools for Free Blacks and Slaves:

As we have noted elsewhere, the earliest reference to day schools for white and free black and coloured children is in connection with the work of Ebenezer Reid, a catechist and agent of the Scottish Missionary Society, the only survivor of a party consisting of one minister and two catechists who were sent to Jamaica in 1800. In a report of 1802 published at the time by the Scottish Missionary Society which was responsible for Reid's support, we find that in addition to the "Sabbath evening meetings, which were successful" and which "some whites attend regularly", Reid had a "good number of children in a day school" and as there was a law at the time against teaching slave children (except with the consent of their owners) it is most probable that Reid's scholars were free black, coloured and white. Indeed, that that was the case is shown by Timpson who, with reference to 'Teacher' Reid, says that "for 28 years he conducted a school at Kingston and was the first to demonstrate the equal intellectual capacity of black and white children." We have also seen in another connection that the Church of Scotland congregation, founded 1814, as soon as its buildings were completed and opened (1819) started two schools for the children of the members, i.e. for free children of all colours, in the first, and in

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2. Timpson: Jamaica Interlude, p.10.
the second, children of slaves. The position was that the law could be disregarded in practice so long as there were no apparently bad results from teaching slave children to read, but it was always there if required. Jamaican enforcement of laws has not changed with the years, and there are probably more respectable citizens in Jamaica who break laws on the Statute Books than in any other country under British administration. Were the police and the magistrates as severe as the laws allow, few people would escape the penalties. Such has been the case from the beginning, for the character of the people is such that there are sudden outbreaks of a particular type of crime or nuisance, and a severe law is passed. In a few weeks, the wave has passed, but the law remains on the Statute Books. So with a multitude of regulations governing every conceivable phase of life, from sanitation to servants' wages. Education is compulsory in Kingston and several towns in the island, yet hundreds of children are never sent to school, and the law is not enforced. Such has been the case from the beginning.

The Baptists in Kingston opened an auxiliary school in 1825 and magistrates and assembly members were present1 and a female centre was opened in the same year. This was in line with the Baptist Missionary Society policy which was "To instruct slaves and children with the permission of their owners".11 Rowe, their first agent, had opened a school for negroes on his arrival in 1614 in Falmouth11 although the law is said to have been that "only children of free people could attend day schools till 1834.14 In practice, this meant that slave children had to work through the day unless the

other gave them permission to do otherwise. Slaves were the owner's property, and although he had to pay a fine as guarantee if he gave them their freedom, there was no law against his allowing them to idle if he so desired, or as to whether or not he could give time off for education. By 1835 the Moravians had 25 schools with 1,043 scholars. Presbyterians and Methodists had also begun schools wherever they could get permission for slaves, and wherever they could get children, for free blacks and for whites, and this 'competition' induced the Church of England to begin the work of education seriously. In 1834, it was clear that education must form largely in island life in the future, and in that year children under six became free from their former labours in the fields, and thus free to attend day schools, the permission of parents and former owners not being required. The London Missionary Society in 1834 sent out six missionaries whose duty was to do educational work, and they opened infant schools. These schools are entirely unsectarian in character; their chief support is derived from school fees, and in no instance are they aided by government grants or grants from the society's funds. They are all conducted by native teachers, under the supervision of the missionaries. The testimony of the Moravians is that day schools were 'slow' till 1834, but it is to be remembered that that church worked entirely in the country parts until 1897 when their first town congregation was begun. Consequently, there were not many free children to attend their day schools, and though they had experimented with evening schools for slaves, they found that the slaves were frequently too tired to

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benefit much. Slave schools depended for their existence on the
till of the owner, and there is evidence that the Presbyterian Mi­s­sionaries were fortunate in their local managers, for at Hampden a
female teacher was trained for the day school before emancipation,
while in St. Mary there was a day school with 70 pupils.1 Carlile
states that day schools were attached to all congregations early on,
"without exception," while Watson reported that the Governor had
early in 1832 (before the Bill of Apprenticeship came into force)
visited his schools and "sent £50 for the work" which Watson had
reported on previously.

There was little distinction made between education for adults
and that for children. In slavery days, and immediately after, all
were in the same position—all had to be taught the rudiments of
language, and the difference lay in two directions only: adults, if
slaves, were not often allowed to attend day schools, and certainly
not with any degree of regularity; while if they were free, they
had to go about their own business and were unable to attend schools.
Children, then as now, were irregular in their attendance, depending
largely on owners' permits, or on their parents' whims, and being
affected, if slaves, by seasonal crops, and whether slaves or free,
by weather conditions which even to-day seriously decreases attendance
at school. There were however, attempts at adult education in the
evenings, on Sunday afternoons, and whenever time could be got from
the slaves' own hours. Domestic slaves were most accessible, and
of course free people, especially the women, could be got together
for purposes of instruction. The Moravians report that by 1835

in Jamaica. III. B.M. Register, vol 14, p. 55.
they had "483 in evening schools" and that they had been tried previously without much success, because the slaves were willing, but too tired after the day's work. Adult education in those early days was confined mainly to teaching the slaves and the newly-emancipated, to read the Bible. The question of adult education has never been tackled seriously in Jamaica, either by Church or Government. Statistics in Jamaica are not always accurate, but the figures given for literacy in 1894 was only 26.18%. By 1911 it had increased to 40.6% and in 1938 it was estimated by the Education Department at 50%. There is a general feeling that that is too high, and the real figure is 40% still, but the facts gathered from the 1943 Census returns still await classification. "However, every second person in the island can neither read nor write, and in the more remote rural areas the ratio becomes very much worse. "More will be said on this point when we have completed our survey of elementary and secondary education after emancipation.

Elementary and Secondary Schools:

The policy after emancipation with respect to the Church and education did not differ in any denomination, and for our purpose we may treat the Church as united in this matter for many years. The work had received great impetus from 1834, and was blessed by Government in a belated attempt to fit the negro slaves for freedom. "A Government Commission found in 1837 that in Jamaica there were 12,000 in the day schools, 5,000 in evening schools, 20,000 in Sunday schools, and 4,000 in private schools....Gardner narrates the interesting fact that grown-up people resorted for instruction in the evening to clever Buchner; Moravians in Jamaica. ii. Quoted by Merle Davis from Report of Education Dept. 1938 chap.4. iii. Merle Davis, p. 37.
boys of the higher grade schools to such an extent as to render such
boys able to earn their own living. Fees for elementary schools
were taken from the first, and in a day-school of 280 children at Hamp-
den, the children paid for their own books and also fees amounting to
£4 in 1841. At Goodwill, six miles away, a school of 165 children
produced fees amounting to £54 in the same year. In 1838 the Scott-
tish Missionary Society received a grant from H.M. Government of £1,500
for schools in Jamaica, on condition that the Society added a sum of
£750 and later the sum of £6,630 was given to the Presbyterian mission-
aries in Jamaica for elementary education. In 1835 the S.P.G. opened
a 'Negro Instruction Fund' from whose resources a National School Estab-
lishment, i.e., elementary schools under the supervision of the Estab-
lished Church, were operated. The report the following year reads: 'We
have nothing, before it, worthy of the name of school; its effects on
the language, habits and minds of the rising coloured and negro popu-
lations are incalculable; the disposition to advance its interests is
every day growing stronger in this country. Since its introduction
into Jamaica, it has succeeded in placing 3,000 under instruction, and
that, too, by masters trained by the Superintendent of the Central School. [11]

(This was a teacher training institute established by the Church of
England). By 1841 the Church of England operated 62 elementary
schools, the Baptists 61, the Methodists 25, the L.M.S. 16, and the Mico
Charity 22. No figures are given for Moravians or Presbyterians. [iv]
By 1864 there were 490 elementary schools in the island, with 18,850
scholars, [v] and in 1938 there were 656 elementary schools, of which
173 were government schools, and 503 were assisted schools, almost all

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1. Caldecott, p. 112. 11. S.M. Register. May 1841. 111. S.P.G. Digest,
P. 228, para 7. IV. Caldecott, p. 112. V. Dillon, p. 23.
of them operated by the churches. The number of scholars was 163,732.1

In Gardner's 'History' no reference is made up to 1865 to secondary schools, unless the institutions founded by Baptists, Moravians, and Presbyterians can be so considered. We have already noted the Montego Bay Academy (Presbyterian), and the Calabar Institute (Baptist), and reference has been made to the Fairfield School (Moravian), founded in 1840. The Central School (Anglican) and other private ventures were intended for teacher training and for education which was certainly more advanced than elementary, though perhaps not on a high standard. One of the missionaries opened in 1836 "a seminary in his house for educating the higher classes of society, white and coloured; 11 the Montego Bay Academy gave "an excellent classical and mathematical education" according to the report of Governor Sir Henry Barkly in 1855; the number of scholars enrolled (at the Academy) between 1846 and 1870 was 563, and the fees from them amounted to £4,514.14.6d. 111 In 1876 the Methodists opened York Castle High School under Dr. Kessen of Glasgow, IV with 30 boys in residence. In Jamaica, the Church of England had a Church Grammar School operating as an endowed school after the Church was disestablished, and the Scots Kirk had a Collegiate School in Kingston. V Other secondary schools were begun later, e.g., St. Andrew High School for Girls (a Union school operated by Methodists and Presbyterians) in 1925.

Education Boards had been established in the West Indies in 1645, but it was not till after the 1865 rebellion that elementary education was put on a sound basis. Since slavery, elementary education had been carried on as denominational institutions by the various religious

V. Caldecott, p. 184-5.
bodies, and Government had from time to time provided grants for the training of teachers, for assistance in buildings, and had organised a system of inspection. But the development was mainly in attendance and in expenditure. In 1872, there were 58,006 on the books, the grants in aid amounted to £9,897, and the fees paid by the parents had risen to £5,873. In 1885 there were 61,570 children enrolled on the books, the Government grants amounted to £21,000 while the fees paid by the parents increased to £7,900. By that time it was clear that the Government was not inclined to initiate any large schemes of legislation to meet the needs of the adult population, and the leaders of thought therefore turned their attention to the elementary schools as the sphere in which something might, with the least difficulty, be achieved. A Commission had sat in 1885 and reported in the following year with the usual recommendations - compulsory attendance, abolition of fees, and the appointment of a Central Board. The tendency was unmistakably towards a national system, but for this the Government believed the country was not prepared. In 1891 the representatives of the people in the Legislative Council carried a series of resolutions on the same lines. Still nothing was done. At last the Government was compelled to give way before the pressure of public opinion, and in 1892 a measure was passed authorising the expansion and improvement of the established arrangement. A body of influential men was appointed to advise the Government and assist the Schools Department in the general administration of the law and code. Fees were abolished, and school tax on houses substituted. Attendance, however, remained voluntary. A sister measure prepared the way for the institution of

secondary schools at the public expense, and this was the first step ever taken by the Government in the direction of the higher education of the people... In 1896... 100,000 on the books, an average attendance of 99,000, and Government grants to the amount of £47,900.... The schools are still attached to the churches, and are merely assisted by the government which also provides for the inspection.... The burden of management rests on the ministers...

Expansion after the period mentioned by Livingstone above has been mainly in the line of attendance and of grants for buildings, the number of schools in 1938 being, as we have already seen, 656 of which 503 were operated by churches. There are 20 more secondary schools, mainly church, and the total on the roll of the 676 is 163,732 with an average attendance of 93,919, i.e. half the children of school age are enrolled, and of these only 57.3% attend, or 29% of the entire child population of the island. For the past forty years, it has been the stated policy of Government not to give grants-in-aid to any additional church schools, i.e. the elementary schools which are begun must be financed by the church, and in practice this has meant that all future elementary schools are government schools. Secondary schools receive an allowance for each scholar enrolled.

School Buildings:

Much of the work accomplished in Jamaica, both by churches and Government in the matter of schools, has been determined, and even curtailed by the practical and financial question of the provision of buildings, and much time is spent by managers and church officials to-day on this same question.

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we have seen that originally schools were considered part of ordi-
inary mission work, and grants were sent from the home Churches to aid in building and in teacher-training and in salaries of the staff.
At first, of course, most schools were held in the church buildings, but after emancipation, efforts were made by all churches to provide separate buildings. This entailed the gathering of funds from the local congregations, and even after Government began to give grants for school buildings, much money was spent by the churches on build-
ings. At out-stations, it is still the practice for one building to serve both as school and as church, and these are known as school-
chapels. The present government grant for repairs or extension of these if 50% of the actual cost, and the church is allowed to include gifts of material and of free labour in reckoning its share. But this puts a heavy drain on the financial resources of small congrega-
tions. In those places, and they are now the majority, where there is a separate building, the Government grants 50% of the cost, but only in special cases grant 75%. There are also some cases in each denomination where the Government have rented a building from the Church at a nominal rent, in which a Government school is held. This 'rent' is meant for upkeep, but special consideration in the way of grants is given for major repairs and extension. The Church has no financial liabilities towards the 173 Government schools which are held in Government-owned buildings.
Church secondary schools are owned entirely by the Church auth-
orities, and are kept up by fees, and by a Government grant for each registered pupil, with certain provisos. Secondary schools, or endowed schools are operated by Trustees in terms of the endowment,
and are under the general supervision of the Jamaica Schools Commission which was created in 1879.¹

In connection with the Government grants-in-aid to denominational schools, it might be mentioned here that the government, even in 1836 then it was providing two-thirds of the cost of building ¹¹ did not claim many rights over the churches - "it is not the intention of government to claim any right in the property of the buildings or in the appointment of teachers, or over the religious instruction given in the schools".¹¹ The position to-day is that the Education Department approves of appointments made by managers (i.e. ministers of the church owning the school building).

It is unfortunate that the religious instruction given in the schools is determined theoretically by the owner of the building. In a Government school, religious instruction, generally equivalent to morning prayers and Scripture knowledge, is given as required by the Education Code - with a 'conscience clause' under which parents may object to their children receiving the same. A Government school for this purpose is a school held in a Government-owned building, or in a Government-rented building, managed by the local School Board, the minister of the nearest church normally being the manager. In a denominational school, the same regulations of the Code are followed, but in addition, the minister (who is manager) can give the particular teaching of his own denomination. Generally, little is done in this respect, but the privilege is there, and it depends on whether the school is denominationally owned, for Church ownership and Governmental control occurs only in exceptional cases where the Church has been unable to provide the cost of repairs, and Government has been unable

to erect a new Government school. The unsatisfactory nature of this state of affairs is under consideration and will be examined later in the present chapter.

With reference to the Government system of grants-in-aid, Dr. Underhill, secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, stated in 1878 that "The Government system has enlisted the sympathy and hearty cooperation of the most influential men of the community, viz., the ministers of all the religious societies in the island. To their valuable assistance as school managers must be attributed, in a large measure, the success that has attended the carrying out of the system."

That statement would be even more true to-day, but few churches feel that schools are the help to evangelistic work which they once were; partly because, no doubt, the people in the districts where there is a Government school see little difference, if any, in its management, and while they are not continually asked for extra money for school buildings, they are daily confronted with a better-staffed and better-equipped school, in a better-kept building than their neighbours in the adjoining district, who are continually asked for subscriptions to keep up a building which is poorly-staffed and inadequately equipped in comparison with the Government school of the same size. (The rate of property tax is the same throughout the parish, i.e. there is no extra tax on a district because it has a government school). There is also a growing desire on the part of teachers to feel that when they accept a position in a Government school of the same grade and salary as a Church school, they have been 'promoted', for in the new position they will not be expected to do Church work voluntarily; while there is a similar feeling arising amongst the pastors that the comparative

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positions financially, and educationally, of pastor and teacher in
the district makes it inadvisable to have the assistance of the teacher
in the work of the Church. The arrangements about to be made under
the West India Development Fund will improve this situation.

The Tambaram report on Evangelism stresses the place of educational
institutions in the witness of the Church. The far-reaching influence
and usefulness of Christian institutions as part of the witness of the
Church is recognised. Their service is most constructive when they
are closely associated with the Christian programme as a whole, and
avoid the tendencies to absorb an undue proportion of available re-
sources and to become self-centred. After dealing with Medical
institutions, the report continues with special reference to Christian
Educational Institutions: "(a) All Christian schools and colleges, when
closely related to the life and work of the indigenous church, have
an important part to play in the evangelistic task. (1) They may re-
inforce the corporate witness of the church as centres of Christian
light and truth by the distinctive quality of the education they pro-
vide, and, in the case of the colleges, by the service rendered through
extension and research. (11) They may be the means, under God, of
winning the youth of each country to full allegiance to Jesus Christ.
(iii) They may prepare men and women of trained minds and strong Chris-
tian character for the ministry of the Church and the service of the
community in every walk of life.
(b) The strongest witness is given by a Christian school or college
when the proportion of Christian teachers and students is sufficient
to create a vital spiritual atmosphere and when the total number of
students is sufficiently limited to make intimate and fruitful

relations possible between teacher and student. A Christian school should aim at becoming a real Christian society in which a corporate life is lived and experienced by all who are admitted into its fellowship.

(c) Christian primary schools have rendered large service to evangelism through the education of the children of Christians, and in some countries, have been an effective means for evangelising the wider communities they serve.

(d) Christian schools can make a satisfactory contribution to evangelism only where they are free to maintain their distinctive witness. With this in view, fewer schools and better quality may sometimes be the right policy.

Before proceeding to the Findings of that Conference on Religious Education and the Church’s responsibility for, and help from schools and colleges, it is well to see how far the Jamaica situation carries out the policy outlined above.

1. There is wide diversity of opinion as to whether schools should be church institutions in Jamaica. Anglican and Methodist are strong for the maintenance of church schools (as of course the Roman Church is), and presbyterian and Baptist are both equally divided on the matter, though the presbyterian Church declared its policy some fifty years ago, to be to work towards a National system of Education, and has ‘handed over’ more schools to Government than any other denomination in proportion to its size. The divisions are not merely due to certain ministers finding it hard to obtain funds for school buildings, though that is frequently the case, but it is due to a conviction that it is Government’s duty to provide for the education of all children of the island, and that part of the provision in a Christian land, will

1. ibid. 435–6.
be Christian instruction, i.e. the Church will have some part in the religious instruction of teachers, and of scholars, without having the work of supervising building programmes, etc. By representation on School Boards, the ministers would have a voice in the selection of teachers, and in matters of discipline. Both parties in the churches in Jamaica are perfectly sincere in their opinions, and both are agreed that the schools must form part of the Christian witness, but they feel that Jamaica is on the whole a Christian land, and they know that in everyday life the division 'Christian' and 'non-Christian' is not heard, and would probably be understood, if it were used, to refer to degrees of Christian standards or practice; i.e. the words would be understood loosely, as having little more meaning than 'nominal Christian' and 'practising Christian'. In actual fact, in the 1911 Census, seven eighths of the population stated that they belonged to one or other of the churches or sects. If the churches would come together, and if Government would give them the right, as at the moment they have the privilege, of being represented on the Board of Education, it is quite certain that their members would be sufficiently representative of the people of the island to maintain the Christian witness in the schools.

2. With respect to other institutions - Orphan Homes, Training Colleges, etc. - opinion is again divided, and as far as orphanage work is concerned, the programme will be examined in the next chapter.

With regard to Training Colleges for teachers, there is a need, expressed so far only by the Presbyterian Church, for a Director of Religious Instruction, nominated by the Churches through the Christian Council, these work and duty would be similar to those of the Directors attached

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3. Whatever the situation in other countries, the background of Jamaica history, the interwoven nature of its social structure, makes the suggestion in paragraph (b) in the Tambaram report that schools become a 'Christian society in which a corporate life is lived' a harmful one, for the distinction in Jamaica between that small community and the larger community outside will not be interpreted as, and will not in fact be, a Christian distinction. It will be a social or economic distinction, and, it may be, a colour distinction. Jamaica is as much a Christian country as Britain or America, and has been felt to be such for many years in spite of the level of its moral and educational life. And school communities in Jamaica would, under the above ideal, be artificial - 'super-Christian' in theory, and probably 'sub-Christian' in fact, from the effects of this artificiality on the children turned out from the school. Jamaica must rather stress the points made in section (a) of the report, viz., that schools must be related to the indigenous church, and in (a) (1) that they be centres of Christian light and truth. Apart from the small Jewish and Chinese communities, it may be said that 99% of the children in schools are Christian in home training, in thinking, in general outlook, in so far as there is no anti-Christian prejudice and in so far as they have received, willingly, Christian teaching in Sunday school and day school. Where there is doubt on the matter is in private schools and in secondary schools operated by semi-public trusts, and the Christian atmosphere depends on the attitude of the masters and mistresses, many of whom are not qualified teachers, and some of whom are prejudiced against the Church and religion generally. The future management of these

1. 'The Presbyterian' (Jamaica) July 1943.
schools, however, properly belongs to a later section of this chapter.

The section entitled 'Christian Education' in the Tambaram report is one of the most important sections in the whole series. It will bear lengthy quotation because of the principles embodied in it:

"Education is and must always be a major concern of the Church... In the present century it has acquired an importance which is even yet not fully recognised. Modern discoveries and developments have so perfected its technique that it has become the most potent instrument for forming the ideas, determining the outlook, and moulding the character of individuals and peoples.

Everywhere the development of public education presents the Church with difficult problems of adjustment, whilst in many countries the state is directing its educational system to ends and policies which are opposed to the fundamental principles of Christianity.

The Report of the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State begins its section on 'Education with the words, 'Education is the process by which the community seeks to open its life to all the individuals within it and enable them to take their part in it.'

Christian education is something larger, not smaller, than this. The community whose heritage Christian education seeks to open is of no one age or nation; it opens its heritage not only to its own members, but to all mankind; the life which it seeks to share is rooted in the unseen and eternal realities.

Christian education includes 'religious education', whether as instruction in the faith, or as training in worship and conduct. But its range is wider. It presents the Christian affirmation in the context of all learning, and the growing experience of life. It makes no sharp distinctions between sacred and secular studies. It claims the whole man and his whole life for God.

Christian education, in the full sense, includes evangelism, for it believes that no man can enter into the fullness of his heritage until he has been brought face to face with the claim of God in Christ upon his life. But, essentially, it is with the educational process itself that Christian education is concerned. It is as a teacher that the Christian makes his contribution to that process.

Christian Education - the Lower Stages: If education is a function of the community, then Christian education should, in the areas in which the Christian community is strong and well-organised, be related to the local church. This will mean providing or co-operating in a system of education in which account..."
is taken, at every stage, of the life of the growing community. It will be a system in which the local church seeks, with the help which the older churches give, to share its life with its own members and with their neighbours. The schools which it establishes will be kept in closest touch with the life of the home, the community, and the nation. It would not be desirable, even if it were practicable, that they should serve its own children exclusively. That would mean impoverishment for its own members, and a denial of its duty of service to others. The carrying out of its purpose will demand a definite policy pursued in the light of all the available facts as to the needs of the community and the agencies available to meet them.

It is impossible in this report to suggest detailed plans and programmes; these must be framed to meet the particular conditions of different countries and areas; but there are certain principles which are of universal application. The school must be truly Christian. That does not mean that there will be only Christian children in the school. It may not always mean that there will be no non-Christian teachers. It does mean that the whole tone and spirit of the institution must be Christian, so that the school itself may demonstrate what the life of a Christian community can be. It must also be closely related to the social and economic life of the community, so that the pupils may be in intimate contact with their surroundings and the school itself react fruitfully upon the life of the community.

But most important of all will be the supply and training of the teachers, for it is upon the teachers that the effectiveness of any educational system must depend. What is needed is not only teachers who have the necessary technical qualifications, but men and women who realise the greatness of the vocation of a Christian teacher, and who seek by personal contact with their pupils to lead them into the fullness of the Christian life. The life and witness of the Christian staff and students are a bible which all the non-christians read.

Christian Education — the Higher Stages: We have said that such a system of education should be related to the local church. At the earlier stages it is often so related, but the principle needs to be thoroughly carried out in some areas, where educational plans and policies are still in the main regarded as the special province of the mission.

The Institution and the Church: We may well thank God that He has made possible this large service of Christian education, and we believe that it has a great future before it... We would draw attention here to certain special points:

1. We note with satisfaction the large share which Christian Nationals have come to play in many of these institutions, not only as teachers, but in positions of responsibility and trust. This is a development of great importance, and we hope that the
process will be carried further. While the Institution should welcome into its fellowship representatives of the older churches, the expression of its life should be truly indigenous.

II. The true scholar will not be satisfied merely to be an impartor of truth. He will want to be a discoverer of truth as well. There should be in the Christian colleges and universities scope for research in many branches; this should include studies in the needs and problems of the community and the church. This opens a new and valuable field of service to the Christian colleges.

III. There is need to guard against the danger of secularisation which besets all institutions. The number and character of the Christian staff, the quality of the teaching, the number of the students, all these must be constantly watched if its distinctive Christian purpose is to be made effective.

IV. Finally, there is the relation of the institution to the local church. We recognise that the time has come when the Christian colleges and universities must adjust themselves even more consciously to the life of the local church and must assure themselves that their resources are being employed so as to be of the maximum service to the whole cause of Christ in their country.

It is not for us to indicate the special points at which adjustment needs to be made in different countries. We could only say that along with the question, 'How can the Christian educational enterprise best carry the treasure of the Gospel into the life of the nation?' there should come increasingly into prominence another question, 'How can that enterprise so strengthen and enrich the life of the church itself, that it may become in its own land a strong witnessing member of the world-wide Church of which it is a part?'

The effect of this will not be sudden and heroic, but quiet and gradual. Some Mission Committee on the field will relate its educational scheme more closely to the life of the church in the country. Some college graduate will see in the little Christian congregation in town or village a group that he can help into a better understanding of what it means to be a disciple of Christ in the twentieth century. Some trained Christian scholar will catch fire as he realises that those gifts and that equipment which he thought of merely as fitting him to lecture to his classes can be directed to research on the problems of the Christian Church, its life and witness, which only a trained scholar can undertake.

It is not suggested that the time has come when all the work of Christian education should come under the direct administrative control of the local church, but that it should be in the hands of boards and councils, not in Europe and America, but in the countries of the younger churches; and that on these boards a large place should be given to educationists who are active members of the Christian Church.
What we wish to see is a true partnership in which both the educational systems of the missions and the schools and colleges which they have built up will grow into a closer relationship with the church itself. As the process develops, we may hope to see emerging a greater unity in the Christian movement everywhere. Christian education should then be seen more clearly for what it is, an integral part of the whole great enterprise of the church's witness, the process in which the church as it grows and develops within the nation seeks to open the riches of its life to all its members, and through them and with them to all whom it can reach.

Christian Education and the state: The duty of the Church to strive to secure that the full Christian heritage is made available to its own members and to as many others as it can reach is not affected by the attitude of the state, but the means which it adopts to secure this end must be adapted to the conditions imposed by the state.

It is the recognised duty of the modern state to provide education for its citizens. With its desire to promote the extension and the efficiency of that education the Church should have every sympathy. In many countries the state invites the co-operation of the Church, and gives very considerable assistance to its work. The state can often give a lead in great educational developments which the Church should heartily welcome and assist. On the other hand, the Church, with its greater freedom to experiment and with the experience which is at its disposal from the Christian enterprise in many lands, can often suggest fruitful developments which the state is glad to adopt and follow up.

Yet however cordial the relations may be, it involves the control over the educational activities of the Church which may at any time raise the question whether the conditions which are imposed are compatible with any fruitful participation by the Church in the system.....

If the state makes the prohibition of religion a condition of the receipt of grants-in-aid, the Church must seek to maintain such schools as it can out of its own resources, at least for its own children.......

Finally, we would return to what was said at the beginning about the nature of the task. Christian education, if it is to make the great contribution which it is capable of making, to the upbuilding and expansion of the Church, must be true to its own ideals. It must be effectively Christian. It must be educationally sound. And yet; when all is said, and all our plans made, we know that it is not in us nor in the process to achieve success. Be his work never so thorough and efficient, a Christian teacher knows that of himself he can never reach his aim. We desire to place our institutions.....In the hands of God.

1. Tumbarum Madras meeting, reports vol. 4. p. 54-64.
We have seen that the Churches in Jamaica recognize the principles laid down at the Taubaram Meeting, and that education is a major concern of the Church, and that Jamaica is at present faced with developments in education on the part of Government. But it can be stated with certainty that these developments are not opposed to the fundamental principles of Christianity, and that the Church will always have a great deal to say in the running of the system. Even if the time comes that Jamaica becomes entirely self-governing, the Church, in some form or another, will continue to exist, and although its standards may fall as far short of present standards, still, its position will be recognised if the constitution is at all representative of the inhabitants of the island.

It can also be stated that the Churches have never closed their doors to non-Christian scholars or teachers, although in reality the majority of teachers are church members. But they are not compelled to be, for the position is still as it was at the close of last century, the teachers are not required to be members of the Church any more than the scholars are. In all the schools, and this indeed is a criticism of the Church's work educationally in Jamaica, the tendency is to confine 'Christian education' to 'religious education', i.e., instruction in the faith, (often in church schools equivalent to denominational instruction), training in worship and conduct, and the Christian affirmation is not presented in the content of all learning and the growing experience of life. But the fault there lies in the training given to the teachers, over which the churches have, as such churches, no control as we shall see, except indirectly.

The difficulty in Jamaica is that native teachers, and foreign teachers also, are not technically qualified. Far too many secondary school teachers are non-graduates, and many of them have not themselves been to a training college for teachers. There is a proportion who come from Britain who would not be allowed on the staff of a Scottish elementary school, for they have not the qualifications recognised by the Scottish Education Department. But the Jamaican Government standards are low, and the wages are low, so well-trained and qualified teachers are few and far between. Schools for secondary education which are run by the churches have on the whole a better chance of getting qualified teachers, for some proportion of the staff at any rate offer their services because they feel their work to be a vocation.

The native teachers cannot get technical training of any high standard in the island, for the staff of the training colleges is on a par with that of the Government and private secondary schools. The native, however, is not so likely to keep his faith in one air-tight compartment as is the foreign teacher, hence the native is likely to relate the Christian faith as he understands it, to the context of the wider community.

In Jamaica, Christian nationals have attained to positions of full responsibility for elementary education. Where foreign missionaries are managers of schools, they are so because they are in charge of a native congregation to which the school is attached. Elementary teachers are all Jamaican, and many secondary teachers are also. The danger of secularisation which the report mentions, however, is very real in Jamaica, for the teaching profession has of recent years become increasingly involved in local politics, and has been used in political
propaganda to an amazing degree. The New programme advocated by
the West Indies Development Fund committee may bring about such re-
lationships between teachers and the Church as will balance the recent
propaganda, and the proposals for religious instruction in the Training
colleges and the new terms of appointment of teachers in church schools
will counteract the present discontent in the teaching profession,
but these are matters which will come up for consideration later in
this chapter. But secularisation must be guarded against, and the
churches must now unite to secure that in the working of the New Con-
stitution in the Island there is adequate provision for the continued
Christian witness in the sphere of education.

Education in Jamaica has not for many years been under the con-
trol of boards or councils in foreign countries. We have seen that
only in the case of the Methodist Church can Jamaica be called a mis-
sion field, and even there the control of schools is in practice car-
rried out by the local synod. Jamaica therefore might repay study by
the representatives of the older churches, for even though it is a
small field and not strategic from a world point of view, in many re-
spects it is the only representative of the younger churches which
has advanced to a satisfactory position in the community as a whole,
in its relations to the state, to the people, to learning and culture.
True it is that there are no schemes for corporate union such as we
find on other fields, but when the number of Christians represented
in these union schemes is compared with the total number of inhabit-
ants of these lands, and the result compared with the proportion of
Christians to the Island population and with the amount of actual
united labours by the churches, Jamaica will be found to have travelled
far along the way to a united indigenous church. The relation of the State in the matter of grants-in-aid does not carry with it the prohibition of religion, for even in Government schools, religion is taught and practised. The conditions of Government aid are purely matters of business from the Universal Church point of view, for so long as ministers and Christian laymen are on School Boards, as they are, we may expect education to be the joint work of the Church and the State.

In view of the criticisms we have made earlier, and in view of the facts which will appear later as to the use being made of the teaching profession in making known the new developments in educational and social welfare movements sponsored by the Government, it is well at this juncture to examine in detail the position with respect to the training of teachers in Jamaica.

Teacher Training and Staffing:

Teachers had from the beginning been chosen and sent from Britain to teach the negroes, and in almost every case part of their duties had been, as we have observed, to train assistant teachers. Female teachers (they are never termed 'lady' teachers in Jamaica, officially or otherwise) were trained by the wife of the missionary, and there are many references to this side of the work, apparently begun by the Presbyterian missionaries in 1824. After emancipation, the missionaries could not meet the demand for teachers. And we have already noted that the Presbyterians opened their Academy for teacher-training as well as ministerial training in 1836, that the Baptists opened their College for teachers in 1843, in which 100 teachers were trained in 50.\(^{11}\)

\(^{1}\) Conference on Foreign Missions, Mildmay, 1888, p. 31f.  \(^{11}\) Myers; Centenary of the B.M.S. p. 203f.
years, that the Moravians, who began in 1826 to train teachers opened a training College at Fairfield in 1840. The Church of England had a Central School in 1835 for the training of teachers and the L.M.S. began to train teachers from 1834.

In this connection we have to note that there are in Jamaica three training colleges for teachers - one for men and two for women. One of the latter is operated by the Moravian Church at Bethlehem in St. Elizabeth and is the only remaining church-owned and controlled institution for the training of teachers in the island. The two principal colleges are situated in Kingston area - Mico (men) and Shortwood (women). The beginnings of the Mico College are as follows: One Lady Mico died in 1710, leaving a sum of money to her daughter, on a certain condition. The condition was violated and the money went according to the will, to ransom Christian slaves in Barbary. In 1827 it had accumulated to £111,000. There being then no Christian slaves in Barbary, this money was invested to be employed in educating the negroes. The Mico Charity now maintains a Normal School, in which natives are trained for the work of teaching. This was the result of the work of Sir Thomas Powel, Buxton, Wilberforce's Parliamentary successor, at the time of emancipation. When Coldecott wrote in 1898 there were several colleges for teacher training, all working on a basis of a Government grant of £25 per annum for each student. The Anglican had one college, the Moravians two, the Presbyterians one, the Government one, and the Baptists one, in addition to the Mico. Except for the Bethlehem Training College for women, all teacher training is given in the Mico or in Shortwood College.

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The Mico College and the Shortwood College are each operated by a Board of Directors, and the Rules for Management do not differ in any essential point. In so far as they concern our purpose, which is the position of the Church in the system of teacher training, the following are important principles:

The Board shall consist of fifteen persons fairly representative of the different religious denominations interested in the College, including two to be nominated by the Governor in accordance with clause 10 of the agreement which the Board has entered into with the Government. The Directors shall have power to fill up vacancies in their numbers, care being taken to secure both an efficient and equitable representation of the various religious or educational bodies whose students make use of the College. By the phrase 'denominations interested in the College' is meant in practice those denominations which have church schools, i.e., Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, so that later sectional interests are not likely to be appointed, as no new denominational schools have been allowed for forty years. In the women's Training College, there are five ladies on the Board of Management, but otherwise the churches which are represented are represented by ordained ministers, both pastors and missionaries, with a majority of missionaries. It is to be remembered that these representatives are neither nominated nor appointed by their churches, nor can the individual churches overturn any representative's membership of the training college Boards. The appointments are by invitation of the Board itself, and are confirmed by the Governor. However, for all practical purposes, these Boards consist of representatives of the leading denominations in the island.

and part of their duty is to visit the College and report on its condition and working; to receive and consider monthly and annual reports from the lady principal; to forward an annual report to the government; to advise the Government respecting any change it may think to be desirable in the curriculum of study at the College.

The Boards also decide on appointment and dismissal, number and emolument of the staff.

The rules for religious worship in the College are as follows:—

The work of the day shall be begun and ended with the reading of a portion of Scripture and with prayer. On Sunday, at the discretion of the lady principal, and with such precaution as may seem necessary, those students who desire it may attend any external religious service which is accessible. All others will be required to attend a service held in the College by the lady principal or any minister of religion who may be able and willing to conduct it, subject to the approval of the Board.

The Colleges are undenominational, as has been stated, but it is clear that the churches have, if they care to use it, full opportunity of contacting the students.

The greatest criticism which the Church must make is in the syllabus, where 'scripture' is one of the subjects taught to the students, and is one for which examinations are set. But it is taught by teachers who have had no special training for the subject, and is repeated parrot-fashion by the students when they themselves go out to teach. There is no suggestion that Scripture is in any sense connected to life, any more than Shakespeare's writings are necessary. Let the problem is difficult to handle except it be done boldly and with a united move.

The need is for a trained teacher of Scripture who would act as chaplain to both colleges in the Kingston area. He would need to be a man above the confines of denominationalism, and the Education Department is unwilling to consider such a position, because it would mean recognizing officially the churches, in a way which they do not wish to do, and have not done since 1870. Yet the Roman Catholics, and the Moravians, having their own training colleges, can, if they so desire, teach effectively this most important side of educational life to their students. The Government would, of course, have to pay the salary in the LICO and in Shortwood Colleges, hence the Government has the final word in any such appointment.

During the session, it is the practice of ministers of various denominations to keep in touch with the students in college who have come from the country congregations of that church, and the male students must go to a church of their own denomination at least one service per Sunday. This is a college, and not a church regulation. The female students do not have a similar regulation owing to the distance of the college from the town, but arrangements are made when possible for transport on special occasions. Study groups and S.C.M. branches are also in existence, and there is some contact with the theological students in that way. But there is no vital contact of the Church as such with the subject-matter of the curriculum, though it is from these colleges that all the elementary teachers of the island come.

Vocational Training:

For several years there has been an enlarged emphasis upon vocational training, and the purpose of this training as applied to a
predominantly rural population is best described by W.A. Cover in the 1939 Handbook of Jamaica. Vocational education aims at training the youth of the country to appreciate the rural economic environment, to make use of the natural resources at hand, to be interested in and develop the various forms of manual skill, thus raising their standard of efficiency, and improving their economic position, developing strength of character and contributing to the economic and social welfare of the community; to encourage land settlement, and other co-operative communal welfare efforts.

"Girls are encouraged to be good home-makers, and receive practical training in house-craft, needlecraft, farming and such other practical avenues for individual and community improvement.

"Such training to be effective, must be built on a foundation of religious culture. Training in industry and character-building uplifts the community and makes for happy and healthy citizenship with a love for, and appreciation of, rural life....."

The suitable boy goes from the elementary school with its manual training and agricultural advantages to the Practical Training Centres, to his own farm or land settlement projects, to the Jamaica School of Agriculture, the Technical School, or other suitable trade centres, finding his place in the community at the stage best suited to his individuality.

The girl passes from the elementary school, with its home-craft centres, to the Practical Training Centre and other suitable practical training courses, finding her place in the community at suitable stages according to her character and ability."

There are three such centres in Jamaica, two for boys and one for girls and the students' ages are between 14 and 17 years. The boys spend half their time in class-room, and half on the farm and in the work-shops, where tailoring, metal-working, masonry, carpentry, etc. are taught. The girls learn domestic science and home crafts, child nurture, cooking, sewing, etc. The boys' course is two to three years, and the girls' is five years. The Girls' Practical Training Centre was started some twenty years ago by the Presbyterian Church but was too much of a financial burden for any one denomination, and was sold to Government in 1930 for further development.

The Church's influence in these centres is little, for while the students have worship each day and attend the nearest church on Sundays, and while there are members on the boards of management who are ministers, there is no arrangement for religious instruction in these Centres, and the visit of any minister for that purpose depends on his personal relations with the Principal of the Centre. Here again, the Churches ought to make some move to have chaplains appointed for each Centre, not according to the denominations represented by the students, but simply to give Christian instruction and to make clear to the students the relation between their training, their work in the community, and the witness of the Church. Here also the Christian Council has an opportunity of serving the Church. It might be pointed out that there is no financial hindrance in this case, for nearby ministers would act as honorary chaplains if required, and if the Christian Council were to make the move, there would be no denominational questions. If any denomination made the first move, Government could hardly support the scheme.
The W.I. Development Fund schemes:

All that has been said previously will be vitally affected, and in some cases drastically altered, in the immediate future, by the application of the Recommendations of the West India Royal Commission of 1938-39, whose report was presented in 1940, and as a result of which there was created the West Indian Development Fund, with Sir Frank Stockdale as Comptroller. From time to time, he and his advisers have put forth schemes for the putting into effect the Commission’s recommendations, and it is these schemes as they affect elementary, secondary, and vocational education and teacher training that we must now consider, all in so far as they affect the Church’s work and position in the educational life of the island.

In order to see the aim and purpose of the new proposals in their entirety, it is advisable to examine the memorandum submitted to Government by Mr. A. A. Hammond, Educational Adviser to Sir Frank Stockdale, on 23rd October 1941.

This memorandum admits that Jamaica is not able to meet the responsibilities she has undertaken towards her children. For not less than 250,000 children of school age, only 168,000 of whom are enrolled in recognised schools of any kind, there are 129,000 primary (i.e. elementary) school places, and the children increase more rapidly than new places are provided. Our purpose is not to criticise this report in detail except in so far as it affects the Church, but it must be said that the phrasing in several places leaves much to be desired. Jamaica never has undertaken responsibilities towards her children, either educationally, economically, or in any other way. Irresponsibility is and has been Jamaica’s greatest drawback. Government has...

consistently refused to institute a system of compulsory attendance at school, except in Kingston and some other towns, and even there does not enforce it. So with the use of the word 'primary' which is no doubt technically correct if the word 'secondary' is to follow, but in Jamaica, and elsewhere, 'primary' schools come before 'elementary' and 'secondary' is the third group in the general system. It seems a pity that Mr Hammond should use words in a way which is calculated to make straightforward things difficult or confused to the Jamaican mind, for without the active co-operation of the Jamaican teachers and churches, the schemes will not be carried into effect.

Mr Hammond does, however, reveal the place of education in the scheme of Jamaican life - the primary need of Jamaica is to support an increasing number of people at better standards of living. Whatever the economic and social developments needed for this, the people have to be reached and enlightened and it is therefore necessary that they should be literate. Next, in order to live better, to have greater internal or external exchange of goods and services, and a fuller individual, family and community life, they must learn what to do, and learn also to take responsibility for doing it. They therefore need vocational training and adult education in the practical necessities of earning a living. These three, genuine literacy, vocational training, and adult education, I take to be the three first calls upon educational resources.

We have noted that the churches, for a slightly different reason, have from the beginning worked towards the above aims, and that their main stress has been on the first, although the church first started the second (girls' Practical Training Centre, Carron Hall), and the

1. ibid. para 2.
third may be said to have started with the teaching of adult slaves to read the Bible after a day's work on the plantations.

There was not when Mr Hammond wrote, and there is not yet, reliable information as to the number of children in each age group, but he gives estimated numbers for the year 1940, and these are worth consideration that we may see the amount of young life which the Church has as her future membership and to which she has a present responsibility:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1940 age group</th>
<th>Estimated No. of Children</th>
<th>Enrolment: Type of school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4-7 years</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-15 years</td>
<td>249,000</td>
<td>165,000 primary; 1,700 secondary; 937 industrial; and 36 technical.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-18 years</td>
<td>73,000</td>
<td>1,100 secondary; 210 industrial; 538 technical.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 18 years</td>
<td>no estimate</td>
<td>124 secondary; 168 tech.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From some quarters, notably from church educationalists and from welfare workers, there has been a demand for nursery schools, but the adviser feels that "this is primarily the responsibility of the parents, or in their default or inability to meet it, the responsibility of the local community.... if neither parents nor local communities are meeting this responsibility, the education authorities should not make matters worse by taking it away from them, but should try by a demonstration and persuasion to induce them to fall in. On financial grounds the general assumption of responsibility by the Government for the daily care of children below school age would very greatly reduce the possibility of meeting its responsibility to the children of school age.....

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1. ibid. section II para 7. 11. ibid. section III para 9-11.
The real reason, we fear, for Government not being desirous of making matters worse by taking away responsibility from parents and local communities, is given in the last sentence, and it is based on the false assumptions that (a) the best use is made of the money in hand for educational purposes, and (b) that education grants cannot be increased from any source. No one who has had experience in educational work in Jamaica would deny that the grants to that Department are hopelessly inadequate, but that much time and consequently money is wasted by the dilatoriness of the Education Department is also the sad experience of educational workers, and was stated in a document presented by a Special Commission on school buildings in reply to a request from the Department for consideration of this whole matter — where schools remain in a bad state, in a large majority of cases the reason is that building grants are not made available by the Government when they are required, even when the Church has advanced the entire cost and receipts are lodged with the Department of Education. A reference to the present lengthy waiting list of applications, some of them for work completed and paid for, will confirm this, then it is recalled that the Synod has in every case guaranteed the Church's share. 1

1 With reference to (b) above, there is no evidence that the Jamaican negro would object to a small increase of taxation for educational purposes. Everything in the past history of the island, and the entire witness of the churches throughout, is that the Jamaican is only too willing to pay for advancement when he sees the benefits so clearly as he does in this matter. The fact that thousands of pounds are

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given freely by church members for church schools—a voluntary tax on church members for educational purposes—should be sufficient proof of this, for in no case is ordinary church funds allocated to schools.

We would not suggest that the Education Department should immediately begin nursery schools, but we feel that the past work of the churches prove that the churches would be the best authority to do this work, with, of course, such financial assistance as could be given from Government. Indeed, that would appear to be the mind of the Adviser, for he states that "In country places, it is proposed that there be established experimental and demonstrational play-centres, attached to schools re-organised as junior and senior schools...under the supervision of the teacher of house-craft in the senior school...play-centre would be in charge of a responsible woman, such as a church of village community could later provide for itself. Provision is made for the financial upkeep of these centres. In Kingston, the cost should be borne by the local Corporation, and reference is made to the Methodist play-centres in Kingston which would be continued. The Adviser is of the opinion that the 27 infant schools and departments should not be extended but should be eventually replaced by play-centres. Whether the Church will by this means retain any control over these children will depend on her place in the village community schemes, and that will be dealt with in the next chapter, but it would seem advisable that the Church take steps to ensure from the beginning that play-centres be managed by Christian workers, and that they all come under one scheme, so that there is not a recurrence of 'the Church versus the Government' scheme.

of education for those whose parents or local community recognises no responsibility.

The general school age in Jamaica is 7 to 15, and suggestions that it be lowered to 6 are not acceptable on the grounds that as less than half the number of children of school age can now be accommodated in the schools, there is no point in adding to the number of possible scholars, and, "there is no great educational advantage to be gained...experience elsewhere tends increasingly to show that the age of 7 is for the majority of children the best time to begin general schooling".¹

If the financial difficulty is insuperable, and we have suggested above that it is not, then it would be undoubtedly be unwise to add to the possible number of scholars in the elementary schools, but it ought to be stated clearly that this is a financial barrier, for the experiences of the churches and of their teachers and educationalists in Jamaica - not necessarily elsewhere - is that there is a great advantage to be gained by beginning general schooling at the age of 5 years, especially if there is to be nothing in the way of training for the 4 to 7 age group except some experimental play-centres by which it is hoped to induce parents and village communities, i.e. voluntary agencies, to duplicate such centres all over the island. The present 27 infant schools and departments, in which fees are paid, and the large number of schools for that age of child operated by the churches though unrecognised by the education Department (e.g. Taylor Fund schools in the Presbyterian Church - for infant training in country districts) proves that the churches believe in beginning general schooling before the age of seven, and they do so because of

¹ ibid. section IV para 22.
their experience of the Jamaican negro mentality.

Jamaica's great problem, and the Adviser has mentioned it earlier, is the lack of parental responsibility and the almost complete absence of home life. Present-day parents are not likely to become alive to their responsibilities to any great extent, and the hope for the race is that the parents of to-morrow may become so, but only if they receive the necessary training from their earliest years. Experience has shown that the Jamaican negro develops more quickly than children in Britain or in northern countries generally, and he does so physically and mentally. The complementary problem of why the negro mind seems to stop developing around the age of fifteen, and why it should in general remain static from that time onwards does not concern us here; but whether that is granted or not, nothing is to be gained by ignoring the early development of the child. Further, if there is at present little parental responsibility, it is no solution to allow that irresponsible habit free play with the child till he reaches the age of seven and then hope in the next eight years to abolish the outlook of the first seven. The problem as the churches see it, is purely a financial one, and the solution will be found when the scheme for assistance of play-centres comes into operations, for it will be widely taken advantage of by churches and Christ-inspired voluntary workers. The churches ought at once to consider ways and means of training native teachers for this branch of child-education, for at present, apart from recognised infant school teachers, some of them trained at a Kindergarten Training Centre operated by the Presbyterian Church - the only one of its kind in the island - now unfortunately closed for financial reasons - these workers receive no training.
Some training has been begun recently in connection with the Methodist Training scheme for Women Workers mentioned previously.

The problem of school buildings is one which closely concerns the churches, for we have noted that 503 out of 656 elementary schools were church schools, i.e. church-managed in church-owned buildings. Both Church and Government are therefore faced with a financial problem, and the extent of it may be gauged from the Adviser's memorandum on the subject:

In 1940 the number of school places provided (126,000 at the low standard of 8 square feet per child) was little more than half the estimated number of children (249,000) and many of these were in buildings which should be condemned. The enrolment was 165,000 and the average attendance 97,000 or 57% of the roll, but the average attendance for the 283 sessions of best attendance was 66% of the roll, (in Kingston 74%), and in several small areas of compulsory attendance it was above 75% even with the present methods of enforcement. The average attendance does not indicate the proper total number of school places. The minimum total number that can be justified is not less than the mean between the average and the highest attendance. Present figures in Jamaica show this to be approximately 75% of the total roll.

The present number of school places is in fact higher than 75% on the standard of 8 square feet per child, but exhibits considerable overcrowding in some places, and maldistribution in others. In order to make up the difference between the mean and highest attendances, without gross overcrowding and to provide for unavoidable inequalities in distribution, it is necessary to add at least 25% to the unit of accommodation. This will also provide class-room accommodation (not
including workshops and domestic science rooms) for the 12-15 group. In reckoning the total number of school places provided, and in providing new places, the unit of accommodation should be at least 10 square feet per child, a unit still too small by modern standards. Provision of school places for 75% on the roll at 10 square feet per child may therefore be taken as the minimum current requirements of Jamaica in existing conditions of attendance. The percentage of roll will probably have to be revised as time goes on, even without the full enforcement of compulsory attendance.

In this connection it may be here explained that the chief causes of irregular attendance, as given by Mr. Davis after exhaustive enquiry and as endorsed by all ministers in the island, are as follows:

1. Many children are obliged to travel long distances over difficult mountain terrain to attend school.

2. In seasons of heavy rain, access to schools is often barred by swollen rivers and flooded roads. Waterproofs and umbrellas are almost unknown, and parents will not send their children to school in wet weather for fear of colds and fevers.

3. In some sections in certain seasons, children are very generally employed picking coffee, working on sugar, and on other estates, or doing odd jobs.

4. The high ratio of illegitimacy renders parental control very slight and makes it difficult to fasten responsibility for a particular child upon a parent.

5. Some areas are liable to drought and scarcity of food. Parents are reluctant to send their child a long distance to school without food.

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1. ibid. section VI. paras 33 and 39.
6. Children are taken away from school on Fridays to assist their parents in collecting and transporting ground-provisions for sale at the Saturday markets.

7. Children very often have only one presentable suit or dress, and they are consequently kept at home when this is being washed.

It is likely that with better social conditions and improved standard of living that some of these causes of frequent absence from school may be removed, so that the number of school places required will be increased. Also, the average rate of increase in school enrolment from 1930 to 1940 was 4,000 per annum so the combined financial resources of Church and Government will be called on to the fullest extent.

The Educational Adviser proposed in the memorandum that a thirty years' building programme be entered upon, which would provide for (a) deficiencies, (b) replacements, and (c) a 75% increase on the roll. The deficiency in 1942-43 was estimated at 30,000 places, and the scheme envisaged the gradual abolishing of deficiencies by 1952, when there will be, by estimate, 220,000 on the roll, and places for 165,000 children and after that date places will be provided as they are required.

Special consideration was given to church schools and to future arrangements for management and ownership and finance and staffing, and these were submitted to all churches involved for consideration. The churches sent individual replies, and also a joint reply, and as a result of united conference between Church representatives from every denomination, including the Roman Catholic, and the Director of Education, the following programme was tentatively agreed upon, and is out-

lined in a memorandum sent from the Education Department to the Churches in February 1945.

The covering letter from the Director includes these statements:

The programme is based on the assumption that £60,000 per annum in all will be available over a period of years for school buildings and £10,000 per annum for the housing of assistant teachers.

The opportunity is to be taken to re-organise the All-Grade schools as far as possible into senior and junior schools or departments.

In the first place, out of the 667 buildings in which elementary schools are now conducted, 546 are the property axes of various religious denominations, i.e. 80%. Any programme which failed to include these schools within its purview would obviously fail in the achievement of the objective in view, viz., the provision of adequate school accommodation and equipment for as many of the child population as possible.

Secondly, it is considered most desirable to retain the religious influence and atmosphere which is the special characteristic of voluntary schools.

Thirdly, it is recognised that it is the voluntary schools which, owing to the limitation of their resources, tend to fall below those standards of accommodation and equipment which we are anxious to achieve.

Fourthly, it is important to recognise that large as the sums are which we hope will be placed at our disposal, they are totally inadequate in themselves... it is imperative to utilise every form of auxiliary assistance possible, and this cannot be hoped for unless the voluntary aid which has been a feature of education during the past century continues to be forthcoming. I regard it as particularly important at the present juncture to retain that spirit of self-help.
which is necessary to preserve the self-respect of the people... it
is important that this generous Imperial aid should stimulate it and
not kill it. 1

It will be at once apparent that the letter contains references
to wider and more important matters than the mere ownership of build-
ings, viz., that Government desires to retain the religious influence
and atmosphere which has been characteristic of church schools through
the past century. It is this side of educational work which the
churches, without exception, desire to maintain, and where the churches
feel a responsibility in providing or owning buildings, it is to en-
sure the work of evangelism, or retaining that religious atmosphere.
The Roman Catholic reply states definitely: "we will not yield owner-
ship of any school building or land which we own as we consider
ownership as the only stable sanction for our exercise of the right
to give a Catholic education to our Catholic children". 11 The prot-
estant churches emphasised management of the schools rather than
ownership of the buildings, and were prepared on the whole to enter
into a leasing arrangement so long as the management remained with
the ministers.

The Basis for the Building Programme, as sent out by the Director
with the above-quoted letter, is divided into three sections: School
Buildings; repairs; and Housing of Teachers, and with reference to
denominational schools, the following points are to be noted:

(a) Replacement, reconstruction and enlargement of denominational
schools may be undertaken without change of status by way of Grant,
provided:

1. Letter of Director of Education to Board of Education and to Churches,
1.11.43. 11. R.C. reply to Hammond Report, app.1, 2.V.47.
(i) the site is provided by the denomination;

(ii) the building is undertaken locally if so required under advice and supervision provided by Government;

(iii) a reasonable contribution is made by local effort by way of funds, material, or free labour, etc.;

(iv) the usual agreement is signed guaranteeing the use of the building for school purposes for a term of years.

(b) If these conditions cannot be fulfilled to the satisfaction of the Department, the owners to have the option of leasing the building and land to the Government for a period of thirty years in return for which the denomination will have the right of management of the school conducted on the premises in accordance with conditions to be agreed upon. The building operations to be carried out locally by the manager under the supervision of Government or carried out by Government according to circumstances. This class of school to be known as Leased Schools.

(c) Owners may elect to forego the denominational management of such schools, in which case the management would pass to the School Board.

(d) In an urban area such as Kingston, where a senior school is required and the condition referred to in (a) cannot be fulfilled, Government may undertake the erection...and entrust the management of such school to the denomination concerned on agreed terms and conditions.

With reference to (c) above, it can be stated that this principle is exactly that now in vogue, except that the proposed 'reasonable contribution' is to be 25% in place of 50%, and not to be fixed by any definite law, but to be 'reasonable' according to the abilities of the area. This is definitely a great financial help to the churches, and will enable enlargement of schools and promptitude in repairs in future.

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1. Memorandum from Director of Education, 1.11.43.
The most important change is that proposed in paragraph (b) whereby Government will lease the building at a nominal rent (sufficient only to cover insurance) put and keep it in repair, with the help of the local manager (normally the minister) and the school will be run by the denomination as a denominational school. This is really equivalent to a grant of 100% for upkeep and repairs during the period of lease, but the difference lies here, that the terms of lease will contain provisions for the use of the building after school hours, for community purposes. Denominational instruction will still be allowed, however. Paragraph (d) is also important, for it envisages secondary schools being erected at Government expense, but being managed by denominations.

The memorandum also states that in the case of present Government schools held in rented buildings the options given for denominational schools will be allowed.

The proposals for initial repairs are the same as laid down in the above plans for replacement, reconstruction, and enlargement above, and in the interim between the present state of the schools and the time when the initial repairs are completed the Government undertakes to reimburse managers for expenditure above £5 per annum. School-chapels are to be replaced as soon as possible by separate buildings, with the same conditions as in other school buildings.

Two other important points are made: (1) Government to undertake over a period of years to provide adequate furniture and equipment in schools of all classes; and (2) Government to undertake over a period of years to ensure that schools of all classes are adequately supplied with sanitary accommodation, water supplies and
washing facilities; Government to bear the entire cost of maintenance of sanitation.

The proposals for housing of teachers are mainly financial and are to be the responsibility of Government either by right of ownership or by lease under the conditions which will apply to schools, but no extraneous services are to be required of teachers in respect of occupancy of any house.

This last reference has caused difficulty in the past, as we have seen, for where housing conditions are poor or inadequate, good teachers are hard to keep, and where a teacher may voluntarily act as a catechist, there is a growing feeling among the teachers that such work should not be a condition of obtaining the post or of living in the cottage attached to the school. The most progressive of the churches maintain that the separation of teachers from church work in this way will make for the better co-operation of the minister and teacher, and that such service as the teacher may give will be of greater value in the Church.

The Educational Adviser's memorandum deals with matters which are not the direct concern of the churches, and then takes up the question of Teacher Training. The West India Royal Commission had recommended that steps should be taken to ensure that all teachers have had an adequate training at some properly organised training college. And the Adviser shows that if the programme for providing 165,000 school places in ten years is carried through, in place of 187 students now in training, a number nearer 1,000 would be required, and this without the enforcement of compulsory attendance.

to have seen that when the various churches operated training colleges, they were expensive to maintain, but they had the advantage of being in the country parts where the environment was comparable with that of schools in which the teachers would later work. The existing training college system is exceedingly expensive, and its major defects are summarised by Dr Hammond thus:

(a) Two of the colleges, the Mico (55 men students) and St Joseph's (26 women - Roman Catholic) are in Kingston; one college, Shortwood (41 women) is in a suburb of Kingston, and only one, Bethlehem (55 men, Moravian) is in the country.
(b) The division of colleges increases overhead charges and the difficulty of providing specialist instructors for small numbers of students.

The cost to government in 1940-41 for these colleges was £6,279, and the total cost was £11,897, and it is clear that this proportion could not be maintained for an increased number of students since it depends partly on endowments and denominational expenditure.

We have already stressed the need for one or more Directors of Religious Instruction for the training colleges, and some of the difficulties are now clear when the division of the colleges is seen. If the problem were solved by erecting one central college for the island, the religious instruction problem would also be solved so far as finance and travelling were concerned. But the report continues:

"(c) Notwithstanding their cost, there is no college life as it is understood in progressive institutions of the kind, and which would infuse into the teaching service a body of men and women in whom the...

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1. ibid. par 101. Note - Shortwood college was exceptional that year and had only two-thirds its normal number of students. 11. ibid. par 100.
seeds of liberal development have been planted. To quote the principal of one college, of long experience in England and Jamaica, 'we are 30 years behind. The students sleep in dormitories twelve to twenty-five in a room; they have no common-room, there is segregation of the sexes, there are no conveniences for individual work, and not enough leisure or freedom for it'.

(a) The curriculum is overloaded, and while the recently revised curriculum is an improvement in the syllabus of studies and in the introduction of much that needs to be understood by teachers, as social servants, I think it will prove to be equally if not more overloaded. There are some excellent products of the training colleges, young and old, in the schools of Jamaica, but this must not blind us to the fact that overloaded syllabuses of book-study, whether the study be ancient or modern, tend to produce people of inferior academic mind.

Comparisons with the conditions of college life in the theological colleges reveal that much greater progress has been made by the churches in conditions of training than by teachers' colleges. Students have rooms accommodating one, or two men; they have common-rooms in each college in Kingston; provision is made for individual work to some extent; and as we have seen, one term is set apart for special and individual research. The curriculum, while heavy, is balanced by the fact that during their college course most students have practical work to do in connection with city churches, and due allowance is made for that. They are not so apt to become book-minded, but tend to relate their studies to the community at each stage, and considerable care is taken by the staffs of the theological colleges to ensure

1. Ibid. para 101.
that this continues. While they would be the first to admit deficiencies and weakness, there has been greater progress in the conditions under which training is given in theological than in teachers' colleges in Jamaica, and at considerably less cost.

It has already been stated that the boards of the teachers' training colleges are composed partly, and indeed mainly, of ministers; and we have also given our opinion of the need for religious instruction in these institutions by a specially qualified director. The Church would, therefore, best exercise its influence over the students in training if (1) there were one Union Theological College for all denominations; and (2) there were one Union College for Teacher-Training, and if these were situated in the same district, either in town or country. For climatic reasons, and owing to the fact that most of the students of both professions will work in rural areas, as well as for overhead expense, it might be well for such institutions to be in the country, but for our purpose, it is essential that they be adjacent to one another, that there might be something in the nature of corporate life and that there might be mutual exchange of thoughts and ideas as well as personal relations between professions which, under existing conditions, must work closely together.

It is stated also that in future it ought to be secured that each student before entering the Training College should have a secondary education, and in this matter also there is a parallel demand from the churches for their students. Further possibilities in connection with the suggestions made above regarding church influence and co-operation in teacher training will be considered in chapter dealing with University college proposals later in this chapter.

1. Ibid. section XII para 104.
There is considerable difference of opinion as to the educational contributions of the secondary schools in the island, and the memorandum does not recommend any assistance for them at this stage, for there is welcome evidence from the progressive elements of their staffs and authorities...of dissatisfaction with the part they fill in Jamaican education which should be resolved before the lines of development are determined, upon which aid can be given. There is a tendency to pursue mainly examination successes, for the greater the number of successes, the greater the number of scholars entering the schools, and consequently the increase of income by fees. There is also in the memorandum a statement which is more true of endowed secondary schools than of those controlled by the churches, viz.: "It has even been suggested to me that their influence is in some respects harmful. Jamaica has a pressing problem of middle-class unemployment and the opinion has been advanced that the secondary schools, so far from helping to solve it, are making it worse, because their pupils enter only certain types of work and consider others to be socially beneath them. This factor is singularly powerful in the West Indies. I have known cases where it has been more powerful than starvation."

The memorandum then advises a government enquiry into the entire position, and this is to be undertaken shortly. Meanwhile, the atmosphere of the secondary schools depends entirely on the headmasters or headmistresses and the staffs, and in general, in Church schools has a Christian and cultural tendency, while in private schools it has a commercial tendency. Endowed schools vary, but the present feature is for the staffs to show their interest in political matters of various types, with a resulting conflict of influences throughout the schools.

1. ibid. section XIV, par. 110.  111. ibid. par. 112.
The remaining type of education, apart from adult education, is the Vocational and Technical kind, and while there are several recommendations for improving and extending practical Training Centres and Technical schools, there is nothing which differs in any way from what we discovered earlier, viz., that no provision is made for religious instruction in these centres, and that at an age (15-18) when young people tend to drift from the ordinary church influence. It is unwise on Government's part, and a dangerous omission on the part of the churches, that no representation should have been made for chaplains for these centres.

The matter of adult education is one which has been taken up by social service workers, and the Jamaica Christian Council is making a study of ways and means of increasing and extending such experiments as have been undertaken. The Educational Adviser writes as follows on the subject: "Progressive people in Jamaica are commonly exercised in their minds by their lack of means to give advanced education to as large a part of the people as obtain it in other countries, and find themselves in a dilemma, feeling it unjust to restrict opportunities of advanced schooling, but knowing that opportunities for the satisfactory employment of its products are limited. There need be neither dilemma nor injustice in keeping a reasonable relation between higher formal education and opportunities for employment, provided that the claim is remembered of everyone in the island to opportunities for higher informal education. In this much may be learnt from one of the most enlightened of modern democracies - Sweden is governed by people associated with adult education. The Swedish people naturally, therefore, associate 'success' with adult education..."
rather than with the secondary schools and the universities. The folk schools and adult education movement constitute the university education of the Swedish people." (Bjarne Braatoy, 'The New Sweden').

The principal public agencies of adult education - apart from the learner himself - are (a) the voluntary association of people who wish to learn, of people who enjoy learning together, and of people who wish to help others to learn...(b) the spoken word; (c) the printed word; (d) the illustration. Experience in England, and, so far as I am able to make an assessment, in America also, tends to show that adult education is best carried on by voluntary associations, or at least by agencies which are not official in the ordinary sense of a department of government.

More will be said about Community Associations in the next chapter, but it is to be noted here that the churches are well ahead with voluntary groups for adult education as far as study groups are concerned. These are run in connection with congregations, and there is in the towns a goodly number of joint gatherings, and many leaders in special subjects are willing to meet with these groups to help with their study. Much of this work is done and is co-ordinated through the Central Council of Voluntary Social Services, whose programme we shall study shortly, but it may be said here that, apart from purely political groups, most other study groups are under the influence of the Church, and are frequently led by outstanding ministers or laymen.

For the spoken word as an agency of adult education, the Adviser mentions the Government Radio station in Jamaica which broadcasts...
for one hour daily, and as there are approximately 10,000 receivers in the island, the spoken word reaches one person in at least every hundred. The programme includes talks on public health, on literature, on music and drama, on agriculture, and there is a weekly religious service by ministers of various denominations, chosen by the director in charge, not by denominations. The name of the minister is never announced, and the Christian Council has requested that no mention be made of the preacher or the denomination. During the United Campaign of Witness conducted by the Christian Council, talks on the subjects dealt with during the Campaign were given over the radio with the willing co-operation of Government. Experiments have also been tried in using the radio in schools and churches for week-day meetings.

Something has been stated previously with respect to the use of the printed word by the churches in education and in religious work, and there is urgent need for the two Church Bookrooms to extend their activities, and for the production of church literature locally. The principal agency for educational literature is the Institute of Jamaica, with which is connected the West India Reference Library, the Museum, and the Junior Centre. For purposes of adult education, the need is to extend the work of the Institute over the island by establishing branches in the principal towns, and some system of library services for rural areas. Also, the Adviser recommends that if possible the services should be free, and that an expert should visit the island to survey the possibilities. Masses of literature in connection with War Information have been distributed through ministers and school teachers during the past three years, partly by local agency, and
partly by the British Council, and it would appear wise to continue this service for educational purposes in time of peace.

The final form of Adult Education, that of Illustration, has received most attention in the shape of the cinematograph film. Four travelling cinema units are operated by Jamaica Welfare Ltd at a cost of £300 per unit under the direction of a committee formed jointly with the education department. Shows are given in fifteen schools in eight parishes, most centres having one show a month, others one in two months...there is an ultimate need for not less than ten units. Mr Hammond points out that while experiments in making local films have been begun, this is a specialised matter, requiring more than expert photography, and he also points out the fact that the superiority of the moving film over the still picture for educational purposes is still a matter for question, particularly in unskilled hands. His suggestion is therefore that film strips, i.e. still pictures (after the 'slide' pattern used in lantern projectors) on a film strip, which are inexpensive and can be shown through a projector of small cost, be used, and that the Jamaica Institute be the Centre for this Film Library.

The Salvation Army is the only body in Jamaica which so far has been able to use moving films in its religious work, and that only on a small scale for missionary meetings. Enquiry made by the Presbyterian Church proved that it was financially impracticable to utilise films except an arrangement could be come to with other denominations, not so much for projectors and equipment, but for keeping up the supply of religious films. Experiments have been made in the

i. ibid. section XXII para 171.  ii. ibid. para 173-4.
Presbyterian College with the use of an Epidiascope for illustrating lectures, and this could be usefully developed, involving only inexpensive equipment and ordinary photographs. Much of this type of work needs to be organised, and part of the usefulness of missionaries in the future will be to do such work, and to train native pastors to make use of the available resources thereby created.

The influence of the churches in future on all matters of education can only be maintained by a re-organisation of the mission staffs and the giving of special training to the most capable of the pastors. In former days, as we have seen, much of the work of Church and Government was carried on separately, and on occasion in a spirit of rivalry, and much of the church work lacked co-ordination. The Government has now greater resources, and is demanding that the churches work as one unit in this great work. The churches can either withdraw entirely, or influence the general policy through the Government. If the churches wait until Government plans are completed, they will be ignored in almost every department except elementary education, and there largely retained because of their ownership and management of buildings and local arrangements. Religious atmosphere and influence which Government states it desires to see continued must be present from the top downwards, or from the bottom upwards, or the centre outwards, or it can never be introduced with any lasting effect.

University College Schemes:

Nothing is said in the Adviser's report about University education, except a reference to possible post-war assistance to students capable of benefitting from such education to go abroad to universities.
We have noted that the Church of England Theological College is affiliated to Durham University and that the best of the students may graduate from that university after one year's residence if they have finished the course given in Jamaica. We have also pointed out the advantages which would accrue if the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Moravian and Congregational Churches in their co-operative scheme for theological training would adopt the course of studies for the London external B.D. degree.

Any student who has in the past been desirous of attending a university has either had to pay his own way to Britain, America or Canada, or else be successful in winning one of the few scholarships given in Jamaica for the purpose. Several men have, however, taken the B.A. and B.D. degrees and other degrees from Jamaica through the arrangements made by London University for the colonies. Tuition for these students has been in all cases private, either by ministers, or secondary school teachers, or private tutors. There is no college whose recognised course is to give tuition for university degrees.

There have been one or two attempts in the past to institute a University College where such tuition might be given, and it is thought that these were premature. As long ago as 1871, the churches in Jamaica took action in this matter, when a conference of influential persons of various denominations, including ministers of the Church of England, and of the Baptist, Congregational, Wesleyan, and Presbyterian churches was held in Kingston, when a deputation consisting of a minister of each of these churches was appointed to wait on the Governor of the island and to submit the following resolutions as
...turing their views. We have pleasure in adding that His Excellency was pleased to say that the resolutions, in all respects, expressed his own views on the important subject to which they refer:-

(i) That the establishment of a college in Jamaica, in a fit locality, with the view of providing a university education, according to a curriculum suited to the circumstances of the island, would likely prove a boon of immense value to many families desirous of giving their sons a liberal education, without their removal to Europe, as well as to persons destined to the learned professions.

(ii) That, with a view to prepare students for such an institution, means ought to be adopted, simultaneously with its establishment, to conserve and improve existing middle-class schools, and also to increase the number of schools giving a superior education.

(iii) That such a college ought to stand in an equal relation to all Christian denominations in the colony; and therefore ought not to adopt the distinctive confession or ecclesiastical polity of any one of these denominations, as a test for judging the qualifications of its professor.

(iv) That at the same time, it would prove fatal to the proper influence and reputation of the college, should any of its chairs become a medium for disseminating views on moral and religious subjects offensive to those Christian bodies that have hitherto expended so large an amount of funds and of earnest labour in the educational elevation of the colony; and that therefore it is essential that some such practical arrangement be adopted, in the government of the institution as would prevent its teaching from being antagonistic to the Christian sentiment of the community.

1. Missionary Record U.P. Church, 1870, p.477.
Unfortunately, this attempt and others of a similar nature came to nothing, and the subject has not been raised with any effect by any public or private body until very recently, when a number of secondary school teachers and other individuals, as a result of a movement for adult education at a summer residential school, have begun to agitate for the establishment of a University College in Kingston where tuition could be given for Arts, Law, and Commerce up to the Intermediate standard required for the requisite degrees of London University. It is hoped that this proposed college might be affiliated with London University.

General details have been worked out by the committee but while there has been much discussion, and while several churches and public bodies have given it their blessing, no practical steps have been taken which have been productive of results. Approaches to the Church of England in connection with buildings were made, but satisfactory arrangements could not be agreed on, and the Education Department has not been enthusiastic on the subject.

The real difficulty is that the self-appointed provisional committee has not the confidence of the public, nor of the influential people or the authorities in church or state. The churches and the public feel, especially with the advances promised through the West Indian Development Fund that such an undertaking should be carried through by Government with Government subsidy and control to a large extent, no doubt with public men, churches, educational experts, being represented on the Board of Governors. But the committee has not the confidence of Government and has little confidence in Government, and the scheme is unlikely to succeed.

1. Cundall, p.37. "The too ambitious and short-lived college... aimed at providing a university education for a community which was not yet ready for it."
If our study is to count for anything, then such a work should begin under the auspices of the church, for elementary, secondary, vocational, infant school, and play-centre education, and as we shall see, social welfare, all began with the churches and only later received help from Government. Such a venture requires faith as well as money and the position is that the churches feel it wise to examine this question very thoroughly before taking action. But let us consider the position. It is admitted that, apart from the churches, which make their own arrangements for their students to be trained by graduates of British Universities, there is no system of post-secondary education whereby a student may continue his studies under adequate supervision for any profession. Only a few can obtain scholarships, and only a few can afford to send their children abroad for education. Those children who, having finished their secondary education, wish to prosecute further studies, must do so alone, without guidance and help and the encouragement that comes from the daily meeting with other students engaged on similar projects. Were there some place where evening classes could be held for young men in lawyers' offices and the like, and where tuition for local certificates and for London external degrees could be given, it would be a tremendous advantage and a great incentive to young men and women to study and to better equip themselves for their professions. There would be the advantages too, of communal life to some extent especially if both day and residential students were accepted, and most of all, there would be built up gradually a library of books by authorities in Britain and elsewhere which at present is non-existent, and to provide which the Jamaica Institute has not the funds after
books have been provided for the general public. Students who had spent three years in evening or in day classes under supervision of tutors would profit if and when they went abroad to a university and would not have to spend so long as they do at present before graduation.

There is another point, viz., that Jamaica is the largest of the B.W.I. Islands, and as such, would be a good centre for the few students who because of expense could not afford to go to Europe. True, the education given in such a university college would not be of the same standard as that given in a university, but it would be better than the entire absence of all guidance in post-secondary education. Teachers are trained locally, and much the same argument might be brought forward for sending them abroad for instruction in the most advanced teaching methods by the ablest instructors in Britain and elsewhere, instead of having local training colleges.

The great financial difficulty of course, is the question of the staff salaries. There are two possible methods of dealing with this: (1) By the churches sending out educational missionaries, and (2) by Government subsidy. The first is not likely to happen now that Government has been persuaded that education is primarily the Government's job and Government is not keen to make experiments in post-secondary education of this type until the situation with regard to secondary education itself is clearer.

The final argument of course, is that the main advantages of a university education is the fellowship between students and professors, and the interchange of thoughts and ideas, the contact of students with the great thinkers of our day. That is true, but it is to be remembered that what is in mind for Jamaica is not a university, but
... some system whereby students who are unable to get to a university may be enabled to continue their studies, or in other cases may prepare themselves before leaving their homes for entrance to a university. If the movers in the university scheme intend it to be a substitute for travel and attendance at a university proper, then the scheme is not practicable or worthwhile, but if it is a method of continuing studies and of planned preparation for future university education, it ought to be attempted.

It would seem to be quite clear however, that to serve this latter purpose it must be under the control and guidance of the government and the churches jointly, as we have already suggested the training colleges should be if they are to equip teachers for their proper place in the life of the community in Jamaica.

Teachers and Ministers:

There is one other matter which deserves consideration before we close this chapter on Education, and that is the effect of present conditions in the teaching profession as regards the ministry. In former days, many of the men who entered the native ministry had not only been trained at the teachers' training college, but had worked in the schools for a period of years before entering the theological college. As long ago as 1844 the home church expressed its disapproval of this practice, but the local missionaries were keen and they continued the custom. It was considered that from two points of view it was a good practice, for (1) it enabled the church to see the kind of work which the teacher produced, and to see how he was accepted by the people in the district; and (11) it gave the teacher...
time to save the necessary amount of money to keep himself during his college course. No doubt there was an advantage, but with the gradual separation of the teaching profession from the church, and the transfer of the training colleges from denominations to special boards of directors, and the changing attitude of the teacher himself towards both his profession and its connection with the church, the system is falling into desuetude.

We have already seen something of the comparative attractions of teaching and the ministry as professions, and the fact that students entering teachers' colleges have to pay annual fees while theological students get their training free, is to the Jamaican outweighed by the comparative salaries paid in the church and school. In the teaching profession, there is continual chance of advancement, and it comes about not by length of service so much as by personal endeavour and success in keeping up the enrolment and attendance at school. Without taking into account recent increases for war conditions in either profession, the salary of a head teacher is £220, plus a house, and of an assistant is £120. The practice is, and it is encouraged by managers for ease in management, for head teachers to accept appointments where their wives can be assistants, consequently the income is £340 plus house. Now pastors' salaries at maximum (some churches begin lower and increase with length of service) are as follows 11: Moravian, £155; Presbyterian £200; Methodist £225; Baptist £20 (increased by combining churches sometimes to over £200); Congregational £140; Church of Christ £150; Church of God £100; Church of England is varied, but averages £200-£50.

all of these have in addition a manse and a glebe, and in some cases
children's allowances, travelling allowance, and provision made for
holidays at intervals. It can be seen that financially, the ministry
as a profession is not attractive when compared with the position
of the teacher, but the main difficulty is that the teacher's salary
is not only increased according to the work he puts into his job,
but that it is in all cases guaranteed, whereas the pastor has only
in most cases a certain amount guaranteed, for if he fails to col­
lect his stipend the central authority in the church has not the
funds to make up the shortage.

There is need, as we have pointed out previously, for a survey
of the general financial methods of the churches, and the Jamaican
would prefer that the stipends paid be not standardised at one figure
for all, but that they be arranged on a sliding scale, so that the
needs of the men and their families might be related to the income,
and that some advancement be made for the man who works well in his
charge.

It is true that this does not give a very bright picture of the
ideals which draw Jamaicans to the ministry, but there is little pur­
pose in ignoring the facts, and the home churches have continually
taken into account the salaries paid to the teachers when considering
a revision of stipends paid to pastors. It is also true that there
there is a maximum stipend fixed and it is comparatively low or there
there is a minimum and that not guaranteed, the young man who is in­
telligent and would benefit by the training and desires to enter the
service simply passes the ministry, or else feels he can serve the
community and give his Christian witness equally well as a teacher,
and he leaves the work of the ministry to those who have either a
greater sense of call, or are unable to get into the teachers’ colleges.

A further effect, which is being felt at the present juncture,
is that the younger ministers and theological students are seeing in-
tensive preparations being made for further and special training in
education, in social welfare work, in agriculture, and in technical
crafts under the Development Fund Schemes. The church so far has
made little effort to extend its course of training, or to release
any of its men for training under Government schemes, so that these
young men feel the church is being left behind in the modern progressive
movements. They feel rightly, that unless provision is made for
them to have some practical knowledge of the new training methods in
education and in social welfare particularly, the students now being
trained will not be willing to work with the ministers on the field
in these projects. Consequently, the working ministers desire
fuller information and co-operation with Government schemes, and the
churches must make arrangements for such training of its own students
and younger ministers, and must, if the community is to benefit in
any real sense, be in constant touch by means of Liaison officers, with
Government plans. If this is neglected, the church will have fewer
and fewer candidates for the ministry, for the impression will be
given that when a young man desires to enter some profession which
will be of service to the community, he must go outside the church
and the ministry and become a teacher, or an instructor in a youth
club, or take up adult education work, or social service and community
centre work.

It may be that the result will be that candidates for the ministry
will be more sincerely conscious of their call, and will not confuse social uplift with the preaching of the Gospel, but so far as training and standards of education are concerned, and so far as a reasonable standard of living is concerned, the churches must not fall behind the other professions, and must not fall behind the teaching profession, for teachers and ministers must co-operate more than any other two individuals in any district in Jamaica, and for co-operation there must be self-respect and mutual respect. The Jamaican is not built to retain self-respect when he as minister pays, regularly, the teacher a salary of £220 and the same teacher, as congregational treasurer, pays his pastor (if there are funds in hand) a stipend of £150 - £200, and that is even more the case when the teacher feels he has had a better education than the pastor. These questions may all be subsidiary to the great work of preaching the Gospel, but they are practical questions for the Jamaican negro, with his immature mind, his insular outlook, and his slave heritage. The church has led the way in the past, and must do so in the future. It is not simply a financial question, for the records show that the better educated a minister is, the greater chance there is of his managing the financial affairs of his congregation, and it may be that the mission societies have before them the task, which the local churches are unable to accomplish, of raising the standard of theological training, by uniting their efforts, by providing a bigger staff in the colleges, and by arranging for the best of the native students to travel to Britain for specialised study in the colleges of the home churches. Past experience has shown that those pastors who have left the island for work in Africa, or even for purposes of holiday travel, have returned
with a wider outlook and a better knowledge of the place of the native church in the Church Universal. Their influence in their own districts has increased, they command greater respect, and they are not so ready to dictate their opinions without full consideration. They are open to new ideas, and there is therefore greater hope of advancement in their work and their districts.

The Jamaican is not good at applying the results of what he reads, but he is by nature imitative, and that faculty ought to be used in his training for the church as well as for other professions. He will understand a thing if he sees it being done, and he is extraordinarily good at repeating it. Hence the best training is visual, and the churches ought to recognize that and make the necessary provisions to secure that he can see the church at work in the world and so guide his own native church into the stream of the world-wide community of the Holy Church throughout all the world.

We have studied the contribution of the church to education in the island through the century, and we have seen the position to which this most important activity has come to-day. We have studied the new ideas and methods proposed for the future, and have indicated the place which the church must occupy if it is to influence the inhabitants of the island for the living Christ. We now turn to the practical work of social welfare, to examine the place of the Church in the new developments in that sphere of service.
VI. SOCIAL AND WELFARE WORK
it would be idle to deny that there are more persons actively interested in social and welfare work in Jamaica to-day than ever before, but it would be equally wrong to assume that this work is entirely new; for from the beginning of our period the churches have laboured quietly but consistently for the social and moral uplift of the people of Jamaica. It has not as a rule been in the forefront, but this work was considered by the churches as part of their ordinary work — some of the fruits of sincere conversion — and it has been entirely voluntary.

Our concern, however, is not to assess the comparative value of church social service with that of recent societies, but to examine the social and welfare work from the beginning of our period, to see its development and discover the policy, if any, that has brought about the present proposals for organised and planned social service.

It will make for clarification of the subject if we look at it under four heads; (1) The work of the churches before the societies came into existence; (ii) the work of the various societies; (iii) the recommendations of the Royal Commission and plans for carrying them into effect; and (iv) the place of the Church in the proposed developments.

The Churches before the Societies:

To envisage fully the state of the inhabitants and the social needs of the people at the beginning would fill many pages and would necessitate a complete history of the island. We have already,
however, seen something of the mixture of races, and mixture of customs and traditions in Jamaica in the early days and have but to imagine the development of so mixed a people, especially under conditions of slavery. The literature of the period before our study begins is incomplete, and it is not easy at this stage to pass judgment on such contrasting orders as those from H. E. The Governor in August 1656 "An order for the distribution to the Army of 1,761 Bibles" and on August 26th 1659 "An order issued to the Treasurer to pay unto John Hoy the sum of £20 sterling, out of the impost money to pay for 15 days brought by him for the hunting of the Negroes". The general state of the slaves is ably summed up by the foregoing, and the resultant social and moral conditions can be imagined: "It is true, at first sight, the condition of the slaves did not appear to be unhappy, for they were strong and healthy, well-fed and well-cared for, so far as their temporal wants were concerned, occupying pretty fair wooden dwellings. Each family had his own patch of ground, his fowls, pigs, and provisions; of food and clothing there was usually as much at their disposal as was needed; the work, however, was hard and plentiful, and the hours long, but not much more than that of the average British workman; and as far as physical being was concerned, they lived a fairly happy life.

"And yet this outward well-being went hand in hand with untold misery. The actual masters on the spot, chiefly the attorneys and overseers, looked upon the slaves with the utmost contempt. By systematic cruelty, such as would hardly be shown to dumb animals, they endeavoured to reduce them to a dead level of obedience like that of the lowest brutes. The slave was to them a beast of burden."

1. Quoted in the Breaking of the Chain, p.3.
or the tool of their lust. His national instinct, his religious impulse, and his sense of personal moral responsibility had to be crushed out. As the number of the slaves was so very much larger than that of the white masters, it was necessary for the latter to ensure themselves against rebellion, not by means of kindness - this was quite out of the question - but by taming the Negro as one might tame a wild beast, and to keep him in subjection by cruel laws and severe punishment. The slightest mistake or neglect in the daily work, however unavoidable, was punished by flogging. In the art of flogging, the planters were past masters. The whip, specially prepared for the purpose, was made of hard, plated cattlehide, with a lash of fibre, in which was frequently interwoven a bit of fine brass wire. The criminal was either tied to an upright post or stretched face downwards on the ground, and before the whip had descended many times he was covered with blood. Hardly an evening passed without the cracking of the whip and the shrieking of the victims being heard. Add to this the fact that the slaves knew no family-life; that husband or wife might any day pass into other hand by sale, whereupon they would simply have to make with another; licentiousness thus being, as it were, a natural necessity, and conjugal fidelity a thing quite unknown...¹

Similarly conflicting statements could be quoted from many sources, but the above is typical of the descriptions given by early missionaries who lived and worked during slavery. Buchner, the Moravian missionary who wrote the above paragraphs, would probably admit that the statements in both cases could not be applied generally, for there were

¹. The breaking of the Dawn, p.3-4.
other missionaries who report that the negroes in their districts are "quite happy" and that "floggings are rare". Usually, the Baptist writings are rather full of the cruelties, and rarely mention, and indeed scorn to think that any slave could be "well-fed and well-cared for". Yet from a study of the literature and the laws of the period 1754-1838 several points stand out. (1) It was to the advantage of an owner to see that his slaves were not ill-fed, and so that was achieved by the slaves' own efforts, by means of allotting each to have a plot of ground near the slave quarters which was kept in order by the slave or his family in the evenings and on Sundays, the owners did not purposely starve their slaves. (ii) Attorneys who were in charge of several estates for absentee owners frequently left the management of the slaves to the book-keeper, who was generally underpaid and badly off. Book-keepers had to serve five to seven years before they became attorneys; they were white, of a poor class; all day they followed the negroes in the field and every second night during crop they watched the sugar and took it to the wharf. They received £20 to £70 per annum.\footnote{1} Such conditions made the book-keepers irritable and inclined to avoid accusations of clenching by overworking the slave. (iii) The death rate was high among slaves, but it was also high among owners and settlers, and while slave quarters were not crowded, there was, as we shall see, more care taken of physical health then than now. This was not because of humanitarian or Christian feelings, but for financial reasons — no business man liked to see his stock deteriorating without making an effort to save it. (iv) There were many cases of cruelty, and this depended mainly on the character of the owner or attorney. In the

\footnote{1} stewart: Jamaica, its inhabitants, 1800, p.44.
case of absentee owners, the slaves were generally worse for attorneys
worked them hard because they had to send good reports and show large
profits. Where owners were present on the estate, they generally
looked after the slaves better. (v) There were many cases of kindness,
and of real friendship between master and slave, and mistress and
slave, especially of domestic hands, and the number of free blacks is
proof of the relations which made owners give faithful slaves their
freedom, and of conditions which allowed slaves to purchase their f
freedom, even though at one time the owner had to pay a fine for allo-
crating a slave to go free. (vi) While not attempting to justify
the system, it is true that a slave had food, shelter, as much
leisure as the British workmen of that day, a plot of ground, clothing
provided, free medical attention, and community life of some sort in
the slave quarters. He might be sold to another master, but he
could not be turned out of house and home and thrown on his own re-
sources, even when old.

If we were to attempt to estimate the good and the evil in
slavery, we would have to compare the conditions of the country from
which he had come, and also conditions of servants in other countries
at the same period, and in all probability we would come to the con-
clusion that it was the fact of slavery itself which was the hard-
ship, and that, in the case of an owner, who was both kind and con-
siderate, even for selfish reasons, the slave would find it hard to
believe it was a hardship. But let us repeat, we are not attempting
to justify the system of slavery, but trying to correct one-sided
pictures given in the innumerable popular accounts of the period.
so much space is given in these accounts to describe the sufferings of the slaves that the reader is tempted to wonder either the missionaries had time to help them at all, or whether they were merely newspaper reporters collecting stories of horror. Such an interpretation would be grossly unfair even to the worst of the missionaries, however, for there are clear indications in their reports to their parent societies that they were working to uplift the poor and the slaves not only in educational matters, but in that is to-day known as Social Welfare. Buchner tells how one of the Moravian missionaries, Brother Lane, was so impressed with one George Lewis, an American Baptist, that he got his congregation to collect $100 and purchased Lewis' freedom. Lewis did not become a Moravian, but it is reported that he did much good because of his contact with the nigger slaves.  

1. Blyth of Hampden reports to the Scottish Missionary Society that he had been visiting "sick negroes in huts" and similar reports could be given of the agents of every society then working in the island. The care of the sick and the poor was one of the first duties of the churches, and by help from home, and the aid of contributions locally, the ministers did that they could to alleviate the lot of the slaves.

Their best work, however, was that done during the 1821-32 troubles, and in the period immediately following emancipation, in 1832-42. Then it was that the churches came into power as intermediaries in adjusting matters of everyday life for the negroes and in keeping the peace of the island. We have seen earlier that the 1831 troubles arose partly through misunderstanding of the stage

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at which negotiations for emancipation had reached, partly through
the fear of the owners who foresaw their financial ruin, and partly
through agitation of well-meaning but misdirected negroes and, it is
to be feared, missionaries. Blyth of Hampden is typical of the mis-
ionaries who endeavoured to work for freedom in a constitutional
manner, and although the Scottish Missionary Society had instructed
him that "the great duty of a Jamaica missionary, in reference to
those momentous West Indian questions which at present agitate the
public mind, is SILENCE: the evidence on both sides will be brought
out quite independent of him" (the reason given is that it would
raise troubles and hinder missionary work), he continued his work
of intercession and reported "I waited on the Custos (in Falmouth)...
He also expressed his approbation of our efforts to maintain the
peace of the country, and said, it was their resolution not to take
a drop of blood if they could avoid it, but endeavour to bring about
back the slaves to a sense of duty by conciliation and forbearance. "I
He reports that he interceded for the negroes, and "in a large meas-
ure successfully". He maintains that they were led away, and when
given time to return to work, many took the opportunity. Watson, a
fellow missionary, wrote at the same time: "On going to Dundee (an
estate) I found the people all at work, as usual, though there was
not a white man on the property". In the subsequent settling
of the disturbance and the restoration of peace, it fell to the mis-
ionaries to see that the broken relationships were restored, and
the work of the country continued. Whatever may have been the att-
titude of Government and the Established Church with respect to the
missionaries, it is clear that the slaves had confidence in them.

1. S.M.Register, vol. 13, p.196. 11. Ibid. p. 100. 111. Ibid., p.100.
and that had been achieved by their friendliness and their work in
and out amongst the people.

The next ten years brought great changes to Jamaica, changes
which necessitated much time and attention to social work by the
churches. Timpson puts it thus: *Between 1832 and 1842 Jamaica went
through a great social revolution. The whole economy of the island
was basically altered, not only by the change-over from the basis
of slavery to one of free paid labour, but by a second revolution
which turned many of the former slaves into peasant free-holders.
This second change affected the thriftier and more independent class
of negro, and since the colonists had always preferred the hardier
and more spirited African races for their slaves, this class included
about two-thirds of the whole. The remnant remained much in the same
state as before, living in the estate cottages and drawing a tiny wage
in place of medical and other services to which they had previously
been entitled. They may have been the permanently unprogressive and
unsatisfied element in Jamaica, a fruitful source of moral and econ­
omic problems....*

The problems, we have noted, were two in number: (1) to educate
slaves to the proper use of freedom, and (ii) to guide them over the
transition period. But that common view of the problems is not com­
plete, for there was another equally vital problem, viz., to guide
the planters into the new view of plantation life, and to help them
to make the necessary financial and social adjustments which emanci­
ation brought. The problems are obviously related, and it was the
ministers of the Gospel who first saw that they were parts of the

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1. Timpson: Jamaica Interlude, p. 2.
The Government had indicated that it would compensate the owners for the loss of their property, i.e., their slaves, but it had made no effort to pave the way for the transition period and the necessary adjustments of labour. Yet, it is as much the planter as the labourer who needs assistance for his difficulty in paying adequate wages is half of the trouble. The other half lies in the fact that the Jamaican is a far better worker on his own land than on other people's, and that he needs instruction and guidance from understanding friends. These words were written about the 1938 troubles, but they might equally well have been written a century ago, for the need was the same — instruction and guidance from understanding friends. That was the work of the churches of that day. The practical problems were — wages, housing conditions, rents, plots of ground. Now slaves resident on their owners' properties had had free house, with a plot of ground attached, from which they were allowed to sell surplus produce. In time of apprenticeship, i.e. 1834-8, they had been allowed to purchase their freedom at prices ranging from 2/4d to 3/4d per day. After 1838, the former slaves were offered work at 10d per day with cottage and ground, or 1/8d without cottage or ground. Rents for the £1/6d a day worker rose to as high as 6/8d per week for each person in a one-room shack. Records show that men like Aniby and Blyth spent their days in arranging terms between the freed slaves and the former owners and they succeeded in some cases in getting wages of 1/8d a day with cottage. Other records show that £1 per day for men and 9d per day for women, with free house, was considered "a reasonable scale of wages." 

Three months were allowed the slaves to come to an agreement as

1. Ibid. foreword p.xii. 11. Ibid. p.44-5. 111. Ibid. p.46. 1v. Millon, p. 17.
to wages, housing conditions and land, and thereafter they had to leave the property. In cases where there was bad leadership, trouble arose, for the slave had built the house, planted foodstuffs in the ground, had lived there, his children had been born there, and he did not see why he should have to leave. Under good leadership, and in districts where the Church was strong, there was little trouble, for the ministers were trusted to help the negro. The help came in the form of land-settlements, for ministers and churches, and a few estate owners, would purchase a large tract of land and sell it out to the new peasant proprietors on suitable terms. Knibb, e.g., purchased 500 acres for £1,000 and sold it to these small proprietors, and all over the island to-day villages are found whose names commemorate the fact that some missionary, generally Baptist or Presbyterian, had arranged land settlements for the freed slaves. The earliest peasant settlements were therefore centred round the churches, notably the missionary churches. According to the census, by 1844 there were 116 villages thus founded, with 18,365 houses on free-hold lands, and ultimately two-thirds of the population were thus settled. The other third were those who were lazy or unambitious and remained on the estates at low wages.

Medical resources and health services were two of the early problems, and disease had always taken a heavy toll of both slaves and colonists. In the first century of Moravian work, 64 missionaries had died, 50 of them having served from periods of one to seven years, and some writers affirm that the percentage of whites who died was higher than blacks. Each estate, of course, kept its own hospital

to attend to its own slaves, and when emancipation came, attempts were made, not very successfully, to get wages for the freed slaves of 1/- per day plus house as we have seen, and, in addition, the hospital treatment to which they had been accustomed. But that was rarely accorded them, and dispensaries became necessary after 1838. These were frequently opened by missionaries, and Burchell, the Baptist missionary, trained nurses and dressers in his dispensary. That the position was serious can be imagined when we read that in 1833 there were 200 qualified doctors in Jamaica to look after a little over a quarter of a million slaves, and while the death rate was 15% among slaves, and somewhat higher among owners, in 1838 the hospitals were abolished, and the doctors, who had been paid by the estates, left. By 1861 there were only 50 doctors in the island while in 1939 there were 109 registered resident practitioners on the medical list. The death rate in 1942 was 13.99 per thousand.

The work of the missionaries may therefore be imagined without further elaboration - it covered all that is meant to-day by the words social uplift, education, adult education, land settlements, health projects, charity (church collections for the poor), better housing and conditions of labour, simple training of village communities, etc. The biggest problem, and it is a social one as much as, and probably more than a moral one, is that of illegitimacy. Too much has been made of the law which forbade slaves to marry, and we have seen that this law, like most Jamaica laws, was generally ignored, and that marriages between slaves were allowed with the permission of the owner. They were encouraged to have children, it is true, but there has

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1. Waddell, p. 197f. 11. Timpson, p. 34. 111 Dillon, p. 29. IV. 1939 Handbook of Jamaica (population given as 1,264,092) V. Registrar General's report for 1942.
never been any proof offered that they were reluctant to have them. Indeed, a knowledge of conditions to-day and in the past suggests the opposite. We are not concerned to discuss the moral and spiritual aspects of this problem, but to describe the situation and the actions taken by the churches to improve the condition.

That apart from 'legal' marriage there was some system of common-law marriage which was recognised by the slave community is shown by the rules laid down by the Moravians which we quoted earlier and which indicated that a slave might have more than one wife, and converts were not compelled to put away the others, and not allowed to without their consent, and in the event of sale, the church did not hinder 'marriage' with another partner. In short, the church allowed what it could not forbid. At the same time, it encouraged by preaching and teaching the practice of monogamy, both legally and where permits could be obtained, and in the form of 'faithful concubinage' where permits were not given. The practice of the white residents did not help the situation, of course, for nearly everyone, down to the lowest white servant, had his female companion and Stewart writes that in 1803 'nine-tenths of the whites have concubines'. The number of coloured people is sufficient proof of the loose morality both among negroes and whites. But the missionaries dealt with the problem consistently, and Blyth is taken to task in 1826 for marrying slaves on Sunday. It was he also who raised the question in 1829 of introducing a law to legalise marriages by non-Church of England clergymen. The effect of the work of the churches in this direction can be gauged by the number of marriages in the period after slavery, i.e. when there was no legal barrier from any side.

and the following figures are available:— Between 1842 and 1845 the Church of England solemnised 8,294 marriages, the Baptists 8,710, the Wesleyans 5,530, the Moravians 2,639, the Presbyterians 2,382, the Congregationalists 554, and the Roman Catholics 3. It was claimed that some two-thirds of the negroes were either legally married or lived in faithful concubinage, and that the statistics available for illegitimate births do not give a true picture of the moral state of the people. Be that as it may, there is a grave moral and social problem, still unsolved, and not all the efforts of the churches, and those include suspension from the membership for concubinage, refusal to baptise children of irregular unions, or baptising them under different circumstances, e.g. on week-days, after service, with sponsors other than parents, etc. have availed. The rate of illegitimacy in slave days was presumably in the region of 98% to 100%, and in the periods after 1845 it was lowered to some 70%. It has not materially altered since then. The figures given to the Government's Committee on Illegitimacy, June 1939 are as follows: 1920, 71.46%; 1929, 71.47%; 1930, 71.75%; 1931 71.76%; 1932, 71.71%; 1933 71.64%; 1934, 71.89%; 1935, 72.22%; 1936, 71.66%; 1937, 71.28%; and the report states that as many births are not recorded, it is to be presumed that the percentage is higher. In 1926 it was 73.37% and in 1941 it was lowered to 69.71%, but in 1942 it rose to 69.97%. It is possible to take the views of Dillon, who holds that it took 100 years to reduce illegitimacy from 100% to 70%. therefore there has been progress, but the truth is that it only took some twenty or thirty years to achieve this, and for the remaining seventy years

there has been practically no progress in this sphere; and, there are considerably fewer cases of 'faithful concubinage' than formerly, and considerably less instances of whites keeping female companions, so that the illegitimacy rate to-day is a truer reflection of negro morality, or immorality, than it was a century ago.

There are two main points to consider in this matter: the (1) the moral question, and here it is a question of negro mentality and whether he has a sense of right and wrong in this matter at all, just as it is a moot question whether he has a sense of property, as, e.g., the word 'steal' is used only of taking money which belongs to someone else;—food, clothing, etc., which servants take for their own use without permission is only 'taking' or 'borrowing'. So with marriage and children. Marriage is a social custom and may be either a hindrance or a help. Sexual relations are thought of as essential for health, and there are those who refuse to marry a girl until she has proven that she is not barren. The Church has always tackled the question from the moral and religious angle, but has found great difficulty in dealing with cases of faithful concubinage, where there was no promiscuity, where a couple brought up a large family in a decent home, and where there was no cruelty between the people concerned. The Church has not been able to convince the Jamaican negro that a legal religious ceremony makes any difference, for the Jamaican has pointed to the intention to marry 'when he can afford it' and to the Old Testament incidents of prosperity lying in numbers of children. The law refuses to give assistance to the old while there are children who can support them, so children are brought into the world for the express purpose of 'securing support in old age'. But the most common
argument is the objection put forward by the women, who state that when they are living with a man, they can walk out on him at any time if he is unfaithful or cruel, whereas if they are tied by marriage, they are slaves, they have to keep the children, and the house together, they have to work and the man takes their earnings. Innumerable cases of such facts are within the experience of every minister in the land. (11) the social question, which up till recently has been left untouched. There never has been any social stigma attached to illegitimacy or to concubinage. It has been ignored and condoned inside and outside of the church. The causes given in the Government Commission's report are accurate both for the past and the present, and were drawn up by that Commission on which ministers of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches were represented, and subsequently endorsed by various synods: **Among the causes for the prevalence of illegitimacy and concubinage are the following: (a) first, the lack of a definite public opinion which condemns concubinage and illegitimacy; (b) the heritage which has been received from the days of slavery, when in many districts marriage was forbidden to slaves, inadequate houses were provided and many children were born of African mothers to white fathers; (c) bad housing conditions with entire lack of privacy where both sexes of all ages were herded together, and the lack of essential amenities such as light and water; (d) low wages and lack of employment, tempting girls and women to sell their bodies that they may obtain money to live; (e) the desire of some girls and women to have a child, with the sense of shame should they fail to do so; (f) the absence of healthy occupation or recreation and the dullness of life for the majority of people; (g) the low standard...**
of responsibility shown towards fatherhood and motherhood, and the lack of dignity in the attitude of both sexes towards each other; (b) in many cases the lack of adequate sense of responsibility for children that may be born. The report states the obvious effects of this evil, morally, socially, and economically in the tendency to look to the state for maintenance of children, in bad environments for children and entire lack of home life, in malnutrition, unemployment, disease, and an uncontrolled younger generation. The recommendations suggest compulsory schooling, better housing, a change of existing laws of consent, and of maintenance and registration of fathers, and other services which will come to be dealt with in section three of this chapter. The Churches in the past have not done much from the social side, but with the present stress on social service, it may be that the problem will be dealt with adequately. The contribution of the churches in that programme will be considered when dealing with the work of the West Indian Development Fund and the schemes for social welfare proposed by its committee.

Work of Independent Societies:

The large majority of independent societies which are to-day engaged in social and welfare work are of recent origin, and they are independent of the churches in so far as they are not attached to any church, but in most cases they utilise the services, voluntary or paid, of church workers, and in many cases their controlling committees have church representatives on them. They may be divided into three types: (1) Charity societies which have been founded as a result of money bequeathed by some philanthropist for the erection

of Homes for the aged and the poor, or for the free distribution of food and clothing at stated times. The Trustees have the administration of the funds, and they consist as a rule of members of local parish councils, or of the ministers of the various churches of a district or parish. (ii) Larger charity organisation societies, such as the Kingston Charity Organisation society which gather funds from churches and from business men and philanthropists and expend the amounts gathered among the poor and the needy in the parish. Their work may be enlarged or curtailed according to the amounts gathered from time to time. (iii) More recent organisations which have taken under their care special spheres of social service, such as Jamaica Welfare Ltd., and the Society for the Deaf and Dumb, and the Central Council of Voluntary Social Services. Let us consider these in order:

(1) A full list of the first group appears annually in the Government Handbook, and in those cases where money is given out at stated seasons, the practice is for the beneficiaries to be required to procure a certificate from a minister of religion, but in general, the benefits are not confined to any one denomination, e.g., the Verley House for Gentlemen is declared by the deed of settlement to be a "Home for respectable Gentlemen (Widows and Spinster) of indigent circumstances irrespective of creed."

(11) The work of the larger charity organisations may be gathered from the stated aims of the largest, in Kingston, which are "To bring into harmonious co-operation with each other and the Poor Law Authorities, the various charitable agencies and individuals in the district, and thus to check the evils of overlapping relief caused by simultaneous

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but independent action; To investigate thoroughly the cases of all applicants; To assist from its funds all suitable cases; To repress mendacity...by investigation...dealing with cases of imposture; To inculcate habits of prudence, self-reliance and thrift on the part of those who are aided; To promote the establishment of subsidiary efforts, dealing with such matters as (a) provision of food for hungry persons, (b) the proper housing of the poor, (c) assisting moneyless people to return home, (d) the establishment of suitable industries to supply work for the poor.¹ The corresponding organisations in the second largest town in the island operates at home, and makes and sells native curios, baskets, etc. for its own support, and runs a breche and trains domestics.¹¹

(iii) The third type of work done, that in special spheres, apart from orphan homes which have always been the care of the churches, has been work among the blind, the deaf and dumb, and latterly, club work and community centre work. The organisation par excellence which has led in this work has been the Salvation Army, which began work in 1887 and laboured with the blind, in probation work, in under-care of prisoners, with leper children, incorrigible boys, and provided shelters, hostels, and kitchens.¹¹¹ It has several branches of the 'Home League' for the training of children and for imparting knowledge of good home management to women; it has a Home for girls who have been in trouble with the police; it assists discharged prisoners by gifts of cloth and tools, and operates an employment Bureau.¹⁴ It has also a well-run school for the blind, which is residential and in which the children are taught not only the ordinary school subjects,

but arts and crafts that they may earn a living later. Other societies have taken care of other departments of social welfare in the island, such as the Jamaica Social Purity Association which exists to "combat immorality and venereal disease"¹ the Jamaica Women's League which visits hospitals, provides soup-kitchens, etc. and the sailors' Home and Rest, which since 1898 has tended the needs of sailors visiting the island, providing accommodation and rooms for recreation. Work among the Deaf and Dumb was begun in 1938 and is under the Jamaica Association for the Deaf and Dumb. It operates a school (residential) in the country and is supported by 100 from the state and by voluntary contributions. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. both operate hostels and clubs for young men and women, and the Kingston ministers' Fraternal has worked consistently for social uplift; and begun the regular supply of school lunches in the corporate area.

These and other organisations of a similar nature, have in a measure co-ordinated their work under the Central Council of Voluntary Social Services, and a review of its policy and its work will give an accurate picture of the position of social service in the island today.

The objects of the Central Council of Voluntary Social Services are: the improvement of the condition of the people by the following means: (a) bringing into friendly co-operation all agencies existing for social improvement; (b) ascertaining the facts relevant to social and economic conditions and the principles and methods of action best fitted to improve the same; (c) co-ordinating the efforts of all organisations having for their objects the fuller education of the people and the raising of the standards of life and conduct in the home and community."² The list of members include representatives of

¹ ibid. p. 564. ² ibid. ³ ibid. ⁴ C.V.V. 5th Annual Report 1941.
various departments of the churches, i.e. of Woman's Guilds, and Girls' 
groups, Scouts and Guides, Toc.H.B., S.C.I., Child Welfare Association, 
and Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., a total of thirty-eight organisations.¹

The first work of this council was a survey of all groups in the is­
land, so that the information contained in its reports is accurate
and up-to-date. The work of this Council, as indicated in its state­
ment of objects, includes the training of women workers for voluntary
and professional posts, and Adult Education has been begun by holding
training Days, or Leadership Days in various Centres, with the at fol­
lowing subjects: Health (study of psychology, physiology, hygiene,
nutrition, physical culture and first-aid), Home-craft, Mothercraft,
Mothercraft, and Citizenship.¹¹ For professional workers, an intro­
ductive course of training has been arranged, for seven students with
the Methodist Training Scheme for Women Workers, and in co-operation
with the Social Adviser of the West Indian Development Fund¹¹¹ Lead­
ership Days in country districts have been held for men also, and
have dealt with Housing, Village Improvement, Club Administration,
Physical Training, Work on Land Settlements, and Agricultural projects
and Co-operatives, in connection with the Government Lands Department
and Jamaica Welfare Ltd. The training is divided into two sections,
one for Boy Leaders, aged 15-21, and one for Peasant Leaders, for
community and land settlement work.¹⁷ Youth work has been done in
connection with Schools and Training Colleges, and conferences have
been held, with lectures on such subjects as Health, Education, Labour
and Employment, Recreation, etc.¹⁷ Special arrangements are made for
supplying speakers to study Groups in connection with churches and

iv. ibid. p.5. ¹. ibid.
other organisations when social welfare is being discussed, and the council operates two centres for Cottage Industries which give regular instruction and which employ groups of girls on full-time work. The finances for this work are provided by grants from Jamaica Welfare Ltd., which has sponsored the movement from the beginning, and a full-time staff is employed at the Head Office in Kingston. There is a liaison officer between the Central Council and the Jamaica Christian Council.

From the point of view of policy, it must here be noted that the Central Council, having a simple constitution and wide bounds of membership, and being financially independent of support from these members, is able to do greater service to the community in social work than any church has been able to do hitherto. Where groups of Christians differ in their allegiance, in their influence in the community, in their financial resources, it is difficult if not impossible to look at the community as a whole. But the objects of the Central Council are likely to be attained because it has proceeded on the principle which is basic in the Jamaican character, viz., the necessity for personal 'friendly co-operation' if anything is to be achieved. It has further begun by gathering the facts about the community as a whole, not about the smaller units with which its particular membership worked in the past, and it is able, by having simple requirements, to co-ordinate the work of churches and other groups doing social and welfare work. It is a work which might have been done by the Jamaica Christian Council had it then existed, and had it been able to think along lines wider than denominational, and wider than its own membership. There is, however, close and constant contact with the work of the Central Council and the social work of

1. ibid. p.7.
the churches, and there is little in the way of overlapping. It is really the agent of the Jamaica Welfare Ltd. and it attends to all the unofficial, voluntary and church social work, bringing it into line, as far as may be, with the island schemes under Jamaica Welfare.

Before examining the work of the latter, it is well to note that none of the Friendly Societies, or of the 134 branches of the Jamaica Burial scheme Society which exist for the relief of members in case of sickness, distress, and death of members and dependents, co-operate with the Central Council, as they are mainly societies which make grants of money for specific purposes.

Jamaica Welfare Ltd. is a semi-private agency formed in 1936 and it is responsible for the most outstanding secular programme of social and economic reconstruction in the island. It was created to offset the monopoly of the great fruit corporations, to develop the small farmer, and to advance the progress and self-reliance of the rural community. Its work is financed by the voluntary levying of a tax of 1d per stem upon all the bananas exported from Jamaica by the United Fruit Company. The large income of the society, although subject to the fluctuations of the banana export trade, has been sufficiently ample to allow of a staff of seven full-time officers to be employed and to open a varied programme in 35 rural centres of the island. Each of these centres is a nucleus for work in surrounding smaller areas, and in this way the society's work is actively touching more than 100 rural communities.

It is operated by a Board of Directors, appointed from among the public-minded citizens of the island, but churches are not represented thereon, except in so far as the active officers have had

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their interest kindled in the project by their Christian faith. In general, the welfare does not lend itself to co-operation with any other body, especially any voluntary body except in theory, for its projects are in many cases bound up with political measures and there is a strong tendency to make it quite clear that active Christianity is not desired in the work of Jamaica Welfare Ltd. Its chairman time and again in public has given the impression that the salvation of Jamaica lies in self-help in the running of Jamaican affairs by Jamaicans only, and that to attempt any forward movement in this direction with the churches is to ensure its failure. Only recently has that policy tended to change, for it has become apparent that the Jamaican people themselves will not make much progress, and indeed do not want to go forward in any direction, without the blessing and active co-operation of the churches. It is admitted that social work can be done in a community by some other leader than the minister, and that its executives need not be church officials, but that is a different thing from putting Jamaica Welfare Ltd. in place of the churches, and its programmes in place of worship and the sacraments. The Directors showed lamentable ignorance of their own countrymen for the first few years of Jamaica Welfare's existence. But it has been pointed out above that that weakness is being overcome in practice by their sponsoring of the Central Council of Voluntary Social Services, under whose wing the work of the voluntary societies and the church organisations is being co-ordinated, and which is enabled to keep the spiritual atmosphere so requisite to self-help from being overlooked.

The guiding principle of Jamaica Welfare Ltd is to encourage local interest and initiative to the point where it will act on its
own behalf. This is based upon the belief that a welfare programme, to have lasting results, cannot be imposed successfully from without, by an organizer coming into a community, but must come from within by a group as an outgrowth of its desire to better its own position.\footnote{1}

The plan first followed was to open large and well-equipped Community Centres with a paid staff, and that has been found to be unwise, for the community felt it had no interest in the upbuilding of the work. (This was the welfare doing what it aimed at not doing - trying to impose something from without). The second plan is more successful, and under it Village Councils have been set up which co-operate with every existing volunteer society - church, scouts, guides, business groups, and woman's Guilds in the area. Suitable buildings are found and it lies with the Village Council to see that local volunteers prepare such equipment as is necessary. No paid workers are employed, for the basic idea is to use every available facility the community affords. Three of the four executive officers are engaged of this extension work, and then plan is that adopted by all the churches in extending their work, viz., beginning in a small way, in a house or disused building, with a visiting paid agent, and, if the community feels the need for development and works towards it, a church is built by their own efforts. So here, the Village Councils may extent their premises and build well-equipped community centres.

Thus it is hoped to relieve some of the deadly and demoralising boredom of rural life where there is nothing to do after the sun goes down except to go to bed.\footnote{11}

Jamaica Welfare employs various organising officers and these specialise in health, first aid, recreational and educational activities,

\footnote{1. ibid. p.72. 11. ibid. p.73.}
for men, while the Central Council supervises the work among women and girls under the direction of one of the welfare officers. A third officer supervises 4-H Clubs and Pioneer Clubs, and integrates the work with that of Settlers' Associations on Government Land Settlement schemes, and other workers deal with Co-operatives in study groups and in a practical way in marketing. Economic co-operation is still in the future, for experiments have shown that the first step toward sound economic co-operation is training in social and community co-operative effort within the familiar activities of the village, and that not until the peasant has had some experience and understanding within the sphere of his simple interests is he prepared for the responsibilities of economic co-operation.

One important thing to be noted is that as Jamaica Welfare gains experience and comes to realise that the methods of the churches were not slow because they were antiquated, but were slow because they had to be suited to the character and mental capacity of the peasants, there will be greater co-operation between the two, and that quite apart from whether the churches unite and become indigenous or not.

We see then that before the recommendations of the West India Royal Commission were published and the Development and Welfare Fund came into being, Jamaica had in existence a great number of agencies for the betterment of community life in connection with churches, philanthropic movements, and secular groups. The first looked on this work as either a means to an end, or, more often, the fruits of conversion and the expression of Christian love. It did what it could within the limits of money and time, but had neither

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the men nor the equipment to carry through community projects consistently. The second group were limited by financial considerations, and by their being interested in one type of help only. The third group had the financial backing of a business already wealthy, it looked at the whole community, and its aim was to begin and continue the fullest development of community life, physical, economic, educational. It believed the moral would follow with the economic and the educational, and community-spirit would arise simply spontaneously. All these groups have learned from experience, and the Central Council has been the means of bringing them together in a practical way. Jamaica was therefore ready for the work of the Social and Welfare Adviser to the Comptroller of the Development Fund, and our next business is to study the proposals now put forward by Government in this sphere, and to see how the existing agencies are related to the new organisations and projects, and also to examine the place of the Church in this necessary community service and the development of a full community life here.

Proposals under the W.I. Royal Commission:

Before studying in detail the programmes proposed by the Social Adviser to the Comptroller of the West Indian Development and Welfare Fund, it will be well to note the actual wording of the Royal Commission’s recommendations, that we may understand not only the developments proposed, but the places given to the churches in the new scheme. These recommendations were:

"(a) that Government should appoint a Social Welfare Officer and form a Social Welfare Committee of representatives of each Department concerned, however indirectly, in the solution of a programme of social
welfare; that a social welfare expert should be a member of the staff of the Comptroller of the W.I. Welfare Fund, and that the appropriate members of staff of the Comptroller should form themselves into a social welfare committee which would be the central counterpart of the local committee.

(b) That provision should be made for the training of social welfare workers for service in the West Indies. Care must be taken to supplement and support, and not replace, the valuable work now being done by voluntary organisations;

(c) That women should be eligible for appointment to all boards and local authorities... that more hostels should be provided for women workers;

(d) That an organised campaign should be undertaken against the social, moral and economic evils of promiscuity, the success of which will mainly depend on the extent to which the combined authority of the Churches is behind it;

(e) That certain improvements should be introduced into the penal system... the use of probation... modern methods of dealing with offenders.¹

For two years the churches, the voluntary associations, and the social welfare adviser to the Comptroller have been working out the details of the various schemes for the social uplift of Jamaica, and while reports are not complete, the main lines have been decided upon.

In general, it might be stated here that it is likely that the country work at least will be carried out through Jamaica Welfare Ltd and the Central Council under the supervision of a government director of social services, i.e. the proposal is to use the existing social

¹ Recommendations of W.I. Royal Commission, sect. v par. 11 p. 17.
service groups and societies, not to duplicate their work, or to render their existence non-essential by creating another government Department. The Social Welfare Adviser in his report states that there are four main lessons which have been learnt from the attempts we have outlined above to build up a satisfactory framework of social administration, and these are: (1) The economy of the country is, and must remain, primarily agricultural. The drift towards urban areas is as striking in Jamaica as it is in any other country, but the raw materials and markets are lacking which alone can support factories operating on a large scale... The primary problem is the improvement of the conditions of life of the countryman... (2) It is a truism to say that all the social problems... are interrelated... The simple fact is often forgotten and unreal divisions of services between Departments and organisations allowed to come into existence. The result has been overlapping... and serious gaps... which better planning might have avoided... Before anything can be achieved... a common plan should be made into which the various services can be fitted, and the execution of the plan by the various services should be co-ordinated at every stage. (3) It has been found absolutely necessary to make self-help the basis of social reconstruction, and to keep 'outside' assistance, whether from the State or voluntary social workers, under careful restraint. 'Outside' assistance, is of course indispensable, both in the form of encouragement and advice, and in the more obvious form of financial aid... The responsibility for social betterment must be left with the people themselves, but they must nevertheless be given both the desire and the means of self-improvement. (4) There is general agreement in Jamaica that the
voluntary social services must be constructed on a moral basis provided by the teaching of the Christian Churches. Something more than mere co-operation between the social welfare organisations and the Churches is therefore necessary; the Churches must be persuaded to regard the social services not so much as a useful parallel organisation, as to look upon themselves as the leaders of a new movement towards social reconstruction. It is hoped that the Churches will be enabled to work out a new policy in this field through the machinery supplied by the recently established Jamaica Christian Council.

We see therefore a parallel to the Church question of the relative work of missionary and native pastor, and also to the question of specialised training for rural work and for work other than pastoral care of congregations. The Jamaican churches cannot, because of financial standards and methods, make the required change so that the foreign missionary gives encouragement and advice and trains local leaders. The initiative must come, and the financial conditions must be provided by, the British societies which send the missionaries. Also, the Adviser recognises that all social services are inter-related, and the churches have often forgotten that their work also is inter-related, and that much progress could be achieved if there were more co-ordination even within denominations. But the most important statement made by the Adviser is the hope that the churches will formulate some policy as a united church through the Jamaica Christian Council. Whether that will come to pass will be dealt with in chapter seven, but the necessity is obvious, and some method must be found to co-ordinate the work of the various denominations or else the moral basis referred to will not exist in the social services.

1. Simey: Government report, social welfare, no. 18. 23.x.41. par.1.
The future social welfare organisation is to be founded on the "village community association", with a measure of help from island-wide organisations competent to give assistance in special fields.\(^1\) Paid outside help will be needed at first, but the associations will co-ordinate all local activities after the manner of the Village Councils of Jamaica Welfare Ltd., and it is hoped that Village Associations will affiliate with others to form District Associations wherein they have a community of interests rather than parochial groups which may have little interest beyond proximity.\(^{11}\) Indeed, the present report so clearly repeats the plans of Jamaica Welfare Ltd., that, as we have stated, the most recent proposal, and probably the one which will come into effect, is to expand the work of Jamaica Welfare Ltd.\(^{11}\) Assistance is to be given by Village workers, each officer having the help of three trained women for social work, and these would be voluntary or part-time, and would live in the village\(^{iv}\) and would direct, along with the male officers, the work of 'home-making', from the initial construction of the house, to the best arrangement for the home and family.\(^v\) Such officers should be capable of acting as Poor Law Officers or Inspectors, Probationer Officers, and should give attention to adult education movements and the formation of 4 H Clubs. They would not supersede the public social services, but would be complementary to them. The work is to be directed towards strengthening the existing organisations, church and other, and in co-ordinating their efforts.

We have noted the plans for adult education earlier, and it is clear that the scheme which proposes to train adults for 'citizenship, social co-operation, industry and intelligent use of leisure' overlaps

\(^i\) ibid. par. 2 and 3. \(^{11}\) ibid. par 4. \(^{111}\) Scheme approved by Legislative Council since writing. \(^{iv}\) ibid. par.6. \(^v\) ibid. par.7.
with the proposals for Village Community Associations which will deal with such subjects as "choral music, nature talks, religion as a factor in social service, civics, hygiene, homecraft, etc." and it is advised that Adult Education be dealt with through the Village Community Associations, and not by separate government officials. The report makes it clear that "all the officers employed must be prepared to fit themselves into this common background of village life, and to share the lives of country people. The Village workers will be women, as the most vital part of the work of the new organisation will be done in the homes, and the homes of the people of Jamaica are far more under the control of women than of men. All the officers employed will therefore be required to regard their work more as a vocation than as a profession, as it will hold out little prospect for advancement, or for the holding of the kind of office-post in Kingston to which the thoughts of ambitious people usually turn. They must regard themselves as the colleagues of the local ministers of religion, seek help from them, and be prepared to give help in return. They must also similarly regard themselves as the colleagues of the local school-teachers, and attempt to relieve them of the rapidly growing mass of social service work which the teaching profession is taking on its shoulders as the years go by. They must co-operate with the officers of the Agricultural Department, and of the Jamaica Agricultural Society. Although they will be expected to become to a certain extent agriculturalists themselves, in so far as the more they disappear into the background of rural life the better, and the village centres will accommodate demonstration agricultural plots and projects, they cannot be allowed to set themselves up as experts. They will

1. Ibid. par. 13.
have to do much to assist the organisation of Pioneer and 4 H Clubs, but the actual work of these clubs will have to be decided upon in accordance with the advice of specially trained persons. Finally, they will have to co-operate with the rural health services. But as in the case of agriculture, they must not be encouraged to consider themselves experts in this particular field; they must regard their function as providing a useful channel through which the health education services can reach the people it attempts to influence. 1

It is clear that these officers must be under the influence of the churches if they are to preserve a sense of vocation in this work, for the Jamaican character is such that he is apt to set himself up as an 'expert' and as an 'official' whose word dare not be questioned, on the slightest provocation. Indeed, unless these workers are trained by Christian ministers who themselves have a strong sense of vocation, it is not being too bold to prophesy failure for the entire scheme. Past experience in Poor Relief, and even in the present attitude of teachers and other government and parochial servants is sufficient to make the Jamaican peasant distrustful of 'help' from any official source, apart altogether from the opinion of government or other persons educated abroad as to the abilities of the Jamaican. There is little point in ignoring the experience of the years as to the nature and characteristics of the Jamaican people in such a matter, and it is well to plan the work with all the facts in mind.

Continuing the report, the matter of the wider organisation is dealt with, a work which we have suggested should be done by the Central Council, but which, at the time of the report, was proposed should be done by a Jamaica Social Service Council, for these reasons:

1. Ibid. par. 17.
while "the existing Central Council of voluntary Social services seems to afford an excellent foundation on which a comprehensive Jamaica social Service Council could be built, its strength lies in the fact that it is an entirely spontaneous growth, which owed its origin to a desire on the part of those responsible for the various voluntary social services of Jamaica to co-operate together to remove common difficulties. This is in itself a good omen for the future. On the other hand, the main weakness of the Council as it exists at present lies in the fact that some at least of its members are not fully accredited by the organisations they represent. The first stage in the growth of a body of this kind is necessarily an informal one, and it now remains to be seen whether the constituent organisations, particularly the churches, will be willing to appoint 'working members' of their social welfare associations to represent them, as churches, on the council. This problem is now being dealt with.

Secondly, the representation of the Government departments on the existing Council is too weak. There are obvious gaps, such as are left by the absence of any formal representation of the Department of Agriculture, (and Jamaica Agricultural Society), the Board of Supervision, the Education Department, and the Medical Department which make the work of the Council a pale shadow of what it ought to be. It is vitally important for the future health of the social services of Jamaica that there should be the fullest co-operation and sharing of views between the State and voluntary services, which should, indeed, blend into one another to such an extent that it is impossible to say where the one begins and the other ends......

"Given strengthened representation of this kind...the Central Council
of voluntary social services should apply for incorporation into an independent organisation of the Jamaica Council of Social Services. Its function should include (i) the handling of all monies made available for grant-in-aid to voluntary bodies... (ii) the direct employment of social welfare officers... (iii) negotiation with its constituent bodies to ensure that sufficient services of the right kind are made available to the village community associations; (iv) training schemes for social workers... (v) continuous planning and research...

It is true that some members of the Central Council were not nominated by their respective synods or governing bodies, but the reasons were two-fold: (i) only social departments of churches were asked for representatives at first, and (ii) it was clear that government had certain proposals for the future, and most churches at any rate waited for two years until these proposals were made public. They did not feel it wise to enter into negotiations to set up a Central Council if in a short time such a thing would be unnecessary in view of government action, knowing from past experience that there was not the finances available within voluntary and church organisations to compete with aid from the British Government. As the Adviser has stated above, the problem was being dealt with, and if the later proposals to use the existing organisation as the official one materialised, the churches will all nominate official and active workers. Some of them have already done so. It is further no objection against the Central Council to say that government departments were not officially represented thereon. Government departments do not come under the heading of 'voluntary', and are not in Jamaica inclined to the

1. ibid. paras. 21, 22, 24.  11. Presbyterian Synod Minutes 1943.
view that there is anything short of perfection in their co-ordination of work. It is fairly certain that no Government Department will be officially represented on such a Council until Government itself recognises the existence of the Council, and its place in the carrying out of Government schemes. We have seen that there is co-operation between the Education Department and the Churches, but that is because Government has not the money to erect sufficient buildings, nor the staff to manage sufficient schools, without the help of the Churches. The need for Church influence therein is definitely a secondary consideration in local Government eyes, although happily not in the plans of the Education Adviser to the Comptroller. So in this matter. It rests entirely with Government to give a stated place to the Central Council and to make the necessary arrangements for its recognition by the various Government Departments and for their official representation thereon. The reason given by the Director of Government Departments for their inability to represent their departments is that in the matter of finance they are not allowed to 'subsidise private concerns with public money', which in practice even in elementary school buildings, means that such things as 'nominal rents' have to be introduced to safeguard 'unfortunate' instances which contradict the official stand. Churches are not represented officially on the Board of Education, the Board of Supervision, or any other Government Department, but members of, e.g., the Board of Education are chosen so that each denomination has one minister— not as a minister, but as a citizen, thereon. It is to be hoped that whether the Central Council is recognised by Government, or whether a Jamaica Council of Social Services is set up, the work being done, and the
spirit of co-operation achieved, will not be hindered.

The first need, obviously, will be for trained workers, and the Adviser proposes that this be managed in the first instance under the Methodist Training Centre for Church Sisters, assisted by lecturers from Government departments, voluntary associations, and secondary school staffs. The training of the Village workers is to be carried out by the Central Council under their Leadership Day programmes extended in certain areas to Training Weeks and in others to erect Centres for Refresher Courses. Jamaica Welfare Ltd it is proposed should continue its present work in its present areas.

The first step in the carrying out of the above recommendations has taken place in the appointment of a Social Welfare Officer, who, while directing social services, is not the head of a Government Department, but is attached to the Secretariat, and has under his purview all the services mentioned, in addition to the co-ordination of the public social services. So far, he is working through the Central Council and it would appear that the necessary strengthening of its membership will follow and its place will be recognized. It must be noted, however, that the Central Council works for the country parts, and that there is no corresponding council for the capital city and its suburbs, which has a population of over 200,000 people, of whom 75,000 are under 21 years of age.

The Social Welfare Adviser proposes a central authority aware of the underlying problems of social administration in the city, for the avoidance of overlapping and the co-ordination of services. If the Jamaica Council of Social Services is set up, it is proposed that

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a sub-committee be appointed for the city, and this would co-operate with the Kingston Charity Organisation Society for the relief of destitution and would organise a Youth Movement in co-operation with the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. for the running of Boys' Clubs and Girls' Clubs, on which a beginning has already been made.

It can be stated that since these proposals were published, there has come into existence a movement known as the 'Jamaica Youth Movement' but it appears to be primarily concerned with political matters, and is not actively engaged in social work. It is an attempt to copy the Central Council and has on its membership a number of study groups, 2x2x2x groups, etc., but in so far as it is active, it is concerned with young people rather than with social work among young people. The solution of the city problem would appear to lie either with the local Christian Council (city branch of the Jamaica Christian Council) or with a special committee consisting of government officials from the Board of Supervision, the Poor Law Officers, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., and the Salvation Army. These organisations have the information, the contact, and the personnel for such work.

Special reports were issued on Youth Work in addition to the mention made of that work in the General Reports on Social Welfare, and these include proposals for financial assistance to Scouts, Boys' Brigades, and Boys' Clubs, under certain conditions. Proposals include the appointment of a paid Travelling Commissioner, the provision of two rural training centres and office accommodation. The various Girls' Organisations are more fortunate in that most of them are attached to churches and have the services of (part-time) of a church agent. The development of 4 H Clubs, for training in agriculture, home-making, etc., is...
community life, and citizenship, to teach a scientific approach to farming, etc. receives special consideration and provision is made for Instructors and Organisers for that work in a joint memorandum by the Agricultural, Educational, and Social Welfare Advisers.¹

There is one other department of social welfare which has been considered more directly in connection with the Churches, viz., the provision of Homes for destitute and orphan children, and to that we turn our attention.

This work was begun by the Churches, and in general is conducted by them with the help of grants for children sent to the Homes by parochial boards. In 1913 the Broughton Industrial Home was established by the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, with accommodation for 20 boys and receives boys from any part of the island. In 1917 it was enlarged to take 40 boys, and has a competent staff for instruction in arts and crafts. Another Home was opened later at Montego Bay, with accommodation for 30 boys, and in 1922 a Home for Girls was opened at Carron Hall. While these Homes are under the full control of the Synod, they are undenominational so far as the children are concerned. Their upkeep is provided for by the Church, through endowments and voluntary offerings.¹¹ The Methodist Church operates an Orphan Home in St Ann's Bay and the Friends an Industrial School for Boys and we have noted the work of the Salvation Army for leper children, for the blind, and for the destitute in Kingston. There are one or two small homes for poor children operated by voluntary workers by the aid of private and public subscriptions, but there is no organisation for co-ordinating the work of these, or for

formulating a policy for the various Church Homes. They are inspected by either the Education Department or the Board of Supervision, according to the source of Government grant, which may be given for educational or poor relief purposes, but neither department gives advice or interferes with the policy of the controlling and owning body.

The whole subject has been opened up by the Social Welfare Adviser, and he has taken into consideration the Government, Church, and private Homes with a view to co-ordinating the work and extending its scope.

Children may be given relief by the Poor Law authorities in Jamaica in one of four ways at the present time: (1) in their own names, if orphans or separated from both parents; (ii) as dependents of women who earn an insufficient amount to support them; (iii) in Alms Houses (a practice condemned by the Board of Supervision); (iv) in a Children's Residential Home. On the 31st March 1940, the numbers so relieved were (i) 789, (ii) 4,612, (iii) 40, and (iv) 1,152. (37 children were boarded out with families and an allowance paid for their maintenance). It will therefore be seen that a high proportion of destitute children are relieved in Residential Homes. The number so relieved is still growing rapidly, having increased from 536 in 1931 to the above figure of 1,152 in 1940.

Children maintained in Residential Homes fall into two groups: (a) those sent merely as destitute children, e.g. as foundlings, and (b) those sent under an order of the court, with or without their consent, or that of their parents or relatives. Group (a) is therefore found in Children's Homes whether they are Industrial Schools or not, and leave not later than 14 years of age; group (b) is only found in certified Industrial Schools, and leaves at 16, provision being made for retention to 18 in special cases...
The problem which has confronted the Poor Law authorities has been two-fold: (a) the finding of sufficient accommodation to house the steadily growing number of children for whom they are responsible, and (b) placing the children in employment after they have been through the Homes. The Report of the Committee on Poor Relief of 1938 contained a recommendation that Government subsidies to Homes should be contingent upon the management providing an approved curriculum which should include vocational and agricultural training, that the cottage home was the most suitable type of institution and that to enable vocational or agricultural training to be given, the leaving age should be raised to 15 or 16. After considering the possibility of making more use of the system of boarding-out, the Committee concluded that 'the Residential Home is the best solution, but our present institutions are old-fashioned and in many ways not as efficient as they might be'.

It will be noted that the Social Welfare Adviser considers Orphans, destitute children, delinquent, and children with criminal tendencies as being in the same class, and looks at the problem as one of Poor Law relief. But while there is much to be said for that point of view, it is misleading, for the figures do not cover the total amount of relief given for orphans and destitute children, and the memorandum nowhere mentions the balance. Homes operated by the Churches are, even when they are Industrial Schools, mainly for the orphan and the destitute, and it is only to help out the parochial boards and the courts that a small number of children come by order of court to these institutions and share in the type of vocational and agricultural training given to the poor children in the Homes. Broughton Presbyterian.

1. Simey: Social welfare memo. no. 16, 20.x.41. par 1,2,4.
Home has 10 out of 30 places only for boys sent by parochial boards and court order, and usually only one or two are court orders. Farm Home (Montego Bay, Presbyterian) has 11 out of 30 sent by parochial boards. Pringle Home for Girls (Carron Hall Presbyterian) is not Industrial, but receives grants for 15 children from parochial boards and the Education Department, on the express condition that the Church supports a like number. So with the homes of other denominations.

The figures given in the Adviser's memorandum are accurate only for such applications as come before the Government's Poor Law authorities, but do not represent the full amount of work, nor the total needs of the island.

A further point to note is that it is these Church Homes that the type of training required, and the conditions of training required, is given, for if it is granted that delinquents should be trained in an atmosphere such as they will enter when they come to work for themselves on the land, then their training in Church Homes puts them in a type of rural community, of mixed classes to some extent, from the beginning. In the Government Industrial School at Stony Hill, the treatment is for delinquents and criminals. It is in practice a reformatory, though that is stated to be its second function. There is great room for improvement in Government and in Church institutions, but the atmosphere in Church Homes is undoubtedly better and healthier, and the training is in some respects wiser, though there is not the staff of instructors which Government can afford. In this connection it is interesting to compare the cost per head as given in the Appendix to the same memorandum - Government Homes, 8/5d and 9/1d; Presbyterian Industrial Homes 6/- and 6/9d; Friends' Industrial 9/9d; Salvation

1. ibid. par. 8.
It is clear that some development is necessary, and that much could be done by establishing bigger centres - not necessary bigger buildings' - especially in providing instructors for practical training.

The point of view of the Board of Supervision is of interest on this matter: 'The training which the children receive in the schools is either of the ordinary kind given by an elementary school or is related to urban or semi-urban occupations of one kind or another. Most of the children sent by parochial boards are either orphans or are deserted by their parents, and there are in consequence very often no homes to which the children can return when they leave the Homes. They are frequently unqualified to practice any trade or calling, and in any case they are usually too young to be entirely self-supporting. There is no apprenticeship system in Jamaica into which they could be fitted, and in practice many of the children have when they leave to be put on the Outdoor Dole of the parish, or 'taken' by somebody as an unpaid worker in exchange for maintenance.

'The subsequent careers of the children after they leave the Residential schools afford sufficient justification of the views formed by the Board of Supervision. The most striking case is Stony Hill (Government) where the 'institutional' atmosphere, and lack of the right kind of practical training makes it exceptionally hard to fit the boys into the ordinary life of the country on discharge. The Secretary of the After-Care Committee has recently reported to the Board of Visitors that the boys placed in employment are 'totally unable to look after themselves'.

1. ibid. Appendix II. 11. ibid. para 7 and 8.
The necessity of vocational training, and of the cottage principle as distinct from the "institution" atmosphere, is obvious, but there is nowhere in this lengthy report any suggestion as to the character and the type of training required of superintendents and of matrons and staffs, except on the practical side of Farming, and Vocational Work. Yet the clear indication of the report is that religious instruction and the Christian foundations of life are more needed in the case of children than in any other group. It may be that religious instruction is taken for granted as part of the elementary school teaching, but it would seem desirable that in Residential Homes of this type special provision should be made for chaplains, as is done in the Church homes and in other Residential Schools. Yet the impression given is that vocational training and better environment will accomplish all that is required for children.

The Board's judgment of the country industrial Church Homes is as follows:—The facilities they provide vary from the excellently equipped Swift-Purcell (Friends') Home to the rustic simplicity of Broughton (Presbyterian) and the low standards of Manning (Private Trust), which are in keeping with those of the surrounding peasant cultivators. None of these Homes provide a satisfactory training for life on the land, and all require assistance in this as in other matters. The after-care work is also inevitably uneven in quality and divergent in purpose, owing to the fact that the children are dealt with in ones and twos. At Broughton, for example, a number of children are found employment in Kingston, despite the fact that they have lived their lives in the country, and have been given some practical instruction in agriculture. The Manning Home makes arrangements
to place children out in homes as early as ten years of age, the older children receiving wages of about 7/- a month. This practice is often open to many obvious abuses.

The main difficulty about small homes providing adequate training for life on the land is the fact that they are small, that they receive little public support, and that their original intention and practice was to provide homes for children of school age at a time when unemployment was not prevalent. It is left to the individual superintendent to find employment for the children when they leave, and thus it depends to a large extent on his personal contacts. The Broughton Home reports, e.g., show that while agriculture is taught, tailoring, carpentry, sisal-mat making, and other crafts which can be practised equally well in town or country, are also subjects of instruction and in the case of hewing, it is clear that many of the children will become peasant cultivators, and will, it is hoped, take part in the Village Community Associations proposed by the Social Welfare Adviser. The practice of placing children out in private homes cannot be too strongly condemned in Jamaica. It has been tried by various bodies at various times, and the abuses are so common as to make kind treatment almost a miracle. The child becomes an unpaid servant, treated like a slave, and is rarely sent to school, and the reason for parochial boards and other institutions pursuing the system is entirely one of 'economy'. The Secretary of the Board of Supervision states that 'They (parochial boards) often pay as little as 1/- per week to a 'guardian' to care for one or more deserted children whereas the cheapest Residential Home costs 5/- per week. These cases are not numerous... If the child is in a home boarded

1. ibid. para 10. 11. Broughton Home annual reports; Synod papers.
out with a peasant family of the status of his own parents the small grant paid for or to him is used to maintain the whole family. If boarded with people of a better economic status he or she in many cases becomes 'cheap labour' and there is no machinery for the constant supervision if this is to be avoided, and regular school attendance insisted on. If the future of the child is considered as it ought to be considered, as part of the entire Social Administration plan and the raising of the standard of life generally, then it is unwise to board out children in homes of the present low standard, and when the standard is raised all round, the number of children will be lessened, and the Cottage Home will be able to accommodate all, and the higher standard of home life can be inculcated from the first in these Cottage Homes.

The plan proposed by the Board of Supervision is to have two Farm Homes, with Cottages occupied by 16 children, the aim being to turn out farmers and farmers' wives. These two Homes would accommodate some 800 children, and the Presbyterian Church had made arrangements some years earlier to transfer the 'Farm Home' (Montego Bay) to the new scheme, the interests of the Church being conserved by one or two Cottages being known as the 'Farm Cottages', and that Church being allowed to send its children to these Cottages. The suggestion was not adopted by Government though recommended by the Board of Supervision.

The Church and Future Social Welfare:

We have now examined in outline the work of the Church in the sphere of Social Welfare, the work of voluntary societies, and the proposals of the Social Welfare Adviser for the future. What is to

be the place of the Church in the new developments?

First let it be said that the Churches welcome wholeheartedly the recent interest shown by Government in the social development of the people of Jamaica, and that they are willing and eager to co-operate to the fullest extent in bringing the new proposals to maturity, both by placing their resources in men, women, and money, buildings and experience, at the disposal of Government. There is no protestant Church which would insist on running competing establishments or institutions if what is required is being done adequately by Government or semi-governmental bodies. But the Churches will, without exception, insist that social work must be founded upon religious experience and training, however it is carried out. They will not insist that the Churches take over the whole social development plan with Government subsidy, but they will insist that the Churches have some direct representation in the planning and the carrying out of the plans. To do less would be to fall short of the ideals and the vocation to which the Church is committed by her Master.

1. The Church will continue to do such social work as is incidental to her pastoral work and will visit the sick and the poor and assist them from the funds under her control. She will continue and develop the personal work of bringing the needy into touch with those public and semi-public bodies which can give greater financial assistance than the Church can give, and she will do much to break down the feeling of distrust of public assistance officers which exists to-day. Her work of teaching and education in the moral sphere, on marriage, home life, illegitimacy, will continue, and will be supplemented by the efforts of Village Community centres to raise the standard of
living and to improve housing conditions.

2. The Church will continue to manage the various small trust monies for charity which she at present manages directly or indirectly, and will also continue her interest in the work of the larger charity organisations. The latter, especially in Kingston if the scheme for youth clubs materializes, will be in close contact with the Church both for voluntary and paid workers. That is, the Church will supply the personnel of the staff for these organisations, for on their character and sense of vocation will depend, as we have seen, the success of the movement.

3. In general, as we have indicated, the Church will have a share in the work of the Jamaica Council of Social Service, or the Central Council of Voluntary Social Services, which ever body is in charge of the social welfare development of the island as a whole. The work of the Church will be to supply voluntary workers and trainees for the various positions outlined earlier in this chapter; to help in the granting of sites and/or buildings; to train up her ministers and agents to cooperate with community associations and settlers' associations; to act on their committees and give the benefit of their experience and education; and to see that the religious foundation is kept as the centre of all community life. Workers for special types of individuals, such as the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the lepers will be recruited mainly from the Church, and whether this work is supported entirely by Government or not, it is better that the various denominations cooperate to support any particular piece of work and agree that one body do that work than that every denomination try to control it. So long as there is division, it is more
practicable for an institution to belong to, and to be controlled by
one group, and to be assisted, as the Salvation Army work among the
blind is, by grants from other Churches. The Churches will require
to be officially represented on the Central Council and their repres­
entatives must be such persons as are able to speak with authority on
the various departments of their work, and to have knowledge of their
agents throughout the island, and the amount of service they can render.
The working out of a policy between government and Church and voluntary
societies is impossible unless the co-ordinating council has in its
individual membership people who have authority within their own group
to see that a common policy is carried out.

4. The Church can provide lecturers on social problems, either
part-time or full-time, and if these have been working as pastors in
the country their lectures would be of infinite value. A sharing of
the staff-work between Training Colleges for social workers and for
Theological Students would be of benefit to both, and would let the
workers become acquainted with each other and with the aim of each
other's work before actually meeting on the field. If arrangements
were made for the establishment of a University College as we have
suggested in chapter five, the students of all departments of study
would realise that they must co-operate in raising the standards of
life, not only mentally and economically, but socially, morally, and
spiritually. Indeed, there seems no other way to co-ordinate the
training to be given by Church and by State for the future leaders
in Jamaica.

5. It would seem that the work of Jamaica Welfare Ltd will come
most naturally under the Government Land Settlement schemes, and as
these new communities come into being, it is important that the churches come together and see that from the first there is provision made for Christian teaching and a place of worship. It is equally important that the Churches do not repeat the errors of division and denominationalism in these small new communities. In this connection it is well to note the statement issued by the Lands Department in its Guide to Social Welfare Work on Land Settlements: "Community centres can be used for religious purposes when those are lacking or scanty in the neighbourhood. Care must, however, be taken to avoid rousing religious antagonisms among settlers or opposition or resentment of recognised religious bodies already operating in the vicinity. Sometimes volunteer religious workers might be found who can conduct, say, Sunday school classes for children." In this connection the Jamaica Christian Council interviewed the Lands Commissioner, and were informed that space had been reserved in each settlement for a church, and that care would be taken to see that only one Protestant Church was allowed to erect a building, except numbers justified more, but the suggestion that the Jamaica Christian Council might be the body to decide which denomination should work in each area was not received favourably (on the ground of religious freedom).

6. All that has been said with regard to the place of the Church in the work of the Central Council or the Jamaica Council of Social Services applies obviously to the proposals under the W.I. Development Fund Advisers, and stress will be laid on the statement in the Royal Commission recommendations that social service schemes must "supplement and support, and not replace, the valuable work now being done by

voluntary organisation, and that the success of the campaign against social evils depends on "the combined authority of the churches." The churches must set themselves to find leaders and to train leaders, in conjunction with the Government colleges, for this special work, and must themselves set apart one or more officers to act as a go-between, a travelling instructor and organiser, for this work. Such work as the Churches are doing must itself be co-ordinated and this will require a full-time officer, probably a missionary in the first instance, to be followed by a trained native. One Church has already appointed a lay missionary for such work.

7. The Churches which have at present charge of Children's Residential Homes are all aware of the difficulties of operating small institutions, and they are mainly financial. These Homes carry small endowments, and were intended to provide for children a 'home' atmosphere, food, and clothing and schooling. Arrangements could be made under the terms of endowment for the combination of these Homes, and in most cases of their transfer to better districts and their amalgamation with bigger Government schemes. But the Churches will only agree to such a proposal if adequate provision is made for the religious oversight of the children, and no such provision is indicated in the Social Welfare Adviser's memorandum on the matter. The situation is serious, and is only one expression of the attitude of the Government towards the Church. The Established Church has recovered from the disestablishment and disendowment of 1870 and has made rapid progress in its work, but the Government has not yet been persuaded that the Church was willing to become disestablished and disendowed.

1. W.I. Royal Commission recommendations, sect. v. 11 (b). 11. ibid. (d) iii. The Presbyterian Church.
Every scheme which involves the passing of money to the Churches to be administered by them whether for church or public service, is received with suspicion. 'The Church must not be subsidised' is frequently heard, and the truth is that the Churches are more 'under' the State since 1870 than the Church of England was before that date, for so much of the Churches' work is public service, and so much is left undone that could be done if the State were to provide the funds it ought to provide, that the Church's policy has to be shaped according to the wishes of the Government. If Government withdrew its small grants for Children's Residential Homes, they feel the Homes would have to be closed; i.e. they can make plans for Residential Homes for the entire child population in need of such without reference to Church Homes at all. But that would be a fatal mistake in Jamaica, although the Board of Supervision is slow to realise it, even when the report of the Stony Hill institution with its 'institution' atmosphere is compared with the atmosphere of Church Homes.¹ For the same reason, the Education Department is loath to consider the appointment of a Religious Instructor for Teachers' Training Colleges. Yet the Jamaican is by nature very religious, and he will not advance willingly without the Church's co-operation and leadership. The Churches are, in all fairness, not concerned about denominationalism in the Residential Homes (except Roman Catholic) and if it would be easier there than in any other department in Jamaica to introduce Christian teaching by Government-paid chaplains, nominated by the Jamaica Christian Council. The Government-subsidised leader of Boys' Town (Kingston) was a Methodist minister, and the recently appointed Social Welfare Officer recommended by the Social Welfare Adviser is a Methodist missionary.

¹ quoted above in Social Welfare memo. appendix II pars 7 and 8.
Neither of them are bringing denominationalism into their work, and the position is that the Churches see the vital need of social work, and the necessity for co-operation in training and supervision, that no objections would be raised by the non-Roman communions in such matters. The churches which have Homes would willingly give up the financial control and the inadequate vocational training if the work would be done equally well under Government or semi-public organisation, provided that a Christian atmosphere was ensured in the new Residential Settlements.

It has therefore become abundantly clear that the Churches are alive to the needs of present-day Jamaica, and that the new developments are in line with their original policy of creating a self-respecting and God-fearing people; that the Churches should become indigenous, and that the first step towards the union of the Churches is to practice working together on community projects and in training native leaders. There is a growing need, increasingly felt by the younger generation, for corporate union of the Churches, and while the older generation of ministers and of people cling, somewhat naturally, to the past, and while they see the practical difficulties in such a union, they too are at one in the ultimate aim.

The stress on education and on social welfare work suggests the line along which closer federation and ultimate union might follow, and it is now our business to examine the attempts at co-operation and union in the past between the churches as such, attempts which, where they failed, were due to the fact that while the governing bodies saw the need, the people had not then realised it. To-day the people are beginning to realise it, and the co-operation in training which we have.
indicated to be desirable and necessary, will ensure that the leaders also will continue to realise it, both from the internal point of view, and because of the increased pressure from outside, in the form of the demands of the Home Churches and the difficulties of Government in dealing with a number of unconnected religious bodies.
VII. INTER-CHURCH RELATIONS
It will be wise for us, before studying the future possibilities of the Church in Jamaica, to examine the history of the relations of the various branches of the Church over the years, in so far as they have purposely worked together and assumed mutual responsibility for some part of the work.

None of our 'unhappy divisions' are of native origin, and there is not and never has been, colour-distinctions in the Jamaican Churches. We have seen that there was a distinction between slave and freeman, and in days of slavery a distinction between free people of colour, white, and slaves, as for example, in the Scots Kirk, where "the North and West sides of the gallery be appropriated for white people and the South and East sides for those of colour; that for the whole of the centre range of pews downstairs be occupied by whites" while the East end of the gallery was for slaves. The pew-rents were such that that distinction would probably have come about in any case, but that cannot properly be called a 'colour-bar'. At Hampden, which was a missionary station, the centre seats downstairs are reserved for visitors but even in the Church of England black and coloured people were never kept out of the Church because they were coloured, though before our period there are few instances of whites and slaves worshipping together. But in all the missionaries' churches, slaves predominated, and the whites came to service if they desired. Apart from some of the recent sects which are composed entirely of natives, and where white skins would be suspect, it is true that "in Jamaica the..."

various races join together in Church worship and communion, and
many of the coloured people and black people take part in the manage-
ment of Church affairs and in the ministrations of the Church. It is
...so different from anything that prevails in the United States or
in South Africa.1

The distinctions which do exist are those of denominationalism,
and their reason is in all cases that the first workers, the mission-
aries and the established ministers, followed the practice, procedure,
and peculiar interpretations of the Gospel, of their own denomination
in Britain. In a sense the distinctions are foreign to Jamaica, but
in a sense also they have become native distinctions, and the problem
of union is as difficult today in Jamaica as it is in Britain,
though for slightly different reasons.

Established Church and Missions:

From the beginning, the position occupied by ministers of the
Church of Scotland and the Church of England was different from that
of the missionaries, even when the Home Societies were receiving help
from the established Churches at home. The relations of the respec-
tive ministers on the field depended largely on the character of the
individuals, and there are many instances of friendly co-operation
which disprove the assertion made by Knibb that "infidels, clergyman
and magistrates had been combined to banish Christianity from the
Island"11 or the equally sweeping statement that it was "in the teeth
of the opposition of the Anglican Church and the white community of
planters, it was the Moravians, Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists
who laid the foundation of the religious education of the negroes."111

111. The Call to East and West, 1928, p.77.
It is true, as we have seen, that the missionaries did far more for the slaves than the established Church, and it is also true that some clergy opposed the work of the missionaries, not because they were missionaries, but because they were, in England, non-Conformists, and because some of them made themselves objectionable and absolutely refused to believe that the Gospel could be preached by any society other than their own. Timpson, who gives a fairly well-balanced statement of the 1831 riots, though entirely Baptist in outlook, goes so far as to say that "note should be taken of the great difficulties under which the Church of England laboured in Jamaica. With the clergy appointed and paid by the Island Government, it could do nothing vital for the slaves. After the establishment of the 2nd bishopric of Jamaica in 1824 a few of the younger clergy began valuable work among the negroes; they were helped by an increasing number of Church of England missionaries, and by 1845 had built up a considerable following."

The two extracts from the Anglican historian of the Diocese will show that the Church of England was more tolerant of the mission societies than the missionaries were of the Church of England clergymen. They also give an accurate statement of their relative positions in the island.

In 1754 the Moravians came and began a good work....in 1789 a Wesleyan Methodist mission commenced, and in 1814 the Baptist Church began its labours; in 1819 the Established Church of Scotland started work in Kingston, and in 1823 the Scottish Missionary Society began a useful work which is now being carried on by the U.P. Church. It is no part of this story to relate how some of the missionaries of these denominations were thwarted, reviled, hindered, and persecuted. Such

1. Timpson, p. 29.
things are written at length in their own records. Beyond doubt, the planters and the Assembly associated the teaching of the missionaries with the emancipation of the slaves. We need not pause to ask whether this association was real or imaginary. Indiscreet some ministers may have been, and probably were, for indiscretion is no infrequent companion of religious zeal; but the heedless indiscretion of Wesleyan or Baptist compares favourably with the apathetic indifference which characterised many of the ministrations of the established Church. Admitting that some of the efforts of the non-Conformists produced, directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally, consequences which disturbed public order and resulted in riots and bloodshed, no one can deny that these efforts were in the direction of justice to the black population. Honour to whom honour is due. Those who provoked the hostility of the Church and of the planters earned the gratitude of the poor and the oppressed. There were indeed — and their numbers were increasing — men of zeal, perseverance and devotion in the ranks of the establishment, but the lion's share of the honours of persecution belonged to the non-Conformist churches. The Government was a negrophobic plantocracy and the established clergy sympathised with the Government. 1

Concerning the 1831 rebellion, Ellis writes: "The wrath of the planters was poured out on the teachers of religion, but most of it fell on the non-Conformist missionaries. The Church of England teachers and clergy, though here and there inconvenienced, annoyed and subjected to opposition, escaped actual persecution. But if they were unscathed by persecution, they were also innocent of any attempt to incite to rebellion. That other Christian ministers suffered with

1. Ellis, p. 65.
their converts and were accused of being implicated in the rebellion
gives greater prominence to their names, but does not detract from
the fact that Church of England ministers and missionaries were quiet-
ly working and gaining power and influence over the people. In fact,
where the church was weakest, the rebellion was strongest....it is
quite possible that the sobriety of devotion which is characteristic
of the Church's teaching had its soothing influence on the minds of
thousands who were eagerly panting for freedom, but who were satis-
fied patiently to wait the issue of events rather than to attempt to
anticipate the inevitable. If therefore, the honours of persecution
were not to the Church, the equally great honour of having prevented
disaffected feelings from breaking out into open rebellion may well
be awarded to many a conscientious missionary. To prevent mischief
is at least as noble though not perhaps so dazzlingly heroic as to
suffer the consequences of mischief.

That the Methodists and Baptists took an entirely different view, and
that the Scottish missionaries shared in the attitude of these to
the established church, both of Scotland and England, is seen by an
amazing letter from the Scottish missionary society to one of their
own missionaries (Hope Waddell, later of Calabar, Africa) in 1833:
"There is a very general impression that you have been less faithful
than other missionaries, else you would not have met with the favour
you have....but would have been opposed and persecuted....the viol-
ce of persecution" says one minister, "has for a series of years
been assailing the missionaries of the Baptist and Methodist denom-
nations in the slave colonies...but with the Scottish missionaries,

1. Ellis, p. 67-8.
judging from their own statement and from other sources of information, all has been comparatively smooth and calm, while the planters build and endow their churches and worship under the ministrations of these missionaries and welcome them as friends and companions in their select social circles and family mansions. Now the question is, How can these things be? The source of the accusations is traced to Knibb, and Waddell and his brethren publicly vindicate themselves and the question as to whether the Scottish missionaries were more prudent is answered by the statement that they were expected to be heralds of the Gospel, and the missionaries held to the policy stated earlier by Patson of Lucea "I certainly would never make a compromise of my religious liberty in order to obtain the good will of my civil ruler, but at the same time, if that good will can be obtained without any compromise I do think every missionary should endeavour to obtain it." There was, then, for one reason or another, a different relation existing between established clergy and Scottish missionaries, and, on the whole, between established and Moravian ministers. The reason may be simply, of course, that Scottish and Moravian missionaries came by invitation, and looked on the established Church as a sister church rather than a rival, even with its general indifference to the slave population.

Let us look at the relationships in detail, however, and not be content with such general statements as the above. First the relation between the Scots Kirk (established Church of Scotland, Colonial charge) and the Church of England. By an Act of 1814 the status of free coloured people was raised, admitting them as evidence, if

Christians, and removing limits upon their capability of receiving
bequests. The Assembly passed a Bill incorporating a Presbyterian
body, but the Council rejected it; the Assembly, however, voted £5,000
to the Presbyterian Church, and later £3,500 more, and later still £500
a year, as if to show that they would recognise a religion if only it
were Established. 1

We have seen in chapter one that the Magistrates and Town Council
also voted considerable sums of money for the Scots Kirk in Kingston,
and it is clear that it was recognised for all practical purposes as
an Established Church, having power to call its own minister from
Scotland, and in the 1827 Act forbidding the assembly of slaves after
dark in an unlicensed place and being addressed by an unlicensed
preachers, the meeting place of 'dissenters' is specifically stated
not to mean 'Presbyterian Kirk...Jewish and Roman Catholic religions'. 11
Endowment difficulties were got over by a meeting of planters held
"at Spanish Town in 1822 to raise by voluntary subscriptions enough
to endow the Scots Kirk stipend". 111 The Chief Magistrate was called
to the chair, although he was not Church of Scotland, and the amount
raised at the meeting was £3,354.17.6d. 11v The relation between the
Church of England and the ministers of the established Church of Scot-
land, is and always has been, most cordial, and now extends to the
position of the Church of England Bishop conducting service in the
Presbyterian churches, and Presbyterian missionaries preaching in
Anglican churches. 11 (There are some Anglicans object, but not actively).

As might be expected, relations between the established Church
of Scotland minister and other Scottish missionaries were cordial.

for they were fellow countrymen, and followed the same form of church government and preached the same Gospel. Something of the history of the Scottish churches did break through, as when Rev Thos. Callender, who was acting in the Scots Kirk for one year, refused a call on the ground that he was a 'voluntary' and opened a new cause in 1849, the first congregation in Kingston in connection with the U.P. Church of Scotland. But that was a local feeling, and circumstances brought these two congregations together as a united congregation in 1939.¹

In 1829 the Colonial Secretary is asked to introduce legislation permitting marriages to be performed by non-Church of England clergy-men, and the reply is favourable and Watson of Lucea refers to the cordial relations of the Church of England with him in his work in 1828 onwards: "They exhibit unexampled liberality of the magistrates and vestry of Lucea, even though Church of England" and he writes "I cannot express myself too strongly in regard to the white people and their uniform readiness to co-operate with me in endeavouring to promote the moral and religious improvement of the black and coloured population..."² In Kingston, too, we read that "even in Jamaica where the dark and dangerous fanaticism of the Methodists has been discovered with more sagacity than in other places, this assistance (subscriptions by whites) has been afforded"³ a statement made when refuting Methodist accusation of unfaithfulness, they having enjoyed support and privileges for ten or eleven years. "The Rector of Kingston gave £10.13.4d for the Methodist chapel in Kingston"⁴. Also, the Baptists "during the first thirteen years got encouragement"⁵ by

the whites, and the question is asked whether Baptists and Methodist missionaries were at that time unfaithful. A further example of help is indicated by "the vestry of Lucea having unanimously passed a vote granting a sum of not less than £100 currency per annum (to be increased as they shall see fit) in aid of the liquidation of the debt on the Church (Presbyterian) which has been erected in that place; and when that is effected, to continue from year to year as a permanent grant to the Scottish Missionary Society." The Moravians also tell of the presence and active support of Anglican clergymen at the opening of schools and churches, and while the Wesleyans presented an address to the Governor in 1834 on certain matters, the Church of England, the Moravians and the Baptists united to present their address in the same year.

After emancipation, and the troubles of 1831 and the difficulties of 1834-38 had been forgotten, the Churches worked on the whole peacefully together, though there was always the distinction between 'the Church' and the 'non-Conformists' - which latter term was continually represented by the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church.

One difference continued for a time - the financial help afforded by Government to the Churches. At emancipation, the Churches were helped by grants (two-thirds normally) for school buildings. Caldecott states that it was then possible for the Government to assist all approved bodies with funds, and this was done. The principle of concurrent endowment was in operation long before disestablishment took place and continued long after it. But two sects stood out against even this connection with the state, the Baptists and the Independents; these declined all preferred grants. But the Methodists and Moravians

had no scruple against joining with the Anglicans and Romanists in accepting them.\(^1\) It can here be stated that the Baptists and Independents in Jamaica did not hold out for long, but came in so far as school grants were concerned in the course of a few years.

Phillippe, the Baptist missionary, writing in 1843 states that the total expenditure for ecclesiastical (Church of England) purposes rose from £30,000 to £80,000 per annum with the passing of the clergy act of 1840 which abolished fees for baptisms and burials, replacing them by grants from the public treasury, thus imposing a most unjust and oppressive burden upon the dissenters, who constitute more than half the population of the island.\(^{11}\) The disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in 1870 ended that grievance and there has been more co-operation between the churches since that date, though not until 1941 did the Church of England officially join with other churches for any religious work. Apart from individual friendships between the clergy and ministers of other churches, and from joint memoranda to Government on social and educational matters, it is true to say that the Church of England even after 1870, and the Church of Scotland throughout, had at best a sublime disregard for the existence of other churches. It is also true to say that some of the other churches considered proselytising as much as conversion to be their chief purpose. It was and it is, a continuation of the policy seen as long ago as 1797: when the condition of Jamaica was such as to induce the Board (L.M.S.) to take active steps towards a mission for that island. Some correspondence passed with Dr. Coke of the Wesleyan Church, who appeared to think that his church had an exclusive right to mission work in that island. The directors expressly state in reply their view, that there

\(^{1}\) Caldecott, p. 123. \(^{11}\) Phillippe, p. 105.
was ample room in Jamaica for all the workers who could be sent... 1
and in 1900 the Rev. C.S. Bulloch, Baptist missionary in Jamaica, tells
of a conference on Home Missions where no financial aid was promised
for a new sphere until a speaker said "If we don't do this work the
Presbyterians or Methodists will do it." 11

Relations between Mission Churches:

We have no to examine the relationships which existed between
the agents of the various missionary societies, and that was a varied
one. From 1754 to 1831, there was no conflict between the Moravians
and any other church, for their work remained in the districts to
which they had been invited, i.e. on the sugar estates of St. Eliza-
beth, and they did not commence work in Kingston till 1893, so did
not come into conflict with the established Church in the troubled
days of slavery. The Presbyterians share Manchester and St. Elizabeth
with the Moravians, and have from the first been on the best of terms
with that Church and its agents.

The Quakers, who apparently had a meeting house in Kingston in
1760, had no continuous work, so far as is known, till the end of the
nineteenth century, and whatever individual work was done was not done
in such a way as to draw the attention of any of the authorities.
Methodists and Baptists, beginning work in Kingston, and with the help
of native leaders and local preachers, came at once into conflict
with authority and into contact with each other, but only in 1831 did
they come into conflict with the Moravians and Presbyterians over
the rebellion which arose through misunderstanding and through fanat-
ical preaching. In general, the staffing of all the societies was a

so short that there was no need of overlapping, and it was only after 1838 that the societies came into close contact with one another by their endeavour to extend their own denominations in every town and village. The Baptists, as we have seen in chapter one, made rapid strides in membership.

The first real step towards union on the mission field by ministers whose home churches were divided was taken by the agents of the Scottish Missionary Society. That Society was not under any one branch of the Scottish Church, but drew its agents and its support from all branches and the Jamaica records of the time refer to all the agents as 'Church of Scotland' or 'Presbyterian'. In 1800 when the Scottish Missionary Society sent its first minister — though he died after three days in the island — there were in Scotland besides the Established Church, the Relief Synod, the Original Associate Synod, the Associate Synod (the latter two being the Old Light and New Light Burghers), the General Associate Synod (Anti-Burghers, not yet split into Old and New Lights) and the Reformed Presbyterians, descendants of the 'Cameronians'. Bethune, the first minister of the Scottish Missionary Society in Jamaica, seems to have been Established Church of Scotland, and Ebenezer Reid, catechist and teacher who worked for twenty-eight years in Kingston, had to stop preaching under the 1802 law according to Buchanan who states that he was a 'regularly ordained minister of the Church of Scotland'. (This is an error, for Mr Reid was a schoolmaster, and was never ordained, other records show that he preached on Sabbath evenings was well as taught.) In 1824, when the Scottish Missionary Society sent its second, and first of the unbroken series, of missionaries, Scotland had further

2. Chapters one and two.
divisions, for the General Associate Synod had in 1806 split into Old and New Lights, and a majority of the New Lights in 1820 had united with Associate Synod New Lights to form the United Secession. (The minority did not join with the Old Light anti-Murhers till 1827—and they then formed the Original Seceders). Fortunately, these divisions were little more than names in the Jamaica mission, even among the missionaries, for on 5th June 1834 they wrote the Scottish Missionary society asking that they be allowed to form a presbytery, and the scheme was approved, but it was later discovered that the presbytery would include the 'endowed Scots Kirk minister, if he were evangelical in his views'. By the time the society's reply was received, the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery was in existence, and had members from the United Secession Church and the Original Associate Synod, and, as the point is made by both the Jamaica missionaries and the Scottish Missionary society, from the Church of Scotland (established). The society had suggested two presbyteries, on the grounds that (1) the Scottish Missionary society was supported by the Established Church of Scotland and dissenters in Scotland, and the society's agents should not be connected with any one branch of the Church; (ii) the Scottish Missionary society's stations would be put under the Jamaica presbytery, hence individual men would not be appointed by the society, but inducted by the presbytery; (iii) Church of Scotland missionaries might not offer their services in future to the society because they might object to United Secession ministers being co-presbyters; (iv) the Jamaica Presbytery could appeal to the General Assembly (or Synod) of their own churches, and where then would be the power of the society be?

1. The name is given variously as 'Jamission Presby'; 'Jamaisionary Presby'; and 'Ja.Presby'; we have used all according to the style in the particular source quoted. 11. Correspondence S.E.S. 26.8.1836.
They therefore suggest one presbytery for the society's agents and one for Associate Synod ministers. But by this time, the presbytery was in existence (self-appointed for the society was not a court of the Church, and its authority was not required) and the society finally approve, when the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery has stated that it acknowledges "no superior court". In 1843 the missionary at Falmouth, apparently with his people, became Free Church of Scotland, and Dr. Dennistoun of Montego Bay did the same, but they still remained full members of the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery, as did Callender in 1849 in Kingston. In 1831, the Missionaries, as it happened, had all been licensed by the United Secession Church, but in 1834 two United Associate Synod missionaries were appointed. In 1847 the Scottish Missionary Society stations and men were transferred to the United Presbyterian Church and at that time only one man happened to be not United Presbyterian.

The divisions and re-unions in Scottish Presbyterianism were not then allowed in practice to affect full co-operation of ministers on the field in Jamaica. In January 1848 "the missionaries agreed to form themselves into a Synod consisting of four Presbyteries, and to be called 'The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica', and the first meeting was held at Falmouth on 9th January 1849. This was 'for the purpose of giving to their congregations more fully the benefit of Presbyterian government. The action of Dr. Callender in 1849, who having refused a call to the Scots Kirk, opened a place of worship with some of the former members of Scots Kirk nearby, apparently made a breach in what had been happy

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relations between the established Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica which was then in federal relation with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland had opened three stations in the country, each having several out-stations, and these were all in districts where the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica was not working, hence there was little need of close co-operation even had there been any desire. In 1890 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh approved the formation of an independent presbytery of the Church of Scotland in Jamaica. In 1900 the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica followed the parent body and entered into federal relation with the United Free Church of Scotland, and in 1931 the congregations under the Church of Scotland Presbytery in Jamaica and those under the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica joined in the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica which then entered into federal relation with the re-united Church of Scotland. (Both branches had of course had direct relations with the re-united Church since 1929, but it took two years to complete the transaction in Jamaica). The present Church of Scotland Presbytery in Jamaica exists only that Church of Scotland ministers, on loan to the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, may keep their status in the Church of Scotland - it has no congregation under its care. The work of the Presbyterians is therefore united in Jamaica and is under the control of the local synod, except for the location of Scottish missionaries, which have to be approved by the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland.

The Methodist Church, as we have had occasion to note, has, except for nineteen years towards the close of the nineteenth century, been

a mission of the Methodist Church in England, and the official records and popular histories use the name 'Wesleyan', 'Methodist' jointly or separately, without any consistency, as will be noted from quotations made earlier in this work. There are no traces of antagonism between members of the various branches of Methodism in Jamaica, and indeed only one reference is made in the records and that to the fact that the United Methodist Free Church had worked in Jamaica prior to its amalgamation with the Reformed Wesleyans in 1857. These continued under the name 'Free Methodist' in Jamaica, until in 1907 they became United Methodist and in 1932 became part of The Methodist Church. There were not, apparently, any "Primitive Methodists or those of the New Connection, or the Bible Christians" at any time in the island. The African Methodist Episcopal Church was brought from the U.S.A. in 1914 to Jamaica, but was never considered as more than a sect, and where it has joined with other denominations it has always been by absorption. Its ministers have not been recognised by the denominations which accepted, after catechising, its members.

Union Plans between Denominations:

We now turn our attention to plans for corporate union between denominations, plans which have so far not achieved very much, but which have at least indicated some of the difficulties which must be faced in the future. The opinion of a visitor who was long enough in the island to consider the situation fully, in 1939 was that "there cannot be said to be any great desire among the churches for organic unity, but there is increasing a feeling of the need for federation."

That was written at a time when negotiations for union had broken down, and before the advent of the Jamaica Christian Council had brought the churches into closer relationships; i.e. from the point of view of unity it was the worst possible time to consider matters. Yet it was true.

The desire for union began in Jamaica as a result of financial difficulties felt after the 1914-1918 war, and was pressed by the home churches, who saw in union a saving of men and of money. Also, in Scotland and in England there were movements towards union of the two great branches of Scottish Presbyterianism, and of the three branches of Methodism, and these were consummated in 1929 and 1932 respectively. The plans for the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council of 1923 were maturing, and many other steps were being taken, for the unnecessary divisions of the Christian church were beginning to be seen as unnecessary, or at any rate as not presenting insoluble difficulties, and there was a real desire to work for the re-union of the Church which is the Body of Christ. That desire found its way to every Mission Field, and Jamaica was no exception.

The Presbyterians in Jamaica had shown from 1836 that they could work together within Presbyterianism, and the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland in 1924 in considering the report of its deputies to Jamaica decided to approve of the opening of a Union High School for Girls owned and operated jointly by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in Jamaica, and also the Committee agreed to approach the home authorities of the various non-Anglican Protestant Churches and Societies working in Jamaica with a
view to secure all possible co-operation in the field, especially in the union of congregations where that may seem advisable, and to discover the possibility of uniting the churches of the various denominations into one non-Anglican Protestant Church. The Methodist church had earlier declared its policy on co-operation and union thus:

"It is the policy of the society to co-operate with other Protestant societies wherever such co-operation can secure a larger measure of efficiency and economy in the work undertaken... As to the complete union of the churches on any field, the society recognises such union as the only right aim — ultimately — of all our work, and has no desire on any field to perpetuate the unhappy divisions by which Western Christianity is rent asunder and enfeebled. (On the other hand, hurried union might well lead to hurried and graveous disruption, while a more gradual approach to the several branches of the church on the mission field might secure ultimately a more intelligent and stable basis of union... Under all circumstances it is the policy of the society for the present to promote a close federation of the churches, believing that on such lines progress towards ultimate union may wisely proceed."

The first report of the Jamaica representatives who considered the question of union was presented on 10th January, 1926, and revealed that six denominations were concerned: Jamaica Baptist Union, Jamaica Congregational Union, Church of Scotland, Wesleyan Methodist Church, Moravian Church, and Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, and that the first meeting of representatives was held on 26th April, 1927.

The terms of reference are given in the preamble, and are as follows:

1. Confidential Minutes F.N.C. of U.E. Church, No.6966, 16.7.1924.
(a) Inquiry should be made into the possibility of uniting the churches of the various denominations in Jamaica into one Protestant church;

(b) If it be found that incorporating union is not possible in the near future, then the possibility of the early uniting of individual congregations of different denominations, wherever advisable, be explored in order to remove present overlapping;

(c) In order to prepare for eventual incorporating union, the possibility of establishing a United Theological College be considered.¹

As stated above, it was the Foreign Mission Committee of the U.P. Church of Scotland which got into touch with the Home Churches, and the local Synods and governing bodies acted on the advice of their Mission Boards and began negotiations in Jamaica, the Committee of representatives being known as the 'Conference on Union'. The first point was "that it was obviously the intention of the Conference to work toward corporate union".¹² A sub-committee gathered statistics and the following results were published: the six evangelical churches had between them 517 church buildings, 159 ordained ministers, of whom 68 were European and 91 Jamaican; church membership totalled 77,379, plus 11,144 Wesleyan Junior members; the total income from local sources was £69,380; 320 schools were managed out of a total of 679 elementary schools in the island, and of the latter 159 were Government schools, i.e. these six churches managed 320 out of 520 schools. The Conference desired to keep the links between the Jamaica churches, and their respective Mission Boards, for it appeared that even if union were achieved it would be "beyond the power of a

United Church to carry the whole burden either in men or money for some years to come.\(^1\)

The Conference also decided that the question of overlapping should be deferred till the question of union was decided and that no denomination represented should begin new work likely to clash with that of any other represented church while negotiations were proceeding, without informing the other of its intention.\(^{11}\)

The report was submitted to the annual synods of the six churches in 1928, and the replies printed in Union Paper No. 2 of 22nd May, 1928 show general approbation of the work of the Conference and the desire for its continuance.\(^{11}\) At the May meeting the Conference considered a form of a Confession of Faith which was provisionally adopted in September. The wording of that Confession of Faith was practically identical with that of the South India United Church, but the Conference recommended that "the United Church reserve to itself the right to revise its Confession of Faith whenever the consensus of opinion of the United Body demands it."\(^{14}\) Paper No. 5 (October 1928) contains as a note to the Confession of Faith these words: "As the Confession is a human instrument, it is understood that persons assenting to it do not commit themselves to every word or phrase, but accept it as a basis of union, and as embodying substantially the vital truths held in common by the uniting churches."\(^{15}\)

Paper No. 4 deals with the polity for the Local Church, and states that while office-bearers have different names in the various denominations, their functions are similar, and the Conference recommends that while it may be advisable to retain the names in the local

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church for a period, at the end of five years "the polity of the United Church shall be binding on all the churches in the Union."¹

The name 'Church Session' is recommended as the future name of Session, Leaders' Meeting, Deacons' Meeting, Officers' Meeting, and Helpers' meeting, and this will meet monthly, and women shall be eligible for election. The minister shall be chairman ex-officio and the powers of the Church Session are divided into (a) spiritual, and (b) financial.¹¹

The polity of the Higher Courts is set out thus: The governing bodies or courts of the United Church, higher than that of the Church Session of the Local Church, shall be: A. The Court of the Pastoral Charge; B. The Presbytery; C. The Synod.¹¹¹ A Pastoral Charge is to consist of a group of local churches, each group to be called a circuit and shall be under the care of one or more ministers as circumstances may demand; A Presbytery shall have jurisdiction over a group of circuits and the Synod shall be the supreme court of the United Church. The position may best be indicated by the following illustration:

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THE SYNOD
  PRESBYTERIES
  Pastoral Charges (or Circuits)
  Church Sessions (one for each congregation)
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The Synod of the Presbyterian Church had asked that questions of overlapping and of theological training be not deferred and the Conference on December 20th, 1928 recommended that cases of overlapping

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be stated by each denomination, and that the necessary negotiations would be entered into according to the merits of each case.\(^1\) With reference to theological training the Conference felt it could only state the position as it now exists\(^{11}\) which was that an arrangement for the training of students for the ministry has for many years been in force between the Wesleyans and the Baptists. These two churches have separate college buildings... In each case the authorities have expressed their willingness to receive students from the negotiating churches for training by arrangement, or to facilitate the building of additional hostels should any of the other churches so desire... There is also a Presbyterian Theological College... in Manchester.\(^{111}\) The Conference suggested postponement of the question.

Only one suggestion was made which proved helpful, viz. that if all the colleges were in Kingston there would be greater possibility of union. No further action was taken under the Conference, however.

The Doctrinal Statements and the draft polity were submitted to the Synods and governing bodies of the denominations in 1929, and it was intimated that the Mission Boards in Britain had appointed a Joint Advisory Committee.\(^{14}\) One important development took place and is reported thus in Union Paper No. 5: "In the early part of 1928 the Bishop of Jamaica sent out a letter... containing certain proposals agreed to at a Conference of clergy in the Anglican Church in Jamaica with a view to promoting closer union between the Anglican Body and other Christian Bodies in the island."\(^{5}\) The Conference asks that Synods reply to the Conference, that a joint reply may be sent to the Bishop. There are no other references in the Union Papers to the

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1. Ibid. No. 5, p. 2. 11. Ibid. 111. Ibid. 14. Ibid, p. 3.
5. Ibid. p. 4.
Bishop's letter, or to the Joint Advisory Committee.

Paper No. 6 deals in great detail with the powers and duties of the Pastoral Charge, the Presbytery, and the Synod, of which the chief points are (1) the Pastoral Charge shall meet quarterly, and shall consist of all ministers, probationers, and members of Church Sessions, its duties to be supervision of the spiritual and financial work of the congregations in its district; (ii) the Presbytery shall meet in two sessions, Representative, and Ministerial, and its moderator shall be elected by Synod; (iii) the Synod also shall meet in two sessions, Representative and Ministerial. Paper No. 7 deals with a statement on the Ministry and on Local Preachers. These papers, along with No. 8 were submitted to the 1930 Synods and governing bodies, and the replies recorded in Paper No. 8 as having been given during 1929 indicate the difficulties which were to make continued appearances and ultimately to bring the negotiations to nought. The points at issue were:

(1) The Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, both felt that the constitution of the proposed Church Session was too "elaborate, its members too many, its functions too varied." The Congregational Union is of much the same opinion. These churches feel that the Session should deal with spiritual matters, its members to be appointed "ad vitam aut culpam", while financial matters should be dealt with by a congregational committee. The Church of Scotland felt that women should not be on the Session.

(ii) The polity for the proposed Higher Courts was generally accepted.

(iii) The findings on theological training and overlapping were accepted.

1. ibid. No. 8. Sections I and V.
(iv) The Baptist Church made 'no definite pronouncement' and the Moravian Synod did not see its way to agree to corporate union, but continued to be represented on the Conference.1

The reply of Conference took the form of papers Nos. 6 and 7 above, and it reported its work to the 1920 Synods indicating that it was not unanimous on the draft polity of the United Church. In that year, the Presbyterian Synod again expressed its opinion that the Conference was going into too great detail and that the Synod does not think it necessary or desirable to frame a rigid polity to which the uniting churches must conform within a fixed period. The United Church should be left free to adjust itself to situations that cannot to-day be fully foreseen and make for itself rules under which the work of God may be done most efficiently.11 That Synod also did not accept ministerial sessions of Presbytery and Synod, and asked for fresh consideration. The Wesleyan Synod is equally strong in its opinion that a ministerial session be provided for in addition to a representative session. The Moravian Synod did not meet, and the Church of Scotland presbytery was involved in the business of union negotiations with the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica arising out of the 1929 union in Scotland, and did not have time to consider the report. Both continued their representation, however.

The Jamaica Baptist Union reply raised the most difficult question of all, for they felt that the proposed statement that 'membership of the Church is conferred in Baptism' would shut out from church membership large numbers of Christian people, e.g. Quakers and Salvationists, as well as some in our own fellowship who for some conscientious scruple, or as we think, doctrinal mistake, have not been

1. ibid. sections III and VI. 11. ibid. no. 9 section 1A.
baptised... we observe too that it is suggested that those who have been baptised in infancy should not be baptised on profession of faith, while it is our practice to baptise all who seek that ordinance without enquiry as to their having been baptised in infancy, though we do not judge those who, feeling that their infant baptism has obeyed their Lord's command, do not think they should be baptised after their conversion. They ask to be informed of the feeling of their sister churches on this matter.

The conference reply to the difficulty of ministerial sessions and/or representative sessions is to recommend that ministerial sessions meet before, instead of after the representative sessions of presbytery and Synod.11 With regard to the Baptist request, the reply is that "members in full communion are those who, having been baptised and having made confession of the Christian faith, have been admitted to participation in the Lord's supper." That is, no definite change is made to answer the Baptist Union's difficulties.

1931 saw the replies from the Synods to Paper No.9, and the Presbyterians state that they are willing to accept the compromise in the matter of ministerial sessions, but also state that no progress can be made till there is a feeling towards union on the part of the church members throughout the island.111 The Congregational Union also accepts the proposals, but the Wesleyan Synod desires reconsideration so that the ministerial session's powers be maintained.1IV They also state that baptism, whether adult or infant, by the United Church or other recognised church, shall, with the profession of faith, be accepted as the requirements for membership.

1. Ibid. No.9, section I F. 11. Ibid. section IV. 111. Ibid. No.10 section I A. 1IV. Ibid. section 1 D.
During this year the Moravians and Baptists withdrew from negotiations, for reasons which were stated:

1. **Moravian Synod**: "We as a Church consider that the question of Episcopal ordination is of vital interest. (Yet this is stated to be a 'minor objection'). (b) We do not agree with the proposed limitation of congregational representation... it being suggested that lay representatives should be barred from attending certain sessions at synod. (c) There is no provision for an inter-synodal executive board, and this we consider essential. (d) We do not agree with the proposal that one congregational board should deal with spiritual and financial matters... The chief objection, however, is that as a Church we are not willing to make such a complete surrender of our individuality - our name, our customs, usages and ideals. We should regard a federal union with more favour than the proposed organic unity."

2. **Jamaica Baptist Union**: After full discussion of the question, it was decided "to ask the United Committee to leave us out of all their deliberations for the present... we feel constrained to withdraw... and we think that the Committee will be much freer to explore every possibility of union... we shall always be ready to unite with you in any plans of campaign for the moral and spiritual uplift of our land..."

The Conference on Union never quite recovered from the effect of the withdrawal of two of its constituent churches, but it is well to note here the exact position.

(1) (1) With reference to the question of baptism, the attitude of

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1. *ibid.* section I D. 11. *ibid.* no. 10 section I E.
the native pastors and the stress laid on immersion is such that
there is little or no likelihood of the Baptist Union ever becoming
part of a United Church of Jamaica. The official position is as
stated, that the fullest possible consideration is given to members
as to whether they consider infant baptism to be sufficient, with
profession of faith, for church membership, but in practice, members
who have not been immersed are made to feel a distinction. The
number of immersionist sects in rural parts tends to magnify the im-
portance of this particular mode of baptism in the eyes of the in-
habitants, and of members of the Baptist churches. The fact that
Baptists and Methodists continue by arrangement to work together in
theological training will be considered later in this chapter, but
it is to be noted here that there is no union college, so that the
question of membership, of infant and/or adult baptism has never been
raised in that connection.

(11) The 'minor' objections given by the Moravian Synod, even
that of episcopal ordination (provided it did not mean re-ordination
of ministers then in full status with their own churches) might have
been overcome by further discussion, for their objections were in
line with Church of Scotland and Presbyterian Church of Jamaica de-
sires, but there seems to be no way over the difficulty of their
'chief objection', viz. unwillingness to make a complete surrender
of their individuality. It was better of course, that the Moravian
Church was frank about the position, but it absolutely barred further
negotiations, and that in the case of the church which, more than any
other, could unite congregations in the country parishes of Manchester
and St. Elizabeth with those of the Presbyterian Church. It is
possible too, that this was the feeling of Synod, and not of the membership of that Church, but there is no way of knowing that.

(iii) The Church of Scotland congregations and those of the presbyterian Church of Jamaica had united in 1931 and henceforth their position was one and undivided.

(iv) The Congregational Union proved most adaptable to whatever positions were put forward, so that future adjustments lay between the Presbyterians and the Methodists, who had agreed on a Confession of Faith, but had not at this period reached full agreement with respect to the powers and duties of the various courts of the Church.

The presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational churches continued their conferences, and decided to review the work previously accomplished by the larger Conference. In addition, consideration was given to a New Outline Basis of Union, framed largely on that of the United Church of Canada and that was issued as Paper No. 11 in 1933. It agreed that the name of the church formed by the union of presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches in Jamaica shall be "The United Church of Jamaica," but made no change in the Doctrinal Standards as set out by the former Conference.

Changes were made, however, in the polity, for the former 'Church Session' became the 'Local Church Board,' which had two committees, a Board of Elders, for spiritual matters and general oversight, and a Board of Stewards for temporal affairs, the findings of the Board of Elders on discipline and membership being final, but all other matters and all the business of the Board of Stewards to be confirmed by the full Local Church Board.

The Pastoral Charge, retaining its powers and meeting quarterly, was to have a superintendent if more than one minister was appointed, the first name on the list of appointments to hold that position. The presbytery continued in its former place, with the moderator elected by Synod, its Clerk by the presbytery itself, and it was to meet in two sessions, ministerial and representative, annually or more often if required, the ministerial session being held first. The Synod likewise met in two sessions, the ministerial session being first, and the meeting of Synod was to take place as soon as possible after the annual meeting of presbyteries.

At this stage, the Synods concerned were involved in domestic matters which led to the loss by retirement of some missionaries, and there was a feeling in the Presbyterian Church among the native ministers that if union negotiations were pushed forward, the supply of men from Scotland might cease. The facts seem to indicate that the representatives of the Conference failed to make clear to their Synods the exact nature of the proposals, and it had been kept clear from the beginning that while Synods approved the work of the Conference, no Synod was committed to any single decision made by Conference. The feeling therefore was that full discussion could wait until the final draft and the final detailed arrangements were submitted. Also, in the Presbyterian Church, there were difficulties over the location of the pastors at this time, and the system of 'call' was suspended in favour of a Transference Committee with full powers over the native ministry, and with advisory powers for location of missionaries. The older native ministers did not take kindly to the idea of superintendence, and feared its powers in a united Church. The result

1. ibid. sections B and C.
was a non-committal attitude. Furthermore, the question of detailed financial arrangements was about to be considered, and the Synods did not appoint their best financial leaders to represent them on the conference; so that the representatives were unable to work out adequate plans and to explain in a lucid manner what the proposals were.

Four years passed before the next Union paper appeared in December 1937, and it contained the final draft of the Confession of Faith, and a reprint of the Polity of Paper II. In addition, a questionnaire was sent to all ministers of the conferring churches, asking for details of property, membership, school statistics, and financial matters, and while the presbyterian Synod accepted the draft Confession and Polity, there was much division of opinion on the whole question of union, complicated by domestic matters of policy, and divisions on a scheme of united theological training and finally the native ministers objected strongly to revealing their financial business to other churches, so that the Synod found the questionnaire to be 'premature'. No further actions were taken by any church and negotiations have ceased, although never formally broken off.

We shall look at the general question of union at the end of this chapter, but it is appropriate here to note that the position as it appears to the Jamaican churches is as follows: Organic Union may be the ultimate aim, but a federation of churches would seem to be the first step, and this has been suggested by the Moravians, and by the Presbyterians. There is little confidence in a union which would consist of Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist churches only, and leave out Baptists, Moravians, and Christian Church.

There is a feeling also that a federation might include the Anglican church, and the Society of Friends and the Salvation Army, and the membership of the Jamaica Christian Council including as it does all these bodies, suggests federation as the solution of the present difficulties. It is felt that the polity as finally stated in 1937 is a Methodist system of government, with presbyterian names for the courts, and that this method of finding the lowest common denominator is unsuitable for a basis of union. If other denominations were involved, the danger of any one church being absorbed by any other would be avoided. The financial arrangements of each denomination require revision by ministers of experience and wisdom in matters financial, and these men would be able to present an adequate and satisfactory scheme for the financial running of the church whether United or Federation, which the representatives on the conference could not, or at any rate did not achieve. There is a growing feeling that the churches should have some such body as the Christian Council not only to consider matters of mutual interest, but to speak authoritatively in the name of the Church on public and social questions. The difference between a federation of Christian churches and the Jamaica Christian Council will be discussed later, for we now give attention to actual co-operation in practice between the Christian denominations in Jamaica.

Experiments in Co-operation:

There have, of course, been occasions in the history of the Jamaican churches when all denominations, including Roman Catholic, joined together in presenting memoranda to Government and other bodies on social, moral, and other matters, the two most important occasions
recently being (1) a joint memorandum from the Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman, Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, and Moravian churches and the Salvation Army to the West India Royal Commission, the effects of which were spoiled by the fact that some of these bodies had also submitted private memoranda, and by a difference of opinion on the floor of the Commission during the hearing; and (ii) a joint memorandum and joint interviews in connection with the basis for building programmes for elementary schools between all the churches owning and managing such schools - Anglican, Presbyterian, Moravian, Methodist, Congregational, Baptist and Roman. 11

The earliest reference to active co-operation in a non-ecclesiastical sense is in 1835, when the Rev. James Thomson of the British and Foreign Bible Society proposed a "Christian Union" which was formed in April 1836 under the name of "The Ministers' Association for the county of Cornwall" and is stated to be the equivalent of an Evangelical Alliance ten years before England. 112 Twenty six ministers signed the resolution, including Moravian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Church of England and one L.M.S. Agent. 114 The Association met twice yearly, and did not discuss constitution, but only 'the Kingdom of God'. This might be called the first of several 'Ministers' Fraternals', of which there are two active branches in the island at present.

From time to time in each parish, there have been fraternals, generally meeting once per month, open to ministers of all denominations, and occasionally these have arranged united campaigns of evangelism; they have begun circulating libraries among their members, and made a study of some religious cult or social problem; but they have

depend.d for their continuance on the presence of active and interested secretaries or presidents, and when these men were removed to other districts, the Fraternals have become extinct. In certain parishes also, e.g. Hanover, where one particular denomination is strong and in a large majority, its ministers meet on their own denominational business frequently, and the need for a fraternal has not been felt to the same extent. In areas which are widely scattered and among the hills where travelling is difficult, it has not been possible to get men to come to any meeting which they did not have to attend for business purposes. There are two areas, however, where fraternals have had a more or less continuous history - Manchester, where the Fraternal meets in the central town of Mandeville, and Kingston where the members live in the town and suburbs, and include the secretary of the Y.M.C.A. and the ministers of all non-Roman denominations.

The aims of these bodies are (1) to draw the ministers of different denominations together in a bond of sympathy and understanding and to provide opportunities for social intercourse; and (2) to furnish opportunities for studying and discussing social problems. Regular meetings have been held for thirty years, and from time to time the ministers have taken this means of making representation to Government on such problems as Betting and Gambling, Sunday Labour, Illegitimacy, etc. A most valuable work is done in the Scotch Kirk Kingston where the Fraternal holds a meeting for men once per month, and has for some years had an average attendance of 500. In 1936 the Fraternal in Kingston organised a scheme for providing School Lunches in the poorer districts of the city, and other ventures of a similar nature have

brought the city ministers together in a friendly spirit. The universal week of prayer, with interchange of pulpits and united week-night meetings, is organised each year by the fraternal.

The value of this work is obvious, viz. that it allows ministers of different denominations to come together and discuss common problems and to get to know one another. But its weakness is equally obvious, for the ministers do not and cannot represent their denominations or even their congregations officially, nor is there room for lay representatives. The experiments in co-operation depend entirely on the ministers and their influence over their own congregations, and the result of the fraternal being non-official is that in the week of prayer each year, the Anglicans join in with the week-night meetings, but not with the interchange of pulpits on Sundays. The same weakness was found in the Kingston Sunday School Teachers' Association in 1942, where eight denominations agreed to co-operate in a Teacher Training Course, but the Anglican Church refused on the ground that it was satisfied with its own denominational arrangements.

It became clear that whatever benefits accrued to individual ministers in fraternals, for active co-operation of churches something more was needed, and the Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica invited representatives of other churches to meet on 15th April 1921 to consider the formation of a 'Council of Christian Churches in Jamaica.' Several meetings were held, and the Council came into being on 30th May, 1922 with duly elected representatives of the following Christian bodies - Church of England, Church of Scotland, Jamaica Baptist Union, Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, Congregational Union of Jamaica, Wesleyan Methodist Church, Lorrain Church,
Jamaica Association of Christian Churches, Salvation Army, and Society of Friends. The objects are stated thus: "The objects of the Council shall be to promote, in the light of the Christian ideal, the physical, moral, and social welfare of the people in Jamaica."

Some communications on social matters, lotteries, betting, illegitimacy, temperance, etc., were discussed and sent to the various synods, but with the advent of negotiations for union previously noted between six non-Anglican churches, the Council fell into desuetude and is not heard of again.

It must here again be stressed that the relations between the various churches were at all times most cordial, and while there were, and are, some ministers in every denomination who are prejudiced against any move towards closer co-operation, the majority are in favour of it, but do not see clearly how it is to be achieved, and prefer not to disturb the happy relationships which exist by defining them officially. The feeling was growing also, that a move towards co-operation must come from outside the island, so that all denominations would be in the same relation to the movement, and no single one would be present merely by invitation of a sister denomination.

Opportunity for this was afforded by the visit of Mr Merle Davis, Director of the Department of Social and Economic Research of the International Missionary Council, in 1941 for the purpose of making a survey of the churches in Jamaica, and as a substitute for Dr. Wm. Paton who had been expected to come. Representatives of the Churches were called to a meeting in Kingston on 29th April for the two-fold purpose of (a) hearing Mr Merle Davis on the subject of his visit, and (b) to consider the formation of a Council of Christian 1. Constitution, Council of Christian Churches, (1922) p.4-5. 2. ibid. p.4 para 2.
Churches. The meeting finally resolved: "That this meeting of elected representatives of the Churches of Jamaica favours the formation of a Council of Christian Churches in the Island and agree to the immediate appointment of a small committee to draw up a draft constitution and bye-laws of such a Council for consideration at another meeting of representatives to be held on a date to be fixed." Other meetings were held, and the Council was formed on 30th July 1941 under the name "The Jamaica Christian Council", having duly elected members representing the following bodies:

- The Church of England
- Jamaica Baptist Union
- Congregational Union
- Presbyterian Church
- Methodist Church
- Moravian Church
- Jamaica Association of Christian Churches
- Salvation Army
- Society of Friends
- Church of God in Jamaica

Since that date, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have been invited to become members and have appointed their representatives. The objects as stated in the Constitution are:

1. To provide a means by which Christian bodies in Jamaica may act together (a) to study the problems and opportunities which challenge the Christian way of life; (b) to promote wherever possible co-operative action based on a common policy among Christian bodies in serving the educational, social, economic, and moral welfare of the Island; (c) to make clear by public statement the spiritual issues involved in Island problems and the demands of the Christian ideal and standards.

2. As occasion demands, to serve as a means of communication with similar councils in other parts of the world, particularly with the International Missionary Council, H.Q., London.

N.B. - The Council shall not concern itself with questions of doctrine or Church government.

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The synods and governing bodies of all churches represented agreed to the constitution of the Council, and all have worked in full co-operation with it from the start.

It is clear from the objects of the Council that stress is laid on the study of the problems first, then on co-operative action, and finally on making public pronouncements. The Council has consistently followed that order in its programme and it has given attention to several of the social and educational problems of the island. Its method has been to appoint Commissions to deal with such things as Cinema Censorship, Land Settlement, Illegitimacy, Destitution, Juvenile Courts; to prepare reports for the Social and Welfare Adviser to the Comptroller of the W.I. Development Fund by request; and in the first year the Council set up Commissions to investigate and report on (1) the control of exotic and irresponsible religious sects, and the registration of new churches in the island; (ii) Education in Jamaica under present-day conditions from the point of view of the Christian Church; (iii) Gambling and Sweepstakes; (iv) Marriage and Family Life; (v) Social and Industrial Life. These Commissions have power to co-opt outside persons for special purposes where expert knowledge and advice is required, and though formal reports are not yet to hand on all subjects, the work is progressing. The Council has a liaison officer on Jamaica Welfare Ltd., and Jamaica Welfare has an officer on the Executive of the Council, so that both may know the particular work contemplated, and have access to the machinery for welfare work and Church co-operation which is required. The Secretary of the Central Council of Voluntary Social Services is also

on the Executive of the Council, and practical use has been made of
the facilities afforded by these bodies to each other.

The Council recognised early in its career that to do effective
work it not only had to have the support of the various churches, but
required District Councils in the country parts by which ministers of
the various denominations might be brought together and carry out,
jointly, the decisions of the Christian Council. Steps have accord­
ingly been taken to draft constitutions for these local or district
councils, and the Secretary reported on 23rd September 19421 that
he was in communication with three Fraternals, that having been de­
cided as being the best method of contact. (One was found to be non­
existent, hence the earlier statement that there are only two Fraternals).
On 21st April 1943 it was reported that local Councils had been formed
in two other areas11 and that contact had been established with two
further areas.

The lines of co-operative action which these local councils
might follow were indicated in a letter to all the churches at the
beginning of 1942 thus: (1) In studying social conditions and gath­
ering facts on which schemes of social service can be based. (11) In
arranging to meet the religious and social needs of new communities
in Land Settlements. (111) In working along with the Community Centres
of Jamaica Welfare Ltd., whose directors have expressed the desire for
co-operation with the Churches. (iv) In witnessing publicly and unit­
edly to Christian Standards in social and industrial relationships. (v)
in providing speakers for Evangelistic Campaigns.

Provision is thus made for the co-operation of the Churches with

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the Social Service schemes outlined in chapter six in connection with the W.I. Development Fund, and this is the only interdenominational arrangement made for this practical co-operation. The great advantage of the local councils is that they group all the churches, ministers, laymen and women workers, by geographical districts, not by denominational areas, and the viewpoint is bounded by the lines and needs of the community as such, and not by denominational interests.

The most outstanding achievement of the Jamaica Christian Council has been the Campaign of United Christian Witness, for which arrangements were begun in October 1942 and which took place in the corporate area of Kingston and lower St. Andrew at the end of June 1943. The theme of the Campaign was 'Christ and Citizenship' and every minister and church in the city (with one exception—a strong Anglo-Catholic) took part in the proceedings. Preparatory meetings were held for the speakers, and church groups and public bodies, business men and political parties, were interviewed before the subjects were decided upon. Permission was obtained for meetings in schools and training colleges, in political headquarters and the Chamber of Commerce, in a Cinema, and, each night for a week, in a large Theatre in the centre of the city. Morning intercessions were held at five centres daily for ten days, lunch hour talks were given daily in the business area, Bible Readings in two centres in the late afternoons, and large public meetings with advertised speakers and topics in the five main centres of the area. The topics were entitled 'Christ and...' and included Labour and Unemployment, the Use of Money and Economics, Marriage and Family Life, Race and Culture, Education and Youth, Politics, the Church and the Purpose of Life, Business.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Ibid. p. 18. \(^{11}\) Campaign of Witness programme, 1943.
The speakers were leading laymen and ministers of various churches, all of them chosen for their ability to speak and their knowledge of the subjects dealt with, and all denominations were represented. Special services were held for men, and for women, and for youth, and there was interchange of pulpits on the Sunday which opened the second week of the Campaign. It was a strong united effort, with the best men, and the best centres chosen for the work, regardless of denominational boundaries. The response fully justified the venture and repaid the effort of the Council, and arrangements are now being made to follow up the results of the Campaign.

The citizens of the area, who number some 100,000 were impressed with the sense of unity among the churches, for the first time in the island's history, and while the Council can see many shortcomings in the Campaign, and have learned many lessons for future work efforts, the great impression is that the various denominations have proved to themselves and to each other, that they can do the work of God together though they may differ in their ideas of church government, and methods of finance, supervision, and discipline. There can be no return to the days of narrow denominational outlook in witnessing for Christ in the community, and the fact that so great a work was carried through in such a spirit and with such effect foreshadows bright hopes for future federation and even organic union of the churches in Jamaica.

The city was accustomed to a measure of unity in the Week of Prayer each year, but the Campaign was different. Its speakers were outstanding religious leaders, speaking with the full authority of their churches, unitedly, and not in competition, on questions
which the public wanted to hear discussed from the Christian point of view. We do not want to stress the results of this campaign overmuch, for Jamaicans are by nature enthusiastic about new things, but no serious-minded Churchman can compare the attitude of the denominations to each other in religious matters in slave days, or even thirty years ago, without being profoundly impressed at the active co-operation of the Christian Churches of Jamaica to-day. There was a will to unity which was absent in the most unanimous Conference on Church Union held previously, and there was a firm determination that nothing should hinder or prevent full co-operation in the campaign of Christian witness. It is in that will to unity that the hope of the Jamaica Churches lies, and if the will is kept firm, the details of organisation will be worked out comparatively easily, for in spite of the fact that the object of the Council is not to touch the question of denominational relations, there have been times when the matter has come to the front in some other connection, and there is a feeling that the Council should appoint a Committee to work on a Policy of Federation so that Council might at least know on what points its members feel they must continue to differ. That has not been done because some others hesitate to bring the matter into open discussion prematurely before the experience of co-operative action has been tried and tested to such an extent that it will prove stronger than feelings of denominationalism.

The place of the Jamaica Christian Council is therefore extremely important, for it has for the first time in Jamaican history brought the churches into close enough relationship to accomplish a piece of Christian work together. In so doing, it has put to one side the
differences of origin, custom and practice of every denomination or missionary society at work in the island, and it has brought together all that is best in the history of the churches. It has begun to fulfil its objects of studying together (in the preparation for this Campaign), of acting together (in the work of the Campaign), and of witnessing publicly to Christian Standards and a Christian way of life in the community. It has been the means of bringing back to the churches the recollection of their first duty, that of preaching the gospel to every creature, and of keeping secondary things in a secondary place. It has shown that there is no vital difference which prevents the Church proclaiming its unity as a living reality, and it has the tremendous advantage of binding together all the non-Roman churches in one group. Federation as a step to Union therefore becomes possible, and as the co-operative action continues, will become essential, for the desire exists not only in the leaders, but has become vocal on the part of the people.

At present, the Christian Council can only act in general terms, or in specific cases in terms of the instructions of the various synods and governing bodies which appoint representatives, but as confidence in the Council grows, more power to speak and to act must be given to it, and it must be allowed to determine Church policy as a whole, policy which will be put into force not only by its subsidiary local councils, but by the synods as such. We have noted in social and educational work that there is a lack of co-ordinating among the various churches and agencies concerned, and the same is true of religious work, both teaching and evangelism. The Christian Council can be the means of co-ordinating that work, and is without
doubt the only body competent to do so in the island.

The Council is also the best means of keeping the Jamaican churches in contact with church work in the outside world, and since its formation, literature has been circulated through the International Missionary Council in America and has deepened the sense of the Jamaican churches as being part of the Oecumenical Church, and done something to eliminate the previous position which made contact with the Home Boards the only point of contact of most of the churches. It would be well for the Home Churches to utilise the International Missionary Council and the Jamaica Christian Council in future negotiations for Federation and Union, for if the Home Churches would unite in their mission policy for Jamaica, the impetus towards local union would be immense. The possibility of missionaries being sent under the Christian Council during the transition period from the present methods to the completely indigenous church is one which deserves serious consideration, for the best use could then be made of foreign aid in training workers in all departments, and duplication of colleges and training institutes and instructors would be avoided.

Theological co-operation:

We have had occasion to mention co-operation in school and theological college work in chapters four and five, and as this work, especially the theological department, promises greater possibilities than any other movement towards union, it is fitting to examine the lines of co-operation more fully at this stage.

The Presbyterian Church had felt for many years that the closing of the Montego Bay Academy as a result of the recommendation of the
1870-71 deputation from the U.P. Church of Scotland was a mistake. This, in addition to providing a good secondary education for boys, had been a fruitful ground for candidates for the ministry, and the idea of establishing a successor to that institution has never lost its appeal to the Jamaica ministers. In preparation for the celebration of the Centenary of the Church in 1924 (they reckoned the work to have begun with Blyth in 1824, although McNeill who writes the history of the U.P. work in Jamaica mentions the three agents sent in 1800, but wrongly, as we have shown, states that "there was a gap of many years" in the work), a fund was opened and a committee set up to consider re-opening the Academy. It was decided that the new work should be situated in the suburban area of Kingston rather than in the country, and it was found that the Methodist Church intended to open a High School for Girls in the same area.

In February 1925 the Synod of the Presbyterian Church considered the whole matter and the following minute is recorded: The Synod having been overtured by the Chairman of the Wesleyan Synod to join with that church in establishing a Secondary School for Girls on a site and in a building that seems exceptionally suitable for the purpose, is now confronted with the new question, whether the centenary of the church would be best commemorated by acting independently or in co-operation with another church. The Synod has no difficulty in deciding that union with another church in promoting the higher education is the better and finer of the two memorials. The Synod therefore instructs the committee to continue negotiations with the Wesleyan church to have this co-operation an accomplished fact. 11 The school

was opened on 22nd September 1925, and rapidly grew in size till in 1942 it had 413 children on the roll with a staff of 17 teachers, and a preparatory department, begun in 1930, with over 60 children between the ages of 5 and 9, with a staff of 4 mistresses. Both departments take board and day scholars. Unlike the majority of secondary schools in the island, the St. Andrew High School for Girls has proved a success not only educationally, but financially, and there has been complete harmony between the churches from the beginning of the work.

The Methodist High School for Boys at York Castle holds the same high place in the memory of that church as the Montego Bay Academy does in the memory of the Presbyterian church. Both were closed for financial reasons, primarily. In a confidential report on the West Indies presented to the Methodist home authorities in 1930, it is stated that "it would appear that in Jamaica our right policy is to co-operate with the Baptists in the Calabar High School, though the site leaves something to be desired." In 1942 it was learned that the Baptist authorities were considering removing Calabar school with its 170 scholars (70 residential) to a better site to make room for necessary extension, and there have been unofficial conferences with Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian representatives on the question of uniting in this effort. Negotiations have not reached a stage when any pronouncement can be made, as war conditions make any transfer impossible. The financial difficulty will be great, for the probable cost is between £20,000 and £30,000 and full consideration must be held up until the W.I. Development Fund committee has given its report, and indicated what help, if any, can be given to secondary

schools owned by churches. An integral part of this proposed Union school for boys will be the Union Theological College, for the Calabar Institution is at present a high school and a theological college, and even if the Union school is financially impossible, it is the aim of the churches to join in a Union College.

It has already been noted that there is a good deal of co-operative action in theological training, and it is well to indicate here the exact position of that work.

The Conference on Union reported in 1928 that "an arrangement for the training of students had for many years been in force between the Wesleyans and the Baptists....these two churches have separate college buildings" (i.e., in separate parts of the town). In 1935 the Rev. C.E. Hickman Johnson wrote concerning the same scheme: "The Baptists and Methodists are united in a theological training institution for candidates for the ministry, and a 'gentleman's agreement' exists concerning the interpretation of scripture on the doctrine of Baptism, and, though the teaching of theology happens to fall to the Methodist tutor, there has never been the slightest difficulty or misunderstanding arisen on the point." The Conference on Union had also suggested that if the Presbyterian college were transferred to Kingston, some scheme of union would be more probable than if it remained in the country.

The terms of co-operation between Baptists and Methodists are exceedingly loose, and consist in the 'gentleman's agreement' aforesaid, with an understanding, arrived at by the Home Churches, that if either Church decides to withdraw from the scheme, two years' notice shall be

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given to the other side. The Baptist Church has two tutors, the Methodist has one, and the students live in their own church hostels, travelling between the colleges for classes. Each Church has its own standards of entrance qualifications, and prescribes the length of the course for its own students. The curriculum is arranged by the joint staff, and if either Church desires additional subjects for its own students, the tutor of that Church lectures on those subjects.

In 1937 the Presbyterian College was transferred to the suburbs of Kingston, first with two part-time tutors, and subsequently with one full-time tutor. No formal agreement was entered into with the other Churches, but the tutors were allowed to co-operate with the Baptists and Methodists, and the curriculum is now arranged by the staff of four - two Baptists, one Methodist, one Presbyterian, and has never been questioned by the respective synodical committees. Classes are held at the three colleges, the students travelling between them. The Congregational students are boarded by arrangement in the Baptist college, and the Moravian students by similar arrangements, in the Presbyterian college.

There are obvious disadvantages in the present arrangements, such as the time wasted by travelling, the difficulties of a small staff, the differences in the length of course and the standards of entrance, the fact that each tutor is responsible to his own church only, and has no responsibility for students of other churches; the overhead expenses of running three hostels instead of one; the fact that staff decisions have no official standing in any Church, and the absence of any single Graduation Certificate from the United College, as we have noted above in chapter four.
But the advantages are even more obvious. There is in fact, though not in theory, a Union college of an average of twenty students, residing in three hostels but taking classes together, special arrangements being made for extra courses where necessary. The students are drawn from Jamaica, Haiti, and British West Indian islands. The staff arranges the time-table, and the subjects are allotted to the individual tutor's qualifications, and not by denominations. The detailed course has already been indicated in chapter four. The Synods have in practice accepted the details of the curriculum, and the decisions of the staff on examinations and general conduct, the tutor acting as liaison officer between his own synod and the staff meeting. United Communion services are held each term, and presided over by the tutors in turn in the Calabar Baptist chapel. No question as to the qualifications or status of any minister has been raised in any quarter.

The immediate problems are all matters which could be dealt with by conference, e.g., length of course, standards of students entering college, graduation certificate issued by the joint colleges. But there has been no attempt to force matters, for the question of Baptism would immediately be raised in the Jamaica Baptist Union if a basis of Union were suggested for theological training. The Baptist authorities are therefore loathe to raise the question, and the position is now one of choosing to continue the present arrangements, or to raise the question in the hope of reaching a satisfactory solution, or to form a Union College between Methodists and Presbyterians, and at the same time continue to co-operate with the Baptist college. It is not likely that the Moravian and Congregational Churches would take part in the ownership of buildings, for they have not sufficient candidates to
justify the expense and the best arrangement for both these Churches is the present one, viz., when they have students, to arrange for their board and tuition in the hostel of one or other of the churches. It is fairly certain that they would agree to sending their students to a union college rather than to that of any single denomination, for the practice of the Congregational church has been to send students to Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist colleges alternately, and all the Moravian native ministers on the field at present have been trained in the Presbyterian college.

The following are the possibilities for the immediate future:

(i) There must be no backward step from the present state of co-operation, and if an attempt to achieve a Union college would cause the Baptists to withdraw from co-operative training, the attempt should not be made;

(ii) As the number of Baptist ministers who have received united training increases, the danger of disruption will be lessened;

(iii) Negotiations should be set on foot immediately to unite formally the Methodist and Presbyterian Colleges, incorporating the Moravian and Congregational students as indicated above;

(iv) This would involve little initial expense, and the saving of overhead expenses would be considerable;

(v) It would involve an agreement between the Home Churches that they would continue to provide the staff required (one tutor from Church of Scotland, and one from the Methodist Church) even if, as has happened in both churches, there should for a year be no student from either Presbyterian or Methodist Church in Jamaica;

(vi) Should the proposals for a Union School and College materialise,
the College buildings would be part of the Union Institution, but
unless the question of the Baptist position is settled, there will be
no alternative to continuing the co-operative scheme. The possible
union of the three colleges need be no reason for further delay in a
Methodist-Presbyterian Union;
(vii) The Jamaican Churches have never assumed the full responsibility
of upkeep for their colleges and students, and have never contributed
to the stipend of the tutors. Consequently, they look to the Home
Churches in this respect for a lead, and it lies with the Home Churches
to supply the impetus in this matter. There are local difficulties,
and there are individuals who are opposed to such a scheme, but the
difficulties are all capable of solution, and the opponents are less­
ening in numbers and influence as the first products of the co-opera­
tive training are taking their place on the field. 1942 saw the first
students enter the ministry who had been trained by the present staff
under present conditions, and there were Baptist, Presbyterian, Morav­
ian and Methodist graduates, all of them now doing good work on the
field. Previous attempts at union made in 1938 between Presbyterian
and Methodists came to nought by reason of changes in staff and at one
time by serious depletion in numbers due to death and furlough, but
the experiment has now been made through two full courses, finishing
in July 1942 and July 1943, and the staff has solved many of the init­
ial difficulties and gained much experience in co-operative work in
training. It now rests with the Synods and Home Churches to arrange
for union of at any rate the non-Baptist training, and thus help not
only the domestic management of the colleges, but reduce the expenses
both to the Home Churches and the local Synods.
It might be stated here that there is little possibility of union with the Anglican college, for the terms on which the property and funds are held would prevent joint ownership of buildings, and doctrinal questions would seem to be insuperable at present. There is some possibility, however, of co-operation if the other denominations would come to agreement amongst themselves on union training, but until some formal terms are agreed on, it would be hopeless to expect the Church of England to co-operate with five different schemes and three separate colleges. It is possible that with a Union College (Presbyterian, Methodist, Moravian and Congregational - and Baptist co-operation or union) the Church of England would agree to co-operate in some part of the training, and the Jamaica Christian Council might well be the body to discuss such an arrangement. Doctrinal differences in the case of the Church of God proved somewhat difficult when discussing its membership of the Christian Council, and would probably prove insuperable in a Theological College. The Salvation Army Training scheme is not of the same type nor on the same level as the Church training, while the Christian Church students are trained in the U.S.A.

The present situation is one of co-operative training between five denominations, the immediate future is union between at least four, and the more distant future co-operation between all the Churches on the Jamaica Christian Council in the training of students for the ministry. Complete union will only be achieved when there is a united Church of Jamaica, but it will be fatal to that cause if the intermediate steps of co-operative and united training are not taken.
Our study has shown that within recent years there has been great progress in co-operation between the churches in practice, and the present relationships throughout are most cordial and suggest immediate consolidation of some of the work, notably that of theological training, and in evangelisation and Christian teaching, so that the people of the island may become accustomed to the idea of unity and the whole Church may become impressed with the sense of its 'one-ness' in Christ.

The following table summarises the important steps in Jamaica Church History, and shows in some fashion the movement towards unity between the denominations. In it the following abbreviations are used:-

T.C. — Theological College opened.
J.B.U. — Jamaica Baptist Union formed.
C.U.J. — Congregational Union of Jamaica formed.
P.C.J. — Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, from 1847 in federal relation with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, from 1900 with the United Free Church, and from 1931 with the re-united Church of Scotland.
B.M.S. — Baptist Missionary Society.
A TABLE SHOWING THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS UNITY

1655 Quakers
1662 Church of England (chaplains) estab'd
1709 Moravian work began
1738 Baptist (American) negro preachers
1783 Congregational (under L.M.S.)
1814 Church of Scotland (Established)
1824 Presbyterian (Scottish Missionary Soc.)
1840 First Ministers' Association was formed
1846 Reformers established
1847 Synod
1859 Christian Church
1867 Salvation Army
1870 T.C.
1872 U.P.
1900 C.U.J.
1922 First Council of Christian Churches in Jamaica formed
1924 Church of God
1927 Union Conference - six Churches
1931 United as E.M.I.
1932 Union Conference
1937 Co-operative Theological Training
1939 Co-operative Theological Trag.
1941 Union of the Jamaica Christian Council with all Churches

MH refers to Quaker meeting house in Kingston 1740. U.S. to American workers.
VIII. FUTURE POLICY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS
VIII. FUTURE POLICY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS

Among the lines of action suggested by Mr. Kerle Davis to the Churches of Jamaica as they approach the task of sharing in the reconstruction of society is this: "To determine a policy and plan of action by which the united experience and resources of the Churches of Jamaica can be brought to bear upon the common problems". The spiritual task of the Jamaican Church, he continues, "remains the same after more than one hundred years of work: to help the Jamaican to understand himself as a child of God and to experience God's redeeming grace. But the scope of the Church's task in relation to Jamaican society has considerably changed during this period. In the years immediately following the abolition of slavery in Jamaica, the missionaries undertook to reconstruct a slave society upon the basis of its new freedom. They not only worked for the spiritual regeneration of the newly freed slaves but urged Government and the public to fulfil the provisions of the Act of Emancipation. The Church leaders helped to create a new social conscience with regard to the Jamaican and also led the way in his rehabilitation. Side by side with their Churches they built schools throughout the island and laid the foundation of education in the colony. These leaders saw that spiritual and academic teaching alone were not enough, and they led in the movement which placed the freed man upon the land and secured the laws which guarded his rights. The role of the Church pastor in this period was astonishingly wide, for besides a spiritual ministry it includ-

the economic, social and cultural stabilisation of the people.

The Church was a centre of life for the Jamaican.¹

We have seen to some extent how the churches of the island adapted themselves to the changing conditions throughout the years, and we have followed the movement towards co-operation and unity in evangelistic work and theological training as well as in social and economic witness. But Mr Davis's statement is true - the united experience and resources of the Jamaican Churches must be brought to bear on the problems of reconstruction, not so that the role of the ministers may be 'astonishingly wide', but so that Christ may not be left out of the reconstructed community life. It may be, and indeed it is to be hoped it will be, that the pastor's sphere of work will be narrowed in the sense that he will be freed from the multitudinous details which hinder his pastoral work to-day, but his service will be wider than before, because more spiritual. That can only be achieved if the Churches of Jamaica keep steadily before them, and work towards, the establishing of a United Indigenous Church.

The United Church of Jamaica:

We have noticed that with one exception, that of the Methodist Church, the larger Churches in the island are autonomous, and that all the Churches receive financial help and the help of European or American missionaries to some extent. Yet there has been a continuous process of development of the idea of an indigenous Church as the proper aim of foreign missions: The proper aim of foreign missions is to establish in non-Christian lands an indigenous, self-propagating Church as a means to their evangelisation,¹¹ but the

aim has been kept within the bounds of each denomination. Only within
the last twenty years has inter-denominational action been taken, and
that has not achieved one case of organic union. Yet it is truer to­
day than it was in 1878 that "everything in the condition of the
churches points to the necessary and gradual formation of a purely
native ministry."  
    Every denomination has, as we have seen, stated
its aim to be the propagation of Christianity "through native instru­
mentality" but most feel that the proportion of native to foreign
agents, under present financial conditions, has gone as far as it
can go. There is a growing realisation of the need for unity, and
the Jamaican is not so conscious of the barriers as the foreign
missionary continues to be.

Dr. J.R. Mott in 1935 wrote as follows: "If Protestant missions
continue, as they have been for decades and still are, a disunited
complex of separate, individual bands or bodies of missionaries, and
of scattered indigenous churches, working with more or less varying
aims and methods, what hope have we of triumphant success? At such
a time duplication of independent effort, or lack of concerted plan,
is a criminal waste."  
    The need for united action in Jamaica in
the social and educational sphere has already brought out the truth
of that statement, and local needs, as well as pressure from the
Home societies, should at an early date achieve positive results.

The principles laid down in 1900 that "all denominations in
which a union could be effected without the surrender of any faith
or practice that is held to be vital, ought to unite their work when
prosecuted on the same mission field. It seems not only unnecessary
but culpable, to transplant and perpetuate divisions which have

i. Conference on Foreign Missions, Hildnay, p.37-8. ii. Correspondence
resulted from circumstances which have long since passed away or from laying emphasis upon unimportant matters do not apply in practice, for the Moravian Church withdrew from union negotiations simply on the ground that it did not feel it could surrender its individuality and its 'practice', and the Baptists likewise withdrew as they felt their interpretation of one item of faith, or practice, was vital. In another sense, also, it is too late in history for the Jamaican churches to be treated purely as 'missions' which could be automatically united if the Home Churches united. The divisions which were brought into the island have continued as divisions, though the reasons for the divisions may be different to the Jamaican mind from the historical reason which first led to that division. The negotiations for union between the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches finally broke down over what was really bad staff-work. There had been for many years a feeling of hesitation to reveal the financial condition of the churches to each other, especially the matter of stipends among the native ministry, of all denominations. The questionnaire which came from the Conference on Union, stated by the Presbyterian Synod to be 'premature' came as it happened from a Methodist secretary, and the native ministers objected strongly to 'revealing their financial position to another denomination'. Yet the Conference had reached the point where a survey of property and finances was the natural and necessary next step. Had the communication been dealt with by the officers of the Synods concerned — and these had in their possession, or could easily have obtained, all the information required — the work could have gone forward.

The arrangements would have involved much time and energy, and no member of any of the three denominations had the necessary time, or was released from his ordinary duties, to do this work. Instead, it was hoped that each single minister would fill in the lengthy questionnaire, and there was no member of any of the synods who was in possession of the knowledge of what might happen when the facts were collected. The Jamaican is very diffident about putting figures down on paper at any time, and between lack of information and the existence of domestic troubles, the work was allowed to stop. Yet Merle Davis was given the full information and every facility when he visited the island in connection with the International Missionary Council survey in 1941 and asked much the same questions. This characteristic of the Jamaican must be borne in mind in future, and it would seem that the Jamaica Christian Council has established the necessary feeling of confidence between the leaders of the various Churches which would permit of an accurate survey of all denominational property, resources, finances and policies in being made. That survey is a necessary preliminary to co-operation, to federation, and to union.

The reasons given in 1910 for successful co-operation between different societies in China seem to be appropriate here: (1) A deep conviction that union is essentially right. (2) A feeling that the best within us called for union, while the considerations which kept us apart were of a lower character. (3) The real estate of the missions was carefully safeguarded. (4) The care taken in the preparation of the Basis of Union and possibility of amending it as conceptions of union enlarged. (5) The economy of men and funds...
through union, which by the efforts of several societies will result in a more efficient institution than would be possible through the medium of one only. (vi) The fact that most of the persons concerned in the initial stages of union were old friends and neighbours on the field materially aided us in making the start.¹

In the past in Jamaica, number (v), the economy of men and of money, has been overstressed. There will not be much saving of men or money for many years yet, probably not in this generation, for the Home Churches too early left their Jamaica brethren to work out their own policy, and did not retain their interest in the detailed work of their agents. Every other mission field was in the West — in Africa, India, China, Japan, and Jamaica on the whole gave little trouble to the Home Churches. The result has been that little or no specialised work has been done by the missionaries. They have become pastors, and no training has been given to natives to do special work apart from the pastoral. That is the immediate need, and the presence of missionaries, and foreign funds, will be required until natives are educated and trained for all the functions of the indigenous church. There would, of course, be some saving of funds in the case of overhead expenses in theological buildings and where unions of congregations were effected. Number (vi) above requires to be watched carefully. In Jamaica, the union negotiations were begun by 'old friends and neighbours in the field', but the day came when these friends retired or died, and when they were no longer able to carry their brethren with them in their own synods. In future, the negotiating representatives must be made up from the young and the old, i. World Missionary Conference report, vol.3, p. 66–68.
the native and the missionary, if the work is to be carried through to completion.

It would be the logical continuation of the past history of the churches to come together. It is also the only effective way of propagating the Gospel under the new conditions prevailing in the island, and to counteract the superstitious practices of the native sects which are so pernicious in their influence, such as Pocomania, Ras Tafarism, and Balmism. Those who follow such practices gather in 'yards' marked by a red or white rag on the end of a pole. Some contain altars for burnt sacrifice, and all have many weird arrangements. Drums, and lanterns fixed on a wooden cross, are used in processions, and the leader, or 'sheppy' (shepherd) carries a rod like the rod of Moses. The Bible and Sankey's hymn-book are used, though it is an essential qualification of the 'sheppy' that he be unable to read. These people encourage anti-Government propaganda, and discourage the education of children. The meeting is not complete unless the 'spirit' comes, and the sign of its coming is that people roll on the ground and grunt like pigs, speak in strange tongues, and finally lie exhausted, many of them for several hours. Dancing of a promiscuous nature is also a feature. Servants who attend such meetings are unable to work next day, and children are unfit for school. Pocomania is more common in the country, but is by no means uncommon in Kingston and was made the occasion of a public spectacle when the elite of Kingston and lower St. Andrew society attended the funeral of a famous 'sheppy' in 1939 - black, white, and coloured, educated and uneducated, to see what was later described as 'a wild and lawless orgy that...
recalled the worst scenes of animism in Africa. The churches have all their own rules for dealing with such occurrences, but it is rare that those participating will admit their lapse and never will they give the name of the 'shappi' even if they know it. The practice of obeah is regarded by visitors and town-dwellers of the white section as harmless, picturesque, eccentric, or a matter for ridicule, but in the past quarter of a century, due to the increase in pocomania, and the association of the obeah-man (with-doctor) with that cult there has been an amazing increase in the numbers of people who resort to the obeah-man for luck, love, protection, power, prosperity, and for undermining their neighbours' love, prosperity and health. The Balm-yard is where the medicine-man (not connected to any known medical school) lives, and he and the obeah-man together are responsible for numberless cases of insanity, and are credited with marvellous cures and much evil, even causing death. Fees range from £1 to £20, and proved instances were given before the West India Royal Commission. Government's attitude is that if a man can be caught in the act of practising obeah, he will be punished, but the effect of that is valueless, for the people interpret the result as the work of a more powerful obeah. The black and coloured men who form the police force are not themselves quite sure of the powerlessness of the obeah-man and are slow to act in tracing down the culprits. It is practically impossible to get the coloured population to give testimony against these men in a court of law, through fear of consequences. These consequences are sometimes tragic, including death through eating food with powdered glass in it. 

1. Annett; World Dominion, vol. 17 no.4. Octo.1939, p. 401.
of Jamaica along co-operative lines is due largely to obeah, for it paralyses business and industry, and men have refused to build new houses for fear of an evil eye, and that a new house will mean a new grave. The most educated will rarely take up residence in a new house until it has been 'blessed' by the minister, and this is not a 'fine old religious custom' but a survival of African paganism.¹

We have seen some of these customs practised, especially at funerals, and though repeated representation has been made against the evil effects of them, the state claims, on the grounds of 'religious toleration' that it cannot legislate against the practices of the pocomaniac or other pagan worshipper. Education may in time help, but the only way of banishing these evils, and even that will take time, is for the Churches to unite in their Christian witness to the power of the Gospel to deliver men from fear. No Church has ever made a study of pocomania in Jamaica, and it has been treated as 'superstition' in a general sense, but it is much more deeply rooted, and only a determined effort and continued united evangelism by all the Churches will make any impression on this evil which lies beneath the surface of the vast majority of Jamaicans. It is stupid to deny its existence, and worse to deny its power in this generation. The Jamaica Christian Council is making a study of the cult itself, but it will lie with the Churches thereafter to fight strenuously against its spread.

The most compelling reason for unity among the Churches is the great need for evangelism. The energies of all the ministers have for the past twenty years been so widely dissipated that little positive

¹ Detailed evidence in Churches' Joint Memo. to W.I. Royal Commission; and Zora Hurston's 'Voodoo Gods', Jamaica Section.
evangelisation has been attempted. But the need is being realised, and the need for unity in the effort is clear. There have been men and women who have shown themselves interested in religious work in the community in the form of social service. Until very recently, these have been left outside the purview of the churches. Merle Davis writes that "the churches of Jamaica have now reached a parting of the ways. They have been overtaken by other agencies in their guidance of the Jamaican proletariat. A generation of secular workers has appeared, trained in sociology and economics — studies not ordinarily found in the education of the pastor." It is not quite accurate to say that the workers are 'secular', though their organisations are certainly not under the control of the church and it would be truer to say that they were 'interested' in sociology and economics than that they were 'trained', but it is true that non-church organisations are doing work and taking the place which the churches did after emancipation. The statement is therefore worth consideration that "some, so far from agreeing that our divisions mean failure, believe that diversity, being a sign of vitality, is an earnest of success. There is something in this. The typical expression of revival in the medieval church was a new monastic order. It is in an entirely similar way that in the parts of the western church which broke with the Roman hierarchy a burst of new life takes shape in a new community — a denomination. The tragedy is that, whereas in the Middle Ages the church was generally ready to expand its boundaries... in Protestant communions... the new community has been thrust outside... leaders of movements of distinctive religious vitality were told to get down, and, when they refused, to get out."1

1. Merle Davis, p.82. 11. Foster: Then and Now, p.44-45
So far as denominationalism is concerned, it may truly be said that it has not the hold it once had — there is a mutual respect between the churches, and a willingness to co-operate. But so far as leaders arose we saw the need for the church to take a central place in social welfare were concerned, it is true to say that no place could be found within the churches for them. Lay-men and lay-women were not employed by local churches or Home Boards, and ministers were bound down to pastoral work, as were the missionaries with rare exceptions. These leaders had therefore to begin their work outside the churches, and it is only in the last two years that the churches have been impressed with the need for their active co-operation in the newer developments throughout the island, and they realise that their connection with Government and semi-public organisations will be a reality only if they have a common policy — denominations as such will not be considered in the new generation in Jamaica.

Relative place of Native and Missionary:

The problem has therefore come to be the relation of the Church to the community and in particular, the relation of the native minister to the missionary or foreign agent.

There is no need to re-state the ideals agreed on by the various societies which began the work in Jamaica, and we have indicated that it is essential for the missionary to remember that the best instrument for evangelising any country is the native of that country. We have also emphasised that the native must be trained for such work, and we have noted that the churches without exception have followed that policy some of them for over a century. The relative numbers of
Missionaries and native pastors is given in the table in Chapter Four.

We have also seen that some progress has been made in certain churches in the matter of independence from the home societies and from foreign helpers, though no church is completely independent for all its work. Grants-in-aid, and the provision of men and money for the training of the native ministry is provided in every case.

We further suggested that the time had come when missionaries should adopt a policy which would, at a not distant date, fill all the pastorates with native ministers, for the native Jamaican had shown himself capable to fill the position of preacher, teacher, and pastor, and with some financial help and guidance in the matter of local methods of finance, the native church, were it united, would be able to support its native ministry comfortably.

The future work of the missionaries, who should be supported by their home churches, would be as follows:

1. To educate and train natives for the pastorates.
2. To train the native ministers to fill the more important executive positions in the church as they prove willing and able to learn.
3. To give special training to pastors for work other than pastoral, e.g. organising youth work, evangelisation and home mission work, work amongst men, in community centres and land settlements, chaplaincies in schools and industrial centres.
4. To assist in the training of native ministers and lay-men for active co-operation in government schemes of social welfare and education, especially adult education movements.
5. To train the most intelligent workers that they may go abroad and further their studies at approved centres and see the work of the
church in other lands and so return to build up the church in Jamaica.

This policy will in one sense be a gradual withdrawal, but it will not in any sense be a retreat, for it will ensure an adequately trained native church to continue the work of the past two centuries in the island. And so long as there are small communities of visitors and colonists it will be necessary to provide a minister of their own country for them, in order to lead them into united worship with the people of the land in which they reside. So long as there is a mixed population, it will be necessary to have a mixed ministry, but at least ninety per cent of that ministry will be purely Jamaican, for as the native church grows stronger and its ministry more educated, the transient visitors and the colonists will see it a true branch of the Universal Church.

So long as missionaries remain pastors, the congregations of the native church remain dependent, even if, as in the case of the presbyterian church, the missionary is at the disposal for all practical purposes of the local Synod, or in the case of the Methodist, where he is on the same footing as the native minister. The native church does not thrive as it might do, it does not find its own form of religious expression under a leader, no matter how well trained, whose personal form is different from that of his congregation.\(^1\) And so long as the missionaries remain pastors, they will not have the time to train the natives for the full work of the church, and in trying to do both there will inevitably follow the overstrain and ill-health which is too frequently found. Under-staffing of institutions is responsible for overstrain and overwork.\(^11\) wrote Oldham in 1916 but

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\(^1\) Anderson: Foreign Missions, p.111. \(^11\) Oldham, p.140-1.
the cause of that is frequently shortage of native ministers for pastoral charges which have consequently to be filled by missionaries; either the pastoral work, or the institutional and training work, comes to be a 'spare-time' occupation, with disastrous results. The World Missionary Conference of 1910 found, amongst other things, that 'it is generally recognised that the most highly multiplying work a missionary can do, in the interest of accomplishing the evangelisation of a country, is that of raising up and training an adequate staff of native workers and inspiring them and co-operating with them in the work of evangelisation.' Among the 'indispensable methods of missionary work' was the 'establishment and edification of the native church... It seems essential, also, that sooner or later (sooner the better) the goal of this native church should be self-support, self-government, self-propagation and orderly ecclesiastical relations, at once indigenous and helpful to growth and capacity for service.'

Even so does the Methodist policy declare itself to be for its foreign missionaries on the field: "(1) The general oversight of the native church; the understanding being always that the oversight in detail should be transferred...to an indigenous ministry... (ii) The guardianship of doctrine... (iii) The training and due equipment of an indigenous native ministry in all its branches... (iv) Leadership in all evangelistic work... in leadership due attention to be given to the training of native workers who will assist until they are able to replace the foreign missionaries." Under Methodism, the work of missionary and native is shared in a way in which it is not under the other churches. There is more:

continued supervision in that denomination, whereas in others the native is put in complete charge of a group of congregations, or a committee. The result is one of two things: either he succeeds, in which case the missionary feels he has completed the necessary training or else the native fails, in which case the failure is deplored, but unless he is dishonest or immoral the position cannot be taken away from him without a great deal of disturbance in the church. In Methodism, the policy of sharing the work with continuous supervision will, in theory, allow the missionaries to be withdrawn at some future date and leave behind them a native pastorate fully trained to occupy every position in the church. The weakness of both policies are obvious - it is not wise to keep an able native in a subordinate position when he could render good service in a more responsible position; and, it is necessary to have some system of supervision to see that inefficiency and inability do not react on the church unfavourably and without an opportunity of intervention.

It is desirable, as was expressed at the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council that missionaries should be so related to the younger churches that their work should be under the direction of the church organisation. Yet where the missionaries are supported by the home churches they feel, and their home churches feel, that their work and location should be controlled by the home church and not by the local churches. At least, they insist on the right of appeal to the home church in case of dispute. There is consequently a feeling on the part of native churches, even when they are practically autonomous, that they must accept the advice of the

home church on all occasions, and they are apt to refer any problem
to the home church for decision instead of working out the solution
on the field. That is the result of lengthy dependence on mission
agents who have done pastoral work along with them, and whose time
and energy has been so taken up with that work, useful as it is and
necessary as it is, that they have not had the opportunity for planning
a policy and training natives to organise and plan the full work of
the church. Had the work of the missionaries been more under the
local church organisation, with such safeguards as we have suggested,
viz. the home churches to receive a call for a missionary for a par-
ticular work, and to select a man for the work if approved, then the
native church would have become more self-reliant, and the native min-
istry would have been more capable of taking the full responsibility
on its own shoulders.

The Jerusalem Meeting contains a quotation from a report on the
relation between foreign and national workers and the four ideas com-
monly held. These are:

(a) The National Church organically a part of the parent church;
some will contend that there should be an organic union existing
between the National Church and the organisation which fostered it,
and that this connection should be a perpetual one, resulting in
world-raying denominational units - a pan-Presbyterian Church,
a pan-Lutheran Church, etc.

(b) The national church independent; others will urge that the
ideal indigenous church should always be national and free, having
no other international bonds than those of fellowship.

(c) Missionaries at first full members; a third party will insist
that in the beginning missionaries should become members of the
nascent church, that they may help to train those upon whom the
responsibility for its welfare must later devolve; but that, later
on, when the church shall have become capable of self-determination
and self-support, these missionary helpers should withdraw from
its membership.
(d) Every indigenous church entirely self-governing: a fourth school contends that with the first church and the first minister a new indigenous church is born; that there should never be any organic union with the parent body; that the missionaries should never become full members of the national organisation, but that as associate or corresponding members, they should be its friends and counsellors. In Jamaica, the Methodist Church is an example of the first idea, the Baptist in theory of the second but in practice of the fourth, and the Presbyterian is working on the third in so far as its missionaries are full members of local presbyteries and the Synod. The ideal for Jamaica would be the fourth plan, viz. a united Church of Jamaica, with missionaries as associate or corresponding members for the purpose of advice and counsel until such time as the church can show itself capable of self-determination. This would emphasise the principle stated earlier, that "the native is the main force; the missionary is the helper." The fact that the native was supported entirely by the native church and the missionary entirely by the home church, would not then interfere with policy and government.

Before leaving this subject of the future policy and relation of the missionary to the native minister, it is well to note the recommendations of the Madras Meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1938 with reference to the curriculum for ministerial students; "A most important part of the curriculum is practical theology. Under this term is meant here (1) the nourishment of the life of worship in the individual student, with habits of personal devotion and discipline; on this too great stress cannot be laid: (11) the application of the Christian faith to all types of individual and corporate living. On this subject there is the

greatest need for imaginative yet carefully tested experiment and teaching. The students must become acquainted with the urgent problems of both city and village life. In particular, we urge that training for rural work be made part of the curriculum as soon as possible. (iii) Training in preaching, religious education, evangelism, the conduct of worship and the cure of souls. If possible, students should be associated with the regular minister of a congregation in his work. Indigenous music and singing should be taught as part of the regular course.

We have noted in chapter four the place given to practical theology in the colleges in Jamaica, and have suggested there and in chapter six the requirements of the churches in the close contact with rural communities and social work and conditions, and also how these requirements might be met by co-operative training between social welfare workers and theological students. The practice of allowing a student to work with a settled minister is followed to some extent, but until the missionaries look on this work of training as special work, the student is not helped by being attached to a local congregation, but is looked on as an unpaid assistant.

Financial Provisions:

The greatest stumbling-block to adequate missionary staffing in the past, and to the training of sufficient native pastors in the present, is the financial arrangements under which missionaries are sent to the field.

In 1900 we find it stated that native churches should not support missionaries... the home church should not support pastors...

should have pastors only when able to pay for them. And in 1933 at the Tambaran Meeting it was said that "the tendency to exaggerate the importance of self-support must be immediately abandoned... it was said... that the church must be responsible for pastoral work and the mission for evangelism... also... that until a church pays for its pastoral work, it ought not to undertake any missionary work. A greater heresy than this it is impossible to conceive." Whatever may be the theory followed by the home churches, the Jamaican churches follow many practices. Some are organised so that mission agents are paid partly by the native church (e.g. Moravian), some natives are paid partly by mission money (e.g. grants for former Church of Scotland charges in the Presbyterian Church), some missionaries are supported entirely by the home church (Church of Scotland). In all of these, even where individual pastors have not received their full stipend, the records show that they engage both in home and foreign mission work. And in Jamaica in all churches, there is no distinction between evangelistic work by a native agent and that by a mission agent. It is the whole church in its missionary aspect.

We stated earlier that there is a feeling among missionaries and pastors that the proportion of one to the other has been reduced as far as is practicable, but the difficulty lies in the financial method pursued. If the home churches cannot afford to staff the mission field adequately, then there is little hope of the native church ever becoming self-supporting, and it will never become self-determining while it is weak and has an inadequate and poorly educated native staff, which will certainly be the result of an inadequate mission staff.

If again, the home church continues to support only its own missionaries and such work as theological training, but refuses to subsidise stipends of the native ministry, it will be forced either to continue with an understaffed native church, or else to fill up a large percentage of the pastoral charges with missionaries. The solution is clear, but it means departing from a policy followed in the earlier days, viz. to make an annual grant for stipends of natives, a grant which will continue not, as has been suggested by several churches, in a diminishing form over a period of five or ten years, but until the native ministers have been trained to such an extent that they will be able to obtain their full stipend from the native church. This would not cost the home churches much more if indeed as much, as they expend to-day on sending missionaries to take charge of pastoral work, and it would be laying solid foundations for the future of the church in Jamaica. Missionaries should have special functions only, and in Jamaica there could be a saving of man-power if they were employed in the work of training native ministers and in temporary supervision, and if the salaries of those missionaries who had been withdrawn from pastoral work were allowed to subsidise the native pastors' stipends, there would be no more cost to the home churches and there would be great advantage to the native churches at the present moment; while in the future there would be advantage not only to the native churches but a definite and increasing saving to the home churches.

It is essential that the home churches, whatever their relation to the churches in Jamaica set about revising their policy in appointing missionaries, and see to it that the missionary is not doing work
which the native ought to be doing, and that he is doing work which
the missionary is peculiarly fitted to do. It would be a great help
to local union also if the home churches would agree on a policy of
grants-in-aid, for much of the financial confusion in local negotia-
tions has come from the variety of methods employed in subsidising
the local churches. The home churches must take full responsibility
for theological and social welfare and other special training instructors,
for that work must be developed if the Jamaican church is to fulfil
its functions properly, but while there will be a slight increase in
the staff of special missionaries, there can be, in the space of five
years or little more, a substantial reduction in the numbers and in
the expense of missionaries doing pastoral work. Provided such ade-
quate financial provision for training native workers is made, the
churches in Jamaica will be able to step forward unitedly to the re-
construction period of the island's history.

So much has been made in the older churches of the 'expense' of
foreign missions that it is worth while to point out that missions
are the life of any church. Congregations think of overseas mis-
sions as a special charity, like the hospitals — but more distant and
peculiar — for which funds are raised as one of the church's sidelines.
Ministers regard missions as a sphere of work which drew the more ro-
mantic of their fellow theologues, whence they return to tell amusing
anecdotes of the strange ways of the heathen, or sobstuff stories of
his conversion, according to taste... Missions are not an added extra.
This thing is the life of the church.

An important development has recently occurred in the appointment

of a missionary (not ordained) by the Church of Scotland to act as a Social Welfare Officer to the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, whose duty will be to co-ordinate the social side of that church's work, to organise it, and to act as liaison officer between the church and the new schemes proposed by Government. This missionary will relieve the pressure on other officers and ministers of that church, and will enable the fullest co-operation to be achieved between the church and the Government in that sphere of service. The officer will also be free for the organisation of summer schools and conferences each year, thus fulfilling a long-felt need, and ensuring that this work will be carried through without straining the resources of missionaries engaged in pastoral and executive work. He will work in close contact with the Central Council of Voluntary Social Services and the Jamaica Christian Council.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that this is the kind of development which must be extended in the future. Jamaica is ready for a new policy and is willing for the older churches to show her the way, but if the older churches delay, the Jamaica church will shape its own policy along lines that are undesirable, for if the political situation is a guide, and the public leaders are at all indicative of the spirit of the people, Jamaica will at an early date have one or more purely indigenous churches, but they will be based on a narrow nationalistic foundation.

Jamaica has reached a crisis in her history. It is not for us to prophesy what will happen under the new conditions of government, but it will be fatal if the churches in Britain repeat the mistake of the British Government in 1838, and give a wide measure of liberty
to the Jamaicans without ensuring that the necessary training is first given that they may use their liberty wisely and well. The Jamaican churches are at the stage of giving a full measure of cooperation in schemes of training for a united indigenous church. If those plans are delayed, the opportunity will have passed, and even the amount of cooperation now existing between the denominations may be lost. But if the mission boards of the home churches act now, the Jamaican church will become a reality, and will avoid what is a grave danger - narrow nationalistic outlook and government. Nationalism in Jamaica is increasing, and it is based not on nationality, but on colour. There has not been a colour bar in the Jamaican churches since 1833 - and before that there was no colour bar in the missionary churches - but to-day there is an increasing sense of colour, which is leading in other spheres to the barring of white people from certain positions, not because the Jamaican is better qualified, but because the white is not Jamaican. That feeling is beginning to creep into the churches, though it is not openly expressed as yet, but if the mission agents do not advance in the matter of giving the Jamaican the required training for executive and other posts, the Jamaican will interpret it as 'white domination' and 'wanting to keep the Jamaican down'. There is little point in the home churches refusing to recognise these facts, or in indulging in wishful thinking, hoping vaguely that things will 'return to normal'. The Jamaican to-day is crying out for training, and after a sufficient time he will feel he is able to carry on without his former instructors. If the mission boards do not give the instruction now, he will still take full charge when he feels the time has come, and the mission
boards are being faced to-day with the problem of whether they will withdraw their control leaving an uneducated and untrained ministry, or a trained and competent ministry.

If the training is given now, and given wisely and well, the dangers may be avoided, but action is desirable and necessary at the present moment. If missionaries are 'sent,' what are they 'sent' for? What is their function? The Jamaican feels that he is able to do all the pastoral work efficiently, and much of the special work if he had the training. If the next step is to a united indigenous church and the withdrawal of the missionaries or the restriction of their services to special functions of training then it would be better to make that policy clear, that all may know its terms and all may work together to achieve its aims. Only if the relations between the native church and the home churches are defined in a friendly way and if both realise that the strengthening of the native church depends on the gradual withdrawal of the missionaries, will the indigenous church keep in contact with the Church Universal. Otherwise, it will be a national church, founded on independent lines, whose chief distinction will be that it is different from all other branches of the Christian church and whose chief aim and interest will be to serve Jamaica instead of serving Christ.

Relation to the Ecumenical Church:

It is most important that the Jamaican people, as a result of the new conditions in which they find themselves, are not cut off from the other West Indian islands and the world at large. There is a real danger of that happening politically, and it is only if the
churches take a firm grip on the situation that disaster will be avoided. To do that, they must keep clearly before their minds the need for unity among themselves. In a letter to Lord Lloyd, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, who had addressed the Conference of British Missionary Societies, the following statement is made:

"You spoke of the grave mischiefs to Christendom from our unhappy divisions, and you appealed for co-operation among the missionary societies and the churches to which they belong, 'in the practical sphere', and particularly in the beneficial enterprise which His Majesty's Government have set before themselves in establishing the West Indies Welfare Fund. It is our first duty to assure the Colonial Office of our intention to comply with this request to the limit of our influence and ability. Co-operation in the West Indies suffers from difficulties which are not present in the same degree in some other parts of the world - these are both ecclesiastical and geographical.

Most of the West Indian churches are more or less autonomous bodies to which the missionary societies represented in the British Conference give no aid whatever or else an assistance in money and men which is small relatively to the work of the denomination. The Anglican church is organised into Dioceses, each with a Bishop... the Congregational and Baptist churches are more loosely into local Unions or Associations. The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica is an autonomous church, though the Church of Scotland still sends out missionaries, and pays their salaries; these missionaries sit in the courts of the church as fellow members with their Jamaican brethren.
but they still maintain their connection with, and standing in, their own home church. Only the Methodist church in the West Indies is an integral part of the Methodist church of Great Britain, having its supreme legislative and executive authority in this country and closely united with the Methodist Missionary Society. In Christian communion and friendship, however, we can exert an influence from this side in favour of co-operation.1

The Secretary was then informed that a letter had been sent to the Jamaican churches, and it was in pursuance of that communication that the visit of Mr. Erle Davis (substituting for Dr. Repton) took place, and the Jamaica Christian Council was formed in 1941. It will be noted from the above quotation that the conference of British Missionary Societies acts only in a friendly capacity, and the Jamaica Christian Council as we have seen has similar limited powers. But it is possible for the synods to give the Christian Council more power and more authority and thus to achieve a united policy. More important at this stage of our study, is the fact that the Jamaica Christian Council forms a strong link between the Jamaican churches, and the Universal Church.

Apart from denominational links, there is no connection between the churches in the islands of the West Indies, to say nothing of those in Latin America and the United States. Attention has always been turned to the parent church four thousand miles away in Britain. But since the formation of the Jamaica Christian Council, contact has been established with the International Missionary Council in New York as well as in London, and a steady stream of church news has come to

Jamaica which has made the Jamaican churches realise not only that
there was a vast amount of work being done in the outside world, but
yet they were a vital part of the one Universal Church which was
doing the work. It is that sense of oneness with the ecumenical
church which will keep Jamaica and the Jamaican churches from becoming
too insular and over-conscious of her new privileges. But as one
of the younger churches whose history has been troubled in many ways,
she will be able to take her place with the churches of other countries,
and bear her witness to the story of the Rock of Christ. It is
vital that Jamaica be not allowed to forget her sense of union with
the elder church, else she will lapse into the paganism from which
the Church is slowly raising her.

Our study has shown that the policy of the Protestant Missions
in Jamaica has been determined by many factors, many of them quite
beyond the control of the missionary societies of early days. With
a mixed population of black and white, bond and free, from many
countries, with many religious traditions, both pagan and Christian,
little else but variety could be expected in mission work. It would
be unjust to blame the missionary societies for introducing denomina-
tional divisions, for the existence of so many native brands of religion
is sufficient proof that, left to himself, the Jamaican will invent
more denominations than the most sensitive British conscience over
experienced. Yet divisions were introduced, and have been accepted
by this people of mixed traditions and customs, and they are seeing
the wastefulness of the divisions only to-day.
The churches have on the whole been true to their calling, to preach the Gospel to all nations, and they have used the witness of natives as well as of missionaries. They have worked for the building up of a stable church with a native ministry, and while there remains much to be done, it is only true to state that much has already been done and the foundations are laid for much more to be accomplished. The Church is ready to take her place in the development of education for young and old, and in all types of social welfare work, and she has endeavoured to bring about the fullest co-operation in action of her various branches, so that it is possible to look forward to the time when there shall be one united Church of Jamaica, using all the resources and all the experience of the work of the years in the service of Christ.

There has never at any time been a drastic change of policy, though since the beginning of this century there has not been any marked progress until comparatively recently, but the success of the Jamaica Christian Council would suggest that the progress will be once more apparent. All that has been suggested is in direct line with missionary policy the world over, and Jamaica offers peculiar advantages for rapid development owing to its history, the nature and character of its people, and the fact that it is self-contained as an island. All churches also are on the same status so far as Government is concerned, and there is little except domestic differences to keep them apart. As we have shown, there is great hope that even these will not prevent the active work of the Church in Jamaica going forward with power, and that the testimony of the Church in Jamaica
may lead to the wider federation of all the churches in the East Indies.

The unique task of the Church is a spiritual one: to relate the imperfect spirit of man to God and to make plain the nature of the redemption which God has provided him through His Son...

Government and sedular agencies provide the legal, economic, and social framework for the reconstruction of society, but they are powerless to impart to men and women the inner power by which they can break the inertia and change the ways of life which hold them back... The Church must imbue the relationships and institutions of society... with their deepest meaning... Their inner spiritual content can be supplied through the discipline and teachings of the Christian religion, and through it alone.1

There is deep truth in these words, and they are vital for all future policy of Protestant Missions in Jamaica.

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1. I. Leavis, p.94.  
Note: Comparative Table overleaf.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church of England</th>
<th>Society of Friends</th>
<th>Baptist Union</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44,000 (97)</td>
<td>939 (3)</td>
<td>23,500 (56)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Methodist Church</th>
<th>Moravian Church</th>
<th>Salvation Army</th>
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<tr>
<td>19,551 (41)</td>
<td>5,433 (15)</td>
<td>4,990 (99)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church of Christ</th>
<th>Congregational Union</th>
<th>Church of God in Jamaica</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5,000 (8)</td>
<td>2,521 (10)</td>
<td>2,142 (30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**JAMAICA CHRISTIAN COUNCIL**

120,379 members
395 staff
(ordained)

**Note:** Top figures are numbers of registered members in full communion; bottom figures are numbers of ordained ministers.